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Discourses of Destiny

A Multimodal Analysis of 2014 Issues of Destiny Man Magazine

Bertrand Leopeng (481940) Supervised by Professor. Malose Langa

3/18/2016

This thesis is submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Community-based Counselling Psychology in the Faculty of Humanities at the University of the Witwatersrand.

Declaration of Originality

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this is my own original work and that all fieldwork was undertaken by me. Any part of this study that does not reflect my own ideas has been fully acknowledged in the form of citations. No part of this thesis has been submitted in the past, or is being submitted, or is to be submitted for a degree at any other university.

Bertrand Leopeng

University of the Witwatersrand

Johannesburg

_____ _____

Bertrand Leopeng DATE

_____ _____

Professor Malose Langa DATE

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To my brother: Professor Malose Langa. With a topic very close to hearts, defining the very nature of what it means to be a black male South African, you have not lost patience or faith with me.

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My Grandfather Vuyisile Synod, a true classic man.

Kganya Kgare: A self-made man.

Dedication

My mother Gwendoline Siyotula. I honestly don't know where I would be without you. Love you forever Mom.

Ancient bones from Olduvai
Echoes of the very first cry
"Who made me, here and why? --
Beneath this copper sun."

Johnny Clegg, Scatterlings of Africa, 1982.

Abstract

This thesis took an interpretive approach to analysing content as presented in the print media. The focus of this study was *Destiny Man* magazine, a six year old lifestyle publication aimed at middle-class men in South Africa. This thesis explored how black middle-class men are presented by looking at the latent content from an interpretive stance. Therefore, a psychosocial approach was adopted to understand how political, socio-economic, and gender interact with one another at the psycho-social level.

A total number of 35 articles were analysed using interpretative psychoanalytic methods and relevant critique. In addition to these 54 images were chosen to be analysed and included in an overall contextual framework relating to topics such as race, masculinity, economics, alcohol, and sport. This content was chosen from the eight 2014 issues of *Destiny Man* magazine.

In analysis, the history of colonialism, apartheid, and the development of neoliberal capitalism was taken into account regarding how black middle class men negotiate their masculine identities in the new South Africa. The development of neoliberal capitalism and a multimodal discourse on the male psyche is explored in-depth, with the resultant social analysis.

Overall, the basis of this research was to critically analyse African middle class masculinity in post-apartheid South Africa taken many factors into account. The key themes identified in the analysis include narcissism, domination, and denial of feminity, fatherhood, alcohol consumption, and performances of gender. The interactions of all of these factors have been shown to have an impact on our understanding of contemporary African middle class masculinity, affecting the construction and definition of this concept in a complex and dynamic way. *Destiny Man* magazine is a poignant example of how these interactions are presented in the media.

Key Words: psychoanalysis, hegemonic masculinity, race, neoliberal capitalism, apartheid.

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Chapter One

Background, rationale, and scope of study

1.1. Introduction.

The inspiration for this research emerges as South Africa becomes increasingly immersed in a global culture which introduces new ways of spreading vast amounts of information in relatively short periods of time. The media is a conduit from which we all gain access to news from around the world. It is also a particularly useful tool in spreading ideas, promoting trends and selling products. Keeping in line with this idea the current research is intended to interact with the mechanism of print media and analysing the role it plays in the lifestyles of its consumers.

The subject of this study is the men's lifestyle magazine '*Destiny Man*' a publication which has been in production since 2009 and is still going strong. The magazine is targeted at middle-class black South African men and produces content which is aimed at this prevailing market. Like all magazines in print, sponsorship plays a major role in keeping the project alive, advertisements account for 45-51 % of coverage in all magazines (Magazine Publishers of America, 2008). Of course this is good news for the companies wishing to promote their products to a large number of readers but it also plays a role in determining who is most likely to read the magazine on a monthly basis i.e. the target market. Consistent with this claim there exists a greater likelihood of seeing specific adverts in certain magazines, for example one is unlikely to find an advert for hardware tools in a *Cosmopolitan* issue (unless it is inserted as a gift idea for a male partner).

Content in articles also plays a vital role in contributing to the ideology of the publication. While not explicitly stated, authors promote attitudes and beliefs based on their own set of values. These are presented to the reader on a continual basis and may influence their own inherent judgements.

1.2. Rationale.

The following study was an attempt to analyse the contents of *Destiny Man* magazine. The analysis will come from an overall thematic perspective covering diverse topics such as race, politics, aesthetics, homosexuality, and media. All of this falls under the umbrella of masculinity, which is of primary concern to the author. Masculinity in the broadest sense, but specifically geared towards the conceptualisation of such in South African media (i.e. How is *Destiny Man* magazine defining masculinity in the 21st century?).[1]

The media is a powerful tool in helping to convey messages to multitudes of consumers. One can accept, without hesitation, that considerable influence is exerted unto consumers of a particular brand of product. The product carries with it ideals, obligations, stereotypes, and reproductive value.[2] Ultimately though, it links quite poignantly with the lifestyle choices of many consumers.[3] This influence is not limited to the consuming of the magazine, but the way in which the content of the magazine influences the choices one makes thereafter. Repeated consumption is more likely to mean that some type of knowledge, lifestyle, and/or ideology is being reproduced. After this is reproduced within a large substrate of the population they become the *target market* of the magazine. Therefore, a reproductive cycle (in the thematic sense) is kept in motion through production and consumption. By '*thematic sense'* it is not taking this to mean *themes* in the literary sense[4]. Themes are related to particular patterns of perceiving the environment, and the subjective experience of these mean that this type of analyses cannot be scientific in its approach. This analysis has the distinct element of being interpretive in its execution, particularly around the theme of masculinity. To date, no such analysis has been conducted in South Africa on this specific magazine. Analyses have been conducted from a thematic perspective covering topics that take an overall look at striking features within a publication (Clowes, 2003). A more recent article by Schneider, Cockcroft and Hook (2008) had focused on the constructions of

[1] This is likely the most overarching question. This is not to say that it is the sole intention of the magazine, but one can proceed with the implicit assumption that (re)defining masculine traits/tendencies is an important part of the publication process.

[2] The topic of reproductive value is tackled quite extensively within Herbert Marcuse's masterpiece "One-dimenonsial man" (1964). His argument is based on an analysis of how society is set up to reproduce its predominant order. The overall framework, much like the one of this thesis, is from a Freudian perspective.

[3] The act of consuming the magazine in itself is a lifestyle choice. By this one can accept that there is *a priori* motivation preceding the act of purchasing. Basically, one chooses to buy the magazine because it already fits within a schema the individual adheres to in their life.

[4] Although a thematic analysis is by definition related to content themes. Notwithstanding this, themes are present apart from the magazine content. Thematic analyses categorise various themes in more coherent terms.

sexuality within the South African publication of *Men's Health* magazine. There are many gains that can be made from these two studies, both of which contribute a great deal to the goals of the present study.[5] While the aims of each were slightly different, the approach was the same with the intention of exploring South African masculinities. To wit, these are integrated in the present context. The topic of race, culture, and specifically representations of African masculinities in media was explored so well by Clowes (2003), as was the unpacking of representations of sexuality in *Men's Health* magazine (Schneider, Cockcroft, & Hook, 2008) that to reproduce that would only serve to be a confirmatory tool. The current paper attempts to explicate these themes in the interest of intersectionality, but with the guiding frameworks of psychoanalysis and the psychosocial.

Within the context of the present study, the author will show, in exhaustive detail, the imbricating complexities of the interactions between race and gender; specifically, with reference to African middleclass men living in South Africa. This phenomenon is not tangible in the materialistic sense, but the psychic mechanism produces effects that have implications for definitions of the self in post-apartheid South Africa. What this means, is that in a very real sense the African man has sought to redefine himself in an era where redefinition sometimes implies cultural assimilation, more heavily weighted in favour of an existing framework. What ensues is a constant and dynamic interaction of, sometimes; oppositional modes of existence that give the black South African middleclass experience a unique flavour. This thesis exposits these flavours in a colourful yet systemic manner, detailing the interactions constantly occurring in post-apartheid South Africa.

Thus, the author brings with him a perspective that is shaped by these two influences (race, and culture; and sexuality). Historically, Freud's (1905) postulate of the unconscious helped to establish a firm basis for the psychic processes involved in the repression of sexuality[6]. The role of the unconscious is of great importance especially in the context of the current analysis. Lacan (1949) argued that "the psychoanalytic experience discovers in the unconscious is the whole structure of language" (pp. 1130)[7]. By taking a semiotic approach when rereading Freud Lacan (1949) discovered the narrative nature of psychoanalysis itself,

[5] The aforementioned two studies are not wholly discrete from one another and neither should they be considered to be so within the current study.

[6] See Freud, *Three Essays on the Theory of Sexuality, 1905*. His seminal work also includes the concepts of castration anxiety, penis envy, and the Oedipus Complex

[7] Of course, within the field of Psychoanalysis itself there are wide disagreements regarding the meaning of Freud, and the concepts are hotly disputed. Some of these debates are not relevant to the current topic. However, what is more relevant is the nature of the work done in discovering the unconscious.

detailing the inherent symbols that analysands represent through their unconscious to explain their narratives in reality (or rather, it is their narratives that create the basis for this reality). Therefore, there is a reality, a narrative, which is told through the various representations of masculinity that we find within the media. One can think of these narratives as visual representations of an unconscious process. It is up to the analyst to interpret these representations, and to make meaning of them for the patient. It is also the job of the author to make meaning of these narratives and extrapolate them to the psycho-social realm.

Owing to this generation of the wealth of information regarding psychoanalytic thinking in literary forms, the theoretical underpinnings of this research have been shown to be given vast import in the generation of new knowledge. This point is extremely important as it the usage of the term '*new'* suggests that psychoanalytic thinking is neither outmoded nor is it an archaic, approach to analysing issues in context[8]

1.3. Analysing the media.

The media reveals current trends in social preferences revealing cultural values, and norms of the target audience, as well as being a mirror of the times people live in. Loswell (1927) introduced Media Content Analysis as a systematic method to study mass media. Berger and Luckman (1966) noted that media texts are open to varied interpretation. This thesis further argues that there is latent and manifest context both in text, and images. Neuman (1997) believes that content analysis is a non-reactive research methodology, relating to the flexibility the researcher needs to display during the research. The current study defines 'content' as any reference to words, meanings, pictures, symbols, ideas, themes, conveying any particular message.

Berelson (1952) suggested five main points of content analysis:

- To describe the substance characteristics of message content
- To describe form characteristics of message content
- To make inferences to producers of content
- To make inferences to audiences of content
- To predict the effects of contents on audiences.

[8] This entails that Psychoanalysis still holds a strong position in both *space* and *time*, in the paradoxical way that the *unconscious* cannot be located solely (and some may argue entirely) in either of these dimensions.

This displays the multilevel interpretations needed to make adequate extrapolations of content. As suggested above, the goal is to not only expose readers to the latent signifiers of the content, but also to do the same for the *producers* of the content. In this manner, that which is previously unaware to the conscious mind is made conscious by the very act of content analysis. If done properly, the implications of this process has the potential of predicting effects to the wider psychosocial sphere. Doing this enables all readers of content analysis studies to meaningfully engage with the content, thereby affecting the dynamicism of the process.

1.4. Outline of Study.

Chapter two reviews the literature corresponding to the topic of this study. This chapter will discuss the construction of masculinity over time, and the social implications of hegemonic masculinity. This chapter also reviews the portrayals of this concept within existing publications, and will take a look at this concept specifically within a South African Concept. It will present the topics of race, and socio-economic issues to be discussed at a later stage in this thesis. This chapter also makes specific reference to Lindsay Clowes (2006) research on *Drum* magazine in the 1950s.

Chapter three will present the methodological framework adopted in this study. It will discuss the aim of this research study, the data collection methods used, how and why the corpus of texts was chosen, and how the data was analysed. It will also provide some background on the various methods of data collection, specifically within this field of study, and draw upon aspects of these in the study itself. It will also discuss the ethical considerations and finally, the limitations which this study posed.

Chapter four will introduce the findings obtained from data collection and analysis. An outline of the discussion to follow will also be provided in this section. This is necessary in order to provide a coherent discussion of the findings under relevant themes, and apply them to the broader context of the study.

Chapter five will provide the themes for discussion divided into three subsections. The first theme for discussion gained in this study- neoliberalism and capitalism. An unpacked and comprehensive argument will be presented to the reader in light of data collection and analysis. This is the largest section of the discussion as many examples are used from the corpus of text, and images are also analysed in detail.

The second area of discussion focused on the areas of gender and identification. This section will provide relevant examples from the corpus of texts, and analyse the images that are presented in the text

The third theme for discussion will explore the conception of fatherhood mainly within the psychoanalytic theory. This section will make links with the previous two chapters, and serves well in the interest of intersectionalities.

The fourth theme for analysis centres on the psychosocial impact of alcohol consumption in South Africa, and the depictions of this practice in the magazine. African males are highlighted as a group at-risk, and this is contrasted with their representation in the magazine.

African men in the sport of golf are introduced as a fifth area of discussion, particularly the history of their exclusion and the contemporary practice of black male participation. This chapter deals with themes such as performance, capitalism, and the spatio-temporal phenomenology of blackness.

The sixth theme explored is the seemingly exclusive topic of cars as an essential feature of masculinity in men's magazines. This section explores this narrative in relation to one of Brannon's (1976) typologies of masculinity, 'Be a big wheel'. This typology is reintroduced in reference to a racialized discussion, consistent with the themes of masculinity, and capitalism.

Chapter six will conclude with a brief summary of the complete research study, along with a reflexivity journal that allows the reader to gain some insight into the personal challenges faced while this research was conducted. Future recommendations will also be mentioned in this chapter.

Chapter Two

Literature Review

A world picture is influenced by all the cognitive, affective and conative aspects of man. A person's world picture is, in popular terms, how he sees the world. How he sees the world depends not only on the world, but on his make-up, too. In our intellectual towers we tend to forget that man is not a purely intellectual being. In reality he is a cognitive-affective-conative compound: he thinks (reasons) and feels (has emotions) and wills (acts). It is a well-known psychological fact that the proportions of these elements can differ markedly from person to person

(Macnamara, 1980: 22-23)

Introduction.

The primary aim of this chapter is to briefly introduce the reader to the concept of masculinity. This topic will be explored in multiple forms throughout this chapter, and will form a basis for the overall investigation of this research thesis. This chapter will also aim to explore the various publications in the print media that have incorporated aspects of this concept in various ways.

2.1. Masculinity Redux.

The construction of masculinity is documented throughout history and dates back to the years when Homer wrote in prose the journey of Odysseus back to his kingdom (Lattimore, 1965). Along the way he encounters many-a-tribulation, including giants and nymphs, only to return to find his kingdom of Ithaca ransacked by pretenders to his throne and pursuers of his wife Penelope. In almost demigod fashion Odysseus slays all the invaders of his palace and triumphantly reclaims his wife. There many references to masculinity which predate the epic of Odysseus, but following this brief introduction the topic of masculinity will be conveyed in the more recent 20th century leading up to our present day.

Previous research has demonstrated that the idea of masculinity is based on a value system of an accepted ideology within a particular society (Sargent, 2001; Williams, 1995). Perceived gender roles and perceived gender differences have highlighted the ways in which interaction

has been conducted under the guise of normativity. Passing comments such as ‘a man’s gotta do what a man’s gotta do’ are often accepted without a second thought as being one of those idioms which is in correspondence with reality. But are these fair representations of what one can regard as ‘normal’? It is argued that the answer is an unequivocal ‘no’ (Anderson, 2005). The concept of masculinity is not a static one presented across all generations; in fact those who maintain the notion of masculinity as fixed tend to face opposition with society: preservers of tradition become victims of time and thus alienated from the present. Masculine projections now come under scrutiny for their basic assumptions bringing society to a crossroads of the very definition of what it means to behave as a man should, or whether there even exists such a way to behave at all!.

There are various definitions of masculinity. Rather than indicating confusion in defining the construct, this displays that masculinity is a fluid character which requires a deeper understanding.

2.2. Connell’s hegemonic masculinity

It has previously been shown that masculinity is a relational object which depends on the existence of subordinate forms of masculine expression, effeminate behaviour, and perceived threats to a heterosexual hegemony (Lancaster, 1988; Plummer, 2001). Connell (1995) has described hegemonic masculinity as a social process in which one form of institutionalized masculinity is "culturally exalted" above all others. Taking from this one can deduce that although two people may both look like ‘men’ it can be the case that only one of them behaves in a culturally accepted manner of what it entails to be a ‘man’. Connell (1995) speaks of masculinity in terms of this relational understanding, not limited to men in relation to women, but also [crucially] men in relation to other men. Connell used this understanding to give a new perspective on understandings of masculinity, and defined hegemonic masculinity as:

...the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women.

(p. 77)

This definition entails that in a spatio-temporal framework, hegemony is established through constant re-enactment, and this is all given purpose through the entrenched order or

patriarchy. Connell (1995) implies that hegemonic masculinity establishes dominance over not only women, but it subordinates men who do not comply with the accepted order. It is also a dynamic process that is not fixed in its construction, but it can even change over the course of one's lifetime (Alexander, 2003). In later revisions Connell (2000) states that we should not think of masculinity as a singular monolith, but one in which identities are malleable and subject to intersecting factors such as race, class, and location. From this point of view it is arguable that the media can either reflect a dominant hegemony, or establish an entirely new order based on social construction, what is clear though is the existing patriarchal order that legitimizes it.

Owing to the complex nature of intersections, it is important to discuss how hegemonic masculinity may re-inforce oppressive dominance in present day interactions; the socio-historical basis of this claim is underpinned by the European colonial conquest of Africa. In the concluding remarks of the eighth chapter of "Masculinities" (1995) titled "The History of Masculinity" Connell offers a perspective through which to examine changes in the global network of gender relations and modern masculinities. From a global standpoint the European conquest helped to export the existing gender order to the colonial world, and establish an exercise of hegemony over these states. Yet, the entrenching of a capitalistic mode of production helped to bolster the legitimacy of the patriarchy, especially over marginalized masculinities such as the colonial subject.[9] This imperialist imposition succeeded in amplifying the hegemony of Western masculinity, and the disappearance of traditional local forms of masculinity (Connell, 1995). Frosh (2013) has argued that the black colonial subject often occupied the imagination of the European master as a primitive and savage object. This affects the ways in which hegemonic [white] masculinity interacts with subaltern [non-white] masculinities, in a relational context. Even in the present day South Africa where institutionalised racism has been done away with, the relational components of hegemonic masculinity may even reproduce themselves (in various ways), in the formerly oppressed subject and further re-entrench established modes of interaction.

[9] The word choice in this instance is no mere arbitrary stance, but one that denotes the conceptualisation of the African subject, this is explicated in far greater detail later on in this thesis.

2.3. Polar Opposites.

Hegemony enforces and entrenches norms in society but at the same time it requires an identifiable opposition to the social order, an example of what one should not do. According to David and Brannon (1976) there are four central tenets which are constitutive of American Masculinity (and to a larger extent, consumers of American culture across the globe):

- No sissy stuff
- Be a big wheel
- Be a sturdy oak
- Give 'em hell

Kimmel (1994) argues that these rules contain the elements of the definition of what classic American masculinity represents. This rough guideline of American masculinity is exemplary of the social pressures and standards which men feel obliged to meet. More importantly it defines a set of opposite ends which must be avoided with ever. More importantly it defines a set of opposite ends which must be avoided with every morsel of willpower. It is further claimed that failure to embody these rules is a source of men's confusion and [psychological] pain (Kimmel, 1994). The first tenet is indicative of the perceived threat of homosexuality and subordinates the role of women as the inferior alternative. Phrases such as 'you hit like a girl', 'crying is for wimps', and 'real men don't drink pink drinks' seek to devalue and demean any feminine identity. Moreover it constructs the realm of feminity through a male-oriented viewpoint, placing the men behind a one-way mirror looking at their female counterparts. The second tenet is of particular interest to the author and is discussed in depth at a later stage of this thesis, but basically it refers to the outward display of success, money, and power. The third tenet refers to masculinity being dependent on the ability to remain calm in crises, and keep one's emotions at bay (David & Brannon, 1976). The final tenet refers to a typology of masculinity that is associated with outward displays of aggression and risk taking. This is more commonly seen in stereotypical portrayals of men in action movies, and the like.

If a man should be so unlucky as to find himself in a subordinate position then he will seek to rectify that situation by attempting to attain the hegemonic norm (Connell, 1995). This means that instead of trying to challenge the social order, the easier way is to confirm its status by participating in its existence. It becomes a viscous circle of oppression contra repression. Anderson (2005) argues that this line of masculinity can branch into two forms: orthodox

masculinity and inclusive masculinity. These forms appear more strongly in a feminized arena. With regards to what he considers as orthodox masculinity, i.e. maintaining the status quo, Anderson (2005: 339) writes:

These identity management techniques might include: (1) being homophobic, (2) devaluing femininity, (3) increasing masculine bravado, and (4) claiming masculine space within the larger feminized arena.

This indicates that tensions exist between more traditional forms of masculinity and contemporary forms[10], and mediation is most often dealt away with in favour of dominance. It almost seems as though it as an autonomic response to a perceived psychological attack (Anderson, 2002; Connell, 1987). A study of male cheerleaders reveals that even in a traditionally female-oriented space male cheerleaders who exhibit orthodox masculinity justify their participation in the sport by infusing it with traditional male characterisations, still holding on to beliefs that their inclusion is based upon factors such as male strength (for carrying smaller female cheerleaders), and having the opportunity of being in the company of beautiful young women (Anderson, 2005) The cheerleaders who participated in the orthodox masculinity group where shown to uphold the four tenets and ostracize any individuals who failed to comply with these standards (Anderson, 2005). Interestingly enough it was shown that male cheerleaders who were accepting of homosexual status saw their acceptance as no threat to their ideas of masculinity, with some even attending gay clubs and performing traditionally female dance moves (Anderson, 2005). In this largely feminized arena it was surprising to find that even those who came from traditional backgrounds with a strong dislike for homosexual behaviour changed their attitudes upon regular interactions with homosexual people. Thus a new identity is formed, that of the metrosexual: a heterosexual man who is self-aware of his emotions, fashion sense, and behaves in a manner that would otherwise be attributed to gay men (Hyman, 2004). In a transformative cultural setting where individualism takes precedence metrosexuality is becoming a frequent occurrence. Arguments about individualism aside, it is now seen that men in Westernised societies adopt a narcissistic trait to their personality.

Therefore, the composition of the masculine is most often perceived of in absolute terms seemingly creating a sense of turmoil in those who not only aspire to these ideals, but also among those who have to constantly monitor themselves in relation to other men (Connell,

[10] That, in themselves, seem to operate as silos wherein further tensions are experienced

1995; Kimmel, 1994). This continual self-monitoring has been shown to be a pervasive feature of hegemonic masculinity; one which leads to identity management techniques in a wide variety of contexts.

2.4. Media Masculinity.

Masculine alternatives are now widely promoted by various sects of the public, but with the consistent publication of magazines companies can ensure that while they create a product the magazine can sell the lifestyle. It is a symbiotic partnership that has been thriving for decades, and continues to shape the lives of consumers every day. Perhaps the rise of consumerism can be attributed to a capitalistic outlook which begets individualism and value of the self above all. Whether or not this is the case what has become apparent is the need for a media discourse. Contrary to what Fiske (1989) argues the term culture has become an overarching monolith which comprises a set of all attitudes, moulding the ways in which we see ourselves and the outer world.

We therefore have a culture of masculinity built on the appeal of an aesthetic value, men have built fortitude in accordance with industrial materialism but it has become crucial in understanding a male social experience. In the *Narrative Construction of Social Reality* Stuart Hall (quoted in Fiske 1998: 1268) states "A set of social relations obviously requires meanings and frameworks which underpin them and hold them in place". Fiske (1989) provides us with a cogent dissection of this quote by arguing that meanings of social experience and meanings of the self are all part of the same cultural process. What this can be taken to mean, with a significant degree of accuracy, is that the world is no longer a vacuum external to the self which sets the basis for objective experience. The world has no become a projection of our innermost desires, extending ideas and replicating them in social interactions. This is how hegemony spreads: in accordance with the shared thoughts of the collective.

The power of the collective is most obviously seen on television, from the large screens at home to the even larger screens in theatre, from the billboards available for leisurely viewing in hellacious traffic, to the personal spaces where one enjoys one's magazine. In some cases it even becomes more of an invasive feature of our lives, television programmes interrupted at regular intervals for commercial breaks or containing promotions within the programme itself. In the more modern era the internet has become an integral part of society, yet our

online activities and internet links are punctuated with large icons leading to many sites selling products of a questionable nature, websites themselves being a conduit for on-going promotions in real-time. Even more recently mobile application developers have taken to providing free trials/versions of their applications available for download in the 'App stores', but rarely can one use it for even five minutes without an advertisement being broadcast across the screen. Thus advertising is a long-running process which marketers have used to widely distribute their products to the public arena.[11]It can potentially create dissociation with reality as movies, magazines; even toys display a male body which has a flawless steely exterior while the personality of the male is flawlessly unemotional yet sexually desirable to the opposite sex. In reality it has been shown that women prefer a lean looking male with higher levels of emotional expression (Frederick & Haselton, 2003). Yet the men in male publications promote an image which has been formed exclusively by other men. This may represent the so-called retaliation to feminism by men choosing to redefine a masculine identity to dominate a subordinate male form and possibly even reclaim dominance over females. It is not without question that this comment may be controversial and even offend however the issues need to be raised based on the observations available to the enquiring eye.

Masculinity has now become a brand especially in publications such as *Men's Health* (Alexander, 2003). This entails that it can be subject to consumerism; if you do not possess it then you can buy it BUT only with a selection of products from this magazine, and only through buying this publication can you learn how to be a modern-day male. The hegemony is then expressed as a fetish broadening the realms in which masculinity can manifest itself.

In the article "Buyer's Guide Muscle at Any Cost" (December 2000), readers are guided through the process of creating a home gym. Three levels of "workouts" are provided, $100, $1,000, and $10,000. For each budget level, specific equipment is pictured along with a price and a contact number.

(Alexander, 2003: 545).

This is an adequate depiction of the relationship that exists between magazine writers and product marketers; in here they are working in tandem to literally sell a lifestyle. Masculinity is attainable through consumerism, magazines perpetuate this ideal. Alexander (2003) calls

[11] For the purposes of this research, advertising will be given focus, and the broader issue to be considered is how these adverts shape male masculinity (both how the male consumer sees oneself and how they see other males). Masculinity is a product in itself, and the idea continues to sell to most men seeking to 'improve' their lives by being the man the media wants them to be.

this modality of advertising 'covert advertising' in which product placement is worked into an article and readers are not only advised on what they can purchase but they are told where they can buy it from. Advertising this way may make the product appear in a relatively naturalised setting with the reader almost noticing the description in a nondescript way. Throughout the magazine issues a vast majority of adverts-80%, for clothing and automobiles occur in the primary spots of inside-cover, back cover and inside back cover (Anderson, 2003). In some respects the fashion equates with the inclusive masculinity ideal however details were not provided on the content of Men's Health with regards to homosexuality and feminism.

2.5. Metrosexuality: a new masculinity.

2.5.1. Men and Fitness.

It was popularly claimed that men spend 99% of their waking hours thinking about sex; however, it can now be equally claimed that many more men are thinking about themselves. Pope, Philips, and Olivardia (2000) have backed up that claim with research which leads to the conclusion that the men in contemporary westernised societies are intensely focused on the presentation of their bodies (particularly with regards to muscularity). A male respondent in one of their studies stated that his thinking:

…would have something to do with either my weightlifting, my diet, or the way I look. I can't go past a mirror without posing just for a minute to check out my body-as long as I'm sure nobody's watching. I even check myself out when I see my reflection in a store window or car window…Sometimes when I'm in a restaurant, I even study my reflection in the back of a spoon.

(Pope, Philips, & Olivardia, 2000: 9).

This quote raises research avenues which are well worth exploring, but it all begins by asking the question: why do men in present society feel the need to focus on themselves so extensively? The answer from Pope et al. (2000) is informed by the formation of what they call the 'Adonis Complex'. Historically we find ourselves traveling back once again to Ancient Greece to explain the origins of this concept. In "The Beauty of the Beast: Male Body Imagery in Anthropological perspective" Gilmore (1994) investigates societies in which male bodies are the objects of desire (for both males and females). Females use an

ideal male body as a barometer for partner preference, this puts pressure on the males who use this ideal as an object of their own desire- a goal they wish to attain and maintain. Greece has many time-tested statues, homoerotic art and literature. In all these captures the male form which represented the ideal. The thought spread from the Greek culture to Western Christian civilizations over time. Mid-century Europe saw men adorning themselves with powdered wigs, gold jewellery, high-heeled boots and perfume; these were a symbol of the elite society and highest of ownership (Gilmore, 1994). Thus we can see with empiricist observation the spread of a hegemonic masculinity with the mechanism of time, masculinity followed on from the dominant social order but nearly always exaggerates its features leading the men of the time in an unending race, or leading them to define a new more relevant masculine identity.

In today's society we witness a return to the idolisation of the male body form. A crusade has swept over many westernised cultures which demonises the form of the fat, skinny, or undeveloped, now we have many recommended dietary allowances and body mass index standards; these are all conveyed through the lens of the media and widely informs the public as to what the accepted forms are taken to be. Muscled men with minimal clothing are becoming more frequent in adverts with Pope (quoted in Eaken, 2000: 19) stating that "the percentage of ads depicting undressed men rose sharply, from less than 5% in 1950 to as much as 35% in the 90's". This is hardly surprising due to rise of media influence as detailed in the above-mentioned discussion. The naked male torso has become an obsession to put on display irrespective of whether females actually find these attributes attractive or not. It is therefore an ideal typically associated with men, a masculine opposition to the feminine wave with some arguing:

As women have entered the workforce and become heads of families, men have had to relinquish their traditional roles as fathers, soldiers and breadwinners…which leaves their bodies as the only way to demonstrate their masculinity

(New York Times, 2000: 60).

Perhaps it is not justifiable to blame feminist conscientiousness for the decline in male confidence; rather we may say that historical male dominance over women was merely an expression of a long-held masculine insecurity. These are all, of course, psychological assumptions, but the situation remains one with psychological implications. As stated earlier men who uphold orthodox masculinity in feminized arenas tend to exclude them from

transformative social discourse and remain fixed with non-relative ideas. It is not to say that their orthodox beliefs are incorrect, the content of beliefs changes over time but the nature stays the same: if a dominant belief establishes a hegemonic order than any deviation from that is met with abhorrent response. The issues which are relevant today have become entrenched through feminism and inclusive masculinity, and the media has played its role in securing these tendencies. The Adonis Complex epitomizes of current the ideal masculine form, nowhere is it more widely seen than in magazines.

Frederick, Fessler, and Haselton (2004) concluded that there is a clear disconnect that exists between what is shown in male magazines and female magazines. This disconnect exists with regards to the portrayal of the ideal male form in female publications such as *Cosmopolitan* and male publications such as *Men's Health.* The results showed that male magazines portray the male form substantially more muscular than the male models in female magazines. Men tend to overestimate muscle content in terms of attractiveness then what females actually desire (Frederick et al, 2004). This is consistent with the earlier claim that men seek the attainment of the ideal more for themselves than anybody else, it almost seems as females are contingent to the purpose. *Men's Health* has an 85% majority of male readership representing an overwhelming popularity in middle-class, college educated males between the ages of 18 and 44 (Alexander, 2003). This basically shows that it targets teenagers entering into adulthood and stays with them most of their adult lives. One can then determine that the magazine is a lifestyle companion and this feature of modern-day living is not only exclusive to male magazines (which are actually more of a recent phenomenon) but female magazines as well (Media Mark Research, 1999). Men's bodies are being used to promote a new way of 'healthy' living, hence the name of the publication, and are increasingly influential in determining the population group's life choices. Frederick et al (2004) argue that the body is becoming a competitive arena transmorphing the idea of 'survival of the fittest' into a tangible concept. Males strive for the 'Adonis Complex' in order to edge other competing males in the attainment of this masculine ideal. Bodily prestige only exists within competition in one gender therefore this places valuations by the opposite gender in the minimal import (Davidov, 2000).

2.6. Men and Sex.

The topic of men's sexuality will now be brought to the fore with regards to the portrayal of the object in the media. Sex and its body parts have been broadcast across many media outlets in the past few decades. What was once taboo and in the realm of the private is now a business with the products to match. It is not uncommon to turn on the television and stumble upon a scene where two lovers (usually a heterosexual pair) are sharing a passionate kiss before undressing each other (delicately or in frenzied anticipation) at which point the scene fades to black. Even in teen (and sometimes 'tween') shows there is a continued acceptance of the normativity of kissing and romantic relationships.

In keeping with the research topic the main question can be posed as to what is the role that men seem to play in all of this? Previous studies have looked at the relationship between male and female sexual relations and how this may relate to male dominance and role expectations (Holoway, 1984; Hunter, 2002). These have focused on phallic symbols and power in the context of maleness. Polygamy, sexually transmitted diseases, feminism and sexual abuse can all be brought into mind by these topics and indeed they are relevant, but another author has decided to look at the issue from another perspective but still within the broader framework of power.

Wilbraham (1996) took to the women's lifestyle magazine *Femina* and decided to conduct a text analysis on the content in the magazine. Her focus lay in the Advice Column (AC) section more popularly known as the Agony Aunt letters. These are the forums where the public (at least readers of the publication) can send in their most pertinent and embarrassing letters and seek advice from the Agony Aunt to provide wisdom and insight into the problem. In the classical sense the Agony Aunt is seen more of as a matriarch with the proverbial listening ear and life experience to inform their advices. Issues could range from marital problems to child-rearing and friend relationships, whatever it was Agony Aunt was sure to have a good answer.

The focus started to change in the magazine context and rather than seeking the common-sense wisdom of our dear old aunt, one would rather trust in the opinions of professionals within the field (Wilbraham, 1996). It is now most often the case that magazines publish advice columns written by 'experts' on the topics, people who have spent years in study and practice and are therefore assumed to provide neutral yet scientific advice. Doctor David

Delvin is one such expert. A certified ‘sexpert’ and author of over 25 books Delvin is a gynaecologist at the ready to provide sound advice pertaining to all women’s sexual issues ('Dear readers', Femina, [August]1990). His appearance is of an assertive yet cheerful older white male, the classical look of a medical doctor. It is noted that Delvin usually gives out his advice in a straightforward manner yet still maintaining humour with his audience, one female reader complained that her husband fell asleep after sex, Delvin responds:

If you stress to your husband that you really want him to stay awake and 'finish you off, I’m sure he'll try. The alternative is to buy a vibrator - you never know the buzzing may wake him up!

('Finishing touches', *Femina*, [March] 1991: 131)

It is clear that Delvin has established a friendly rapport with his female audience and this seems to have encouraged them to write more letters to him and engage with his humour. Altman (2006) argues that use of humour masks compliance. By looking at the issue in a light-hearted manner it can strip away the core focus of the issue and encourage people to participate in a much easier mode.

There are a few caveats that Wilbraham (1996) warns us about regarding this seemingly happy marriage between Delvin and his female audience. For all his medico-sexual knowledge and scientific expertise Delvin still makes implicit assumptions about the nature of sexuality and the deviance from the ideal. His advice columns are always predicated on the knowledge that men and women having sex with each other is a natural setting and more acceptable is married men and women engaging in these activities. It was even remarked at the apparent strangeness of a woman being sexually aroused by two homosexual men getting intimate with one another (*Femina*, [August] 1991). Therefore Delvin normalizes the content of his advice and pathologizes that which deviates from it. His knowledge is interpreted in terms of power relations as he (as the possessor of knowledge and therefore the powerful) holds the answers to what will make women more sexually satisfied. In this case Delvin is the liberator of female sexuality while covertly imparting his ideas with an agreeable and trusting public:

Disturbingly, gender differences in sexual desire are presented as 'facts'. This underlines the patriarchal, heterosexist tone which pervades Delvin's AC. Vagina-penis sex is valorised; heterosexual oral sex is permissible; and masturbation is a legitimate activity, till the next

suitable man comes along, or as 'a finishing touch' to penetrative vaginal sex. The implied presence of a 'he' and a 'she', as two halves of a normative heterosexual unit, is evident in all the examples from Delvin's AC in this article

(Wilbraham, 1996: 59).

Psychoanalytically (and perhaps even literally) the male penis is powerful and the female vagina is inadequate. Wilbraham (1996) argues that Delvin even uses euphemisms to appeal to a female public while using more colloquial terms in the same topics in magazine's such as Playboy i.e. 'giving head' or 'blow-job' in Playboy is rephrased as 'fellatio' in Femina.

It can also be made the case that it is not only women's sexual problems that tend to dominate magazine advice columns. Anderson (2003) noted that 10% of every *Men's Health* issue is dedicated to sexual advice. Anderson's interpretation is that men harbour a vast majority of anxieties related to sexual performance but they are too embarrassed to actually go to the doctor's office with these complaints. The safety of the sexpert columns in magazines allows the writer to send their issues anonymously and receive advice for their various problems.

Therefore the male isn't the sole proprietor of power; sex columns in men's magazines are written by popular sexologists Doctors Eve and Ruth on a regular basis. Perhaps this has reframed the ways in which men think about sexual relations with women, correcting an arguably long-standing malignant thinking pattern. It must also be observed that Wilbraham made her critique in the decade of the 90's and it has been close to twenty years since. Nowadays information is easily readable on the internet by accessing a veritable database of information. The omniscient search engine Google also answers nearly all questions requested by the searcher. This changes the landscape of knowledge since the days of the 90s, also setting the stage for a much more liberalised and tolerant sexual outlook, this seems to link with the discussed themes on metrosexuality and orthodox/inclusive masculinity dichotomy.

2.7. Emergence of black middle class.

The portrayal of masculinity is not a recent phenomenon and is certainly by no means exclusive to Western publications. Masculinity is a cross-cultural phenomenon which has conceptions well within the South African context. The media has played an important role in reinforcing the status quo of the times. Clowes (2006) analysed the discourses of media masculinity and found that the focus shifted as hegemonic ideals imposed their influence. This was largely broadcast through the apparatus of media, and the most influential magazine of the time was the *African Drum* publication.

2.7.1 In Drum.

Now simply known as *Drum*, the magazine had a readership comprised of Africans and was also written and compiled by African authors (Clowes, 2006). The content of the magazine comprises a dearth of masculine attitudes, portraying (as is the case today) what it means to be considered a make in society. The interesting point is regarding the role of family in the African male's conception of masculinity; the primacy was given to the way in which a male took care of his family (Clowes, 2006). This was in apparent contrast to magazines which marketed to a 'white' audience such as *Outspan* and *Femina*, where the white male was typically seen as the individualistic breadwinner returning home to a domesticated wife and almost separate family. The images being portrayed were of proud nurturing fathers playing an active role in child-rearing, so important was this feature of a man's life that it was even depicted as affecting his work performance! Yet the images began to change in the late 1950s:

Changes in advertisements could be attributable to changes in the South African advertising industry. In the 1950s, the industry was beginning to recognize the growing significance of the urban black market, and to professionalize. These elements were combined in research projects exploring the relationships between black consumers and the advertising industry and reinforced through the recruitment of black men into white-owned advertising firms

(Clowes, 2006: 113).

It is unsurprising that tides began to change as the hegemonic masculine identity began to infiltrate African culture. The ideal was the white-male form, a working upper-class man with

capitalistic[12] priorities. It is interesting to see once again how advertising sells the lifestyle to consumers.

Ratele (2013) noted that the middle-class members of this group uphold egalitarian ideals, and in light of apartheid the process of self-creation is still in its infancy. This is unsurprising due to the wide range of socioeconomic issues which pertain to these value judgements, but the result has led to an individualistic outlook with a strong Westernised influence.

This leads us to the purpose of the current study which will be a primary content analysis on the advertisements presented in *Destiny Man* magazine, and perhaps as the research unfolds in due course more elements may be explored.

As outlined earlier the black male middle class began to take shape in the 1950s. Thematic analysis by done by Clowes (2006) was in a chapter which formed part of a book on fatherhood in the South African context. In the same publication Prinsloo (2006) looked at the media representations of fatherhood in South Africa and posed the question: where have all the fathers gone? This questions is not solely restricted to the South African reader but it also analyses the media representations (or non-representations) of fathers worldwide.

Feminist and media scholars have considered how the media privilege the discourse of hegemonic masculinity (Mulvey, 1989; Weedon, 1987; Van Zoonen, 1988). This image has chained over the years but Prinsloo (2006) argues that the public domain represents the patriarch as a dominant solitary influential figure while not engaging with the private sphere of familial relations. Men cannot dominate the world with a family behind them, they must engage in this mission alone to prove their masculinity. While not overtly stated the public sphere is constructed in a manly way: production, public discourse, and even rationality have been presumably pioneered by the ideas of men while the private setting of family and domestic issues has been reserved for the 'natural care' women display. This naturalization is illusory as Prinsloo points out 'discourses of gender and social justice challenge such binary distinctions in parental functions' (2006: 135).

Prinsloo (2006) turns to how men are represented as fathers in certain parts of the media. In movies men are solitary, usually unmarried and rarely ever with children. In television shows, most commonly sitcoms, men are portrayed as fathers with good intentions but bad outcomes. These disastrous results are presented in a comedic fashion, men stumbling about

[12] This section is explored in depth at a later point in this thesis

hopelessly making mistakes with their wives and children before solving the problem (with the help of the mother) by the end of the show. It seems then that even within these framed contexts men in the home are 'unnatural' as displayed by the frequent mishaps they experience; however in the work place they rarely put a foot wrong. These scenes are nearly always in American sitcoms which receive mass syndication in South Africa. But the relevance lies in the consumption of these images and the previously-stated compliance through humor. This entrenches the normativity of these events on a daily (at least 3 times daily) basis, while movies show men taking on tough challenges alone and beating the bad guys in the end. Nair (1999) proposes that this macho-masculine portrayal had visible effects on underage combatants growing up in Kwazulu-Natal. The character 'John Rambo' from the popular *Rambo* movie franchise served as a proxy father for young boys growing up in poverty circumstances where their own fathers where emasculated by deprivation. Rambo was a fictional character who rose above insurmountable odds with literally no assistance from anybody else (at least in the first film). Perhaps this serves as a cog in the ever-turning wheel of individualistic ideology in the 21st century. The ideology seems to be at odds with the actual lived experience of most black men in South Africa. Ratele (2013) argues that black South African men occupy a unique subordinate class within hegemonic masculinity as even those who are disempowered seek to impose their dominance over others whom they deem to be subordinate. Traditional ideologies have a strong foothold amongst young black men, with certain cultural groups i.e. Xhosa's and Zulu's ostracizing men whom they believe are 'softer' and not classically representative of maleness. Even in urban settings the poor, unemployed, and non-heterosexual fulfil the role of the subordinate in the hegemonic order. Those who occupy a higher socio-economic status even tend not to concern themselves with the lower socio-economic black classes. Ratele (2013) further argues that violence among black males of a lower socio-economic status is due partly to the historical conception of masculinity in the African context particularly in mines as Breckenridge (1998: 674) outlines violence in the South African mines was central to masculine self-definition in men's conflict on the mines where aggression "formed part of a very complex field of cultural practice".

Clowes (2006) analysed how the focus from fatherhood-oriented masculinity transitioned to individualistic identity in the space of a decade. The rise of the black middle class has steadily gained momentum thanks in part to economic policies on redistributing wealth in the population. This has seen more African men entering into a marketplace where they can hold positions of power over others (women and other black men). Yet even in a country with a

liberal constitution such as our own traditional conceptions of hegemonic masculinity still seem to precipitate social discourses. This places subordinate black males in powerless positions where they seem to perpetuate this hegemonic order. The middle-class black male has adopted the individualistic ideology for at least 50 years, complying with the western male-created public sphere. Media images now depict African masculinity in a similar way to the European and American identities. In the context of this research project this has significance for issues such as self-identity, aspirations, and sexuality (to name but a few).

2.8. Theoretical Framework.

The approach to analysing the corpus of texts emerged mainly from a psychoanalytic perspective[13]. To do this, the author of this thesis adopted an interpretive approach for the purposes of meaning-making. This was done in order to aid in the uncovering of inherent preconceptions.

For the author, it seems almost a natural step for one to think of *Destiny Man* magazine much in the same way that one can look at dreams[14]. Comparable to dreams, one can think of the media as a fiction, a product of the mind that is based on reality, but not necessarily true. The counterargument runs in the direction of the media presenting as objective a view as it can allow, allowing the consumer to make a well-informed and constructive decision based on the facts. Yet, it is almost of undeniable quality that the media (or rather specific modes of the media) do present material in such a way that is meant to achieve an idyllic objective. The media and dreams are comparable in the way that both have some truth to tell, but it is important for the reader to interpret these before any derivation of the truth can be grasped. Images displayed in adverts and magazine spreads allow the reader to live vicariously through these, however we can read beyond these. A psychoanalytic criticism allows for one to be critical of the information that is being received. The elements that are present in these inform discourses at a psychosocial level. Particularly focusing on the language of the publication, the author is attempting to use the complex tool of psychoanalytic thinking to understand what is being written on a whole new level.

Psychoanalytic theory attempts to explain what is primarily located (directly or indirectly) in the unconscious (Freud, 1915). Freud (1915) went further to suggest that the powers that motivate humankind are *mainly* and *normally* unconscious.[15] The structural components of the mind are not at all too relevant for the discussion that is to follow, but it is worth dedicating an ultra-brief explanation as one of the overarching themes that informs the content of *Destiny Man* magazine. Freud (1915) essentially stated that the human mind is of a duality in nature, consisting of the irrational part of the psyche-the *id*, and the rational, logical

[13] Many of these will be extrapolated in the upcoming sections.
[14] Psychoanalysis is also used for the very process of dream interpretation.
[15] Literary criticism using Freudian ideas gained a rapid succession in the early twentieth century. Otto Rank (1909) and Ernest Jones (1949) both explore influential creative works within psychoanalytic lines. In taking this approach I am not positing the "French" interpretation of Freud which leads one down the Lacanian route of the function of language within the formation of the Unconscious. What I aim here on doing is to see the language *of* the Unconscious.

and conscious part-the *ego*.[16] The other crucial aspect of the psyche is really a projection of the *ego*- the *superego*. The *superego* appears located at some externality of the self, passing on moral judgements, and overall pursuing what is deemed to be worthy of good causes. In another reality sense, one can postulate that the ego is indeed "outside of the self", mirroring much of what one has learned from one's parents, institutions, and laws. The reason why it may be of import to bear this in mind is because of the replication of unconscious wishes occurring both in text and imagery. The *superego* can also be seen in light of the *editor's note*, which at many times assumes an overall voice for the publication. The cautionary admonishment to the reader of this dissertation is that while the author is explaining the content with an overall concept of the Unconscious, this is not to suggest that the manifest content in the publication is a fiction in anyway. What should be noted is that in all aspects of literature the writer is presenting a version of experience which is grounded within their own narrative. Bearing this in mind, the notion of the Unconscious comes to the fore with regards to the author of this narrative. What is written in an article is analogous to a daydream and can thus be subject to Freudian analysis, with a critical psychological understanding.

The critic can then not only understand the work, but attempt to understand the nature of the mind that produced it. In this sense, there is often an unconscious motive behind the writer producing an article. The purpose of the author of this thesis is not to interpret the individual intentions of each author as this would imply a leap into inductive reasoning, of which there is no substantive empirical evidence. The goal would be to maintain an interpretive stance that considers the functioning of *Destiny Man* magazine as an unconscious representation *in itself.* The literal surface of the work, which appears to the reader, can be articulated as its "manifest content". Much in the same way that the analyst attempts to figure out the 'thought' behind the dream, so too does the psychoanalytic critic attempt to expose the latent/hidden, underlying content of the publication.[17]Of course what is written in the magazine must appeal or hold sway to a particular target market. The target market identifies with the magazine because there is an element of similarity within readership, and furthermore there exists the unconscious defense of idealisation in the reader:

[16] In *A Psychoanalytic Study of the Double in Literature* (1970), Robert Rogers extends on the view of human beings existing as double or multiple in nature (i.e. the duality is not only within the Unconscious but also within the human condition in itself). He argues that within literature, writers often reveal dissociated parts of themselves within the creation of their characters. This process is actually done without the awareness of the writer

[17] Freud (1900) discusses two mental processes that take place as the mind attempts to disguise its wishes and fears in dream stories. *Condensation* refers to multiple thoughts or people being condensed into a single entity or image/person within a dream, while *displacement* refers to anxieties and fears being displaced unto another

"What draws us as readers to a text is the secret expression of what we desire to hear, much as we protest we do not. The disguise must be good enough to fool the censor into thinking that the text is respectable, but bad enough to allow the unconscious to glimpse the unrespectable"

(Wright, 1982: 117).

Political opinions and editor's comments are the foundation of the overall ideological desire of the magazine. At this stage of the proposed analysis it becomes imperative for one to discuss the intersecting themes of race, culture, identity, and gender, all specifically geared towards an interpretation within the single function of the unconscious. South African representations (or performances) of masculinity are important for helping one to understand the space that men occupy within a diverse media landscape. In the early 1950s Clowes (2006) showed that urban African fathers were portrayed as having close personal relationships and familial responsibilities. From the 1960s onwards African fathers became increasingly absent in the household and African men were seen as having little or no emotional or physical attachments to their families (Clowes, 2006). The nature of these changes is still most likely up for debate, but perhaps one may argue that the changes which were taking place on a micro-level mirrored a Western discourse that was occurring in a much wider societal level.

It has been argued that in the current South African context changes in the discourses of masculinity may have been brought about by the wave of feminism and democratisation that has influenced South Africa (Cockcroft, Schneider, and Hook, 2008). Explored from this angle one may take the view that these are 'issues' that have affected masculinity in South Africa. From this angle, masculinity appears to be under threat and must be protected against from the feminine attackers. Restructuring and changes in the division of labour have reshaped both the professional and domestic spheres. The ideological stance would state that such a change in the economy was long overdue, and initiating this process will lead to a more equal representation across the gender line. Greig (2009) has labelled this stage of masculinity as being in an 'anxious' state. The reason why it is so anxiety-provoking is because of the historical structural inequalities that hegemonic masculinity benefitted from. This restructuring has the potential to destabilise the currently-held notion of a patriarchal order. Where previously it could have been the case that men could displace the frustrations

of the economy onto their wives[18] and enact their repressed freedom as domineering and controlling, it is now the case that the women's economic independence and increased personal and sexual freedom has led to an 'unmanning' and emasculation (Yeoh &Willis, 1999). It could perhaps be framed more eloquently in this way:

"Men's falling fertility rates; increasing impotency; the flight from women; more turning gay; enhanced morbidity and mortality rates in relation to various diseases; higher rates of accident in the workplace and in motor vehicles; a proclivity for domestic and sexual violence; overindulgence in drugs and alcohol; and increasing problems among young men in relation to alienation and suicide."

(Greig, 2009: 3)

From a psychoanalytic perspective the author can surmise from this that men had habitually used certain defenses to protect them from perceived threats. However, as the economy began to change the influence of hegemonic masculinity began to dwindle and these [originally deployed] defenses began to fail. Men then began to feel anxiety that was due to being thrust into this unfamiliar position, and new defenses began to emerge. The above-mentioned quote displays how the female figure, which was once possessed and controlled, has now triumphed over their oppressors so much so that traditional hegemonic masculinity has begun to flee from this new powerful force. [19] The anxiety that has been brought about by these changes can be seen as emerging from a problematic masculinity (Greig, 2009). This has wrought a near-pathological trend in an already problematic masculine ideal, ultimately leading to an inflexible identity. This 'crisis' intersected with the racial discrimination that was taking place in South Africa during the apartheid era. Forms of discrimination which were not limited to political and legal biases, entreated African men to a different form of emasculation which was legitimised by powerful white men (Morrell, 2001). Thus, this intersection serves to add to the complexity of the 'crisis' especially in South Africa; the 'crisis' of masculinity relates to the anxious state that men find themselves in.

[18] The main reason why females are being chosen as the domestic figures is not to entail some inherent methodological tool of discrimination in this research. It is merely to typify the hegemonic male experience before the 'threat' of feminisation.

[19] A cautionary word should be heeded to for one to accept this interpretation regarding the emergence of new defences: it is not to suggest that female emancipation is the root cause of these trends. Rather, the anxiety that has emerged from a changing order has invoked the feelings of alienation and depression.

2.9. Conclusion.

The primary aim of this chapter was to briefly introduce the reader to the concept of masculinity. This was done by making reference to the overall theme of hegemonic masculinity, as well as the portrayals of aspects of masculinity in various print media publications.

Chapter Three

Methodology

3.1. Introduction.

The aim of this chapter is to set out the methodological approach undertaken in the multimodal analysis of *Destiny Man* magazine. This chapter will present the aim of this research study and the methodological approach utilized. It will present the corpus of texts that was selected and will set out, in detail, the method used for data collection along with the process of how the data was analysed. This chapter also provides the theoretical framework that informed the choice of methods and the approach to interpreting the data.

3.2. Research Design.

The research design utilized is of a mixed-methods nature. The quantitative component of the design is based on some descriptive statistics employed in the data analysis process. The initial phase involved recording the frequency of content in both articles and advertisements. A portion of these are described in the sectional component of the discussion. This point is related to the types of themes occurring in each respective component of the research with the generation of the topic as a whole. It involves a frequency count of certain types of advertisements and articles.

The next function falls to the qualitative role. This method was chosen because an analysis of the text would need an interpretation of an inductive nature. The qualitative design is also suffused with meaning gleaned from the researcher's point of view which entails that themes identified are based on the researcher's theoretical backing.

The qualitative design is useful for going in-depth with the data and extrapolating useful concepts for further clarification. As the researcher holds an emic view of the topic, qualitative research can prove useful in explaining the researcher's experience of investigating the topic itself. The scope of the research lay broadly on the issue of masculinity, with a specific focus on its representation in the magazine. This would entail a closer look at the data which is entirely capable with this design.

3.3. Corpus of texts.

The corpus of texts used was accessed directly from *Destiny Man* Magazine. In this publication numerous advertisements and articles were accessed but not all of them were

analysed. Therefore select articles and advertisements were chosen in the initial collection phase, and these all came from the numerous 2014 publications.

3.4. Procedure.

The procedure for this research firstly involved collecting the data to be analysed. This was done by purchasing physical copies of the 2014 issues of the magazine. In the analysing of the data, the procedure maintained identifying the main themes and sub-themes of the selected articles and advertisements. They were coded according to their content and analysed in an interpretive manner.

3.5. Tools of analysis.

The primary tool of analysis in this study is the researcher. How the researcher made meaning of the data provided the direction which the research took. The researcher provided his own interpretation of the visual and textual data and extracted content which was relevant to the research topic of masculinity.

3.6. Method of Analysis.

This research utilised the multimodal discourse analysis approach. Multimodal discourse analysis is the study of the intersection and interdependence of various modalities of communication within a given context (Bateman, 2009). This allowed the researcher to uncover ideological nuances in both text and visual information. Certain advertisements were analysed according to a wide range of factors pertinent to the topic. The subthemes which evolved during the process were held to scrutiny for further implications. A multimodal discourse analysis took place on two levels:

- The level of the advertisements
- The level of the articles (text)

The research then proceeded in a three stage process. The first stage took place at the quantitative level in which content was assigned a category and then grouped according to the discretion of the researcher. The next stage involved a text analysis of the articles and advertisements. This was done on a descriptive level as well as an interpretive technique. The third stage engaged with a systemic discourse analysis. Parker's (1992) preliminary steps in his deconstructive guidelines involve demarcating texts, as pieces of broader discourse turned into objects for examination; and then exploring the discourses 'at work' in these texts. It is at

this level that the integration of theory took place and the research questions are successfully engaged with.

Ryan and Bernard (2000) advocate that thematic coding takes place within a grounded theory. This is the base which this research is built upon; the theory is located in masculine hegemony and masculine identities, the research aims to establish to what extent these are being applied in the publication. A multimodal discourse analysis is the most suitable choice for this type of research design because of the sheer amount of data to be analysed. The issue does not lie simply with finding advertisements and interpreting them. The issue lies in the subtleties contained in each advertisement and finding a location for them in theory. Therefore the approach to this research is of an inductive nature. In a similar vein thematic formulations are based on the representations of ideas in the articles. This directed the researcher to increase the scope of topics in masculinity.

A text analysis similar in kind to Wilbraham (1996) and Alexander (2003) was executed in this study. One of the most pertinent goals of the text analysis is to interpret how each discrete component of the study related to the overall project. This can help contribute to the existing knowledge in masculinity but with relevance to South Africa it can assist in understanding the issue in a contemporary framework going forward.

In the initial stages of the research, becoming familiar with the data is crucial for going forward. Select articles and advertisements will be read and re-read in order to ascertain what the data entails, and focusing on whether there are any specific patterns or recurrent themes.

3.7. Research Questions.

The types of questions to be considered are:

- What are people doing in the adverts?
- Who is shown and who is not shown?
- What is being discussed in the articles?
- Who is mentioned in the articles?
- What are the ideological principles espoused by the magazine?

- How are issues of masculinity covered in the magazine?
- What are the discourses of masculinity in the magazine?

The topics touched on in the publication will be analysed along the discourses of masculine representation in the media. Themes in adverts and in text were organized into an overall arching theoretical perspective in support of the data. This can help make sense in understanding how it all fits together and answer the research questions in a data-driven manner. This would mean that the data has to be well supported and not too abundantly complex.

3.8. Number of Issues.

The 2014 editions of *Destiny Man* featured eight separate publications. The first four publications comprised bi-monthly issues (i.e. January-February, March-April). The last four publications featured discrete issues for each month (i.e. September, October).

3.8.1. Covers.

Overall there were eight separate covers of the 2014 editions of *Destiny Man* magazine. Six of these covers featured solitary men, and two featured two men on one cover, and three men on one cover. All 8 magazine back-covers featured advertisements of men's luxury watches. There were no children or women on any of the 2014 edition magazine covers.

3.8.2. Magazine Content.

The magazine content of *Destiny Man* magazine tends to focus on many aspects of the lifestyle of middle class South African men. While not stating it explicitly, *Destiny Man* features a large contingent of African authors and is most likely geared towards an African middle class target audience.

The specific focus of *Destiny Man* magazine is mainly on economic issues, and how to navigate the financial terrain for a successful lifestyle. Socio-economic issues such as unemployment also predominates magazine content. The magazine also emphasizes entrepreneurship, and business start-ups, with six of the eight covers making reference to these topics. *Destiny Man* magazine also mentions the South African political scene in many of the magazine's articles.

3.8.2.1 Selection Criteria.

There was no definitive criterion approach that was used in the analyses of content, simply due to the sheer vastness of the material for use. However, this does not imply that criteria selection had been down to a random process. Rather, this displays the flexibility needed in qualitative forms of research, and how changes in content produce more avenues for the researcher to explore. The main coding themes that were used as guiding lines in selection criteria were

(a) Racial topics
(b) Political content
(c) Gender and sexuality issues, and
(d) Magazine content that had a specific focus on the impact of economics on African masculinities.

3.8.3. Images.

Thus, the interpretive direction that this thesis takes will inform the reader of the manifest and latent content. With reference to the images used, these are included in-text, and not as appendices in order to maintain the flow of the argument. The visual aspect of this thesis adds to the richness of the text, and allows for links to be made between what is being read, and what is being seen.

3.8.4. Number of Articles.

On the whole, the author of this thesis performed a literary analysis of 35 articles using psychoanalytic concepts within a psycho-social, and psycho-political framework.

3.8.5. Number of Images.

The visual richness of this research was presented by analysing signifiers of 54 images found in *Destiny Man* magazine. The latent meaning(s) behind these images were explored and their respective implications were thoroughly discussed.

3.9. Use of footnotes.

The use of footnotes in this thesis serves a two-fold process. Firstly, they enable the reader to be aware of alternate authors, and different readings that may assist in exploring different aspects of the formulation. Secondly, they serve as reflexive entries for the author. This

means that as the author free associates with the data, certain thoughts may come across the mind that may be of assistance in relevance to the research. The reader then has the chance to engage with the material in a much more meaningful way.

3.10. Ethical Considerations.

The data is in the public domain which entails that it is open to interpretation. Therefore any opinions and interpretive attitudes expressed will not compromise any participants as none are involved. A way to resolve any ethical dilemmas resulting from this type of research design is the use of a reflexivity journal (Creswell, 2007). The reflexivity journal is important for use in cases when the researcher is the tool of analysis. It helps the researcher to be aware of all implications of their research, and seems to be especially useful when helping to interpret the data. Auerbach and Silverstein (2003) recommend keeping a log of concerns with the research, theoretical framework, central research questions and any other major issues. An analytic memo will also be utilised. This type of instrument is more related to the thinking process behind the data interpretation (Saldana, 2009).

In sum, all ethical considerations were considered.

3.11. Limitations of the study.

The researcher experienced a number of limitations during the course of this study. Principally among these was time. Due to time constraints the study was not given the full level of analysis required, however that which was gleaned from this research process is sufficiently in-depth.

The researcher also experienced slight difficulties in the embedding of images in-text; because of this, some images appear to be slightly different in size and quality than others.

This research only looked at the 2014 issues of *Destiny Man* magazine. If possible, a meta-analysis may have been conducted of issues from the year 2009 (the year of the birth of *Destiny Man*).

3.12. Conclusion.

The purpose of this chapter was to discuss the methodological approach utilised throughout the course of this study. It outlined the research design, and the analysis of media. This chapter also introduced the research questions, as well as the limitations of the current research.

Chapter Four

Findings and Discussion

Subsection One.

4.1. Introduction.

The following section will be an in-depth discussion of the findings introduced in Chapter Four. Due to the sheer amount of data, this section is divided into three subsections. The first subsection will discuss the relation that *Destiny Man* has with neoliberal capitalism. This section will make use of deep levels of interpretation of the data. The second subsection will link *Destiny Man* and *Destiny* magazine, making reference to the separation-individuation process in establishing identity. The third subsection will explore the nature of fatherhood as represented by the magazine. Subsection four is an in-depth discussion of the psychosocial impact of black men and alcohol as represented by the magazine, while the fifth subsection explores the African *Destiny Man* participating in golf. The sixth, and final, subsection examines the representation of cars as a feature of masculinity in *Destiny Man*. All subsections make use of embedded visual data in the aid of forming interpretations. A conclusion will follow the third subsection, linking all three subsections in the process.

4.1.1 Accumulating Destiny.

Neoliberalism and Capitalism.

Destiny Man magazine espouses a common viewpoint that the accumulation of wealth, power, and influence are the hallmarks of the 21st century man. This is coupled with the seemingly solitary involvement in the rearing of children, and the domination of the romantic relationship with females. This all has elements within a neoliberal ideology that can be described as post-capitalist in production. LaMothe (2014; 23) has argued that neoliberal capitalism[20] has become a dominant social imaginary that functions as an "inverted totalitarian system" that engrains psychosocial struggles in many individuals. Accepting this view entails that one locates the *source* of psychosocial suffering at the politico-economic

[20] Categorically, there is little distinction between the two. Neoliberalism can be seen as a *type* of capitalism that is based on laissez-faire economic dysregulation of markets, and reduction in government spending that can lead to the privatisation of markets (Palley, 2004).

level; this is quite relevant to the contextual issue of South Africa over the years. This is especially true for urban African males who are attempting to gain autonomy and develop identity through economic liberation. In order for the analyst to understand this, he must come to grips with contemporary South African history. LaMothe (2014) describes the spectrum of his patients living in lower economic societies ranging from those who grew up with difficult childhoods, to those who had good enough parents. In order to remedy their suffering these patients believed that they had to find ways to take charge of their lives[21]. Patients had internalized these tenets based on aspects of wider culture (Silva, 2013). LaMothe (2014) argues that these therapeutic narratives failed to cast a critical-eye towards the broader systemic political-economical sources of their pathologies.

These political-economic realities serve to enforce a certain ethic that is omnipresent in neoliberal capitalism.[22] Neoliberal capitalism has perfected the art of manipulating the human psyche on a mass societal level, shaping public opinion and dominant ideologies. *Destiny Man* plays into this trend by reproducing the narrative that black males must emerge from adverse circumstances to become economic powerhouses. While the stories of emerging from these circumstances are intended to be inspiring for those wishing to achieve success, it is the very definition of that success and the social implications of reproducing it that tends to become problematic.

Problematizing this, to effect, requires one to critically engage with some of the principles by which neoliberal capitalism is predicated on. One of these is Smith's classic notion that the market is guided by the rationality of the "invisible hand" where an individual can maximize their self-interest by matching supply with demand, thus increasing their own wealth (Hendricks, 2011). In other words, the measure of wealth for an individual is by the quantity of assets that the individual owns, the individual comes to own assets by owning the means of production (i.e. labour and machinery), and owning more of these leads to higher levels of control, for example monopolies[23], and higher reproductive value.

[21] Among other 'corrections' that included '*coming to terms with their childhoods',* and '*improving their self-esteem'.*

[22] The historical roots of this are not only based in psychology, but in critical theory in general. Sociology has provided a more exhaustive account of this motive. Max Weber's (1905) brilliant seminal work *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* is a profoundly illuminating piece on the societal pathology of suffering. He argues that Calvinists are willing to pursue profit in its own right, and see this as a sign of virtue. They believe that their destiny is preordained and suffering for the attainment of profit is a virtuous act.

[23] Classic capitalism does not protect individuals from the domination of monopolies. Neoliberal capitalism attempts to this by embracing the rise of corporatism.

In order to make sure that the market is not subject to manipulation and control the neoliberal capitalist must assume that the "invisible hand" is rational in itself, and choosing to accept that "the hidden hand of the market was the best device for mobilizing even the basest of human instincts such as gluttony, greed, and the desire for wealth and power for the benefit of all" (Harvey, 2005; pp. 20). Accepting this also requires the neoliberal capitalist to reject (or at the very least *minimize*) state intervention in the market. In a publication like *Destiny Man* it has often taken the position of being critical of government intervention, or most of the time has highlighted the perceived inadequacies with government (in) action and policies.

4.1.2. Unequal Measures.

Figure .1.



The above article (March-April, 2014) is an instance of such a kind. This article uses both visual and textual tools to make a point regarding the political scene in South Africa. The images depicted in the article are intended to be evocative to the reader, with pointed images of poverty and ruin in the frame. Neoliberal capitalism has the ability to exploit general tendencies in the unconscious human mind, and enact a particular action. The partisan politics in South Africa can, on the surface, seem to divide public opinion and political sway. One might hypothesize that the manifest content is thus; political affiliation to one particular party at one particular time produces change in the sense that party A is not party B. Therefore party B can bring about change in a way that party A could not. This can be done by using the media as a means in achieving an end. In this case, by showing pictures of a sleeping president and sleeping parliamentary officials literally brings to life the adage "sleeping on the job". While the president sleeps, the country is [presumably] falling to ruins, and the lesser-known parties come into prominence. The political undercurrents are also displayed in the imagery, serving as a reminder to the racial politics in black South Africa. In contrast to the African National Congress (ANC), a picture is included which shows a demonstration where the flag of former liberation movement AZAPO (Azanian People's Organization) is held. Inspired by tenets of Black Consciousness philosophies developed by Biko (2002), the flag of the party is also synonymous with the Black Power movements of the 1960s (Ogbar, 2005). Thus, these elements may suggest that the political tensions in South Africa are underpinned by African liberation discourses, and notions of blackness in post-1994 South Africa. At a latent societal level, it may also indicate that the experience of blackness is different for different classes of people. The ANC holds the majority of parliamentary seats, while AZAPO has only one (IEC, 2014). Explaining this decline would have to take into account the psycho-social elements of post-apartheid South Africa. The inclusion of the opposition leader, at the time, Helen Zille[24] also juxtaposes the issues of race that are so prevalent not only in politics, but in South Africa as a whole. One questions whether voters living in conditions of poverty will ballot for a party that is quite far removed from their social context, versus a political party that has since become an international vanguard of South African liberation. It is worth noting however, that since the period of the publication of this *Destiny Man* article, Zille has been succeeded by two Africans in consecutive fashion- Lindiwe Mazibuko and (incumbent) Mmusi Maimane. One may level the criticism that this may be an attempt to garner the black middleclass vote, but even

[24] No longer politically active.

suggesting so fits into the theme of *Destiny Man* magazine, which is exclusively targeted towards such a class/racial group, and can thus be argued of reproducing content that is consistent with members of this class. Political commentaries most often are found within the domain of the middleclass, and resultant debates over social issues mirror the exclusivities of where, and when, these debates can occur. *Destiny Man* magazine has forewarned the public on the consequences of democracy, yet due to the target readership of the magazine, the message is most likely going to be preached to the converted.

The psychoanalytic concept of *denial* seems to be the most prevalent mechanism at use in the political atmosphere. Freud (1894) defined denial as blocking external events from awareness. In this case, the external can refer to the social context that citizens and non-politicians experience on a day-to-day basis. The living conditions that many of these citizens are living in are incompatible with the purpose of political pandering on the basis of social justice. In the clinical sense, if a patient experiences a situation that is too difficult to handle, they will refuse (unconsciously) to experience it (Freud, 1894). Within the present article, one could put forth that it is not the case that the economic situation is psychologically unbearable for politicians to handle, however an acknowledgement of the failures to deliver on promises may have political backlashes that would be difficult to recover from.

The unconscious desires of wish fulfillment also come to the fore (Freud, 1900). The article represents a particular state of affairs that *Destiny Man* (March-April, 2014) wishes for them to be. Thus its content was the fulfilment of a wish and its motive was a wish (Freud, 1900). In this article the motive is to present a current state of South African affairs which the writers find unsatisfactory and wish to change through evocative content. The article contrasts possibilities of voting directly for the head of state rather than a leading party. The final sentence is a quote from Grobler which states that direct election just of Ward Councilors "shows that system's problems" (pp.22). Yet with all of this the neoliberal capitalist system is never called into question and the possibility that the next elected leader could be subject to market forces that are out of her control. This is what is meant by the discussion above regarding the assumption that the "invisible hand" is rational.

LaMothe (2014) rightly points out that there are no clearly defined tenets of what neoliberal capitalism is characterized by, however one can accept the following characteristics[25]: (1)

[25] Indeed LaMothe (2014) actually calls neoliberal capitalism a '*social imaginary*' which denotes the correct assumption that it has been a societal development aimed at developing a sense of coherence and unity vis-à-

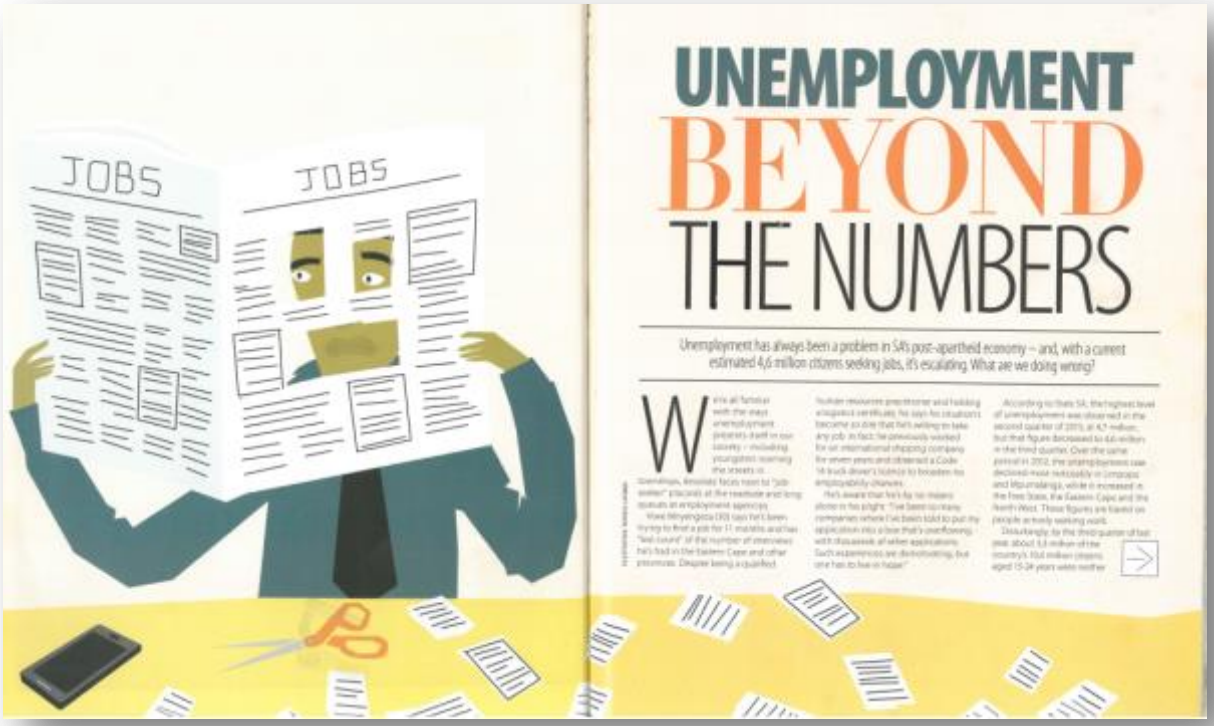
human wellbeing is measured in economic terms predicated by providing entrepreneurial freedoms to agents, (2) social goods are maximized by expanding the reach and frequency of market transactions, (3) people and resources can be commodified (Sandel, 2012), (4) there should be minimal intervention by the state lest it interfere with the "invisible hand", (5) the state actively functions to ensure private property rights, (6) entrepreneurs and the state collaborate to privatize the market (i.e. parastatals like Eskom).

It is argued by Wolin (2008) that neoliberal capitalism can best be understood as an "inverted totalitarianism" system. Whereas in classic state totalitarianism states the locus of power is underpinned by state control, inverted totalitarianism systems project this power by combining traditional government with the private systems of governance as can be represented by the modern corporation (Wolin, 2008). The accumulation of this power means that there is no clear leader of the system and different parts of this dominant social imaginary work to reinforce the 'rationality' of the neoliberal capitalism market. The proliferation of this inverted totalitarianism proliferates in most sectors of modern society, and continues a hegemonic dominance of this order. Citizens who do question the system become marginalized, serving as cautionary tales to any prospective detractors (LaMothe, 2014).

A big contributor in the construction of this dominant social imaginary is the corporate media (LaMothe, 2014). The function of the media is to broadcast the success of the system that advocates the 'rationality' of neoliberal capitalism, and allows for a complicit citizenry. For instance, while *Destiny Man* provides the voice for the critique of the current South African political governance, there is never a critique of the inverted totalitarian system *itself*. Indeed there are many textual examples that vouch for the maintaining of neoliberal capitalism. Witbooi and Dlamini (March-April, 2014) take a look at the unemployment rates in South Africa and ask the question "in SA's post-apartheid economy- and with a current estimated 4, 6 million citizens seeking jobs…What are *we* doing wrong?" (pp.32, added emphasis).

Figure 2.

vis Lacan. Cornelius Castoriadus (1975) stated that "'*the central imaginary significations of a society ... are the laces which tie a society together and the forms which define what, for a given society, is "real*"'. (as quoted in Thompson, 1984: 24).



The artwork included relies on the usage of the tribulations a job-seeker faces in South Africa. A black man worriedly peers deep into the pages of the back pages, looking for employment. The anxiety expressed in his face not only depicts a social reality, but the anxious state a *Destiny Man* experiences by not having sustained employment. As the magazine content is focused on issues of employability and economic success, it seems that even the mere mention of unemployment statistics. Since the focus is also on contemporary urban black males, the emphasis on youth is also on display.

Figure 3.



The article goes on to describe the 'multi-faceted' problem of unemployment in South Africa. By drawing on interpretations of the unemployment problem from labour market analysts, unionists, academics and entrepreneurs, the article attempts to explore solutions and causes of current unemployment rates. It is interesting to note in this article that the perspectives from the analyst, the academic, and the entrepreneur all criticize the government in some capacity or another. Sharp (the analyst) advocates a legislation revision which would make it "easier" for employers to fire "unproductive" employees, and reducing the minimum wage. The unionist (Cosatu spokesperson Patrick Craven) responds to this by imploring government to manufacture its country's own materials (as cited in *Destiny Man*, 2014). The academic Kondlo takes a more reductionist approach to unemployment in South Africa by referring the reader back to the legacy of inequality:

The South African unemployment rate is historically cumulative-it comes from the past. This is due to the fact that our economy isn't internally coherent and its products aren't intended for internal or local market, but for the external market…The people who should be blamed for unemployment are those who own the capital.

(as quoted in, *Destiny Man,* [March-April] 2014).

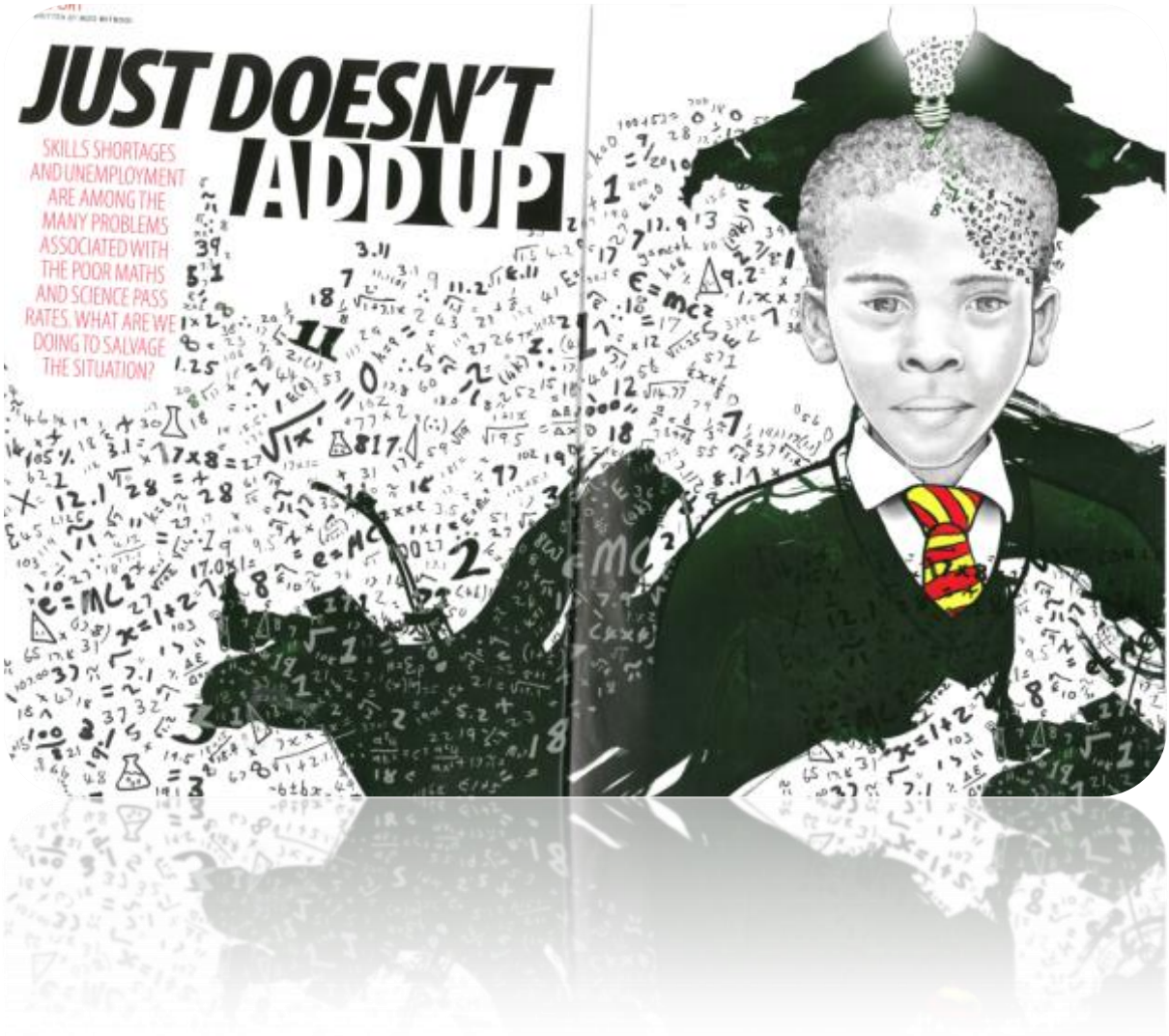
This is most likely the most measured critique of the neoliberal capitalist discourse in the 2014 *Destiny Man* publications. Kondlo accepts the historical basis of racial inequality in

South Africa, noting the structural impact on individual circumstances. Seekings and Nattrass (2002) analyzed the political-economy of South Africa and its relation to class, distribution and race in South Africa. Their argument takes into account the statutory vestiges of racial discrimination in South Africa in the post-1994 era. Although a new government was democratically elected, it inherited a vast inequality that has never been bridged (argued by some to have grown wider) since then. There are strong parallels that can be drawn between Kondlo's statements and those of Seekings and Nattrass. The main one draws on the strength that capital[26] retains due to its importance in the economy. As capital can be controlled by stakeholders and large corporations, the market can be manipulated to suit certain preferences. The counter-argument for this would most likely espouse free will as a determinant of individual behavior; however it still fails to take into account the economic reality faced on a daily basis. They are unable to threaten to withhold their capital or labour as they have very little in terms of market share. It is made even more ineffectual by the demands of a global market, rendering the poor unable to make changes to the market. The criticism levelled by Sharp (the analyst) against the current labour legislation follows the form of maintaining neoliberal capitalist hegemony. Policies like this have been in effect in South Africa since the 1920s at a time when they were meant to protect white semi-skilled and unskilled workers from black competition (Seekings & Nattrass, 2002)[27]. In present day South Africa labour is more organized and union action is designed to protect its membership from [further] exploitation.

[26] Capital here is seen as undifferentiated entity with the ability to lobby power through its use.
[27] During this period capital was equated with white dominance, and there was no (or very little) differentiation in terms of class and race.

An October edition *Destiny Man* article (2014) 'salvages' the unemployment situation by suggesting an intervention from the private sector specifically aimed at raising the standard and number of mathematics and science pupils in South Africa.

Figure 4.



The artwork depicts the post-apartheid problem of education in South Africa. A young African boy is shown wearing generic school uniform, while staring at the reader. Around his head, numbers are shown in nonsensical mathematical equations, with a lightbulb flashing just above the top of his head. The boy represents the impact of poor public education in primary and secondary schools in South Africa. His race, black, plays an important factor as this is the population most affected in South Africa. Spaull (2013) reported that large proportions of South African pupils are functionally illiterate and innumerate, while the education system is inadequately equipped to deal with this crisis. The crisis, of course, inherits the structural discrimination imposed by the apartheid government where black

education was compromised by consistently poorer standards in the apartheid era (Spaull, 2013). Mathematics is displayed as a disorganized confusion in the boy's mind, mirroring the innumeracy shared by the population most affected by this in South Africa. Yet, there is a lightbulb hanging above his head suggested potentiality in his intelligence. It most likely represents that the boy is neither incapable nor unwilling to learn these skills, but is hampered by the contextual variables that serve to constrain him.

Corporate sponsorship is seen as the fixer of this problem targeting pupils to prepare them for work in the engineering, science, technology and agriculture sector. Witbooi (*Destiny Man*, October 2014) contends that "the education system isn't churning out enough science graduates to support the country's growth and development plans" (pp. 36). A true reconciliation of market forces and the legacy of apartheid in South Africa need to be reached in order to gain a more holistic viewing of this problem.

Seekings and Nattrass (2002) argue that the legacy of apartheid is undeniably impactful, but the government has had external political pressures that have restrained it from tackling the issue fully. It is also important to note that a democratic South Africa came into being from a crippling economic apartheid position. The ANC had initially planned for a socialist state aimed at providing free education and healthcare for the poor. However, this promise became increasingly difficult to maintain due [partly] to South Africa emerging in a globalized market dominated by a neoliberal capitalist discourse, and political forces that put negotiations in a precarious position (Seekings & Nattrass, 2002).[28] Following from political liberation is the immense difficulty of redistributing wealth in a post-apartheid, globalized South Africa. The focus on wealth creation within the middle class has done little to redistribute wealth and empower the poorest [black] citizens of the country.

[28] The well-known CODESA talks epitomised much of this political compromise. Attempts were made here to talk about post-apartheid governance. It is rightly argued that at this time South Africa was experiencing socio-political fragmentation and considerable instability see (Field, 2008).

4.1.3. If the suit fits…: Men, power, and Fashion in *Destiny Man* magazine.

The concurrent growth of marketing, advertising, and neoliberal capital, are all symptomatic of the Freudian notion that the mind cannot be understood as a rational whole, but rather an irrational, and manipulative force shaped by desires and drives one has no control over (Freud, 1900). Freud stated that people commonly use false standards of measurement predicated on power, success, and the accumulation of wealth. The Personal Wealth Report (January-February, 2014) is the *Destiny Man* guide to creating wealth.[29] Among the many barometers of this concept include ownership of property, assets, and individual investments. The phrase 'money talks' is also used to give the concept of money an onomatopoeic quality. It is 'not an object' but an entity of individual accumulation.[30] Unfortunately as is the case with capital ownership, there are but a privileged few who can qualify to be in that category. It is a statistical reality that in no neoliberal capitalist society do capitalists occupy more than a tiny percentage of the population (Seekings and Nattrass, 2002). In South Africa the number of African people occupying these positions is even lower than those of white capitalists, despite Africans being in the overwhelming majority. Within business settings there are not a lot of African businessmen or businesswomen. In this vein it is understandable that the writers of *Destiny Man* business sections will draw a focus on the ability for non-whites to penetrate the market. However, the topic of race *itself* is an unspoken area in the publication in terms of demographic targeted.[31] It is worth exploring this area in order to get a clearer understanding of the African middle class in line with the research aims of this thesis. A survey conducted by the Bureau of Market Research (1999) looked at the measures of success of Africans in the middle class (defined idiosyncratically as having moved to a better dwelling, or an improvement in occupation in the past five years). It was found that most were young, and many had moved into formerly white middle class residential areas. The characterization of this class is underpinned by a certain accompanying lifestyle (BMR, 1999). Consumer status was seen in terms of conferring to the highest standards of status, including items such as luxury BMWs or Mercedes[32]. They also preferred to wear Pierre

[29] Almost unsurprisingly Witbooi is the editor of this section.

[30] It is meant by this that an individual accumulates assets over time based on the ability of their monies to "grow", almost literally as an organism.

[31] See the discussions on fatherhood, and gender for more explication of this.

[32] These were primarily the male choices. Female choices were VW Golfs and Jetta's. It is mentioned as a footnote because the research thesis is based on an analyzation of masculinity. This is not to suggest that feminity is somehow not as important or lesser than, but rather to highlight male choices in line with the research topic.

Cardin suits and shop at Foschini. The reader is referred to the advertisement(s) below…

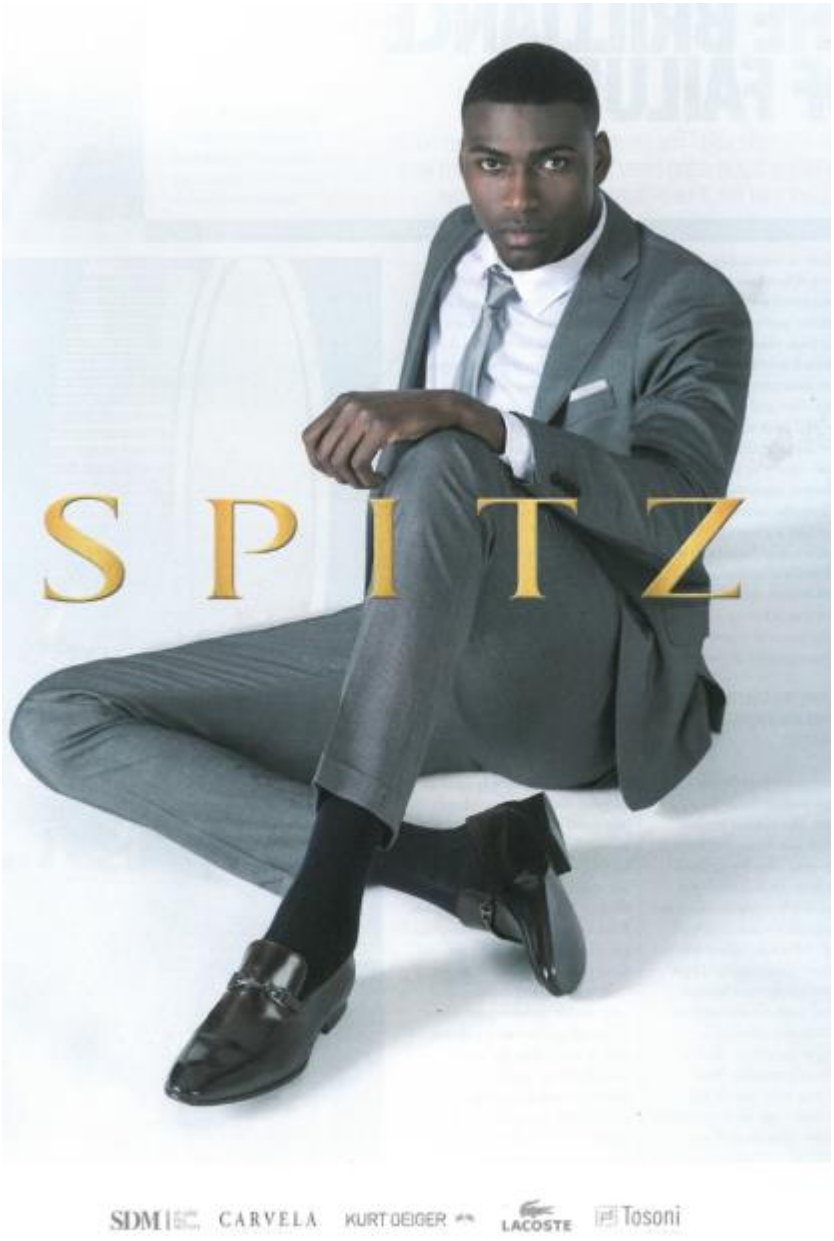


Figure 5.

The advertisement depicts a black male wearing a Spitz-designed suit, black socks and black shoes. The man stares with a neutral expression to the camera while seated on the floor against a plain white backdrop. The advertisement is simple in execution with the bold words of 'Spitz' across the page and nothing more. Essentially the advertisement is letting the suit 'say it all' while nothing needs to be said about the man. He is an African male who is presumably wealthy in some regard, humble enough to sit on the floor, yet perhaps still maintaining a position of power. The suit in and of itself has no social impact, but it still represents a business frame of mind, worn by an individual who is good at business therefore

good enough to afford the suit. The significance of the advertisement lies in the fact that the suit is worn by an African male, in the era of neoliberal capitalism. The representation of this successful and powerful African male represents a radical change in class structure in the post-apartheid era. This class structure is intersected with many lifestyle factors that can come to define it. The advertisement not only represents a narrative (or version of reality) that the advertisers would like to portray, but it is also provides a very real commentary on circumstances that have impacted the rise of the post-apartheid African middle class. Seekings and Nattrass (2002) attribute this to a combination of factors including an improved access to education, the removal of residual restrictions on upward occupational mobility, and affirmative action policies by both the state and private institutions.

In a single photo this is what the African male in this advertisement represents, a rapidly expanding opportunity for the African middle class. During the apartheid regime, Africans were largely limited in terms of upward occupational mobility, mainly being employed in semi-professional (semi-skilled) occupations such as nursing and teaching, and white-collar occupations with little authority (Crankshaw, 1997). Bantustan bureaucracies were the reservoir of managerial posts, infused with tribal politics. The post-apartheid era witnessed a change in the number of opportunities now available to African people, creating and consolidating the African middle-class. The photo creates an imaginative fantasy that brings very real social issues into awareness. While dressed smartly, representing success and an affinity towards obtaining materialistic gains, one has to ask if the black man represented here really has *power*? This question is pertinent even towards the Bantustan bureaucracies that infused a sense of false power, which one could argue is still prevalent in post-apartheid South Africa, related to ownership of wealth, assets, and JSE listed companies[33]. Are BEE companies also reservoirs of managerial posts as Bantustans were? A strong argument could be made in the affirmative when one considers the disproportionate percentage of white-owned capital in post-apartheid South Africa. As Seekings and Nattrass (2002) have shown, this is still steadily on the rise, and should raise the question- who really has the power?

[33] More on this to follow in subsequent sections.

The importance of the suit as more than just a clothing icon is touched on by Malala (himself a suit-wearer) in the November issue (2014). His article entitled 'Revolutionary Suits' warns individuals not to fall into the 'nebulous notion of revolutionary dress'[34].

Figure 6.



Malala may have unwittingly reproduced the discourse associated with neoliberal capitalism as a homogenizing structure in the unconscious of the oppressed. The overalls of the EFF represent the working class of South Africa, which is almost exclusively African. In the same breath, *Destiny Man* is not a magazine for the African working class, but for the African *middle class*. Images of this population are not promoted by the magazine, and as such are suppressed from conscious awareness by both the magazine creators, and readership. The article includes this picture of former South African president Nelson Mandela:

[3434] A clear shot at the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF) who, in 2014, objected to adhering to the decorum of parliament, instead choosing to wear red berets, domestic worker uniforms, and red overalls. The rationale behind this fashion choice, among others, was a revolutionary attempt to disrupt the flow of parliament by representing the dress of the majority of the African lower-class.

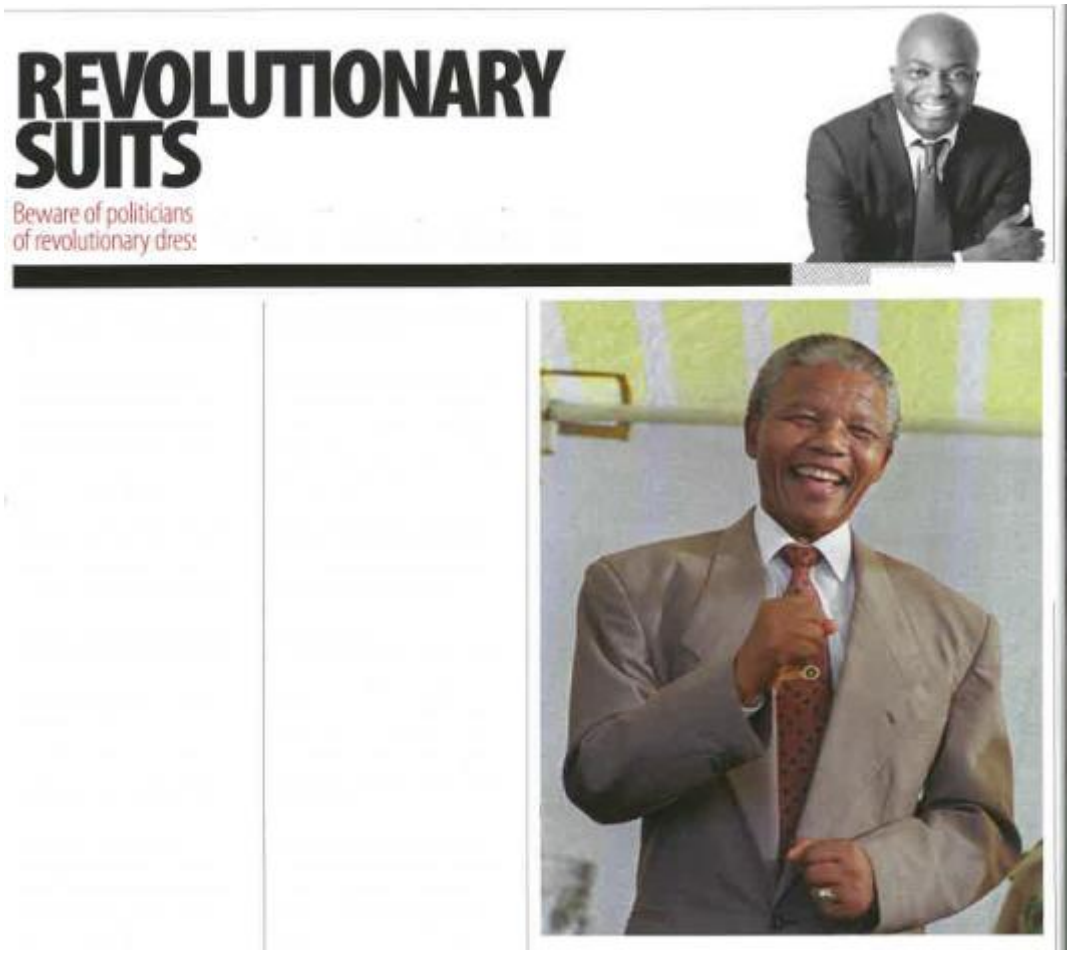


Figure 7.

Malala (2014) provides an anecdote about a photograph of his father in 1950s Johannesburg: "He was wearing a dark suit, two-toned shoes, and a fedora" (pp.16). According to Malala he "looked bloody good" and in reference to this used the saying "the suit does not make the man; it is the man who makes the suit" (pp.16). This quote links poignantly with the above discussion and links well with the overall rise of the post-apartheid African middle class. "The man", [a revolutionary] Mandela epitomizes the struggle for liberation and equality in South Africa. Malala (2014), however, chooses to focus on the "fashion icon" who always wore exquisite suits. He also compares Mandela, the suit wearer, with other prominent African icons such as Martin Luther King Jr., and Patrice Lumumba, the first democratically elected President of the Republic of the Congo. Malala chose to look at black-African male leaders whom, for him, represented the ideal revolutionaries against racist, colonialist, and segregationist systems. Malala (2014) argues that the parliamentary fights and debates underwhelm him because army combat overalls and attire do not define the individual, but rather what you do for the masses. Yet, the argument is a strange one as he continues at

length about his love for suits and for leaders who adorn these suits. Disregarding the political rhetoric about what constitutes a revolutionary leader, it is important to take into account the unconscious motives that seem to attract Malala to suit wearing. This psychosocial and sociopolitical discussion points to the fact that, for Malala, successful revolutionary leaders have always worn suits. Therefore, in order for one to symbolically represent liberation, one must wear a suit, especially African liberators. The internalization process is also an important factor here, as classically, African black males did not wear suits because (a) they could not afford them, and (b) wearing a suit equates penetrating the capitalist system in some type of way, i.e. being a business-owner, having good political connections, and owning capital and assets. White [Afrikaner] capitalism has historically (and continues to be) at the forefront of ownership in South Africa. Following democratization, black-owned firms and businesses were introduced into the era of global capitalism and neoliberal ideologies. The oppressor, whom for them had always been white and always wore suits, had now become potential business partnerships (Randall, 1996). White [Afrikaner] capitalism was located in well-established institutions that black capitalism would have a tough time penetrating. The solution was to mimic the behavior of the oppressor, or at the very least use it as a template for capitalist success.

The situation parallels quite evocatively with what Fanon (1967) states in "On National Culture"

The political parties start from living reality and it is in the name of this reality, in the name of the stark facts which weigh down the present and the future of men and women, that they fix their line of action.

(pp. 36).

Fanon speaks on the "stark reality" that is the same kind entrenched by the social imaginary of neoliberal capitalism. Its dominant hegemonic happenstance has defined the existential communique of post-liberation[35] discourse. National identity paradoxically limits a full liberation because it re-enforces an essentialist, middle-classed reading of the constitution of "nation" rather than espousing a coherent (and original) articulation of an oppressed people's cultural heterogeneity across class lines (Fanon, 1967). Neoliberal Capitalism is a homogenizing structure that manipulates the human psyche at an unconscious level. For the

[35] Most African countries

formerly oppressed, liberation is seen as obtaining the lifestyle of the oppressor, and at the same time unconsciously replicating the behavior that has been a historically dominating factor. In South Africa, black economic empowerment (BEE) deals were concentrated on the procurement of tenders that would allow African capitalists to have ownership of the market share (Seekings and Nattrass, 2002). The "stark reality" is that the majority of market share is still held by white capitalists, and the creation of an African middle class merely functions as a compensatory mechanism for assets that Africans will never own. Insofar as this acts as an impediment to the building of national identity, Fanon (1967) claims that there are unconscious forces at play that limit the extent of cultural expression. The author of this thesis argues that these forces is the mechanism of "internalized oppression", whereby the African believes that he will never be good enough unless he becomes like the oppressor. Fanon (1967) locates this in the sphere of 'psychoaffective equilibrium', of which he claims accessing will lead to an important change in the native. In terms of the content of *Destiny Man*, there has been scarcely a magazine cover that does not feature a man dressed in formal attire[36].

In Malala's (2014) article he cannot coherently explain why he is so opposed to the wearing of red overalls and domestic worker attire in parliament. Other than the belief that a person must be more than the sum of their clothing, there is still scant consideration for the precariousness of his position. For, it could be well counter-argued that individuals who dress in suits can still fail to deliver for the needs of the masses. The red overalls and domestic worker attire ironically personify the concluding remarks in Malala's article: "*It is how you become a servant and a leader at the same time"* (pp.16). This discourse is further reproduced in the *Power of 40* report [November, 2014].

Figure 8


YOU'RE INVITED
Bisquit
COGNAC
DESTINY MAN EVENT
POWER OF 40
You're invited to enjoy an evening of networking, inspiration and dynamic conversation at the Destiny MAN Power of 40 cocktail function series, in association with Bisquit Cognac.
Join DESTINY MAN Editor Kojo Baffoe and guest speaker Mokena Makeka, one of the extraordinary men featured in 2013's Power of 40 report, and make time to be inspired by these bold and distinguished men!
EVENT DETAILS
Date: 3 April 2014
Venue: One&Only Hotel, Cape Town
Time: 6.30pm for 7pm
BOOK YOUR TICKET
Price: R250
Contact: Email: events@ndalomedia.com with "Bisquit Cognac Power of 40" in the subject line, or contact Shaakirah van Rensburg on tel: 011 300 6700.
FONDEE EN 1819
BISQUIT COGNAC
Time is what you make it

Figure 9


Zethu Mashika (30)
FILM SCORE COMPOSER
WEBSITE: www.zethumashika.com
"It feels like I have a superpower," says Mashika, a multi-award-winning film score composer. "Because what I am essentially doing is using a few instruments, mixing them up in a bowl and applying the result to people – and then seeing them react exactly the way I intended them to."
Having scooped both the 2012 and 2013 48 Hour Film Project awards for Best Original Score, his faith in his abilities has been well and truly vindicated.
Mashika, who started out as a producer for Zulu Mobb, Flabba and RJ Benjamin, says: "In those days, I wanted to be famous, but I later realised that what I wanted to do was create something more emotively inspired."
It is this emotive inspiration – which he has brought to bear on feature films such as *Zama Zama* and *Skyf the Movie*, as well as shorts like *Bereu*, *Expiry Date*, *Romance at Wedding* and *Detour* – that has seen him grab the attention of directors more than a little eager for his musical touch.
A paintballer, gamer and "gadget-builder", Mashika is currently working on sex comedy *Working for Willy* and SA's first full-length dance flick, *Hear Me Move*. The man himself is the subject of *Composed*, a documentary that takes a behind-the-scenes look at the world of film scores. – CA
BISQUIT POWER PRINCIPLE
"If you perceive the world like a child, you'll never have to work or retire."

Figure 10



The multiple discourses included in this report are discussed in other areas of this thesis, but what is of particular relevance is the theme of African men wearing suits. The middle class is represented as 'young and powerful' rising to the top of their respective fields before the age of 40. They also wear suits which, as discussed, are a status symbol of achievement. Although Ndlozi is the spokesperson of the EFF, he is not seen wearing the working class

overalls Malala so despises. This curious occurrence may very well confirm that at an unconscious level, African males still wish to be seen as re-constituting class structure, but not challenging it. All the African men included in this analysis are seen dressed in formal suits that would not look out of place in the business sector. This corresponds to Kimmel's (1994) notion of *Marketplace Masculinity* in which manhood is exercised in business interactions, further strengthening the dominant social imaginary of neoliberal capitalism.

The contradictions in Ndlozi's style may at first seem nothing more than a frivolous fashion statement, however, a deeper unpacking reveals the ontological complexities of the experience of *blackness* within the African middleclass in post-apartheid South Africa. On the one hand, the political history of the struggle against oppression is evident in the red [combative] uniform Ndlozi wears when he is campaigning as an Economic Freedom Fighter, yet on the other hand there still seems to be an underlying (not necessarily unconscious) desire to attain affluence, wealth, and status in post-apartheid South Africa. The latter immediately places him at odds with the ideals that he advocates for the working class, while the political ambition and drive to succeed is a hallmark of African middleclass masculinity. This feature is essentially what *Destiny Man* sets out to achieve in the publication, and Ndlozi can be seen as an iconic representation of that- when he chooses not to wear overalls.

Figure 11.



The theme of successful suit wearers continues with the profile of Andile Mazwai (November, 2014). This article draws the interesting link between traditional methods of the money-market among the African community and neoliberal capitalist methods. This article discusses the rise of Andile Mazwai, a man who tapped into the multi-billion rand South African stokvel industry.



Figure 12.

Stokvels are rotating credit unions or saving schemes constitution any number of members (usually twelve), who contribute fixed sums of money to the group fund on a weekly, fortnightly, or monthly basis (May, 2012). The origin of the word emanates from the term 'stock fair', which was conducted by English settlers in the Eastern Cape in the 19th century (Calvin and Coetzee, 2010). They were primarily gatherings for the auctioning of cattle;

however they also served as forums for farmers to socialize, and sometimes pool their monies together to purchase livestock, perhaps contributing to the name being used in the modern day (Calvin and Coetzee, 2010). Mazwai originally was a stock trader at Barnard Jacobs Mellet (BJM) before associating himself with the National Stokvel Association of South Africa (Nasasa) in 2012. He cited leaving BJM due to the frustrations of being a minority in the financial sector:

"We were the first generation of black professionals in the industry. The few times we got together, we realized that we were experiencing similar frustrations. It wasn't even a race issue-it was a minority issue. There was no-one doing anything to squash us, but we realized that we didn't blend in…"

(Mazwai as quoted in *Destiny Man*, 2014: 27).

What Mazwai says about the financial industry is backed up by the research conducted on the Johannesburg Stock Exchange. Correspondingly calculations show that in 1999 5.5 % of market capitalization was under black control (BusinessMap, 1999). 11 percent of the market was described as being "under black influence" (i.e. firms that had complied with affirmative action legislation). It is no surprise that Mazwai had left to start his own black-owned enterprise with other African professionals. He then sold his shares in his enterprise[37] to become the CEO of BJM. Eventually the enterprise was sold to First National Bank (FNB) for approximately R500 million. Today Mazwai travels across the country doing roadshows for Nasasa in townships, trying to convince stokvels to register with them. He maintains that he is doing this to "level the playing fields and chip away at the economic legacy of apartheid" (pp. 29). In order to understand this story in accordance with the theoretical understanding of this thesis it is, once again, important to turn to Fanon. Fanon (1967) states that the colonial situation is at its core based on segregating the colonizers from the colonized:

The zone where the natives live is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers. The two zones are opposed, but not in the service of a higher unity. Obedient to the rules of pure Aristotelian logic, they both follow the principle of reciprocal exclusivity. No conciliation is possible, for of the two terms, one is superfluous.

(Fanon, 1967: 38-9)

[37] Mazwai Securities

This explanation highlights, to wit, both the capitalistic and colonialist ability to manipulate the human psyche. Mazwai mirrors Fanon's comments about segregation claiming that the stokvel market is the story of segregation. During the apartheid era a designated group was meeting after hours to collect money. The 'designated group' was mainly Africans in the townships, unable to enter the formalized financial market due to discriminatory laws. As a result, stokvels were necessary to substitute for the exclusion Africans faced from the financial sector, especially in being able to bury their loved ones with the aid of burial societies (Lukhele as cited in *Destiny Man*, November 2014). Fanon (1967) describes the native's attempts to escape the colonial system as logically inscribed, and necessary in attempting to reclaim a national culture. In this vein it holds predictive value for Mazwai's scope of extending the stokvel market to the middle class and penetrating the financial sector. It is necessary for the native to "prove that he has a culture" and "come to realize that that history points out a well-defined path to him: he must demonstrate that a Negro culture still exists" (Fanon, 1967: 38). The parallels that can be drawn between Mazwai's vision and the conditions set by Fanon are almost immediately apparent. Mazwai first had the "epiphany" of targeting the African market when a black delivery messenger who delivered parcels to his business expressed his shock that there was no "white man" working there. It was at this moment that Mazwai realized that Africans had indoctrinated the belief [internal oppressor] within them, believing that they alone cannot achieve anything (*Destiny Man*, [November] 2014).

Acknowledging the historical path is essential for the building of national culture and identity (Fanon, 1967). Mazwai can be seen attempting to do this by reveling in the past functions of stokvels and the integral function they form today. *Destiny Man* statistics reveal that R25 billion is the estimated worth of the stokvel industry, with around 8, 6 million stokvel members registered in 421 000 general stokvels in South Africa. Therefore, the societal significance of these stokvels is apparent within the African community. It is also important to understand this in terms of the anti-colonial revolution that Fanon writes about:

The bourgeois leaders of underdeveloped countries imprison national consciousness in sterile formalism. It is only when men and women are included on a vast scale in enlightened and fruitful work that form and body are given to that consciousness. … Otherwise there is anarchy, repression, and the resurgence of tribal parties and federalism.

(Fanon, 1963 [1961]: 204-5).

It is necessary then for the stokvel industry to benefit from participating in the stokvel industry in the long run. Mazwai even adds that there are lessons the middle class can learn from stokvels, and not the other way around. "The discipline in saving for a goal is one for them. Secondly, you don't join a stokvel with strangers- its always people you know. You wouldn't wanna let your *bras* down, would you?" (Mazwai as quoted in *Destiny Man*, 2014; verbatim). For Fanon as well as Mazwai, it is important for the denouement of colonialization to take place through these mechanisms.

Overall, the article presents Mazwai as a miracle success story who overcome seemingly insurmountable odds to become a leader of industry in post-apartheid South Africa. Yet, curiously enough, the article pays little attention to the physical and emotional suffering he surely had to endure on his path towards this unprecedented success. Despite being well-educated, ambitious, and in the employ of a prestigious company, Mazwai was still hamstrung by the omnipresent factor of his race. What ensued, and most likely still does, is the uphill struggle against emergent forms of white discrimination; even if it is in the historical sense in post-apartheid South Africa, the vestiges of white capital are not simply artefacts but *active components* in the market. This means that white capital still tends to dominate business exchanges, increasing the difficulties of the probabilities of entrepreneurs such as Mazwai entering the market. It must also be taken into account that sustainability is also an important factor here as entering the market is not the only struggle for black South Africans, but actively competing and accumulating assets in this homogenous/white top tier is the major difficulty faced by the black South African middleclass (Seekings and Nattrass, 2002).

4.1.4. Wits and the Spirit of Capitalism.

The January-February edition of *Destiny Man* (2014) includes on the cover the headline "Adam Habib: The Plan to Make Wits Great Again" The article focuses on the vice-chancellor's plan with regards to the Wits business school and the role of the university in the South African economy. The article itself features these two photographs of Professor Adam Habib, Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand:

Figure 13.

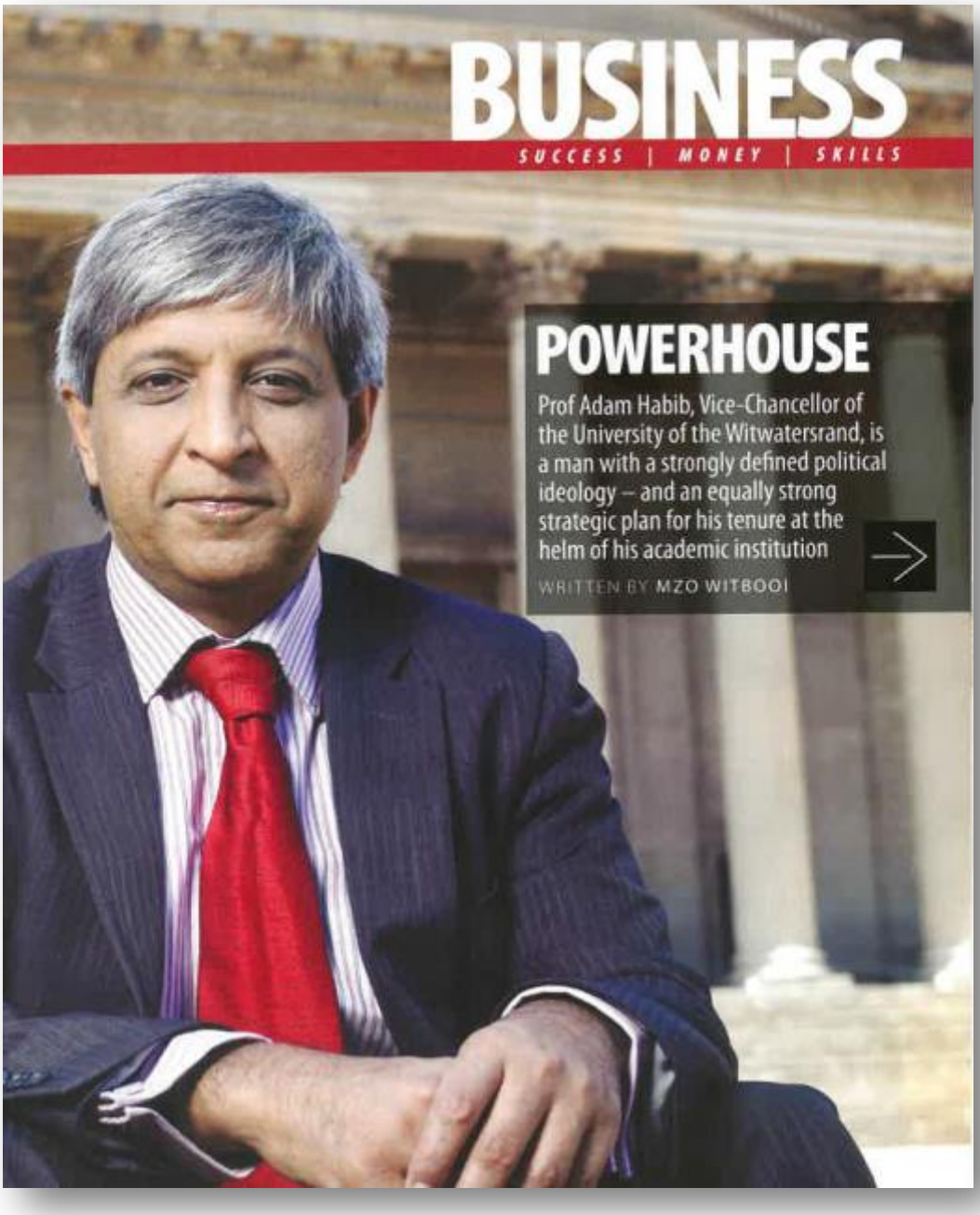
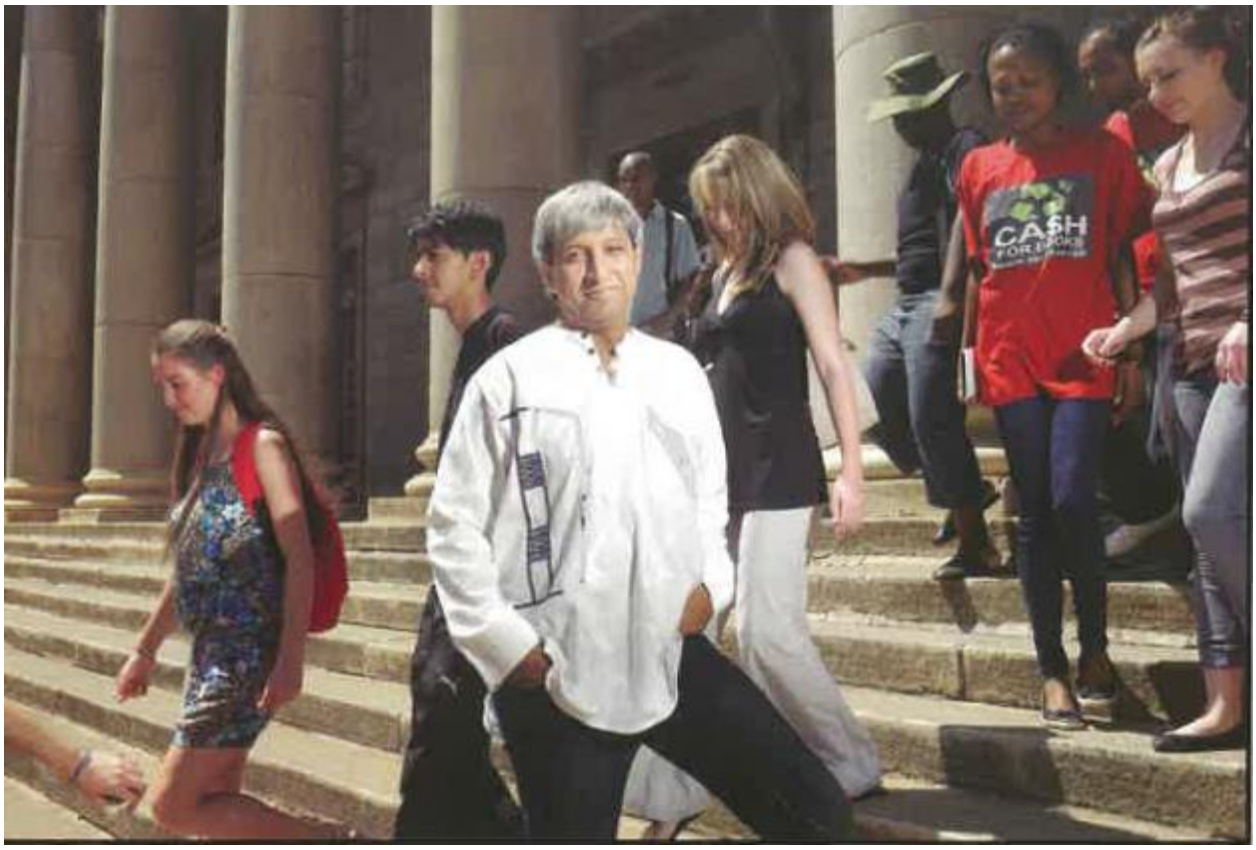


Figure14.



The above photographs display the latent process of the institution. Professor Habib is shown firstly in front of the stairs of the Great Hall in Central Block, and secondly on the stairs of the hall, with students walking behind him. Habib's feature spans three pages of the magazine with the first two pages featuring a full page photograph of him, and the second featuring a half-page photograph followed by specifics of the Professor's political history. The third page features a photograph of him also, accompanied by his career timeline and a discussion on the university. There are a few key points that can be surmised from the manner in which this article was featured.

Firstly, the article is mainly about the history of the Vice-Chancellor as well as some biographical information about his family. Out of the 14 questions asked of him, 6 are focused on the university while 8 are about his personal history. This phenomenon in itself is both curious and intriguing, and will once again be interpreted within a psychoanalytic framework. In terms of the theme of male-dominated knowledge systems in Western Culture. Di Stefano (1983) asks the questions:

What are we to make of this diverse collective expression of male hegemony in Western culture's various attempts to establish the possibilities, limits and contours of political life?

How much of this tradition is potentially useful to feminist visions and critiques of political arrangements? How much of it is deeply flawed and hence, practically irretrievable? To what extent does the critical excavation and perusal of the male monopoly in Western political theory illuminate deeply entrenched and inherited features of contemporary political discourse?

(Di Stefano, 1983: 633).

This also strongly relates to the arguments that Figlio (2001) had made regarding the phallic possession of children as masculine by-products. More is said on this at a later point in this thesis, but a brief preliminary discussion may serve useful as an introduction regarding the article discussing Habib. Not only are his own children discussed in a somewhat phallocentric-possessive manner, but the institution *itself* is seen as one of the professor's own creations. The fantasy exists that the domains of knowledge and management, have transcended time, space, to be imbibed with an exclusive meaning for the professor. It seems to be intuitively held that the institution is a malleable object to which Professor Habib has authorship over, ignoring the factoring of what may lay outside of his control and volition. Figlio (2001) argues that acknowledgement of this has consequences to masculine narcissism and affects how the male will relate to other part-objects. In this case, the fragmented nature of Habib's relational position places him in a juxtaposed state, not within, but without (or at the very least *outside of*) the institution and its constituents. This is comparable to one of Freud's (1929) seminal works *Civilization and Its Discontents*. Freud (`1929) argues that fundamental tensions between an individual's quest for freedom, and society's need for conformity create friction. While the argument is based on sexual instinct, the key point to be taken is with regards to the friction between individual and society that is not only a feature of the Habib article, but within *Destiny Man* as a publication. What results, is a struggle to achieve autonomy, at the expense of recognizing the identity as firstly African. The tier of the black middleclass in post-apartheid South Africa has proven to be a factor for disillusionment amongst redefinitions, purpose, and neoliberal capitalist plains of existence. These tensions seem to intersect in the way the university is presented both by *Destiny Man* and Professor Habib. The resultant tensions have social implications that extend beyond the individual, into social realms beyond the volition of a single individual, despite the insistence of the importance of individuality espoused by *Destiny Man*.

The feminist critique of masculine hegemony has had a profound impact on the way in which masculine domination is conceptualized in domains of society. This fact is not to be disregarded or minimalized in the overall scheme of disrupting the recurring themes of masculine hegemony, however as the limits of the dissertation allow for the questions which are of more interest are the ones that are more directly related to the takeover of masculinity in contemporary society.

With reference to the Habib article authored by Witbooi (January-February, 2014) the primary theme of narcissism and grandiosity is what is most immediately apparent[38]. Di Stefano (1983) argues that masculinity is an ideology which has a 'deep structure', meaning that there are interrelated elements that do not necessarily reflect themselves at the manifest level, but do affect theoretical discourses in major ways. Layton (2014) has argued that one of these major ways is the expression of grandiosity on both the individual and the collective level. The few events that can lead to this expression of grandiosity are dramatic cultural changes, the solidification of neoliberal capitalism, and the privatization of formerly public goods and services. All three of these factors are equally likely to weave in between each other if we are to take an interpretive stance towards the Habib article.[39] In the current era of neoliberal capitalism, much of the discourse has been centered on the reproduction of a neoliberal agenda. This includes free market capitalism, entrepreneurship, and corporatism. The post-apartheid South Africa involved the reintroduction of the South African economy into the global market. Education and Healthcare (originally slated to be public-provided services) was widely privatized, leading to those with already privileged positions to be able to continue to exploit these services.[40] Professor Habib is attempting to readdress these

[38] "*He that is to govern a whole nation, must read in himself, not this or that particular man; but mankind; which, though it be hard to do, harder than to learn any language or science; yet when I shall have set down my own reading orderly and perspicuously, the pains left another, will be only to consider, if he also find not the same in himself*" (Thomas Hobbes, Introduction to Leviathan, 1651).

[39] Layton's account takes a look at two specific case examples in which her analytic work transpires into interpretations of enactment amongst her patient. Such interpretive work is only conducted once enough information has been garnered between patient and therapist. To identify these interpretations with reference to the Habib article is, needless to say, a longshot.

[40] Former President Thabo Mbeki said in his famous "two nations" speech: *We therefore make bold to say that South Africa is a country of two nations. One of these nations is white, relatively prosperous, regardless of gender or geographic dispersal. It has ready access to a developed economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure. This enables it to argue that, except for the persistence of gender discrimination against women; all members of this nation have the possibility to exercise their right to equal opportunity, the development opportunities to which the Constitution of '93 committed our country. The second and larger nation of South Africa is black and poor, with the worst affected being women in the rural areas, the black rural population in general and the disabled. This nation lives under conditions of a grossly underdeveloped economic, physical, educational, communication and other infrastructure*. (29 May, 1998).

imbalances by striving to make the university a "50-50 institution" in line with his cosmopolitan agenda (*Destiny Man*, [January-February] 2014).

To understand what is happening from a psychoanalytic perspective, one would be required to analyze the latent content of Habib's statements as well as the analysis of the photographs in the article. The first image shows him seated wearing a suit in front of the Great Hall of Wits University. His feature is included in the 'Business' section, the subtitles of which are "Success, Money, Skills". His proximity to the camera makes him appear larger against the backdrop of the building. The word 'POWERHOUSE' is written in bold letters following this short description:

Prof Adam Habib, Vice-Chancellor of the University of the Witwatersrand, is a *man* with a *strongly defined* political ideology- and an equally *strong* strategic plan for his tenure at the helm of *his* academic institution.

(pp.59: italic emphasis added).

The words 'strong/strongly' are used as adjectives that equate him with being in possession of power. The university is also placed in the business section of the magazine which entails that it is viewed as a business enterprise, with the vice-chancellor serving as the head of the business. The word 'POWERHOUSE' is not used to describe the institution, but the man 'in charge' of the institution, "*his academic institution" (*pp.59).

The second image shows the vice-chancellor in more casual clothing, staring benignly at the camera. Behind him a diverse group of students walk down the stairs. The photograph is of interest because although it displays him amongst the students, he is not interacting with them, and is still positioned closer to the camera than they are.

Both these images combined with the majority of the content of the article show the reader that (a) the article is mainly about Professor Habib, and consequently (b) the university is perceived as a managerial structure with a top-down structure. Layton (2014) has argued that contemporary selfish individualism has led to a retreat into the private sphere where individuals are primarily concerned with the self and the immediate family. The focus of Habib's history and personal family information in the article seems to display this characteristic. The final question in the article is "How do you find time for your family"? (pp. 63), in addition to the two questions answered regarding the education of his own children.

The expression of grandiosity within a neoliberalist agenda is also expressed by the Habib in this article when he wishes to turn the institution into a "world-class African institution" (pp.63). The paradox in the statement is not immediately obvious until one decides to deconstruct it slightly further. The statement could have read simply "world-class" or "African", but the two words were combined into an oxymoron state. Therefore, one is permitted to interpret that the institution is measured by 'world' barometers (i.e. neoliberalism and global capitalism) and must submit to this as a measure of success. The expression of this grandiosity can be understood as a middle-class anxiety (Layton, 2014). If the institution fails to reach his set goals by the end of his tenure it will be interpreted as a lack of upward mobility, and he may be the target of the blame. The anxiety displayed of wanting to achieve by 'world-class' standards comes to the fore in this nuanced way, and also represents an unconscious collusion to self-sufficient narcissism that has come to characterize the neoliberal age (Layton, 2014). Therefore, it is argued that these conditions create and entrench inequality, and the measure of success is dependent on economic measures, and more anxiety is created when economic success is not achieved.

The article is of interest due to the specific interest in the Vice-Chancellor as the manager of the university, taking into account his specific ideological views and his own vision of the institution; the competitive individualistic nature of neoliberalism and, indeed the nature of masculinity. Hobbes (1651) analyzed the state of society and civil order concluding that the hand of a strong authority was necessary to prevent dissolution and chaos. Di Stefano (1983) has put this into psychoanalytic terms by stating that an inviolable ego is the ultimate sense. It then begins to make sense, according to this interpretation, that a top-down process of management is employed at the university, with little discussion or recognition of the 'lower tiers'. The classic masculine annotation of assertiveness and toughness is displayed through the images of the article and the text that accompanies it, reproducing the hegemony that has become a norm in modern-day society.

Thus, the article while attempting to provide a glorified representation of control and narcissistic volition once unpacked; is shown to be inherently problematic at its core. On the surface, there seems to be a layer of ambition and personal drive that is a hallmark feature of the *Destiny Man*. Yet, this surface is a thinly-veiled misrepresentation of that which exists outside of the imaginative fantasy of a single individual. The implications of this have wider reaching consequences, and it is perhaps worth considering how the emphasis of individuality

by the magazine can have more negative consequences for issues related to social justice, and long-standing economic imbalances amongst individuals.

4.1.5. Inverted Totalitarianism.

Wolin (2008) notes that in classic totalitarianism the state utilizes brutal tactics to ensure complicity within its citizenry, and as a physical expression of its dominance. Inverted totalitarianism systems establish the social imaginary as an undeniable and pervasive reality (LaMothe, 2014). Power centers like the media and key corporate stakeholders legitimize this reality. *Destiny Man* cleverly combines these two elements by using the media to promote corporate stakeholders. The magazine features specials that are dedicated to highlighting the rise of up-and-comers within the corporate sector.

Figure 15.


YOUNG & POWERFUL
WRITTEN BY THABISO THANTSHA

THE YOUNG LIONS

We chat to three young men who are defining what it means to be a new-age CEO – and succeeding on their own terms

Stuart Ntlathi (26)

Most people only dream of winning the Johnnie Walker Nation's Greatest Inventor award before the age of 26 and clinching a trip into space with Sir Richard Branson's Virgin Galactic – yet the multi-award-winning Sir Stuart, as he's affectionately known, has done just that (see box below).

"Going to space was always my dream. When I read that Branson was on a mission to take tourists into orbit, I wanted to be part of that. I wrote to Virgin countless times and someone eventually granted my wish."

He started the Stuart Ntlathi Science, Engineering & Technology (SNSET) Institute at the age of 12. "I've always questioned why things work in a certain way and that curiosity attracted me to this industry," he says.

He's responsible for the smooth running of the company, from corporate governance to human resources, capital, planning and institutional development.

The institute promotes science, engineering and technology innovations among the youth through the Innovation Indaba in Klerksdorp. "People often think of scientists, engineers and technologists in terms of thick glasses, white coats – and our job is to change that perception," he says.

The one thing Ntlathi wishes he'd known when he first started is the importance of bookkeeping. "Handling your books effectively is very important for small businesses. I didn't care much about bookkeeping and felt that someone else could do it for me." He's now attending classes in the subject and says understanding revenue and expenditure is crucial for starting a business.

Regarding the standard of technology and innovation in SA, Ntlathi believes we're lagging far behind the rest of the world. "We should have made technology and innovation a learning area at schools long ago. Public schools are only now making it part of the curriculum, which will hopefully change the pace of development in that area," he says.

NTLATHI WON THE JOHNNIE WALKER NATION'S GREATEST INVENTOR AWARD FOR:

- A 15-in-one microwave oven that replaces a conventional oven. It can be used to make coffee, bake, grill and listen to the radio, among other functions.
- A portable electronic shoe polisher.
- An electronic wrestler.

Youth is brought to the fore having been equated with power and potential. This is in congruence with similar findings of aged masculinities in other studies (Clarke, Bennet, & Liu, 2014). In this sense younger men are seen as possessing virility and ability, while older men are seen as more wise and experienced. This can also be framed in the light of the magazine focusing on young African males perhaps establishing a new order of masculinity in post-apartheid South Africa. For young black males to be portrayed as dominating the market, enables a re-imagining of power that would have been absent in a hegemonic masculinity framework. This relates to the earlier discussion regarding the state of education in the post-apartheid economy, with the focus still centering on the potential of African male youth. Young, African males are therefore seen as a resource; simultaneously a means, and an end in themselves. This sense of secondary and third subjectivity is explored at greater length in the subsections to follow, but what is imperative is the experience of blackness at many levels. Education and youth empowerment are seen as entry points into the middle class, while the *Destiny Man* middle class is also called upon to solve the crises. What follows is the pursuit of middle class gains, commodifying the enterprise of black masculinity in a perversion of Kimmel's (1994) *Marketplace Manhood.*

Aside from this, the overall theme of the publication is to perpetuate a seemingly unquestionable logic of neoliberal capitalism to justify and solidify the status quo. The point of a *status quo* is an interesting phenomenon in itself, and should be afforded a brief discussion. As mentioned earlier a lifestyle publication is not only about legitimizing neoliberal capitalism, but it is also a guide of "how to be" as a male, in South Africa, at this particular time.[41] *Destiny Man* not only encapsulates written material based on neoliberal capitalist principles, but the images are also based on obtaining a particular status. Omnipresent in every publication are advertisements presenting many products that define contemporary masculine identity.

[41] Heidegger (1926/1962) argued that human beings are not just conscious *of* the world, but beings *in* the world. This relates to a phenomenological experience which is fundamentally based on *relationships to* other entities.



Figure 16

Being seen with a certain item or product range can be described as a 'display of masculinity'. By this it is meant that simply owning these products it is not enough, one must be *seen* as having these products by others in order to validate one's masculinity[42] . Therefore, owning these products signifies status, as well as maintaining the status quo.

[42] In purely economic terms this relates directly to the concept of a 'positional good'. The value of these goods is determined (in part) by the ranking of its desirability in comparison to substitutes (Vatiero, 2011). Hirsch (1977) distinguished how some of these relative positions are directly linked to status and power.

One feature of inverted totalitarianism that makes *Destiny Man* so strong is the focus of individualism. Indeed it could even be argued that the title itself '*Destiny Man'* in the singular sense as opposed to the plural '*men'* seems to suggest that the image of the solitary male hunter is still prevalent in the dominant social imaginary. It also seems to suggest that at a latent level the theme of primary narcissism and omnipotence becomes the vehicle by which a man can relate to objects. Therefore, notions of being in control and having the ability to tailor one's environment to suit one's needs, represents an idealized perception of reality that is most likely linked to theme of *destiny*. Taylor (2007) labeled this feature of social control as 'disembedded subjects'. This embraces the discourses around individualism and self-reliance. Therefore, if a man is to be successful he must rely on his own ability. If the man fails in his endeavor then it is because he somehow did not try hard enough, or did something wrong. In the article 'The Brilliance of Failure', (Bailey, [November] 2014) 'encourages' that failure is not a part of the individual, but it is the "plan or project that failed" not the individual. This places the individual in a strange binary hold where failure is not a part of them, but one must still take responsibility for it. Bailey continues that we must:

"…*understand that failed projects are signposts, guiding you along the way. Until the incorrect method is pointed out and separated…helping you recognize where you erred and teaching you to reconcile your past mistakes*".

(pp.15).

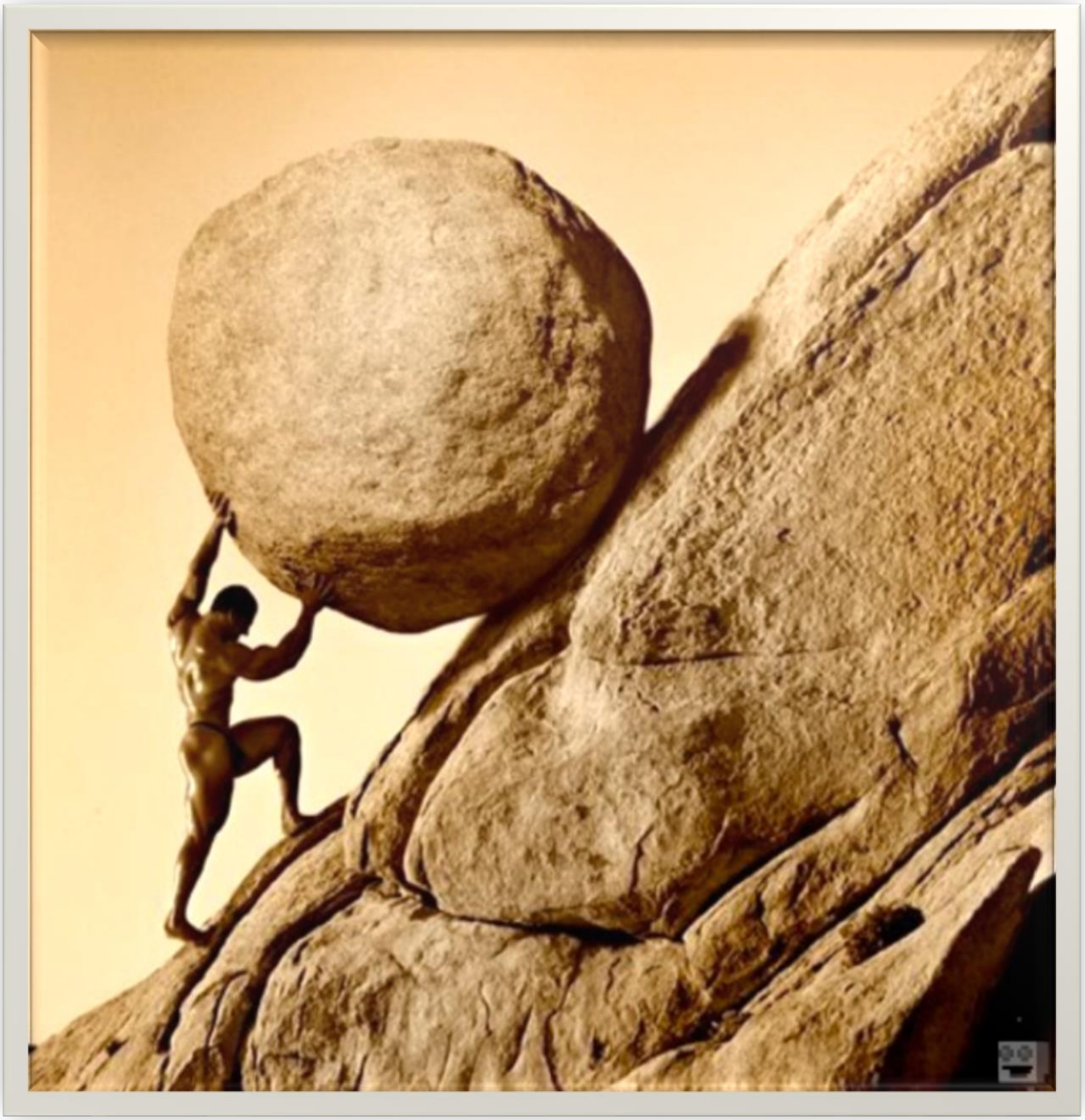
The narrative that the article explicates is the building of some type of resilience to help one cope with adverse circumstances. Taken at face value one may very well accept this hypothesis as signifying something true about the world that we *all* live in. However, this fails to acknowledge the very social structure that creates these circumstances.



Figure 17

The accepting of this method of encouragement relates strongly to what was said earlier about the accepting the dominant social imaginary of neoliberal capitalism as an inevitable reality, when it is actually a pervasive reality. In effect one is accepting that they cannot change the structure because to do so is of unquestionable standards; rather, one must learn to adapt and change the way they behave in this structure. The article is punctuated by an image of an artistic image of a man strenuously pushing a large wooden wheel up a steep path. There is an arrow facing the opposite direction that the man is pushing this wheel up, and a caption written at the bottom which says: Failure is simply feedback. The image is hinting at the man perhaps pushing the wheel in the 'right direction', and achieving success because he changed his approach. This image strongly reminds one of the archaic myths of King Sisyphus in ancient Greek Mythology (Lattimore, 1991).

Figure 18



As punishment for deceiving Zeus, King Sisyphus is condemned to rolling a boulder up a hill for all eternity. As he nears the top of the hill the boulder rolls back down, and the king must start from the beginning. The parallels between this myth and the notion of failure relate to the dominant social imaginary of neoliberal capitalism within this *Destiny Man* magazine article. As stated in the introduction of this discussion, interpreting images using a Freudian

analysis is of benefit to the reader. At the latent level[43] the Sisyphean effort placed on the individual is a futile effort that sublimates the anxiety an individual faces by failing to 'be' in the world. Failing to be is an evaluation made by ego based on the punitive and institutionalized superego. The superego in this article is the dominant social imaginary of neoliberal capitalism, and opposing the superego is threatening and anxiety-provoking. Therefore, the individual resorts to the defense of rationalization in order to explain away the reason for their failures. In this *Destiny Man* magazine article, this comes in the form of "failure is simply feedback…reconcile your past mistakes". The article even ends with a pseudo-psychoanalytic admonishment should one not do as the article instructs: "You are already aware of this. It dwells in your subconscious, but you must draw it out and hone the ability to adapt and grow" (pp.16).

By validating individualism and self-reliance to an unerring degree, individuals tend to see themselves as completely responsible for their successes, and blameworthy for their failures, with the overall pursuit of financial wellbeing (LaMothe, 2014). Silva (2013) states that the cause of psychological suffering can be placed at the feet of neoliberal capitalism, thus individuals experience psychosocial suffering especially among those who are most likely to be excluded from attaining success vis-à-vis financial wellbeing. Silva's (2013) study also looked the interpretation that lower-class youths had of their particular situation. It was interesting to find that they interpreted their struggles in terms of their own failures. From a young age these children were already beginning to be taught that they are wholly responsible for the outcome of their lives. This is a process of internalization where neoliberal capitalist tenets such as self-reliance, meritocracy, and the "rational" pursuit of one's desires serve as referral points for measurements.

Internalization is an important psychoanalytic concept to understand even in terms of psychosocial development. Schafer (1990) stated that it was important to understand this as it can account for how the oppressed and exploited come to accept and even idealize the socioeconomic ideological system in which they and their oppressors are serving as participant-victims" (pp. 11-12[44]). In terms of comprehending the neoliberal capitalist hegemony, one can infer that within African men in South Africa have internalized this

[43] Recall the latent content of dreams within the unconscious.

[44] In *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* (1972) Paulo Freire expertly dissects the conditions needed for a revolution to take place. It involves the process of conscientization in which the oppressed is psychologically liberated from the chains of the oppressor. The path to conscientization is not a final destination point but a continued and revisionary process.

hegemony as truth and law.[45] This has been an ongoing internalization well into adulthood and has even served as a basis for dictating rules of engagement in the 21st century. The idealization of neoliberal capitalism has led to the desire to obtain that which is seen as fundamentally essential by the dominant social imaginary. African men who were historically oppressed by white oppressors, themselves signifying capitalism, have become cheerleaders for neoliberal capitalism and advocate this within the pages of *Destiny Man* magazine. LaMothe (2014) argues that adults over time internalize the ethos of the group with which they identify. This doesn't preclude identification with a particular ideology, and can also extend to the acceptance of an economic superstructure like neoliberal capitalism. This ethos is "used to construct experience, organize social relations, and make sense of the world" (pp.31).

From as recent as the 1960s urban African males have been in direct interaction with the dominant capitalist system. Political rhetoric has been shaped around this ideology and reinforced through the media with advertisements in print, television, or other electronic devices. The purpose of the media enterprise is to entice the consumer into buying these products. As mentioned earlier, it is not solely about buying these 'products', but effectively buying into a particular lifestyle. Many advertisements implicitly instruct the individual that there are certain desires that should be met in order for us to be happy and fulfilled. It is disputed that we internalize these messages and become avaricious in heeding their call, confusing needs with desires or wants (LaMothe, 2014). Sandel (2012) states that we learn very quickly that anything, including ourselves, can be commodified.[46] LaMothe (2014) contends that it is only through the media powerhouse including advertisements that an individual comes to internalize a capitalist ethos. As stated earlier, corporate stakeholders now use the media to spread their message. *Destiny Man* is a publication that widely promotes a neoliberal corporatist culture, even turning relationships between people into an economic enterprise[47].

[45] See my argument above about the analysis done by Clowes (2003) of *Drum* magazine.
[46] In *Capital: Critique of Political Economy* (1867), Karl Marx critiques the political economy as the purveyor of social relationships. Any social relationships that involve production are seen as relationships not among people, but rather economic relationships where money and commodities are traded i.e. in the marketplace one can perceive a producer as the provider of a good, and the producer can perceive one as a consumer. The perception of the relationship is governed by economic principles in terms of the money and goods that are exchanged.
[47] The section in this thesis on sexuality and homoeroticism details this point very well.

LaMothe (2014) has hypothesized that this internalization process begins in childhood, when a child learns the expectations of their family through expectations and practices. An example may be how children complete household chores in return for remuneration which they are then told to save. Already, the young child is beginning to learn that social practices can be monetized. As they grow into their late adolescence they are confronted with a pervasive economic reality, and must learn to play by the rules (LaMothe, 2014). The news is also a big reinforcement of the neoliberal capitalist economic system as it perpetuates discourses around dominant ideological bases. The media can widely condemn, or commend, an individual action and this can form the basis for public dissatisfaction related to the event.[48] More covertly however, is the ability that the news has to present a strong version of the "economic" world, by doing this a frequent watcher of economic news television learns to internalize its rules and use them to organize and interpret social relations (LaMothe, 2014). The very fact that it manages to daily pervade in this way goes by uncritically most of the time, once again reinforcing the argument that the dominant social imaginary is now very much an unquestionable reality. These norms are, once again, developed in us from a young age through child-rearing and family influence. LaMothe (2014) argues that at times critiques can be levelled and tough questions can be asked, but those in power (i.e. parents) raise doubts over these core narratives and still maintain their own fundamental principles. This situation reproduces itself in dominant social narratives when an individual is not cognizant of the fact that power is being exerted on them. In *Destiny Man* magazine one can see that most of the time critiques are being levelled against the ruling political party, yet the system in which the social interaction is taking place is never called into question.

Nelson (2001) has argued that capitalism has taken on the characteristics of a religious dogma. In this sense it would be heretical for one to even denounce any one of its tenets; instead the individual criticizes *within* the system and does not look to change from without. [49] This comes about to the internalization of a capitalist ethos. An article by Malala (2014) in the January-February edition of *Destiny Man* highlights this political view at an epistemic

[48] *This is not to suggest that "The Media" is an unified leviathan. McKaiser (2015) put it succinctly as "really do not know who exactly "the media" refers to. What I do know is that our country has many media companies, each with a range of media products, and that a diverse group of reporters, columnists, contributing writers, and editorial teams, look after the content of these media houses."*

[49] Freire (1972) contended that the playing field be levelled in order for all participants to play equally. To do this does not require the players on the field to be substituted with new players. This represents a first-order change that only changes the players but still keeps the rules of the game. Freire argued that the nature of the game itself should be changed, implying that entire systems need to be overhauled or at the very least reworked.

level. Intended to allow readers to be critically aware of the soon-to-be national elections Malala takes a quantitative view of South Africa since 1994 by contrasting two commentators:

"Both commentators are absolutely right. The figures Makgetla quotes can be empirically proven…Makgetla wants us to consider the ANC's record since 1994-which speaks of success. Zibi judges Zuma's administration on its record since 2009-which is dismal"

(Malala, [January-February] 2014: 14).

The 'record' that Malala is referring to in both cases, is of course, an economic one. The article makes references to "almost every single economic measure" labelling South Africa as a 'middle-income' economy. This South Africa by 'the numbers' fits in well within the corporate-dominated media inculcated by *Destiny Man* magazine. Once again in this case neoliberal capitalism is taken as an immutable law, the functions of which do not even come into awareness. Society has internalized much of this ethos and uses it to shape, and this case measure, their lives. Ironically, the capitalist neoliberal forces that function to create inequality in the market and discrepancies amongst citizens are the very same standards to which Malala is encouraging citizens to measure themselves by. While informing the reader to be cognizant of the economic measures of success (something which the author is sure readers have knowledge of anyway), Malala fails to identify the structural inequalities fostered by a neoliberal capitalist system. This structure is treated with an unerring amount of determinacy, subjecting individuals already in disadvantageous positions to exclusively see their fulfillment by this single measure. The acceptance of quantitative reality detracts from the qualitative experiences of those living this reality, as well as disregarding the lived experiences at both individual, and societal levels. For those who are classified as low-income earners, little difference exists in whether South Africa is defined as a middle-income economy, or otherwise, due to the fact that scarcity and depravity will remain the lived experience. Within a neoliberal capitalist framework, upward mobility is not guaranteed by cognizance of economic measures, but rather more correctly as *who* owns the means of production. So long as this structural imbalance exists, the dominant imaginary of neoliberal capitalism persists.

Chapter Four

Subsection Two

4.2. Destiny Overshadowed.

The relation between *Destiny Man* and *Destiny* has been a case of the 'student becoming the master'. *Destiny Man* was the brother publication of the initially successful *Destiny* magazine in what is a common reversal of roles where the masculine is usually placed before the feminine. 'Man' as a generic term in English language has reflected the inherent unequal perceptions of masculine hegemony over the subalterns (Miller & Swift, 1988). Generic masculine pronouns[50] have been implicit in the assumption of male superiority, especially within Western culture. The intersectionality of gender, race, and culture come to the fore if one is to consider the historical vicissitudes attached to the term, reflecting biased positions in society and in upholding the state[51]. Publications such as *Women's Health* and *PlayGirl* have been considered as sister publications to their male predecessors. The instance of *Destiny Man* seems to have reversed a trend, not only in magazines, but in the entrenching of masculine hegemony, as being published after an initially female-targeted magazine.

Conceptualizing the relationship that exists between (a) *Destiny* magazine and *Destiny Man* magazine, and (2) the relationship between *Destiny Man* and women, can offer many fruitful insights at the psychoanalytic level of interpretation. The following section will attempt to analyze the collective content of the 2014 *Destiny Man* publications with regard to the features of the magazine that are allotted space for women. This includes both advertisements and text, as well as photographs within the article.

4.2.1. Ending with the Beginning: Exit Interviews

The *Exit Interview* of *Destiny Man* follows in the path laid before by its sister publication *Destiny*. With regards to the latter the purpose of the *Exit Interview* was to interview a

[50] Fanon (1967), a hugely influential figure in African and American Civil Rights revolutions also falls prey to this normalisation by using the term *le noir* 'the black man' as a masculine universal. His use of the term is also in the literal sense as he refers to colonized subjects lusting after white women.

[51] Even the Declaration of Independence cannot escape this fallacy: "*We hold these truths to be self-evident, that all men are created equal, that they are endowed by their Creator with certain unalienable Rights, that among these are Life, Liberty and the pursuit of Happiness.--That to secure these rights, Governments are instituted among Men, deriving their just powers from the consent of the governed"* (US, 1776).

prominent male to close off that month's edition. The use of the term 'exit interview' is understood in terms of an employee life cycle, very much geared towards improving the effectiveness of an organization. When an individual decides to part from an organization exit interviews are conducted to assess what should be improved, changed, or kept intact (Nigam & Mishra, 2014). Both *Destiny* magazine *and Destiny Man* magazine focus on content that is driven around a business-framed lifestyle, economics, and politics. The function of the *Exit Interview* in both publications could serve differing roles that are context specific, despite following the same format. To this extent the topic will be explored further by returning to Fanon, and analyses done on his text regarding the role of African women.

Bergner (1995) has rightly argued that psychoanalysis has a place in examining the constructions of gender and sexuality, as well as the linguistic and symbolic representations of race. This thesis has attempted to show this in the way of intersectionalities and the complex lattices that connect each of these seemingly separate nodes of social existence. Fanon (1952) used a psychoanalytic approach to explain the processes of subject formation in colonial Africa, and linking these to social power. Bergner (1995) also states that *Black Skin White Masks* also tends to see race in rigid binaries, implicitly denying the African female any identity or subjectivity. Women are defined in terms of their sexual relationships with men, also limiting their desire to heterosexuality[52].

Fanon argued that the Western notion of the "family" was projected onto the social environment to give a false sense of unity, and national identity. He wrote that the "black man" interacts with an "arsenal of complexes that has been developed by the colonial environment" (1967: 30). This statement is in congruence with the analysis of this thesis in the direction of intersectionalities, as well as with the reproduction of the dominant social imaginary of neoliberalist capitalism. *Destiny* is a publication that discusses these intersections within the South African context, yet is still aimed at the middle-class. By taking the same formula and applying it to men one could argue that *Destiny Man* is simply following the path that was laid before it by its female predecessor, however accepting this view entails accepting a set of prescriptive lore [literally] engendered by masculine hegemony. *Destiny Man* then does not as much set the field for role reversal, but rather for role *re-reversal*. Even within *Black Skin White Masks* Fanon attempts the subversion or colonial hegemony, yet in doing so silences African female subjectivity, only considering it

[52] A later discussion of *Destiny Man* and sexuality will also be briefly touched upon.

in relation to the African colonial male (Bergner, 1995).[53] The parallels that can be drawn from that critique match quite poignantly with the instance of *Destiny Man* in relation to feminity. The title of the magazine already constitutes a gendered splitting, seizing destiny from female ownership and transferring it back into the hands of the male rulers. Females are silenced not only in the ownership of their own *Destiny*, but their existence is silenced from conscious awareness on the covers (front and back) of *Destiny Man* magazine. The front covers of the 2014 issues feature neither (a) a female on the front cover, or (b) any mention of a female *within* the issue. The content of the front cover is mainly focused on economic-related issues such as wealth, unemployment, and entrepreneurship. The ideological rationale may be to say that the magazine is targeting a male audience, but this further entrenches an already established way of being.

4.2.2. Becoming Man.

Destiny Man is considered to be the 'brother' publication of *Destiny* magazine, yet the author of this thesis argues that the relational complexes between the two publications reproduces aspects of the maternal relationship in an object relations framework, and *Destiny* is not the 'sister' of *Destiny Man*, but the mother[54]. In other words, the essence of what *Destiny Man* is cannot be understood without understanding *Destiny Man's* relationship with *Destiny* magazine. Analyzing this relationship within an object relations framework is useful because in this context *Destiny Man* magazine's existence is solely because of *Destiny* magazine, and not a concurrent adjunct.

Margaret Mahler (1979) a prominent feminist critic of classic Freudian theory, postulated that healthily developing infants develop a *symbiotic* relationship with their mothers, while psychotic symbiotic infants fail to develop autonomy and a coherent sense of self. This represents a struggle the infant goes through between a need for autonomy, and a yearning to be close with the maternal figure; normal symbiosis leads to a balancing of these emotional states (Mahler, 1979). The relationship between *Destiny* and *Destiny Man* represents a case

[53] Bergner's discussion, like the overall theoretical approach to this analysis, is psychoanalytic in nature but from the appropriation of Feminist theory. This thesis does little justice to an expert feminine psychoanalysis, but much of the same interpretation is aimed at the disrupting of masculine hegemony.

[54] The subject of Freud's case study in "Analysis of a Phobia in a Five-Year-Old Boy" (1909/1967) Little Hans gave Freud the chance to articulate the Oedipus Complex. He referred to the boy's sexual feelings towards his mother, and rivalries with his father. Initially the Oedipus was to be used in the analysis of *Destiny Man* magazine in rivalry with *Destiny* magazine but doing so would severely limit the number of accurate interpretations that could be made regarding the relationship between the two publications not as a sexual one, but one which was more accurately maternal in nature.

where the latter has managed to become fully autonomous, and developing an identity in its own right:

"As we celebrate DESTINY MAN's fifth birthday we have been doing a lot of this: looking back over the past 60 months, exploring the present and recommitting to the future. This is our last alternate monthly issue…we needed to make sure we were on solid ground before making the leap…Thank you for taking this five-year journey with us and we hope we will continue benefitting from your support and feedback"

(Baffoe, Ed's note [July-August] 2014: 10).

The above is a sample of the editor's note written by Kojo Baffoe. He thanks the readers for making the "five-year journey" with the magazine and taking a reflective look over the previous 60 months. The magazine is still quite young in its infancy, but clearly wishes to advance into the future. The 'solid ground' the publication sought was surely that it could establish its core readership group and content publication apart from *Destiny*. While all of this has been achieved it is worth asking the question included in the research aims: who is not included? The acknowledgements extend as far as the target market, but the editor conspicuously omits the source of its existence: *Destiny*. The above editor's note made reference to the "challenging space" (pp.10) of the media and the men who have defined the industry in the past 20 years, yet the female perspective was silenced and perhaps assumed to be the domain of another publication.

Flax (1990) has argued that the socio-psychological pressures on the processes of mothering in Western culture have differing impacts on males and females in the separation-individuation phase. Females are more likely to have ambivalent relational ties to the mother while males deal with the separation-individuation through denial, projection, and domination. The processes of denial and domination seem to be the most salient defenses in *Destiny Man* with regards to dealing with the separation-individuation process. Denial is automatic in the sense that it fundamentally rejects the realities of neoliberal capitalism, and the structural disadvantages that it enforces onto women regardless of which sector they choose to do business in. The denial is also evident in the complete absence of recognition in the role that *Destiny* had to, and perhaps continues to, play in the sustained success of *Destiny Man* magazine. Therefore the "ability to control and be in control becomes both a need and a symbol of masculinity" (Flax, 1990: pp. 123). This is what is meant earlier by the seizing of destiny by *Destiny Man* magazine. Adding a possessive suffix to the title put's destiny in the

control of masculine hegemony and resets the imbalance of power in a neoliberal capitalist society. Even within organizations this ability to manipulate power is likely a characteristic of male employees (Collinson & Hearn, 1994).

When referring to the individuals within the industry, gender is a topic that is rarely discussed in the magazine, and at best left to the last page Exit Interview. The magazine also essentializes gender differences between men and women, giving an explanation of typically 'male' behaviour. The May-June (2014) features an article by Bailey titled "10 Things All Women Wish Men Knew" that is rife with covertly stated essentialism and the following picture:



Figure 19.

The quoted text is important in helping one to see the seemingly male/female dichotomy within a relationship:

"*I've been married to the same woman for 21 years. She's my baby, my boo, my anchor, my business partner, super-smart and the mother of my children. I thought I was the head, but she's the neck that turns it*"

(Bailey, 2014 in *Destiny Man* [May-June]; 16).

Bailey acknowledges that his relationship is an integral part of his life, yet an analysis of his language and the corpus of his article seem to suggest that he upholds notions of differing power relations in his relationship. He states that he believes that he is the"head" of his relationship while his wife is the "neck that turns it". Being the head implies being the figure in charge, as well as the decision-maker. The neck simply serves to hold the head up and help to steer it in the right direction. This analogy is then seen as one of the male taking the lead while the female plays the supportive role. The article continues with ten tips for a seemingly successful marriage:

1. "*Ask the woman in your life about her vision for the future*". This tip begins with the starting assumption that (a) women don't have aspirations, and (b) if they do, for some reason they have not been communicated in the relationship. Both assumptions seem to confirm that Bailey's view of heterosexual relationships are primarily male dominated.
2. "*Release the need to be right"*. This point reveals the implicit discourse that men are always right, or the possessors of ultimate truth. The advice given in this point is expanded on below, but it is important to bear in mind that it promotes tolerance rather than equality. The former does not necessarily imply the latter, while the latter does not see the former as a virtue, but perhaps an impediment to reflexivity.
3. "*Let her talk"*. This point views masculinity as dominant, and pervasive, an attack on feminity most likely perceived with a measure of anxiety.
4. *"Take her challenges seriously"*. Bailey acknowledges the masculine feature of narcissism in this point by stating that "Men can be selfish and get caught up in themselves" (pp. 16). The cause of narcissism is not addressed in his analysis, but concessions are made insofar as relationships are concerned. However, another concern is raised with this tip relating to the nature of feminism; the structure of patriarchy is not addressed as a "challenge", with Bailey favoring an individualistic

look at whatever these challenges may be. There is also a covert feel that these challenges have been largely ignored or dismissed as irrelevant. Ironically, the perceptions and beliefs that men hold are challenges in themselves, and would need to be overcome as a first step in producing real change.

5. *"Encourage and celebrate her personal, professional and educational development*. This point is also expanded on below.
6. *"Plan a surprise trip for the two of you*. This seems to be the classic romantic gesture.
7. *"Help her discover the unique strengths, talents and special qualities that you and others see in her, but that she might not see in herself*. The discourse contained in this message once again employs the view that woman are incapable of autonomy of thought. It is also up to the man to oversee this process of *strengthening* the woman, almost as though she is inherently weak.
8. *"Little things can really make a woman smile"*. David and Brannon (1976) have shown how American masculinity would make use of these value statements. Later work reveals that culture can often hold gender stereotypes; which are beliefs about psychological traits appropriate to men and women (Brannon, 2000). This tip by Bailey forces a conceptualization of women behaviour from a hegemonic masculine perspective.
9. *"Accept her and value her for who she is, rather than who you want her to be*. A projection seems to have been enacted in this tip as Bailey continues that men should not compare their female partners with other women, and should "keep reminding her that she's beautiful and tell her what you appreciate about her". Abstractions are made about the [so-called] female mind; however anxieties related to affirmation of narcissism are masked by an inexact method of masculine mind-reading of the [so-called] human mind. The gesture projects the anxieties men have about their own narcissism into the female form.
10. *"Share the household chores as much as possible"*. The discourses at play assign normative gender roles to the domestic realm. The assumption that women are responsible for the family and the household is not even up for negotiation over here, rather that the man must "chip in" whenever he is able to in order to reduce the woman's work burden.

With unquestionable facts such as "Women use more words than men. They work through their problems and brainstorm ideas aloud" as well as the advice in point #5 "She has a brain

and wants to use it". Despite considering himself the head of his relationship, Bailey has come to the incredible realization that women too have brains, yet he is still unwilling to give an inch: "Women have perspectives and opinions that can benefit you. You don't always have to agree with them, but you have to be respectful" (pp.16)

Overall the article takes a rather patronizing male-privilege view of women in relationships. She is defined by the relationship, and the parameters which her male partner is willing to afford her. By essentializing gender the article simply evades the issue altogether. Even by discussing the stresses which females face in the 21st century as participants of the working world, it still does not address how the workplace is a hotly contested terrain that has played a key part in the generation and proliferation of a historically male dominated discourse (Lowe, Mills, & Mullen, 2002). The article ends with the duties a male ostensibly needs to do to help his partner, as implied by the picture. Yet the overall theme still plays into the gender-bias that has dominated a male hegemonic agenda. The male is still viewed as the rational, while the female is the emotional; the man is seen as having a natural right in participating in public spaces, while the female is regarded as existing in the private space of the domestic realm.

Essentialism can also be understood if one turns to Goffman's (1976) account of "gender display". This entails that gender is exhibited or portrayed through interaction, meaning that one can only experience gender through interaction with others. Paradoxically, although this entails the social construction of gender as a performance or a display, it is then seen as "natural". Goffman (1976) believes that when human beings interact with each other in the environment they possess an "essential nature" that can be ascertained through the "natural signs given off or expressed by them" (1976, p. 75). This means that displays of masculinity and feminity come to define any characterization of a situation, no matter how fleeting (West & Zimmerman, 1987). We take these cues to establish contact in social situations, but Goffman (1976) contends that this contact has consequential activities such as performing tasks or engaging in discourse. The article is immediately followed on the next page by the following advertisement:



Figure 20

The advert depicts a white male model gazing at the camera with an intimidating expression on his face, one-eye half covered by his hair. He is straddled from behind by a white model painted in gold, her hand around his chest. The name of the fragrance 'pacco rabanne' and 'INTENSE' is written in gold, as well as an insert of the fragrance bottle. The advertisement in and of itself is worthy of an analysis, as it depicts the male as the focus of sexual desire, while the female depicted in gold is an object to obtain-one obtains this object by [presumably] buying the fragrance. The man's fingers are also poised in a clicking motion; this suggests that he is able to control the female with a snap of his fingers. It seems almost hypocritical to place this advertisement directly after an article advocating that woman be treated with equal footing in a relationship. Displaying a man in a position of power summoning a woman at his beckoned call removes all sense of autonomy and individuality from her. The relationship in the advert is purely sexual, with a female showing an irresistible lust towards the male figure. Though the hypocritical stance of gender equality is removed,

much of the same thread of women existing in relation to men is carried through all fragrance advertisements in the 2014 issues.

4.2.3. Masking Difference.

Only one of the advertisements featured an African couple while the balance of the advertisements featured only white models. This portrayal has the latent meaning of women existing in male spaces as a means to desire fulfillment. It also dichotomizes and essentializes the display of race, limiting sexual desire to a clearly defined category or partnership. This occurrence is not simply a happenstance, but one which finds meaning in discursive psychology. Ratele (2004) has examined the discourses engaged by young heterosexual African males in the changing political landscape of South Africa, and has found that sexual politics and masculine desire are still mediated by issues of race; and specifically, the black body[55]. Ratele (2004) defines these social engagements by what he calls "*Kinky Politics"*, which fetishes and refetishes racial perversion. This is done through personal and institutional practices, which serve to naturalize racial difference. In the advertisement below, the couple appears, at first glance, to be a heteronormative pairing advertising fragrance. A deeper explanation draws on factors of the advert that are not immediately apparent to the non-analytic mind. The first is the setting; two black bodies are shown among the plains of the African savannah, once again re-cycling the emergence from the "jungle" (Fanon, 1967). In this event, the stabilization of this discourse remains intact due to the deceptively normative standard imposed by racialized discourse. The second observation made relates to the brand itself *Aspire*. Placed alongside black bodies in a setting such as the one discussed reinforces the point of the African male holding the desire of becoming more than himself; aspiring, as it were, to whiter transcendence (Fanon, 1967). The whiteness of his suit may also be a subtle hint at this interpretation. The third observation relates to the black bodies themselves. The couple is clothed and not standing in overtly sexually positions unlike the other advertisements included in the magazine with white bodies. Gordon (1997) notes how in the antiblack masculine world, penises of any length still represent a threat. Ratele (2004) remarks that the African male feeds into sexual anxieties generated by a racist history, and within societies this produces a "spectacle of difference" (pp. 152). In this *Destiny Man* advertisement the appearance of reality is not as natural as one might accept, but rather it is fashioned from discourses of raced sexualities.

[55] The fetishes of the black body are explored in greater detail in the section "*Holding the Phallus"*.



Figure 21.

Much as in the same way as *Black Skin White Masks Destiny Man* considers women as subjects mostly in terms of their sexual relationships with them. Whether this is overtly stated or not depends on the content of the article, but one can be almost assured of this bind in identity in relation to the male subject. Feminine desire is also exclusively defined by heterosexuality, at times intersecting with race and the architecture of raced masculinity in the African middle class. An article titled 'In the Mix' (May-June 2014) connects these two in discussing the 'taboo' behind interracial dating. He states that what "emerges far more frequently is a sometimes disturbing picture of the many social and cultural obstacles faced by those who've "broken ranks" by choosing a mate of a different ethnicity" (pp.99). The social in this aspect points to a disruption that is caused by defying expectations, and obstacles are encountered by not performing to these expectations. One can return to Goffman's (1976) analysis of gender as a performance and intersect this with how race is also likened to a social performance. Race courtesies may or may not be offered, and they could either be accepted or declined. Accepting these entails reproducing the raced expression, while declining it has implications for the psychosocial. Goffman sees gender as a 'socially scripted dramatization', or a cultural idealization played to a well-schooled audience (West & Zimmerman, 1987). Thus gender is embedded in social interactions and is not merely a

perspective; however as mixed race couples defy cultural expectations they can be seen too as displays.

Within psychoanalytic discourses racial difference and sexual difference both emanate from a common construction of otherness, and they intersect in contextually variable ways. This view seems to be echoed by author Hagen Engler who was interviewed in this article as he is married to an isiXhosa woman:

The odd disagreements we have come down to cultural differences. I believe there's no such thing as race-it's a contrived idea and a figment of someone's imagination. What really distinguishes human beings is culture: the ways we were raised and the different experiences we had as children.

(as quoted in *Destiny Man* [May-June] 2014: 99).

Thus the situation as interpreted by the interviewees sees the notion of race as supercilious, while the interpretation offered by Goffman (1976) helps one to view it in the more nuanced interactions of everyday life. However, it is most likely beneficial to consider the South African context and the effects this has had on perspectives of race. At a latent level it represents a preoccupation with othering that has come to dominate the social sphere, and *Destiny Man* has continued with this notion in the slighted areas that are often taken as normative. This includes the notions of heteronormativity, as well as normative expectations included in the above discussion. The article however fails to address the elephant in the room: South Africa's history of racial segregation. To dismiss the issue of apartheid in the discussion of race seems like a crucial oversight. It is an example of how the magazine itself wishes to distance itself from the effects of apartheid on the psychosocial dimensions of life that are not strictly limited to romantic relationships.

4.2.4. The Phallic World



Figure 22.

An article written in the November (2014) issue discusses the relational ties between men and women, in reference to spending time together. The above photograph is included in the article with the words "GIVE ME SPACE!" as a headline. The artwork is colored only in yellow and red, perhaps evoking associations with rage and an unleashed id. The style and dress of the figures in the artwork also appears to be in line with a mid-twentieth century nostalgia, with the male drawn in a classic masculine sense possessing big hands, a muscled frame, short hair, and a strong jawline. The woman's face is not shown, and instead the viewer is drawn to her sexual representation. She is wearing a short skirt and is drawn with a line curvature suggesting a sexually desirable figure, her face is not shown. She has her arms forcibly clinging on to the man's neck as he appears agitated, struggling to release him from her grip. The landscape seems to depict a wild area, further suggesting that the classic masculine portrayal of being a hunter is reproduced in conscious thought.

The latent meanings behind the image can be deciphered through the use of the text in the article, and even in the title of the article. “ME” is the word written in the biggest font once again bringing up the notion of male narcissism, and the unequal balance of power in a heteronormative relationship. It depicts the relationship as a battle zone that a man attempts to escape from, however he is unable to because the woman somehow has an unrelenting bind on him:

But Bheki says being alone with Lindi was not always pleasant. They used to argue a lot because they “were just spending too much time together”.” I couldn’t go anywhere without her. If I did, she’d be phoning all the time. It was irritating”, says Bheki. “I was suffocating him”, explains Lindi. The difficulty was that, at the time, we worked together and had mutual friends”.

(Bheki Gocweni as quoted in *Destiny Man* [November]; 122).

The article content reflects the theme of object relating used as an overall framework for conceptualizing the relationship between *Destiny Man* magazine and women. Figlio (2001) states that, for children, objects are a disturbance and one’s response to them are either to repudiate them or re-categorize them as aspects of the self. Primary [Infant] narcissism denotes omnipotence; therefore nothing exists outside this omnipotent realm, and, when an object does appear so does the need arise for one to completely master it. Bheki seemed to be alluding to a need for “space” which one could interpret as meaning *that which he can control*. As he cannot control his objects through mastery and manipulation, he wishes to have them temporarily excommunicated in order to enable him the chance to retreat into a realm that he can master. The ‘object’ refers to Lindi [his wife], and Bheki’s interpersonal relating pattern with her seemed to be one of rupture and dissociation. Lindi is represented in Bheki’s mind as a disturbance; perhaps indicative of an early relational pattern Bheki may have experienced with his own maternal figure; while we can only speculate on this idea, what is clear is that Bheki felt annoyed at the amount of affection Lindi was displaying towards him. It is also curious that this was the sole cause of dysfunction in the relationship, placing women as the source of blame. It is not mentioned here, or anywhere else in the article, about the role men have in the relationship- for the most part, men are portrayed as solitary beings for which relationships are accorded secondary status. From the above article and accompanying artwork, the disturbance in this sense has been related to the presence of the female in the relationship.

The artwork depicts a male supposedly in his element: in the outdoors, attempting to master nature yet being disrupted by an unwanted disturbance. Another couple in the article experienced this seemingly suffocating effect:

I have to take my wife to spas, functions and shopping malls. It drives me crazy…She'll sulk for weeks if I refuse to accompany her to some function. I no longer have time to watch a game with friends because that's when she wants me with her the most. I feel smothered.

(as quoted in Malembe [2014], *Destiny Man* [November]; 123).

This object-relating reproduces itself in the romantic relationship interaction with the males feeling under threat in their omnipotent subjective experiences. The man supposedly feels most under threat in the moments when he wishes to be with his friends, portraying the female as being a fractious object. The mother also represents a primitive super-ego which, according to Klein (1929), is considered monstrous and effects the child's projection into the rudimentary scenes of wishes and fears of being swallowed by the mother.

Both these explanations apply not only to the topic of the article but the relationship between *Destiny* magazine and *Destiny Man* magazine as a whole. Having emerged from this maternal presence, *Destiny Man* has sought to thoroughly distinguish itself in the separation-individuation process. The implications of this suggest that domination over the feminine object is a defense to the insecurity of the male identity. As such, the presence of females in the publication is kept to a bare minimum, appearing mostly when in relation to males, in heteronormative relationships (i.e. the *Love Notes* section in the magazine). Even in these appearances (as seen above) their presence is perceived in a threatening and devouring manner, evoking a need for the male to protect himself from the feminine threat. Figlio (2001) states that the boy child is drawn towards anal-sadistic defenses against the mother, and in some cases use the extreme phantasy of an anal-penis to block engulfment by the mother. Therefore the penis becomes a faecal stick, protecting against the anal-sadistic stance against loss of self. Figlio then outlines the difficulty that this pseudo-masculinity has had for the development of object-relations in the adult world of genitality in which we see:

"*…contempt rather than love; slavish adherence to equality, as a defense against envy and the fear of domination, rather than co-operation; mastery rather than mutuality; sham rather than genuineness; shallowness rather than depth; sterility rather than fecundity; idealization rather than esteem…"*

(Figlio, 2001; 119)

Freud (1908) placed special emphasis on the symbolic meanings of the anal-sadistic stage, and discovered that feces play the role of part-objects that the child either uses to please or to challenge the mother:

"Defecation affords the first occasion on which the child must decide between a narcissistic attitude and an object-loving attitude. He either parts obediently with his faeces, 'sacrifices' them to his love, or else retains them for purposes of auto-erotic satisfaction and later as a means of asserting his own will"

(Freud, 1917: 130).

Time spent alone or with friends watching sport is an example of how the narcissistic attitude is played out in real life. The men in the article have a strong urge to assert their respective wills, and use these as a means to dominate the relationship. The result is a splitting between 'good' and 'bad' experiences as 'wanted' or 'unwanted' (Klein, 1929). These issues are never fully resolved, but rather done away with the awarding of the wants of the men. In turn, the object relations are still experienced as hostile, and the nurturance received by their female partners is perceived as toxic. In some form these elements are present throughout the *Destiny Man* pages, consider the advertisement below:



Figure 23.

The subtext of this advertisement seems to suggest retaliation against fecundity, particularly emotional fecundity. Feelings are seen as an impediment to manliness, and therefore should not be engaged with. The unresponsiveness or emotional unavailability of the car is clearly an anal-sadistic stance against the loss of a self-identity. The identity that the *Destiny Man* wishes to self-align himself with is one which does not display emotional vulnerability and features that are classically associated with women. The notion reproduced mirrors Brannon's (1976) tenet of 'No sissy stuff' where 'sissy stuff' refers to the feelings the advertisement wishes to parody. The car itself is big and imposing, and the angle of the photograph places it in a steep protruding slant, similar to an erect penis. According to Chasseguet-Smirgel (1986) the introjection of the father's penis forms the basis for a masculine identity, allowing the boy to not only be sexually active with women, but also to relinquish nostalgia for the mother. Emotions in *Destiny Man* are also largely relinquished leading to a sterility of discussion centered mainly on economic identities, and a neoliberal capitalist agenda. The text of the advertisement is mostly written in bold lettering, with the exception of the italicized '*Your Feelings'*, written in a manner that comes across as patronizing and non-genuine. The article is in stark contrast to the article written by Bailey (2014)[56] that gives guidelines on how to interact with women. Bailey (2014) suggested that it was important for men to listen to women with an active ear, and be genuinely interested in what she has to say. One would assume that this would entail an emotional readiness to engage, in the interests of mutuality. However, this article opposes this mutuality in every way. The overall subtext clearly exposes the representation of the masculine mind. The advertisement is almost a warning sign to women, relegating their *feelings* to an inevitable one-way dialogue.

The advert also points to the primitive scenes of omnipotence that lends itself to the development of self-consciousness (Figlio, 2001). This also correlates to the previously-analyzed artwork regarding the male being attacked by the female in a wild scene, the car in the advert represents the anal-sadistic penis, and is a protection against this attack. It is meant to block the engulfment that emerges from connecting with one's emotions, as doing so would also entail the acknowledgement of a feminine element. The scene of man dominating nature, with the consequent exclusion of a female presence is a neurotic trait based on omnipotence. The latent meaning behind the advert is one that says nature is meant to be

[56] See above

dominated, and penetrated by a masculine force. Females are not permitted access to this, and are in fact actively forced away by a pseudo-masculine defence (Figlio, 2001). This also has its roots in what Klein observed in early masculine development:

"…*it is partly determined by an attempt to mask the anxiety and ignorance which lie behind it. In part it coincides with the boy's protest (originating in his fear of castration) against the feminine role, but it is rooted in his dread of his mother…"*

(Klein, 1928: 191).

An insecurity seems to be formed in the content of the articles in *Destiny Man* magazine, as well as with the limiting of the inclusion of females overall. In remaining outside of the sphere of omnipotence, yet it also still maintains an ambivalent relationship with *Destiny* magazine. At times there are kindly identifications, including times when *Destiny* magazine is advertised in the publication. However the anxiety still exists for the male publication in the establishment of its own identity in the separation-individuation process. One can also deduce from Klein (1928) that the boy lacks a secure base derived from the mother, and appeals to developing a narcissistic identity centered on a penis he fears losing to an extraneous mother. This ambivalent process plays itself out in *Destiny Man* as it simultaneously exists in the moment of self-creation and self-loss. The trade-off plays itself out as the more the magazine attempts to create itself, the more it loses identification with the original publication. The two co-existing as separate entities suggests that the penis does not exist as an enduring ideal. It is inevitable that this state of being is anxiety-provoking for the publication as a whole, as well as some of its male readership. The difference between *Destiny* and *Destiny Man* lies in the structure that either respectively exists in, a neoliberal capitalist superstructure. Whereas *Destiny* attempts to establish a new mode of social existence for females in a male hegemony, *Destiny Man* further entrenches the status of men in neoliberal capitalism. Yet, as outlined above, men feel a sense of anxiety stemming from a perceived imminent female threat. To this end, the pseudo-masculine defences are enacted to deal with this, yet the neurotic misery behind female empowerment still persists.

An article titled, '*Rands and Romance*' (March-April, 2014) illuminates the anxiety men experience from having female partners participating in the market. Vorster (2014) states that when men are out-earned by their female partners it affects the dynamics of their relationship, and particularly men's earning ability is "linked to a complicated mixture of pride, ego and doubt" (pp. 92). Pride is linked to the forms of masculine behaviours that define how males

see themselves in relation to the feminine. For the men mentioned in the article, earning power is conflated with a sense of identity, and what it means to be a certain type of man. It also relates to the "slavish adherence to equality" mentioned by Figlio (2001: 119) that men try to ingenuously maintain in contemporary society. The phallo-centrism of the article is also illuminated when one analyzes the unconscious motive to make it conscious. It includes a story about a man who changed careers initially from something he enjoyed doing to a more sedate job as a copywriter for a large corporate enterprise, in order for him to feel like the provider he felt he should be. Ultimately, Sibusiso (said man) wanted to "bring home a bigger loaf" (pp. 93) which has the underlying meaning related to seminal function, and the perceived vitality that men experience from possessing semen; Figlio (2001) states that this is a phallic phantasy, based on quantities of more or less, and narcissism of engorgement. Even the advertisement below included in the magazine suggests a similar type of engorgement:



Figure 24.

An impossibly-sized structure reaches into the sky topped with an impossibly-sized meal. The advertisement has the theme of engorgement and quantity measurement overtly expressed in the image. Even more so, this [grotesquely] oversized structure is punctuated by the words “Size Matters” written in large bold letters. The latent meaning behind the advertisement sees this scaffold as an erect penis thriving on pride, engorgement, and fulfillment. It has been argued that the erectile organs are primary seats of narcissism as they provide self-generated withdrawals from external reality with a dimensionless sense of expansion and fullness (Figlio, 2001). This is all the more apparent in the absurdly dimensionless proportions of the box tower meal in the advertisement and the stretching of the erect tower into the vastness of the sky. The advertisement depicting this seemingly large, satisfying, and gratifying meal is a more graphic depiction of what is implied by “bringing home a bigger loaf”. The article includes a quote by Elvis Munatswa stating how men can feel emasculated choosing a career path they enjoy, but does not give them the main position of provider in the family, “Met get more than money and power from work; they also get a sense of meaning and identity” (pp.93). This relates back to the conflation that exists between earning power and masculine identity, as well as the notion that the phallic world is very much one based on quantity and accumulation. As applied to society overall, the phallic world can be seen as a masculine defence against feminization further enforcing that masculinity is not a stable identity, but one that vacillates between anxious states and defences against these anxious states.

It can be argued that *Destiny Man* has not reached a successful resolution of the notion of difference within the genital stage, and this has led to an anxiety regarding the loss of the male genital to feminization. Following the separation-individuation phase *Destiny Man* has been unable to incorporate *Destiny* magazine as an essential part of its existence, instead we see notions of deficiency or inadequacies of being relating to more or less what masculinity means in terms of identification.

Chapter Four

Subsection Three

Phantom Mothers: The Individuation of the Parenting Process in *Destiny Man*.

4.3.1 Introduction

The following section will be a textual analysis of the account of the representation of fatherhood in *Destiny Man* magazine; particularly in the *Working Dad* section. Using mainly a psychoanalytic perspective including elements of object relations and oedipal conflicts, this section seeks to include an account of narcissism that can explain parenthood as portrayed by the narrative of *Destiny Man* magazine. The account of narcissism is necessary due to the fact that *Destiny Man* magazine conspicuously precludes mothering from the narrative of parenthood, and instead treats parenting from a monad perspective.

4.3.2. African Fathers Found.

The *Working Dad* section in *Destiny Man* magazine is included as a part of the features in every publication. Written by Kojo Baffoe this feature presumably gives a subjective stance of the experience of fathering in the present era of South African society. Directed towards the African middle-class male sub-population the feature is significant as a functioning guideline towards fatherhood for white-collar fathers. The feature is important for detailing the tensions that many middle-class fathers may experience in the dominant social imaginary of neoliberal capitalism, and how to be a good-enough father in South Africa today.

Defining the terms '*father*' and '*fatherhood*' is an important distinction to make in order to help the reader to engage with the processes discussed in this section. Morrell (2006) has argued that in the 21st century understandings of the term are in a dynamic state, as the biological definitions no longer suffice with the introduction of new legislation and technologies. This is also inextricably linked to the conceptions of masculinity which have been a core component of this thesis; the two concepts are not mutually exclusive and there could even be considerable overlap when discussing either of them (Morrell, 2006). *Fatherhood* denotes the responsibilities assigned to child-rearing including, but not limited to, the involvement in the child's life (Morrell, 2006). Within the South African context, the

notion of fatherhood has undergone fundamental change over the years (Lesejane, 2006). The intersections with various African cultures and meanings of the parental process have led to a reconceptualization of our understanding of these terms in the 21st century, as well as notions of masculine identity. As we shall see, these conceptualisations come to the fore in both how fathers are defined in South Africa today, and how the *Destiny Man* experiences his fatherhood.

Hosking (2006) researched how fatherhood has become a new focus in the 21st century. As has been seen in other aspects of this thesis, the identity of masculinity is not a stable concept but rather one that vacillates between anxious states under perceived threats. As a result men develop pseudo-masculine defences to guard against these perceived attacks, and the continued reproduction of these defences has consequential implications for the vast majority of society. This is especially so due to the entrenching of masculine hegemony over the course of history, and the practice of maleness in contemporary society.

Working Dad attempts to dissipate the tensions that may arise from men participating in childcare and the unfamiliar realm of the domestic sphere, by describing the relationships fathers can build with their child/children. It takes the South African context into account and considers the intersections that occur as a consequence of the historical narrative of the country. *Destiny Man* promotes fatherhood along mainly western terms, as the term *Working Dad* denotes an existence rooted in a neoliberal capitalist framework; therefore, the tensions arise not only in the interpersonal relationships, but also how to navigate these in the work/family balance. The *Destiny Man* must be cognizant of the various factors that influence his existence in these roles. For instance in the May-June edition Baffoe (2014) presents an anecdotal example of the difficulty South African fathers can encounter when challenged to address the notions of race by their children. The article explores this condition in the targeted middle class subpopulation and quotes Georgina Alexander as saying "The middle class is where children experience the most integration in their neighbourhoods, schools, churches, shops, etc.", as opposed to lower income class children who "…grow up in remote rural communities" and "are far less likely to interact with people of different racial groups" (pp. 90). A discourse is being created in the phenomenological experience of children reared in areas with more opportunities for integration versus children who do not and, crucially, the implicit assumption that fathers of the middle class would experience child rearing as different because of this. The basis of this argument is not under contention considering the historical factors of colonialism in Africa, and [especially] apartheid in South

Africa; these factors have had an impact on the phenomenon of othering in very young children and the development of self-consciousness[57]. Fanon (1967) was rather integral in developing a psychoanalytic perspective that took race into account when forming the psychic processes of othering. Even the awareness that stems from simply a visual perspective has destructive implications:

The black presence ruins the representative narrative of Western personhood. ... The white man's eyes break up the black man's body and in that act of epistemic violence its own frame of reference is transgressed, its field of vision disturbed.

(Bhabha, 1989: 135).

Racial identification has implications in the development of self, and reproduction of these constructions in the dominant social imaginary of neoliberal capitalism. Clowes (2006) has explained in her research how the portrayal of African fathers in Drum magazine experienced a rapid change from the domestically-involved father of the early 1950s, to the externally-located breadwinner of the late 1950s. This change was explained by the socio-economic factors of migrant labour that forced black men to move to cities seeking industrialised employment (Clowes, 2006). An article within the *Destiny Man* pages not directly linked to the *Working Dad* section, but covering the issue of apartheid is the 'perspective' written by Tshemese titled "*In the Name of the Father"* (October 2014). The article explores the 'psychological effects' of apartheid on the family and, in particular, on relationships between men and their fathers. Included in the article is the photograph below:

[57] Perhaps as much in the same way that genitality represents an adjustment to external reality, so too may the differing perspectives of race contribute to this challenge from a developmental perspective.



Figure 25.

The image in itself holds little interpretive value, but considered in the context of *Destiny Man* magazine it reveals itself as being one of only three photographs included in all the 2014 issues of a father holding a baby.[58] Most of the images making reference to fatherhood in *Working Dad* depict children as being on their own, or in hostile situations (i.e. a baby

[58] More on this to follow

precariously climbing the stairs, or children fighting in the car). A switch to this schism of the 'holding' father may perhaps be found Tshemese's (2014) article. It is stated that during the apartheid era, many African families were broken up by the migrant-labour system, causing fathers and husbands to leave rural areas to seek employment in the industrialized cities and mines.

"*Even the families who remained together were almost always under strain. Much of what is documented about life during apartheid is about the political struggle, with little consideration for how this impacted on people's psyches and relationships within families*"

(Tshemese, as cited in *Destiny Man* 2014 [October]: 96)

The early twentieth century witnessed the South African state imposing taxes on African people that forced them to seek work [mainly in the mines] to pay back these taxes (Rabe, 2006). As Africans were additionally excluded from owning land longer contracts for mineworkers became more common, and some fathers developed less-involved relationships with their families (Rabe, 2006). This is in accordance with what Tshemese reports on in the article, and could perhaps also help to explain the current trend towards individualistic fathering that we see today. A 2009 study by the South African Institute for Race Relations found that 48% of South African Children have absent [biological] fathers, at times requiring brothers, uncles and grandfathers to play the role. The disputed definition of what a 'father' is may perhaps be explored at greater length in another study, however for the purposes of this discussion it is clear that the biological fathers are absent from the child-rearing process. The political violence of the apartheid system also placed great strain on the family unit, complicating the relationship between the father as the provider, and the father as the omnipresent figure. While various explanations can be given for this with intersecting disciplines, what is almost certainly clear is the shift towards a more solipsistic approach to fatherhood as depicted by *Destiny Man*. Ratele, Shefer, and Clowes (2012) have argued that our discourses related to the parenting scheme are framed from a western perspective and this places bias on African familial structures that do not represent these forms. To this end, it is argued that the more contextualised explanations are necessary to allow for non-western conceptions of 'the family', and to explore the wider ranges of the meaning of parenting in different contexts (Ratele et al, 2012). The article is also noteworthy for its description of classic oedipal themes emerging from subjective experiences of fatherhood [and of being fathered], a resentful father recalls his own experience of his relationship with his father:

You know what? Le outie dropped the ball big time. Sure, he was there physically, but he was never there. Maybe it would have been better if he hadn't been there at all. Sure there was apartheid and it must have been tough for him, but he never struggled financially. He had opportunities, yet continued making bad decisions, especially financial ones, without thinking about anyone else. Look, I tolerate him because he is my mother's partner…I know this sounds harsh but this is my position

(as quoted in *Destiny Man* [October 2014]; 97)

The tension between fathers and sons in particular causes emotional turmoil as these competitive struggles reawaken old narcissistic injuries and conflicts (Diamond, 1998). The nature of the son's parental imago is constructed in a phenomenological response to their experience of the parent, sometimes relying only on perception or relational experiences. The son quoted above mentions a conflict that exists from wanting more emotional investment from the father, and not merely a physical presence. Diamond (1998) states that fathers are typically unaccustomed to experiencing profound emotional depth with their children, and this is also a genetic transference from their own experiences of being raised. Fathers have the chance to repeat their experiences with their own children or confront unresolved conflicts from their own childhoods (Pruett, 1991). It can further be argued that within a South African context extraneous factors have contributed to this lack of emotional quality such as that experienced by the father quoted above. The Oedipal Complex is the classic model for interpreting masculine and paternal conflicts, yet it has been argued that the separation-individuation construct is also an integral component in explaining the source of the conflict (Colarrusso & Nemiroff, 1981). They note that the father-son relationship is devoted to an ensuing power struggle that requires fathers to relinquish control over their son's lives, yet one can argue that relinquishing of this power can in itself be a source of conflict as seen in the example above. Colarrusso (1990) has further added a third individuation phase that takes place throughout the course of the course of parenthood, in which their own infantile themes must be resolved. The father in Tshemese's article seems to be attempting to negotiate his own themes in the context of his own children, yet maintaining ambivalent feelings towards his own father. Yet, an alternate view with a more contextualised understanding is another option to pursue in this analysis. Ratele et al (2012) note that in the historical record, African fathers had accepted more roles that was not classically western and was, in fact, more nurturing and emotionally responsive than the challenging oedipal character. This African father does not conform to the gender stereotype, and allows the

reader to engage with alternate masculinities that do not match the stereotypes. However, what is emphasised in the ways of fatherhood is the practice of 'positive masculinity' which is the care-giving role of father figures in children's lives.

Tshemese's article also motivates one to find the latent meaning behind the use of the language of the title, further adding to the interpretive richness of a textual analysis within a psychoanalytic framework. The title of the article reads "*In The Name Of The Father*", with the subtitle including the words "in particular, on relationships between men and their fathers" (pp. 96). This suggests exclusivity attached to masculinity that is related to [perhaps] unconsciously-held notions of divinity. To say the words "in the name of *The Father"* is directly akin to the Christian Trinitarian formula of which the full phrase is: "in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Spirit". The various theological implications of this phrase are beyond the scope of this thesis; however the usage of the phrase is relevant in helping one to understand the concept of unity. The divine implications of the phrase also help to construct the conceptualization of the father-son relationship as represented by *Destiny Man*, as that of a monad.[59] The important point to be taken from this relates to that of the unitary system, almost combining the father and son into one entity.

[59] The most comprehensive discussion of the theory of monadology is without a doubt done by the German philosopher Gottfried Liebniz. His short text 'The *Monadology' (*1991 [1714]) is an exposition of the metaphysics of the concept.

4.3.3. Children as Clones

For men, especially as seen in *Destiny Man*, the content refers to the relationship as a father-child unit with the father representing an omniscient and omnipresent force in the child's life. With the depiction of the child as a creation of the paternal force *Destiny Man* has taken a view of male development based on phallic supremacy. Freud (1923) inserted a phallic stage between the anal and genital stages, and declared that for both sexes only one genital comes into account, and it is the male one. The approach takes a strongly biased view of phallic monism that prides the [perceived] power of the penis that cripples girls with penis envy, representing feminity as an anxiety-fuelled stage. However, as discussed throughout this thesis masculinity is not a stable concept and men tend to feel anxiety related to a loss of their organ. This is to avoid identification with the mother, as seen by the denial of *Destiny*, and as a compensatory mechanism in the case of the unitary-view of fatherhood. Figlio (2001) argues that this compensation resulting in masculine hegemony is not located exclusively in the phallus, but is testicular in nature:

Once the seminal function is recognised, then the bearing of children is understood as procreation, not the creation of children…In the world of the phallus there is no other; just as, in a state of phallic monism, there is no female…It treats anything new, whether it be a baby…as the instantaneous concomitant to the moment of awareness in which they appeared.

(Figlio, 2001: 138-139).

The description offered by Figlio is revealing in the way the unconscious of the male psyche constructs a phantasy of an omnipotent phallus as creator, analogous to a magic wand, which brings forth everything. What comes to the fore here is the bestowing of omnipotent abilities onto the phallus, insinuating that the phallic world is at the behest of the endowed. Even the biologically mutual act of procreation becomes creation; the baby is seen as the product of monistic seminality, and a product of the omnipotent phallus. Figlio (2001) states that semen is distinctly masculine and the forthcoming character cannot be characterised without the existence of the feminine. However, this feminine character is repudiated, and often has its existence denied, especially in the content of *Destiny Man*.

Yet the phallic stage-itself an insertion between the anal and genital stages- was criticised by Jones (1927, 1932) as not an ordinary phase of development, but one that is defensive in nature. The common defence for boys is to defend against the awareness of the vagina, through various means. What is striking about Jones' defences is the exclusion of the power

of denial, yet Figlio (2001) rescues this by claiming that phallic monism is a masculine defence against this awareness, and feminization, and insofar as society is concerned, this too is a defence against feminization. *Destiny Man* seems to implicitly consider the child as the creation of the father not only in the phallic sense, but also in the testicular mode. By this it is meant that men give their children their sense of virility, and ultimately their purpose for existence. Children are seminal manifestations, as seen throughout their depictions in the magazine. There is no family 'unit' in any of the 2014 edition images, rather what one tends to see is the kind of being that is in effect a masculine by-product. The baby is then seen as a narcissistic extension of the testicular charge, and this operates at an unconscious level of primitive phantasy.[60] It can be argued in line with other aspects of this thesis that Western culture adopts an individualistic perspective of society that entrenches masculine hegemony; this results in solipsistic visions that are based reproduced by the dominant social imaginary of neoliberal capitalism, therefore effects of quantity and dominance are prevalent in the phallic world. *Destiny Man* reveals to the reader that interactions take place in a phallic world, and feminization is seen as an unconscious threat that leads to denial of the mother. Paternity encompasses both phallic functions and seminal functions, which takes up both the phantasies of procreation and feminization, as a defence against the extraneous mother.

It is widely acknowledged that perspectives on fathering vary and there is no agreed-upon definition for this concept among researchers (Rabe, 2006). To wit, the focus of this chapter is not to analyse fathering from a 'good-enough' perspective as is prescribed by *Destiny Man*[61], but to analyse both what is and isn't being said in the *Working Dad* features. Perhaps the most striking feature of the *Working Dad* columns is the representation of fatherhood as a seemingly solitary pursuit, tasked solely as the responsibility of the father. This analysis shows conclusively that in the 2014 *Working Dad* columns in *Destiny Man* magazine the word 'mother' is never mentioned in a single column. Even more telling than this is the exclusion of the role of any mothering figure in the developmental cycle of child-rearing. What does this mean for the perceptions of fathering as depicted by *Destiny Man* magazine? In two separate articles experiences of fathering are touched upon, firstly with an interview with Professor Adam Habib in the January-February edition, and secondly with an interview

[60] Much more is said about this in rich detail by Melanie Klein, see *The Psycho-Analysis of Children* (1933)

[61] For more on the prescriptions according to *Destiny Man* it is encouraged that the reader is referred to "World's Worst Babysitter" written by Rich Mulholland in the September (2014) issue of the publication. A strongly written opinion piece Mulholland lambasts the use of technology such as iPads in parenting. The article is interesting not only for the harshness in its tone, but an acknowledgement that a mother may exist in the parenting dyad. This is fleeting however.

with Benni McCarthy in the March-April edition.[62] In both articles the interviewees are asked about the respective relationships they have with their respective children. McCarthy is asked what is greatest achievements have been thus far, to which he responds, "Becoming a father, because it changed everything-the way I looked at things and the individual I was. It made me grow up very fast" (pp. 101). The article is accompanied with the following photograph



Figure 26.

One can assume that the inclusion of his child in the photograph was meant to convey the message to the reader that the interviewee is a family man. The image can invoke in one a sense of paternal benevolence, and humanization. Further analysis reveals a fact that is quite extraordinary about the 2014 editions of *Destiny Man* magazine: there is not a single advertisement in any issue that depicts fatherhood, or family life. This is in direct contrast to the portrayals of African masculinities in *Drum* magazine in the early 1950s (Clowes, 2006). The research done by Clowes (2006) had found that many images of fathers and babies were regularly employed in advertisements showing fathers holding their children with mothers

[62] Due to the limitations of the research a fuller exploratory account could not be provided regarding all content related to fathers in *Destiny Man* magazine. This cautionary footnote serves to inform the reader that these two specific articles are not exhaustive in their scope of fatherhood in *Destiny Man* magazine

present. Aside from the two pictures already included, the following two are the summation of men depicted in any engagement of fathering with children in *Destiny Man* magazine:



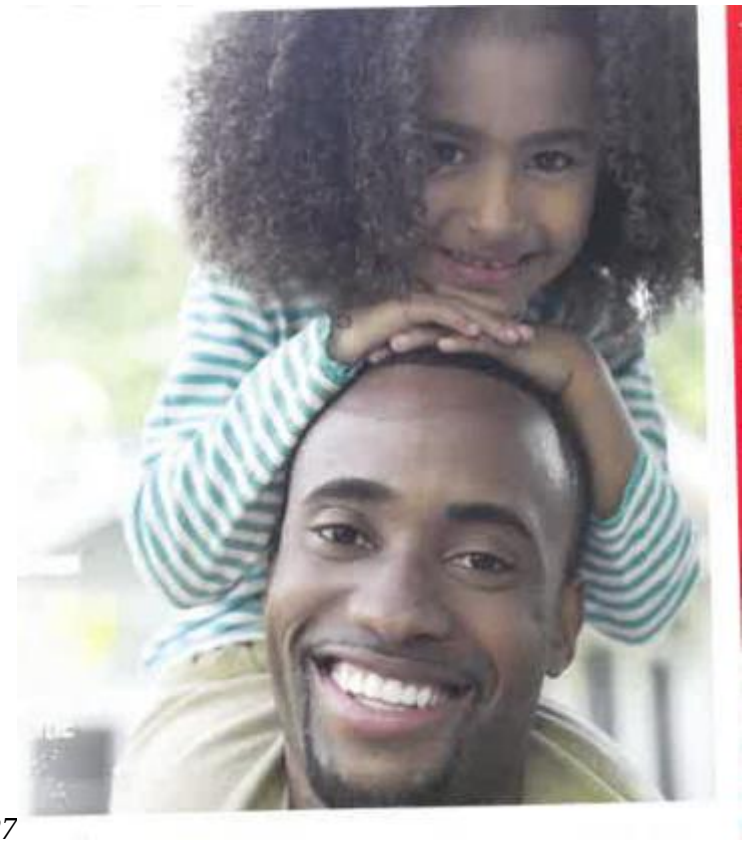


Figure 27

4.3.4. Where are the mothers?

An important omission in the pages of *Destiny Man* reveals that in hundreds of pages there is no mention of the word *motherhood*, furthermore there are no *mothers* shown with children or fathers. This exclusion reflects both a classic and contemporary neoliberal capitalist truth, namely that motherhood and feminity is still a subversive element in masculine hegemony. Despite classically being an important part of the developmental phase (i.e. mothers or maternal figures), this neglect of the maternal figure occasions to address those elements of identity development that require the provision of the 'mother'.

This thesis is not about motherhood per se, yet the specific aspects of childhood and identity development are of import to the overall character themes of the magazine. Fatherhood itself has been largely ignored in the processes of childhood development; instead fathers have been formulated under the auspices of sentries of the dyad between mother and child (Liebman and Abell, 2000). Termed the *forgotten parent* of psychoanalytic theory, the father, until late, has received little attention from psychoanalytic theorists (Ross, 1979). Freud's (1913/1961) conception of the father was of a tyrannical castrating image that has been phylogenetically woven into the fabric of human society. Consumption of this tyrannical figure forms the basis of identification in the child's psyche. *Working Dad* appears to be traversing this divide by venturing into the unchartered territory of active, engaged fathering. This challenge forces the magazine to approach this large and unmapped domain from an intersubjective and hermeneutic complex, intersecting with the complexes of the colonial legacy and contemporary economic ideology. The restriction of African men in South Africa has impacted the domains of the domestic sphere (Hosking, 2006). It has been argued that paternal influence and involvement has effects on both intrapsychic structure and external lives of their offspring (Diamond, 1988). This means that the need for fathers/paternal figures moves beyond the conception of fathers as containers, and protectors, but even towards figures who are present *throughout the life cycle*.

The study of fathering is quite new, and so is the inclusion of active fatherhood in contemporary society. While motherhood is taken to be almost a given, women are still marginalized in neoliberal capitalism (Lowe, Mills, and Mullen, 2002). Even within *Destiny Man* the exclusion of the mother seems to represent a flight from feminization that places masculinity at work as a natural state of existence. It denotes that children spring into existence unmothered and with no maternal contribution. This exclusion does less both in the way of gender equality and in the conceptualising of fatherhood in the 21st century. The

conception of the unmothered child in *Destiny Man* magazine deals a blow to parenthood in general, and presents masculinity as an organic notion of psychic continuity through time. The denial of the maternal contribution is especially remarkable given the fact that the publication itself is the offspring of the maternal figure in *Destiny*. This has more implications at a social level where biological differences are so apparent leading to the bifurcation of gender roles.

An analysis of the maternal exclusion forms an important link in the chain of explanation concerning masculinity with the denial of maternity and feminization, particularly within the framework of psychoanalytic observations. Chodorow (1979) made such observations on the acquisition of masculinity through the context of female-dominated childrearing. The boy who is reared in an inegalitarian society is eventually forced to demonstrate his masculinity in exaggerated ways, including the denial of a formerly identified-with female identity within the female maternal sphere. At a more personal level this can result in the denial of power and formative influence of one's mother. Denial, a primary defence, is seen in the instance of *Destiny Man* denying the role of the mother in possessing any type of formative influence over the child. The implications for this denial further entrench an already established mode of social existence in which women are denied space in professional and organisational levels (Lowe, Mills, & Mullen, 2002). *Destiny Man* has further retracted from a position of maternal identification by making scant reference to the role the mother publication has played in the formation of a *Destiny Man* identity[63], with the effect filtering down to the textual level where mothers are denied space in the process of parenting. These observations combined with a psychoanalytic interpretation demand an explanation for the causes of this covert exclusion.

One may be found in the research done by Clowes (2006) that explains the transition from a family-friendly paternal figure to a limited presence in *Drum* magazine in the early 1950s to the late 1950s. A change in magazine editors combined with migrant labour to industrialized cities was given as possible reasons for the reduction in the portrayal of African fatherhood in the lifestyle publication (Clowes, 2006). Men had become seldom recognised as fathers, sons, and grandparents, and more often acknowledged as husbands, with both text and image diminishing the lives men shared with their children, and increasingly focused on men in the office (Clowes, 2006).

[63] More is said about this in a section exclusively reserved for *Destiny Man* and its relation to *Destiny: Destiny Overshadowed.*

Clowes (2006) noted that a three-part biography of South African cricketer Basil D'Oliveira had only one brief mention of his father [who served in capacity as his coach], and not a word said about other members of his family. Textual analysis also reveals a strikingly similar pattern in the textual content of *Destiny Man*. A biographical piece written by Baffoe (July-August, 2014) about precocious musician Daniel Petersen III makes similar type of mention to the role of the father and nobody else in raising gifted children, with his father Danny quoted as saying "*I decided not to teach Daniel. I bought him a baby drum kit and he played when he felt like it, but I didn't want it to be because of me"* (pp. 62), and furthermore he is working on "*instilling a value system that should carry my [his] son through the tough times. I'm raising someone's husband and father. If I don't do that well, I'm failing*" (pp.62). No mention is made of Daniel's other family members or parental figures who could be playing a pivotal role in his upbringing, the article instead focuses on the function of parenting from the role of the father. This coverage of fatherhood separating men from their families constructs an identity of masculinity predicated on the notion of individualism. Anonymous children and unmanned wives in *Destiny Man* repeat a much earlier trend identified by Clowes (2006) in her research of much earlier publications.

Clowes (2006) further argues that socio-economic change is not simply the only explanation for the trend in individualism in the middle-class family, but even within print material black journalists may have subtly adapted their writing styles to suit a modern [western] narrative of individualism. This type of representation of masculinity treats men as isolated even within the nuclear family, autonomous and independent of women and children. The writing style within the *Working Dad* columns also seems to reflect this type of autonomy in the representation of fatherhood within the 21st century. While it is striking that mothers and motherhood are both never mentioned in any of the 2014 editions of these columns, it could reflect a pervasive root of thinking that has its origins in colonialism. Scholars such as Markowitz (2001) have argued that colonisers reproduced discourses centred on the notions of difference, and highlighted that that common patterns have existed in which colonised nations were considered as 'feminine' and 'childlike' in juxtaposition to colonisers as masculine and adult. In this vein it can be strongly argued, as has been in the course of this thesis that notions of masculinity strongly intersect with notions of race and difference.

Furthermore, it is important to consider the intrapsychic effects apartheid has had on the intrapsychic complexes of the African male psyche. With coloniser attitudes showing a preference towards biased notions of adulthood and masculinity Africans were immediately

at a disadvantage from the beginning. Clowes (2006) has made the point that the early portrayals of black men in the home surrounded by women and children had already inadvertently played into the "apartheid project of racist unmanning" (pp. 115). By displaying men with other men black writers were attempting to reclaim an agency that had been dispossessed by overarching hegemonic framework. *Destiny Man* has internalised this trend of a flight away from feminization in many ways, revealed through text. Discourses of family are few and far in between, and when they take place they are to be found in the context of business practices. An article written by Omar (January-February, 2014) addresses the conception of the family squarely within a business context. Interpersonal relationships and family connectedness are relegated from conscious awareness and are instead explored in the capacity of wealth and fortune building.



Figure 28. Illustrated by Siyamthemba Bobotyana

Building generational wealth is also a concept inextricably linked with the legacy of colonialism, hegemonic masculinity and the flight from feminization. This image depicts the proximity of maleness, bonded together by monetary ties. The family in this illustration has a pre-defined relationship which strongly resembles the account of commodity fetishism offered by Marx (Felluga, 2002). The family is depicted as faceless, genderless, and devoid of person like features save for their general outline. It is also interesting to note that these figures are anthropomorphic versions of the South African '*Randela*' notes [a portmanteau of Rands and Mandela], the official currency of South Africa. Sacks (2012) criticised the exploitation of the struggle icon's image in the currency, and stating "As if the complex persona of any human being can actually be reduced to something as shallow and commonplace as paper money". This scathing comment is not solely linked to Madiba's exploitation in monetary terms, but also the nefariousness in defining interpersonal relationships primarily in this manner. For the *Destiny Man*, this seems like an important feature in any type of relationship, and is most likely underpinned by the racist unmanning discussed above; as a result, the commodification of the interpersonal relationship is awarded elevated status and attainment of the money ideal is an end *in itself*. This entails that money is not used as an end to a goal, but rather is the sole means by which life is defined by. Yet, the irksome manner in which *Randelas* are distributed could, in fact, be the culmination of the Mandela legacy in post-apartheid South Africa. Sacks (2012) has argued that as far back as the 1950s Mandela had been making pro-capitalist statements, and the 1990s implementation of BEE was meant to build a loyal black nationalist capitalist class in the era of economic liberalisation. It is not surprising, therefore, that the *Destiny Man* would adopt this approach as an ideology of the magazine. An analysis reveals that people living within capitalistic societies begin to treat commodities as if there is an inherent value in themselves, rather than the amount of labour that is used to produce that object. The commodity also reflects social relations between people, and only assumes this form of relation (Felluga, 2002). The effect is that people form relationships with the commodities in themselves and see others in relation to these commodities. The family as depicted by *Destiny Man* is not a social relationship based on nurturance, but one that is fundamentally tied to a fetishized commodity-object. Throughout this process families [men] become related to each other by social process in terms of production and become alienated as their own relations assume a material shape independent of their control and individual choice and action (Felluga, 2002).

The family according to *Destiny Man* constitutes of atomistic elements where value is accrued through the actions of individuals:

He believes the common factor among successful families is one individual who's usually the primary creator of wealth. This is a person who's typically highly driven, fuelled by a clearly defined vision and sense of purpose

As well as the family operating much like a business:

Unhealthy relationships can be destructive for any family, but for a wealthy one with the objective of preserving wealth from one generation to another they can be catastrophic. Generational wealth has a strong link to the overall structure of the family and this has to be nurtured. To achieve this, families must maintain trust among themselves, communicate regularly and have a speedy and productive way of handling conflicts

(pp. 133)

These excerpts combined with the illustration reveal to the reader the commodity obsession linked with the perception of the nuclear family as constructed by *Destiny Man* as well as the ties that this has to overall masculinity. In line with the research done by Clowes (2006) the illustration also perceives the male as the breadwinner, with seemingly faceless money cut-outs all assuming a masculine shape. Omar (2014) also provides a short biography of the rise of the Nathoo brothers who are successful McDonald's franchisees. They are quoted in the article as saying:

"Our father always put his team before himself. Every decision he took considered the benefits it would potentially realise not only for himself, but for those who were on his journey with him. He left a void in many lives when he died and big shoes for us to fill"

(pp. 134).



Figure 29.

The brothers are shown on a rooftop wearing business suits. They stand in proximity to each other, though not to an intimate degree. They are the only members of the Nathoo family shown. The article, similar to the one about Daniel Petersen III, describes the boys' upbringing as done by their father. It fails to mention any females in the family structure, or even depict them in the photograph. This is almost directly comparable to the observations made by Clowes (2006) in her analysis of *Drum* magazine. It also links to the typologies of David and Brannon (1976) discussed throughout this thesis. The tenet "Be a Big Wheel" is personified in this image, displaying the brothers wearing suits and discussing the depth of their wealth in this article.

4.3.6. All Men and sundry

…the boys of course, are in the forefront, but always behind them, just inside the frame, is the corpse of silent girls, standing on the curb, or sitting on the couch. Somehow these girls seem to exist in the space of the accused. After all, it was those teenage, female-headed households that produced those boys.

*(*Jones, in hooks, 1994: 96).

The forgotten woman in *Destiny Man* is undoubtedly the mother with the father occupying the central role in the process of childrearing. As argued earlier, traditional psychoanalytic theorists have failed to consider the father beyond the role of a facilitator in the separation-individuation process. Coupled with the dominant social imaginary of neoliberal capitalism, *Destiny Man* has seized identity formation away from feminized objects. Feminine subjectivity is largely absent from *Destiny Man* with masculine subject formation coming more readily to the fore. It seems even stranger that contemplation of fathers in relation to daughters does not take the mother into the childrearing process. The October issue features an article titled 'Daddy's little Princess' in the *Working Dad* column. It includes a quote from US Comedian Chris Rock, "As a father, you have only one job to do: Keep your daughter off the pole! If she's dancin' on a pole, you fucked up!" (pp. 58). The article centres on the fears that men experience from raising girls, and societal narratives that sexualise feminity. Yet, the article includes no reference to any maternal figure that can assist in the development of healthy gender identification. In traditional psychoanalytic formulations the father-daughter relationship has been understood primarily in terms of the Oedipal Period (Liebman & Abel, 2000). Spieler (1984) was among the earliest to introduce the conception of the pre-Oedipal father not as a disturbance in the daughter's inner world, but a paternal influence that can allow the girl-child to internalize both objects simultaneously. This allows the girl to form secure attachments to parents of both genders, and ultimately provides stereotypes for how the girl can relate to both genders later on in life. This early experience is also viewed as a precursor to the eroticized involvement with the father during the Oedipal Period (Spieler, 1984). By going through the internalization stage *before* the Oedipal Period the girl is able to perceive the father, through his nurturing behaviour, as benign, realistic, and whole. This phase of development with an inclusionary father is the focus of the article in the October

version of *Working Dad*. Fathers are encouraged to be involved at an intimate level with their daughters, where failure to do so will see them "on the pole". The father is given the exclusive role of relating to the child, when mothers/maternal figures are considered in an almost ancillary fashion, as freelance journalist Lindsey Schutters is quoted in the article as saying:

"*Women get marginalised and objectified in society and we don't want that for our daughters. I made a conscious decision to surround Isla with positive female characters, like rappers, animated characters or doctors*"

(pp. 58)

Schutters, perhaps unconsciously, recognises the role that the father/paternal figure can play in acting as an emotional buffer for the girl child, and displays some of the fears that he has for his daughter. He recognises the perception of women as objects of sexual gratification in a masculine hegemonic framework and attempts to readdress this by surrounding his daughter with positive female characters. However, this defence omits the importance of maternal figures that are more closely related to his daughter and can thus serve as objects of identification. The overall theme of the article fails to mention the importance of these maternal figures in helping the girl child to form healthy object relations, despite the depth of psychoanalytic formulations that emphasize the importance of the mother-child dyad.[64] Far from the Oedipus Complex postulated by Freud later object-relations theorist postulated the eroticised component of the father-daughter relationship, and the importance this stage plays in the genitality of the girl child. Gallagher (1986) has stated that the little girl directs her desire towards the oedipal father, who aids in completing her detachment from her mother. This also serves to help the child develop a sense of a super-ego prohibition that represses the sexual images the child associates with parents of the opposite sex (Gallagher, 1986). Fathers can help daughters repress these eroticized relationships in various ways, one of these discussed in the article, "Being a father is about being present. Going out on dates, playing together and doing the things that she loves to do will go a long way to building a wonderful bond" (pp.58). The father helps the daughter to not only repress her paternal sexual images, but also to form a new dimension of reality in which relations to male objects can be established, and to develop a new type of identity. Yet identification with the same-sex parent

[64] Freud (1931/1961) held the mother-daughter relationship with a sense of unique reverence that could not be fully understood by individuals outside the dyad.

is also crucial for this process (Gallagher, 1986) yet one that is mysteriously lacking not only in the article, but in the *Working Dad* columns as a whole. This process is also important as it highlights the mass deficiency that *Destiny Man* has been afflicted with:

What is quite extraordinary in this new type of identification is that it takes for its object not the person who is desired but the person who opposes that desire in the oedipal triangle. It is a process that is quite uniquely human and it results in a sublimation of reality for the child allowing the people in his world to take on a certain affective depth which allows them to be considered as people in their own rights, having their own subjectivity independently of the needs of the child.

(Gallagher, 1986: 137).

Therefore the father is crucial in allowing the girl-child to overcome the eroticised Oedipal stage, and develop healthy object relationships, and an identification with the same-sex parent. However, identification with the parent of the opposite sex is also of utmost import in helping to develop a secure sense of identity. *Working Dad* excludes the maternal figure in this operation reflecting the tendency for *Destiny Man* to identify with *Destiny* in its own sense of being. Further added to this is the inability to access the affective depth mentioned by Gallagher with this powerful method of denial. Denial of the existence of the maternal figure [*Destiny*} is linked to a denial of female subjectivity independently of the male. By actively exercising this denial *Destiny Man* re-enforces the exclusion of women as subjects in the male psyche, and participants in social reality.

Chapter Four Subsection 4.

4.4. Palatable Norms: African men in relation to alcohol in *Destiny Man* magazine.

Introduction

The following subsection will serve as a critical analysis of the depiction of African men consuming alcohol in *Destiny Man* magazine; this will be shown with the use of advertisement imagery contained in all 8 issues of 2014. The use of this imagery will not be interpreted in isolation, but rather as an intersecting process of race, class structure, and masculinity. A psychosocial and psychoanalytic reading of the corpus will provide richer interpretational value of this phenomenon, and hopefully enable the reader to ascertain the social implications of these depictions.

It has been observed that black men are rarely shown in fragrance advertisements in *Destiny Man*, with the exception of a solitary advert in the 2014 issues. However, where black men feature most prominently [in advertisements] is in the depiction of alcohol consumption. In all eight issues of 2014, there are a vast number of images that display African men engaged in the activity. This number greatly exceeds the frequency of black men in fragrance advertisements, and lends itself to accountability for this occurrence. It is argued that this is not merely happenstance, but a wider social manifestation of class differences, and apartheid influences.

South Africa has one of the highest rates of alcohol consumption worldwide (Schneider, Norman, Parry, Bradshaw, Plüddemann, & the South African Comparative Risk Assessment Collaborating Group, 2007). It has also been found that throughout the African continent, heavy alcohol drinking has been viewed as a symbol of masculinity which brings men together in settings such as bars, taverns, and other drinking venues (Miles, Herstad, Shand, & Muzenda, 2014). The social activity seems to be likened to a prescriptive norm, and this is most often the case as presented in *Destiny Man*. The issue of alcohol being a significant risk factor is never discussed in the magazine, and this is especially surprising considering the prevalence of alcohol abuse amongst African men (Rich, Nkosi, & Morojele, 2015). Much of the research relating to alcohol use amongst black men in South Africa has taken place in townships and lower-income households, perhaps signalling that alcoholism is precipitated by socio-economic factors. While the contextual and historical validity of this point is not in

question, it would come short in explaining the trend observed in *Destiny Man* of alcohol use in middle-class settings, as a social activity; relating to this, it has been argued that drinking patterns and practices serve to sustain and reproduce inequalities as well as the social structures that perpetuate them (Courtenay, 2000). It follows then that drinking practices in particular social contexts, can serve to elevate or maintain a man's social status, and this is the symbol of what alcohol represents in *Destiny Man* magazine. Owing to this, the social practice of drinking can be viewed as a barometer of social identity within a given social context. In as much as what it means to be a *Destiny Man* this barometer is not, as typically described by the research, determined by how much a man drinks but, rather, what he is drinking.



THE GOLD STANDARD FOR CELEBRATION

In the spirit of celebrating special events, Johnnie Walker® Gold Label Reserve hosted TV personality Simba Mhere and his close friends to a 25th birthday dinner party at The Maslow Hotel in Sandton, Johannesburg, that exceeded his expectations

Johnnie Walker Gold Label Reserve is an unconventional choice for marking golden moments and celebrations. The blend is authentic, sophisticated and created for the new generation of non-conformists, who choose to celebrate their achievements with like-minded individuals. The whisky's crafted from hand-picked reserve casks by Johnnie Walker's master blenders to create a bold drink.

"Simba the entertainer", as he's affectionately known by his friends, is a presenter of SABC3's *Top Billing*, MC and voice-over artist who cherishes every golden moment in his life.

"My birthday last year was the first one in many years that I spent in the country, rather than globe-trotting and shooting inserts for *Top Billing*. I planned a day of festivities with 50 of my friends –

Not for Sale to Persons Under the Age of 18. Drink Responsibly.

Figures 30 & 31.



In these two examples, *Johnnie Walker Gold Reserve* is presented as the premium in whiskey indulgence. In both advertisement promotions, the word "Gold" is written in gold colour. The subtitle explains the purpose of this "in the spirit of celebration", with a prominent man being the centre of this celebratory atmosphere. The advertisement featuring [now deceased] TV personality Simba Mhere includes this description of the product:

Johnnie Walker Gold Label Reserve is an unconventional choice for marking golden moments and celebrations. The blend is authentic, sophisticated and created for the new generation of non-conformists, who choose to celebrate their achievements with like-minded individuals. The whisky's crafted from hand-picked reserve casks by Johnnie Walker's master blenders to create a bold drink.

The whiskey is associated with celebration and key moments in one's life. Words such as "authentic", "sophisticated", "master", and "achievements" are used to provide a description of the beverage, and to possibly elevate the status of the drinker. This is a different method of social and alcohol engagement that occurs in townships, shebeens, and pubs (Rich, Nkosi, & Morojele, 2015). With regards to the latter, amongst black men alcohol is also seen as a status symbol without the middle-class atmosphere. Richards (2015) has shown that in South African townships alcohol is used as a barometer for a contextually-based type of masculinity: izikhothane. When performing, or spilling alcohol, higher brand whiskey is used as a symbol of having higher status. In relation to the *Johnnie Walker* promotion advertisements, the "gold standard" is also regarded in a higher status than other brands of whiskey. The word usage implies that is meant for an exclusive group of people who can afford not only the brand, but the lifestyle as well. As is seen in the advertisement featuring Simba:

"*My birthday last year was the first one in many years that I spent in the country, rather than globe-trotting and shooting inserts for Top Billing. I planned a day of festivities with 50 of my friends-from spa treatments to lunch, then dinner, after which we partied the night away at an exclusive nightclub*"

The exclusivity of the drink is succeeded by the exclusivity of the social interaction. Simba reminisces on his travels outside of the country in luxury accommodations across the world. He returns the reader to his current situation, but not without emphasizing the snootiness of his approach, with an overall high cost of engagement. Simba displays the same themes of narcissism and grandiosity explored in other sections of this thesis (i.e. Layton, 2014). As a measure of masculinity this is also signified by obtaining the gold standard in choice of alcohol beverage. It also implies that one can be excluded from this type of engagement, creating discourses of silence among types of masculinities. Simba maintains the status quo of the *Destiny Man* most appropriately, strengthening the argument that stipulates the existence [and practice] of African middle class masculinity.



MAKE IT GOLD!

In the spirit of celebration, Johnnie Walker® Gold Label Reserve recently hosted Thoban Jappie and his close friends to a dinner party with a difference

Jappie is a Creative Director and the driving force behind Mobile Media Mob. He has over 20 years' experience in the broadcasting industry, as well as a wealth of knowledge in the digital space. He's been instrumental in bringing both critical and commercial credibility to the world of social media and mobile photography.

Ensuring everyone was available for the dinner party was his only concern about the evening. "Even though Roy Potterill (his business partner and co-founder of Mobile Media Mob) and Sizwe Dhlomo (MTV VJ) were new to the group, I knew they'd get on well with everyone," he says.

Figure 31.

The promotion featuring creative director Thoban Jappie displays the symbolization of the whiskey:

For a new take on the classic celebratory drink, Jappie served the unforgettable Johnnie Walker Gold Label Reserve®, crafted for the bold and Avant garde individual. The master

blenders have created a whisky with a smooth balance of sweet fruits and a smoky finish. Jappie enjoyed his drink neat, while some guests mixed theirs with water and ice.

This excerpt reveals to the reader how the drink is conceptualized as one which challenges the status quo in most social realms.



PROMOTION

THE DRINK OF CHOICE

For a new take on the classic celebratory drink, Jappie served the unforgettable Johnnie Walker Gold Label Reserve®, crafted for the bold and avant garde individual. The master blenders have created a whisky with a smooth balance of sweet fruits and a smoky finish. Jappie enjoyed his drink neat, while some guests mixed theirs with water and ice.

CELEBRATING FRIENDSHIPS AND SUCCESS

Besides the business connection, most of the guests were personal friends of Jappie and his wife, beauty blogger and stylist Candice-Lee Kannemeyer.

"Even though my friends have busy schedules, I want them present to celebrate special occasions – like the birth of my daughter, Miyo. Whenever we're all available and in the same city, we meet for drinks and to catch up. We usually choose an indoor space where there's warmth and privacy," he says. Alternatively, he adds, they gather at the home of Abrahams, who's a great cook. But this time around, Jappie and his guests simply sat back and enjoyed each other's company, without any worries about preparations. Definitely a bonus!

CELEBRATING RESPONSIBLY

Jappie and his guests could relax and enjoy their whisky knowing that taxi service Uber – which connects passengers and drivers via a smartphone app – was available to them.

Here's to celebrating life the golden way – with Johnnie Walker® Gold Label Reserve!

JOHNNIE WALKER GOLD LABEL RESERVE.

Not for Sale to Persons Under the Age of 18. Drink Responsibly

Figure 32.

However, the consumption of this beverage by a select group of individuals actually serves to preserve the status quo of the upper middle class of society. Rather than being a "celebratory drink*", Johnnie Walker ® Gold Reserve* is a celebrity drink. A section in the promotion titled "The Guest List" includes a list of names of supposedly influential people who attended this event such as Idols SA judge Randall Abrahams, Executive Producer at 5fm Travers Solomon, and MTV VJ Sizwe Dhlomo. Apart from being an executive lesson in name-dropping the feature showcases how the consumption of the beverage implies having obtained a successful position in society. Each photograph is shown with at least one smiling individual holding a glass of whiskey, or near to the Johnnie Walker bottle. This is presumably with the intention of presenting a warm and jovial atmosphere, and associating it with exclusive alcohol consumption.

4.4.2. The Context of Alcohol, an Anal Exploration.

This is a far cry from the implications of drinking in the townships where the element of sexually risky behaviours is an omnipresent reality (Rich, Nkosi, & Morojele, 2015). In these contexts alcohol amplifies masculinity as an imposition, but has little of the elite property found in the gold standard of the *Destiny Man*.

At the same time, the consumption of alcohol as a social and elitist activity is not purely restricted to promotions within *Destiny Man*. Bringing a contextually-based analysis underlies the relevance that this topic has in South Africa today, with relation to African men. Concurrent features associated with alcohol consumption in townships are also the rate of crime in these communities. Recent statistics show that murder rates among young African men is 300 to 400 per 100,000 (The Guardian, 2015). McKaiser is quoted as saying:

"*We've known for years there is a reliable correlation between gratuitously violent crime and inequality. Poverty, unemployment and social cohesion are all part of the mix, but we are deeply unequal still, so the statistics don't surprise me*."

(McKaiser as cited in The Guardian, 2015).

Therefore, while the selective enjoyment of alcohol consumption is presented under a new banner of the elite in *Destiny Man* it unwittingly reproduces the social factors that inculcate these activities. A radio advertisement in the May-June edition featuring McKaiser further elucidates these issues:



Figure 33.

The advertisement brings to mind some of the discursive elements of the masculine that have been explored at various points in this thesis. Dressed in formal clothing, McKaiser most likely symbolizes the political middle class that form some of the constitution of *Destiny Man*. Further added to this is his presentation on the stage, presumably displaying a level of

sophistication. The redness of the microphone could represent a phallic symbol of power, also linking with the name of the radio station McKaiser presents for [Power FM). This further delineates in his masculine description possessing a "sharp wit and a cage rattling attitude", entering into "fierce debates" on "every explosive edition of POWER Talk". The word usage connotes identifications of aggression, and dominance, attacking with the anal-sadistic penis (Figlio, 2001)

The key to this advertisement is the comment included by one of the station's callers, "Cognac and single malts, our prisons throw the best parties". A sardonic acknowledgement is given to the alcohol culture in South African prisons, consuming expensive alcoholic beverages. Alcohol consumption in these contexts is given an entirely new meaning, but one that replicates the social factors McKaiser alludes to in respect to inequality. One can also deduce the binary in the anal-sadistic mechanism amongst the *Destiny Men* in alcohol consumption.



Figure 33.



GIVE THAT MAN A BELL'S!

SA's favourite whisky brand is recognising local men who are making a difference in their communities

Bell's, SA's number one-selling whisky, is celebrating the launch of a new-look pack, giving whisky lovers one more reason to "Give That Man a Bell's!" Although the packaging has changed, the whisky inside has remained the same extra-special Scotch people know and love.

In moving with the times, Bell's has transitioned smoothly into a more contemporary territory, which speaks to men who recognise the importance of respecting traditional values while progressing in their personal and professional lives.

To reward and acknowledge these men, Bell's is celebrating Lucky Madonsela, a man who embodies the spirit of ubuntu. From a humble East Rand home, he moved to Jo'burg to further his studies, and, a decade later, is a successful Portfolio Analyst who is passionate about education and creating a new generation of dynamic young leaders.

Madonsela started a bursary fund for East Rand youth that provides tutoring, mentorship and funding for their school fees. He admits that the road to success has not always been smooth and confesses to having nearly given up at times. Madonsela believes that true leaders should motivate themselves before attempting to inspire others.

Men like him are passionate and always want to make a difference, whether in their communities or their workplaces. They make things happen, have a profound impact on the people around them and deserve recognition for their efforts. Madonsela's inspiring contribution to others is truly a reason to "Give That Man a Bell's!"

This festive season, Bell's is rewarding these men of character. To celebrate its new pack, Bell's is giving you the opportunity to nominate deserving men. To stand a chance of winning awesome prizes, simply tweet your nomination and motivation, along with the hashtag **#GiveThatManABells**, or post them on the Bell's Facebook page.

Bell's Scotch Whisky was named SA's favourite spirit brand in the 2014/15 ICON Brand Survey.

Figure 34.

In each of the images presented above, the African men consuming alcohol are presented in formal settings and/or formal attire. They all appear friendly to the reader, sometimes accompanied by male companions. Overall, these advertisements appeal to the middle class setting that is most often presented as a goal for the *Destiny Man*. The similarity between these men and the prisoners described by the POWER FM caller lies in their alcohol choices. The same beverages are being consumed by the [most likely] same race of men, but in different settings, and of differing class structure. In the anal stage the sadistic instinct, has

the contradictory aim to destroy the object but also, by mastering it, to preserve it, which coincides with activity (Freud, 1905). Freud argued that in this stage the organisation can neither be classified as "masculine" or "feminine", but the trend continues to run through sexual life. However, as this is concurrent with development, it stands to reason that the representation of this can also be seen in adult life in some of the practices of masculinity. As applied here, *Destiny Man* appears to be attempting to abolish the association of alcohol with townships, and subaltern masculinities, and reintroduce it as an element of exclusivity. Yet, the social factors involving African men and alcohol consumption in South Africa are not mutually separated from its re-representation in print media, and are in many ways a re-imagining of the practice amongst African men.



Figure 35.

Alcohol consumption in print media with respect to race has received scant attention. This trend is deserving of analysis in *Destiny Man* magazine based on the sheer frequency of advertisements of black men. The topic of alcohol advertisements constructing masculinity in South African magazines is not an entirely novel pursuit; Nowesenetz (2007) took a specific look at how print media constructs discourses of patriarchy, violence as a masculine quality, and men being unemotional and independent. Although the topic of social constructionism was extensively covered, the analysis had the distinct element of contextualization missing; particularly, the racialized setting of alcohol in South Africa. This aspect is present in most of the advertisements that appear in *Destiny Man*, and also possesses the discursive route of African masculinity. Unlike other mainstream magazines such as Gentleman's Quarterly (GQ) or For Him Magazine (FHM), *Destiny Man* is set towards the construction of an African masculinity. Yet, this construction is preceded by a history of racialized discourse in the South African context, and what it means to be a *Destiny Man* today.

Chapter Four Subsection Five

Holding the Phallus: the Power in the Golf Stick in the hands of the *Destiny Man*.

4.5.1. Introduction.

The following section will analyse the symbolization of the golf club in *Destiny Man* magazine. It will accomplish by exploring the ways in which golf is represented in the magazine, both from a psychoanalytic level in terms of power and performance, as well as the raced elements of the history and practice of the sport. These two elements of discussion are ultimately linked to the formation of masculinity in *Destiny Man* magazine.

4.5.2. The Manufactured Jungles.

Golf is a feature that is present in all 8 2014 issues of *Destiny Man* magazine. It is typically shown on one page near the end of the magazine, containing features on how to improve certain aspects of a golf player's game, tips on other features of the sport, and upcoming events on the golf calendar. Golf is of particular interest to the researcher considering the history of exclusion in the sport, particularly in the American and European contexts, which have had ripple effects for the sport here in South Africa. These will be detailed with some of the studies done on golf in the literature, which have had very real implications worldwide. The purpose is to show how the data supports the arguments made by Kipfer (2007) in his rereading of Fanon regarding colonization, urbanization, and globalization. Ultimately, at the root of all this lies the constructing of spaces in the post-apartheid nation, and the author of this thesis advances that in most cases *Destiny Man* attempts to re-structure these spaces. The intersecting psychoanalytic and psychosocial discourses are omnipresent throughout, and the display of key imagery related to golf in *Destiny Man* magazine will also be included.

Golf is still an overwhelmingly white sport. Bamberger (2003) reported that in the United States of America [the country which possesses the highest number of golfers worldwide], around 80% of male golfers are white, with only four percent of African Americans engaging in the sport. The paucity of black players both at elite and amateur levels is a striking feature of the sport which is portrays the leisurely image of green pastures, blue waters, and yellow sands. Bamberger (2003) reports the technicality of Africans players being present at

professional golf tournaments in the forms of Tim Clark, Ernie Els, Louis Oosthuizen and Charl Schwartzel, all South Africans with US homes, but none of them having black skin with the sole exception of the African-American golf icon Tiger Woods. This informs one that the sport is still predominantly white, a fact that will most likely continue to be prevalent for years to come. Bamberger (2003) makes the following observation:

The Tour caddie yard, once a beautiful example of integration is so white it looks like Little Rock Central High School, circa 1955. The yard's denizens are a bunch of really capable, professional people, many of them famous these days in their own right…. Put the whole group together -- 300 or so people, most weeks -- and it's an impressive collection of white men.

The reference made to the 1950s is not without justification, as these were key years for the desegregation of golf in the USA. Wells, Buckley, and Boone (2008) detailed the battle that black Baltimore citizens faced in the desegregating of the city's golf courses for equal spaces for all citizens. In a back-and-forth saga which stretched between 1934 and 1956, lawyers from the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) appealed against the 'whites only' designation of various golf courses in Baltimore, while African-Americans were limited to using a much smaller, less equipped facility. The nature of change during this time was slow, but gradual, and met with continued resistance from the white citizens of Baltimore's organizations (Wells, Buckley, & Boone, 2008).

The spatial aspects of exclusion link well with Kipfer's (2005) rereading of Fanon, once again highlighting the coterminous theme of place and identity. What can be gained from this is that a black person is sealed in their blackness irrespective of their location, or what they do. This identity is most likely a colonial manifestation of ontology, and the bluntness of everyday racism. Golf is [historically] seen as a sport that gives one the opportunity to escape the realities of a fast-paced economy, focusing entirely on the physical subtleties at hand. Above all, it takes place in a serene and luxurious location- constructed as a false natural setting. It is false because it the aesthetics are constructed with a particular ideal in mind; nature is present, but it is controlled. This manufactured naturalization also leads to normativity in social practice, one which finds its roots in the racialized moratorium outlined above. Throughout the NAACP's appeals, numerous failed concessions were proposed by the [white] Baltimore's Board of Public Park Commissionaires (BPPC) including alternate access days for black and white patrons, and rotating time schedules (Wells, Buckley, & Boone,

2008). It seemed rather crucial for white patrons to not want to see black golfers occupying the same space at the same time, and maintain the phantasy on a continual basis; this phenomenon lends itself to the invisibility of blackness on golf courses, where green is interpreted to be white. The reluctance of the Baltimore white patrons pervades the temporality of context in many areas today, yet the invisibility of the black golfer is the most apparent.

The entrenching of this normativity [perhaps] unknowingly re-emerges in one of the December golf features:



GOLF

WRITTEN BY MICHAEL VLISMAS

GETTING
CADDIED AWAY

Behind every successful golfer stands a trusted caddie. Meet the world-class Zack Rasego

"A caddie is always looking for his next loop. I always tell young caddies to roll with the punches. When you have to move on, do so with pride."

BAGS OF CASH

Figure 36

The article details the professional career of Zack Rasego, a caddie who has worked for Louis Oosthuizen, Branden Grace (pictured), and Gary Player:

Raised in the Magaliesburg region north of Pretoria by a domestic worker mother and a father who travelled extensively for work, Rasego cut his teeth at the Gary Player Country Club at Sun City…Rasego has mastered the art of the caddie and knows how to use the right word at the right time. He's also pretty good at being on the right bag when he does it.

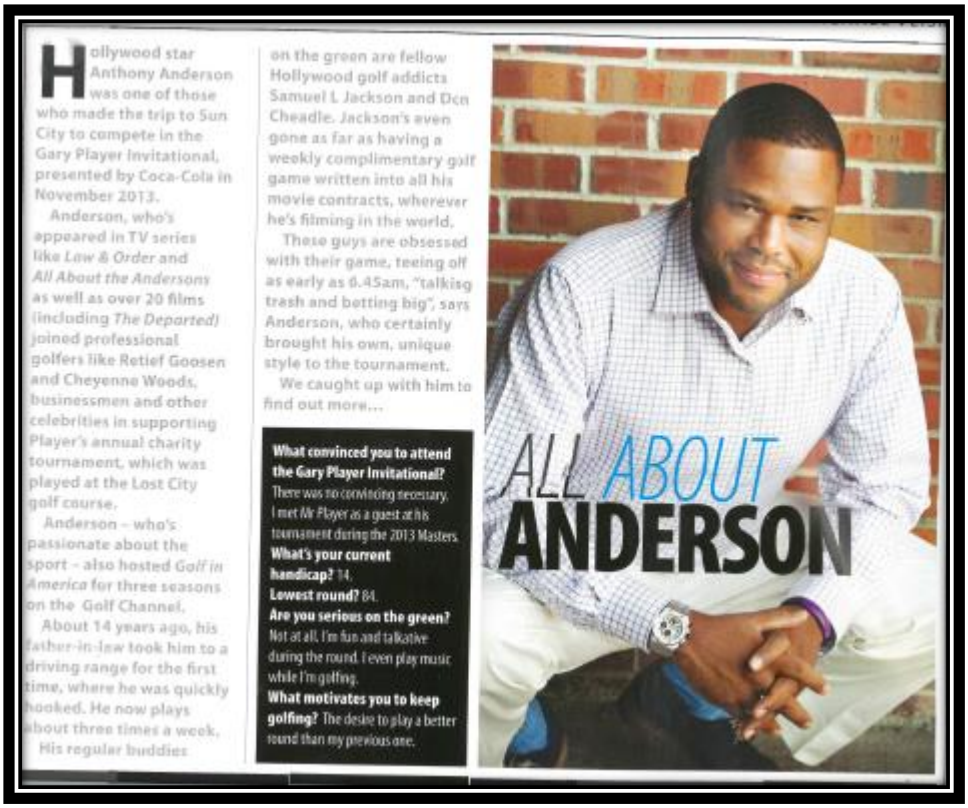
(pp. 126).

From Rasego's brief history his socioeconomic positioning becomes immediately apparent, and it is not made clear to the reader details from his full history. In a separate article by Bennett (*Destiny Man*, 2015) it is stated that Rasego [now 51] carried bags as a teenager for Gary Player. Therefore, it is unlikely that being a caddie in the 1960s received any more elevated status than being a gardener or any other manual work labourer- especially in the apartheid era during the same decade as the Sharpeville Massacre and Rivonia Trial. Strangely enough, the article presents Rasego's story as an honourable journey that he voluntarily undertook with the supposed goal of being a professional caddie in mind. Speculation offers little depth to the researcher; however an interpretation of the story can offer greater substance in reading. The invisibility of the caddie also needs to be taken into account in the context sport; as one whose job is to carry the clubs and therefore rarely pictured in the media. The golf course, therefore, represented double-invisibility for Africans in South Africa: black players were not permitted access to the sport, and caddies reproduced the function of the apartheid system- subordinates to white masters.

The article also includes the details of remuneration for golf caddies around the world, and in South Africa. It is reported that Steve Williams [former caddie for Tiger Woods] earned around $8, 8 million in his career, while European Tour caddies earn a minimum of £1000 a week as a basic salary, while their American counterparts earn a basic wage of $1500 (*Destiny Man*, [December] 2014). On top of this, a caddie also shares between 5-10 % of a player's earnings. In South Africa caddies have basic weekly earnings between R1500 and R2000 in winter, R2500-R3000 in summer, and between R5000-R6000 in sanctioned events (*Destiny Man*, [December] 2014); these numbers are not too encouraging for any African wishing to join the middle class of South Africa. The feature also includes a quote from another South African caddie Gary Matthews who warns over the capricious nature of the job: "It's working now, but I've been around the block. It could end tomorrow". (pp. 126). The instability of the job is also highlighted here with the short-term nature of employment brought out for the reader to take in, while at the same time covertly acknowledging the limitations of the South African economy in relation to European and American counterparts. Dawkins (2004) took an historical look at the caddie profession in 20th century America, and found that most African American involvement was in the service of caddying for wealthy whites at exclusive clubs. They also developed as players in this role, but were prevented from competing professionally due to the political racial tensions. Where it was the case that white caddies could hone their craft in the role of caddies, black caddies were restricted to

this role for as long as racism was institutionalized, and even continuing beyond constitutional freedom (Dawkins, 2004). Far from assuring the reader that becoming a golf caddie in South Africa is a profitable route of employment, it only serves to remind one of the stark realities of the vestiges of the apartheid era, ineffably more entrenched in a sport that has historically denied blacks a chance at participation. Yet, this is admittedly all but one exception to the general narrative that *Destiny Man* conveys to its readership; the balance of this narrative, to be discussed next, is centred on the promotion of black male golfers.

4.5.3. White Tees, Black Sticks.



Hollywood star Anthony Anderson was one of those who made the trip to Sun City to compete in the Gary Player Invitational, presented by Coca-Cola in November 2013.

Anderson, who's appeared in TV series like *Law & Order* and *All About the Andersons* as well as over 20 films (including *The Departed*) joined professional golfers like Retief Goosen and Cheyenne Woods, businessmen and other celebrities in supporting Player's annual charity tournament, which was played at the Lost City golf course.

Anderson – who's passionate about the sport – also hosted *Golf in America* for three seasons on the Golf Channel.

About 14 years ago, his father-in-law took him to a driving range for the first time, where he was quickly hooked. He now plays about three times a week.

His regular buddies on the green are fellow Hollywood golf addicts Samuel L Jackson and Don Cheadle. Jackson's even gone as far as having a weekly complimentary golf game written into all his movie contracts, wherever he's filming in the world.

These guys are obsessed with their game, teeing off as early as 6.45am, "talking trash and betting big", says Anderson, who certainly brought his own, unique style to the tournament.

We caught up with him to find out more...

What convinced you to attend the Gary Player Invitational? There was no convincing necessary. I met Mr Player as a guest at his tournament during the 2013 Masters.

What's your current handicap? 14.

Lowest round? 84.

Are you serious on the green? Not at all. I'm fun and talkative during the round. I even play music while I'm golfing.

What motivates you to keep golfing? The desire to play a better round than my previous one.

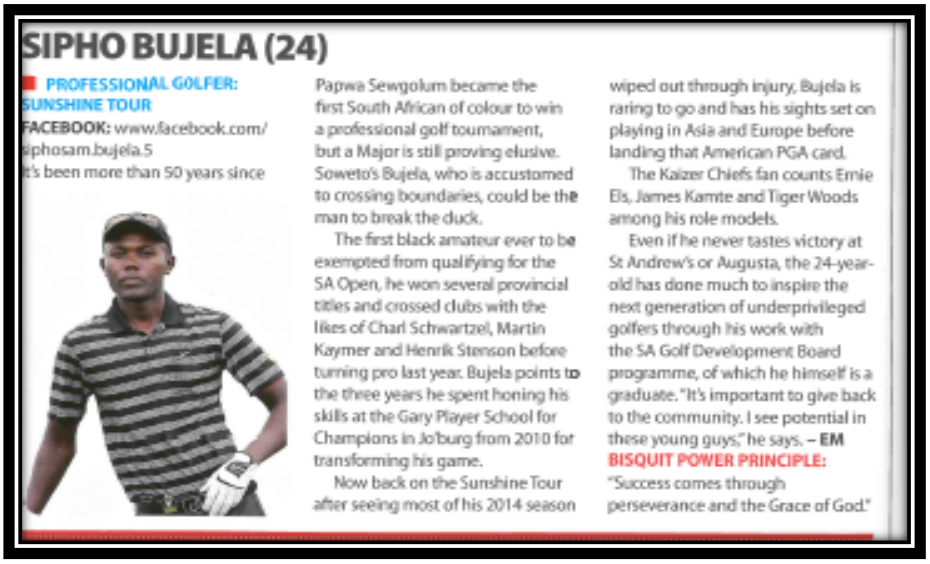
ALL ABOUT ANDERSON

Figure 37.

The January-February (2014) edition of *Destiny Man* features a golf insert with Hollywood actor Anthony Anderson speaking about his wish to compete at the Gary Player Invitational. Anderson had already hosted a golf show Golf in America for three seasons on the [USA] Golf Channel The article is rife with suggestions of inclusionary criteria for African golf players: "His regular buddies on the green are fellow Hollywood golf addicts Samuel L Jackson and Don Cheadle." (pp.99). It suggests to one that black golf players are more visible, however only if they are exclusively on Hollywood's A-list. This entails that the sport is still inaccessible to those earning lower salaries as, "These guys are obsessed with their

game, teeing off as early as 6. 45am, talking trash and betting big" (pp.99). This factor is crucial as forming part of the research associated with non-white participation in leisure activities (Floyd et al, 2013). These theoretical formulations postulate that socio-economic status, as well as acculturation level, identity, urban-rural residence, immigration experiences and other possible markers of difference all intersect to provide various reasons. In Anderson's case, race is ruled out as an exclusionary criterion, and instead replaced with a neoliberal capitalist understanding of access to resources. This elitist model suggests that one would need to live up to the adage of "pay to play" betting large sums of money on golf games. Freud (1928) claimed that gambling was in many ways a compulsive-repetition analogous to masturbation, involved with the frenetic activity with the hands, the irresistibility of the urge, and the internalized feelings of guilt once the activity is completed. He further argued that gamblers experienced an unconscious desire to lose and that losing money was an act of masochistic self-punishment. The unconscious eroticism of betting is also inextricably tied to the practice of golf. Horton (2012) has seen the golf club as a phallic symbol, and the constant swinging of this is a repetitious gesture likened to the intimate manipulation of phallus by hand, or male autoeroticism. Having the financial ability to sustain this lifestyle adds to the likelihood that the action will be repeated, in a [somewhat] neurotic manner.

The importance of adding black faces to the sport is also emphasized in *Destiny Man* magazine.



SIPHO BUJELA (24)

PROFESSIONAL GOLFER: SUNSHINE TOUR

FACEBOOK: www.facebook.com/siphosam.bujela.5

It's been more than 50 years since Papwa Sewgolum became the first South African of colour to win a professional golf tournament, but a Major is still proving elusive. Soweto's Bujela, who is accustomed to crossing boundaries, could be the man to break the duck.

The first black amateur ever to be exempted from qualifying for the SA Open, he won several provincial titles and crossed clubs with the likes of Charl Schwartzel, Martin Kaymer and Henrik Stenson before turning pro last year. Bujela points to the three years he spent honing his skills at the Gary Player School for Champions in Jo'burg from 2010 for transforming his game.

Now back on the Sunshine Tour after seeing most of his 2014 season wiped out through injury, Bujela is raring to go and has his sights set on playing in Asia and Europe before landing that American PGA card.

The Kaizer Chiefs fan counts Ernie Els, James Kamte and Tiger Woods among his role models.

Even if he never tastes victory at St Andrew's or Augusta, the 24-year-old has done much to inspire the next generation of underprivileged golfers through his work with the SA Golf Development Board programme, of which he himself is a graduate. "It's important to give back to the community. I see potential in these young guys," he says. – **EM**

BISQUIT POWER PRINCIPLE: "Success comes through perseverance and the Grace of God."

Figure 38.

The November (2014) issues of *Destiny Man* contain three golf inserts which have apparently contradicting aims in the content. The Power of 40 report contains profiles of "40 incredible men all establishing themselves in fields, ranging from entrepreneurship to sport, before they pass 40." (pp. 71). The narrative here being that these are noteworthy men who have proven themselves to be Big Wheels (Brannon, 1976), and should be celebrated because of this. Sipho Bujela is included in this list and there is a strong focus on his feats as an African golf player:

"*The first black amateur ever to be exempted from qualifying for the SA Open, he won several provincial titles and crossed clubs with the likes of Charl Schwartzel, Martin Kaymer and Henrik Stenson before turning pro last year*"

(pp. 86).

Bujela is seen as a pioneer in playing the sport in South Africa, as a professional. The insert makes reference to his origins [Soweto] perhaps signalling the endemic feature of golf as a middle-class sport, with Bujela "crossing boundaries" in his attempts to become the first black South African to win a major. This accomplishment speaks to the wider social factors that influence the development of the sport among poor black South Africans, as has been noted earlier the South African names associated with the sport are all white professionals with access to middle-class income resources. The feature also mentions how Bujela is attempting to inspire the next generation of black golfers in underprivileged areas with the South African Golf Development Board. This acts as a brilliant adjunct to the next golf feature to be discussed in *Destiny Man* magazine:



A SWING AT
SUCCESS

e South African Golf Development Board is teaching life skills to
ildren – and creating future champions in the process

olf isn't usually associated with driving
the upliftment of the underprivileged,
Grant Hepburn, the Managing Director
the South African Golf Development Board
GDBI, says his golf development initiative
making a significant impact on the lives of
advantaged children.
While the SAGDB is primarily a golf
elopment body with the focus of "taking the
me to the people", it does not limit itself to
The organisation subscribes to the Long-
n Athlete Development model, through
ch children are taught a number of skills to
them active for life.
'The coaching kits our coaches take into
communities include rugby, tennis and
ey balls, skipping ropes, hula hoops,
et bats and all sorts of other sports
pment," says Hepburn.

"At one station, the kids will pass a rugby ball, at another, they'll hit a tennis ball with a cricket bat and at a third station, they'll dribble with a hockey stick. And then, finally, there'll be a station where they chip a golf ball through a hoop, or putt, or hit a seven iron.

"The aim is to teach them general skills, such as jumping, hopping, balance and hand-eye co-ordination. These are skills you need in golf, but you won't get them by focusing solely on the sport."

The children benefit from practising the wide variety of movements and skills. Hepburn and his coaches have noticed that the kids are more advanced physically than their privileged counterparts, partly because they don't have access to TVs, computers or smartphones.

"They don't have these luxuries and have to entertain themselves in the street or in parks, which has certain physical benefits for them that we can work with," says Hepburn.

"Because these children have no access to TVs, computers or smartphones, they are more advanced physically than their privileged counterparts."

One successful golfer to emerge from the programme is Tristan Gallant (11), who won the Nomads South African Under-13 Championship at the Fish River Sun Country Club last year.

"Tristan comes directly out of our programme. He won that event with scores of two-over, level and two-under to finish at level par for the tournament. That is a great score for an 11-year-old on a championship course," says Hepburn.

"Our programme at Riverside Golf Club in the Boland is also one of our great successes. We've had so many golfers come out of there and play at provincial level."

Two Soweto golfers who came through the SAGDB ranks, Sipho Bujela and Maswabi Nethanzwi, are now professionals on the Sunshine Tour.

"We've even had players coming out of Phuthaditjhaba [in the Free State], which is really in the sticks," says Hepburn. "Our success is in the coaches who give so much more than they are paid for and who are passionate about the youth of this country." — *Michael Rhoses*

Figure 39.

Included in the same issue [November, 2014] as the Power of 40 report on Bujela is the article "A Swing At Success", detailing the efforts of the South African Golf Development Board (SAGDB) in bringing organized sports to disadvantaged children. It is stated that while golf is the primary aim, there are other sports taught to the children including rugby, tennis, and hockey:

"*At one station, the kids will pass a rugby ball, at another, they'll hit a tennis ball with a cricket bat and at a third station, they'll dribble with a hockey stick. And then, finally, there'll be a station where they chip a golf ball through a hoop, or putt, or hit a seven iron*"

(pp. 157).

The article is aimed at the theme of golf development, particularly with young black disadvantaged South Africans. However, even with this benign attempt at community development, there are interpretations to be made regarding latent racial themes emerging in the content; the sports chosen by the board mirror the recurring invisibility of blackness. Smith and Hattery (2011) engaged their research with a specific focus towards the ways in which race may influence sport management experiences and opportunities. The research has real world implications especially when one links it with the article presented in *Destiny Man* magazine. Smith and Hattery (2011) argue that the SportsWorld (i.e., the collective amateur and professional sport industry) is actually a mirror representation of larger society, and can be seen as a site of privilege, race, class, and gender. This assertion need not even be justified further in the context of South African sports, where the historical conditions of apartheid created segregated institutions such as admission in sports. As recent as the year 2015 the South African Rugby Union (SARU) were being criticised for the lack of black representation in the national team (Citizen, 2015). The Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU) also lamented the white leadership of rugby in South Africa, arguing that the management of the sport still reflected the apartheid legacy (Citizen, 2015). COSATU's grievances correspond with the literature of the SportsWorld reproducing societal imbalances created by historical conditions, highlighting the real-world implications of sporting practices. This argument is applied to the SAGDB's sporting choices in the training of underprivileged children in South Africa. Smith and Hattery (2011) argue that there exists an "inherent system of race relations that permeate the management of sport, creating racially unlevel and segregated board rooms and front offices" (pp. 108). The SAGDB is certainly a

scene of this management, choosing to include sports that are historically, and in some cases still currently, white-dominated. While it is laudable that efforts are being made to improve chances for non-white sportspeople, the racial dynamics are still in constant interplay affecting the implementation of such strategies. The spatio-temporal object of the black body is also in construction as this strategy is implemented:

Hepburn and his coaches have noticed that the kids are more advanced physically than their privileged counterparts, partly because they don't have access to TV's, computers or smartphones. "They don't have these luxuries and have to entertain themselves in the street or in the parks, which has certain physical benefits for them that we can work with," says Hepburn.

(*Destiny Man*, [November] 2014: 157).

The fact that underprivileged non-white children come from poverty-stricken areas is overlooked, and favoured for an ill-informed description of the benefits of discrimination. Fanon (1967) developed a sociogenic position to explain the experience of the black man both from a subjective, as well as an objective, level. This third position can also help to explain the appearance (or epidermilization) of the black subject; in this case, it is seen by white eyes, as a physical marvel incomparable to its white counterpart. This perspective ignores the history of the development of this object, nor does it attempt to address the inextricable contextual factors currently present; the latent racial conversation is still omnipresent:

We've even had players coming out of Phuthaditjhaba [in the Free State], which is really in the sticks", says Hepburn. "Our success is in the coaches who give so much more than they are paid for and who are passionate about the youth of this country."

(*Destiny Man*, [November] 2014: 157).

The players who came out of the "sticks" represent the jungle the African emerges from in Fanon's (1967) writings, being successful by becoming professional sportspeople. The commodification of this process is still evident, with the management handled by white tutelage. Smith and Hattery (2011) argue that segregation has led to a social distancing that is evident in boardrooms and sports management facilities. The theory of social distancing can also be minimally applied to the golf feature featured on the next page of the very same issue:



BFF: PGA AND BMF

Golf faces a global challenge when it comes to participation and overcoming the barriers of time and cost. But in SA, the PGA and the Black Management Forum (BMF) have teamed up in a mutually beneficial partnership that highlights the innovative thinking the golf industry needs.

According to PGA of SA CEO Ivano Ficalbi, while the body is not responsible for growing the game in this country, their members are active in this space because of the benefits of greater numbers in the local game.

"The PGA World Alliance initiative is for the PGAs to be active within the segment of the middle class who have access to the game," says Ficalbi.

"The BMF membership structure fits this profile and this is why the PGA took the step of working with the BMF to grow the game."

The BMF, which is focused on the development and empowerment of managerial leadership, primarily among black people, is a partner of the PGA of SA.

The partnership means that BMF members can attend PGA of SA Learn the Game clinics and benefit from the coaching of PGA professionals, while PGA members can attend various BMF functions. – Michael Wilmot

Figure 40

This feature attempts to address the social distance experienced both in the boardroom, and on the playing field. Also taking cognizance of the invisibility of blackness within the sport, the Black Management Forum (BMF) wishes to increase numbers of black golfers in South Africa. The BMF and the SAGDB have similar aims, but contrasting methodologies to the goal. While the SAGDB focuses on youth and grassroots development, albeit with a racialized perspective, the BMF fortifies the image of golf as a middle-class luxury:

According to PGA of SA CEO Ivano Ficalbi, while the body is not responsible for growing the game in this country, their members are active in this space because of the benefits of greater numbers in the local game…"The PGA World Alliance initiative is for the PGAs to be active within the segment of the middle class who have access to the game," says Ficalbi.

(*Destiny Man*, [November] 2014: 158).

Far from the radically socialized nature of the desegregation of Baltimore's golf courses (Wells, Buckley, & Boone, 2008) the BMF seeks to desegregate in a neoliberal capitalist framework that favours "the middle class who have access to the game". This boardroom nature fits in well with the overall theme of the middle class *Destiny Man*, the African corporatist dressing as a wolf in wolves' clothing; according to the article the BMF is "focused on the development and empowerment of managerial leadership, primarily among black people" (pp. 158). The entrenching of the middle-class is done to increase the visibility of blackness within the sport, but not to re-dress social imbalances caused by historical

legacies. The topic of race, therefore, is once again addressed within a neoliberal capitalist discourse, concurring with the theme of *Destiny Man*.

4.5.5. The Power of the Black Tiger

"*There is one expression that through time has become singularly eroticized: the black athlete*"

(Fanon, 1967: 158)

Destiny Magazine does not have sports as one of the core principles of the magazine, but it does form part of the constitution in every issue. Thus, unlike other male-targeted magazines [i.e. Men's Health, Gentlemen's Quarterly] the focus is rarely on the Adonis-oriented image of maleness. However, the theme of athletic performance does manifest itself through the modality of race, and this can be seen with the inclusion of the Tiger Woods advertisement in some of the issues. The following discussion will attempt to argue this point with the relevant corpus.

Carrington (2002) has argued that in the 21st century the invisibility of blackness is no longer as pertinent as it was in the 20th century, as domains such as the media have continued to showcase black bodies:

Mainstream media culture too is dominated by black faces and bodies, from the sports fields and fashion catwalks, to our cinematic screens and music video channels, and even (occasionally) within the high cultural spaces of award ceremonies for novelistic and avant-garde artistic production.

(Carrington, 2002: 3).

The argument is left wanting when one questions which elements of the media black bodies are more commonly represented, yet the increased visibility of black bodies in the media is accepted. Carrington (2002) acknowledges this by stating that there are still ambivalent tendencies in the media with regards to black representation, and that "the athletic black body in particular remains deeply inscribed into the psychic imaginary of the West" (pp. 4). These are also presented at the manifest level in *Destiny Man*, although to a much lesser degree than its contemporaries. The racialized image of Tiger Woods also suggests deeper levels of complexity in the magazine:



Figure 41.

Woods stares close-range at the camera, his hand placed above his chin in an angle that displays his luxury watch slightly above the cuff of his jacket. *Destiny Man* features no advertisements of any men's jewellery items, except for luxury watches. This display of gender (Goffman, 1976) rings true for this specific type of man- the *Destiny Man*. Within

boardrooms and upper middle class spaces, the display of these luxury items is likely to equate with status and wealth indicating the core tenets of masculinity (Brannon, 1976). This Tiger Woods advertisement speaks to more than just status and wealth, but also to his racial significance in accordance with the make-up of a *Destiny Man*. The advertisement is a double-page front cover, considered to be the prime advertising spaces within magazines, as it is one of the first images people see when they open it. The second page of the advertisement relates more directly to the issues that have been the focus of this discussion section in the thesis:

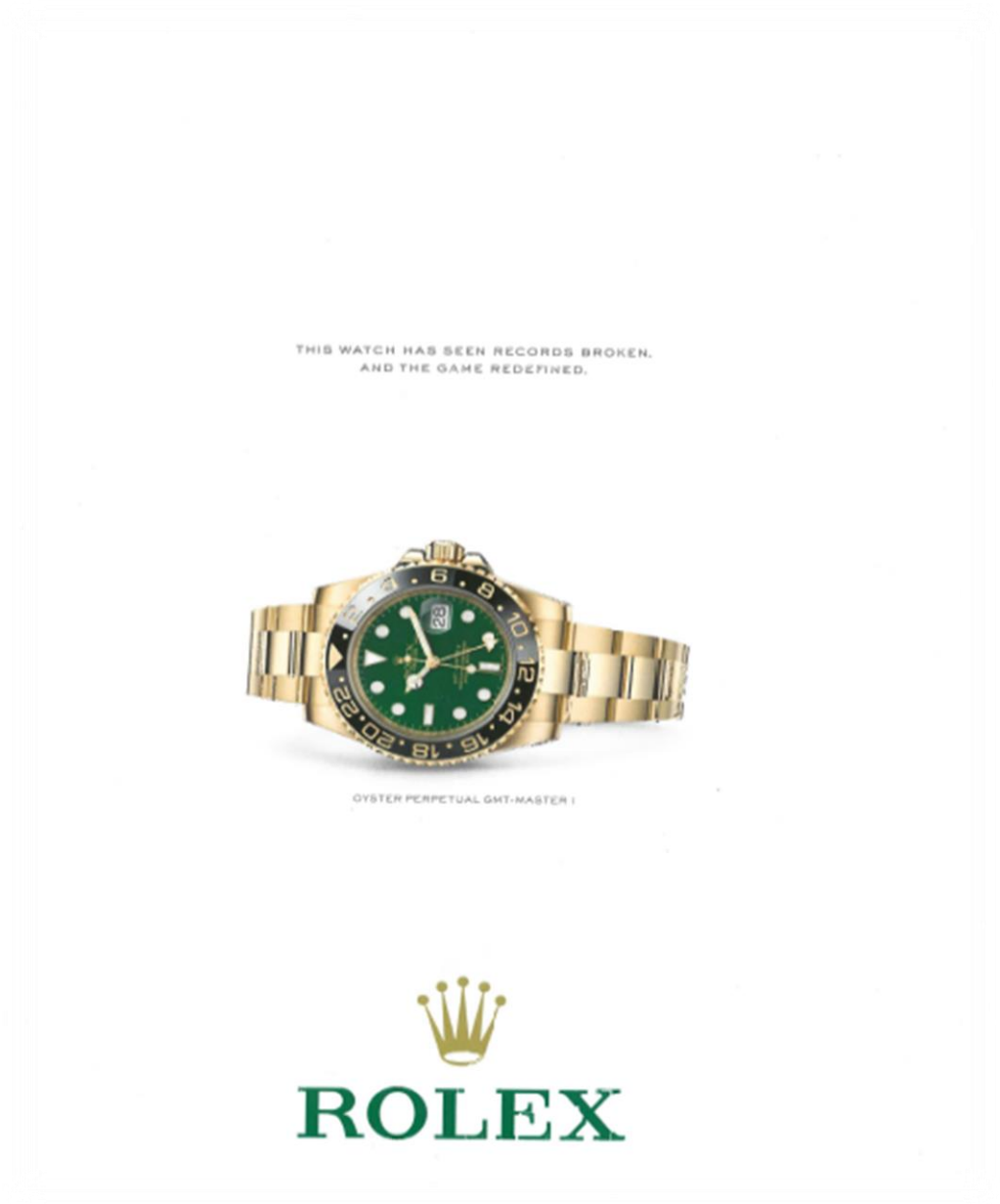


Figure 42

The reader is directed to the words at the top of the page: “This Watch Has Seen Records Broken. And The Game Redefined”. The statement is commanding in the presentation of Tiger Woods’ historicity. Woods won the Masters Golf Championship in 1997 becoming the first person of African heritage to win this award (Dawkins, 2004). It goes without saying that this was a significant accomplishment for African Americans, and indeed Africans in general, in the sport of golf. It has already been stated how the golf institution has historically oppressed and excommunicated Africans from participating in the sport. Upon winning the Masters Golf Championship Woods focused on these larger historical struggles, and stated that more recognition should be given to black golf professionals (Dawkins, 2004). Therefore, the statement included in the Rolex advertisement is a stronger definitive comment of the position of black subjects in the SportsWorld. It speaks to the individual accomplishments accrued by Woods over his sporting career, as well as to the impact it has for African Americans; in this vein Woods has literally redefined the game. The watch itself is an item of aesthetic marvel. The strap and outer face are made of gold, while the inner face is green in colour. The latter most likely represents the green of the golf course that Woods has redefined with his sporting exploits, and socially with the image of the black [or multi-ethnic] sportsman. For the *Destiny Man* this fits into the framework of neoliberal capitalism, equating golf with luxury and affordability to play. The African image of Tiger Woods gives the African middle-class reassurance that they too can “redefine the game”, in an economic sense. The luxury of being able to afford a gold Rolex is a display of status and masculine strength (Brannon, 1976; Goffman, 1976). The inclusion of Tiger Woods advertisements speaks less to sporting prowess, than it does to the financial prowess of being able to play golf and afford luxury watches. This is also in line with the goals of the BMF in increasing the numbers of black middle class golfers in South Africa, as a proxy for corporate representation.

The mastery of the African male in historically white-dominated spaces is also a feature of *Destiny Man* .Tiger Woods is also, once again, seen as the means by which this latent content is brought about.



Figure 43.

The images in the advertisement display Woods in a range of different situations, from the golf course, to the boardroom, to the sea; in most of these images he is seen wearing a Rolex watch. The advertisement also includes the following blurb:

Just being a master scuba diver wasn't enough, so he trained himself to hold his breath for four minutes. Just helping undeserved kids wasn't enough, so he established a foundation of his own. He approaches each new challenge with the same intensity that he brings to his game. And no matter how far he goes, or even how deep, Tiger Woods' Rolex rarely leaves his wrist. To him, it's a reminder. Of everywhere he has been. And the places he's yet to go.

The text displays masculinity as a performance predicated on multiple abilities. In the reading through a racialized eye, one can also assume the significance of having an African [or man

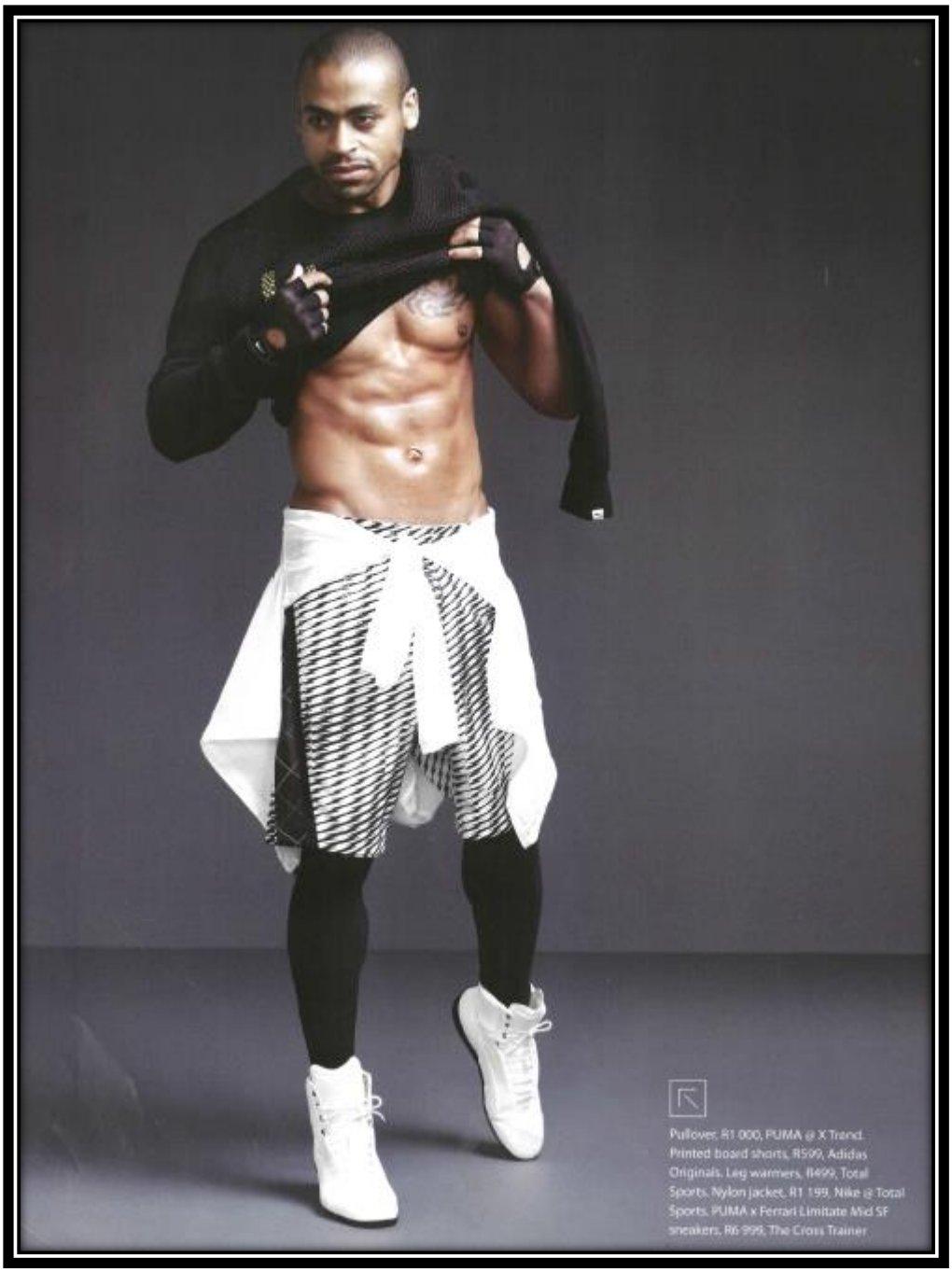
with African heritage] achieving targets at multiple levels. Woods is seen as outdoing himself and going beyond the norm with a measure of intensity. Mercer (1994) has argued that in the historical oppression of black masculinity cancelled out positions of power that are considered in gender terms as an expression of masculinity. It seems, therefore, that the expression of African masculinity is based on the ability to do more and over perform. This *Masculinity as Mastery* speaks to the desire for African males to become visible in certain spaces, yet it also intersects with the Fanonian (1967) notion of the eroticized black athlete.

4.5.5.1. Bodies to die for.

Even a cursory glance through contemporary media forms shows how often, and to what extent, the black male torso (always heavily defined, never 'soft') is used to connote notions of athleticism, that is strength, aggression and power. Often underlying such representations are also coded plays on notions of animalism.

(Carrington, 2002: 21).





Figures 44 & 45.

The eroticised male athlete in the clothing featurette above brings to fruition this observation made by Carrington (2002). The model is shown in a range of sporting poses, all displaying within them an element of power and aggression. Fanon (1967) has argued that the black athlete body is a repository for colonial discursive elements of white fear, desire, and fantasies. Carrington (2002) has argued that the media portrayals of black male athlete bodies are constructed in a manner that manifests white unconscious processes:

…black models are usually shot with a high intensity film so that the black skin is exposed to a microscopic gaze, showing veins, pores, and sweat gleaning from the dark skin, reproducing a 'pornographic' effect in rendering the black male body vulnerable, 'open' and exposed to inspection.

(Carrington, 2002: 22).

Figure 46.



Conclusion

Thus, the black male body is subjected to a voyeuristic gaze, and is never allowed to return it with one sole exception. The animalistic discourses of the black male athlete seem to contradict each other with the Woods' advertisement and the above sports style feature; however a deeper interpretation can be offered. In both cases the subjects are seen as displaying their Africanness through a wide range of fields/ disciplines. The element of performance is still connoted in both cases, displaying the black body as an object. Intersecting with the neoliberal capitalistic discourse, the element of commodification also comes into play with the inclusion of luxury items at high costs. African masculinity, in these cases, is a binary-defined phenomenon.

Chapter Four Subsection 6

4.6. Be a Big Wheel: Masculine Performance in *Destiny Man* magazine.

Introduction.

Destiny Man magazine conveys a message of holistic existence of the middle class male. It accomplishes this task through the inclusion of many aspects of masculine identity in a 21st century middle class South African male. Among these aspects, as indicated by the magazine, content includes business, sport, fashion, technology, and lifestyle. The composition of this lifestyle is what holds interest for the researcher, and this section will seek to examine the visual display of luxury vehicles in *Destiny Man* magazine.

4.6.1. Big Deals

Destiny Man magazine includes in the monthly features a section entitled '*Hot Wheels*' which focuses on select luxury vehicles in every issue. From the outset the reader is immediately presented with pictures of cars in the contents section of the magazine. A quantitative summary reveals that all eight issues featured pictures of cars in the contents section of the magazine. This display from the outset is characteristic of the gender display discussed by Goffman (1976), specifically in this study within a media context. West and Zimmerman (1987) contend that a display of gender is seen as a socially organized achievement. In this regard interactions with members of society who subscribe equally to these categorized notions consistently reproduce these displays. *Destiny Man* adopts this approach by splashing the contents page with photographs of men, watches, and luxury cars:



Figure 47

To the lay-reader the inclusion of these criteria on the front page would hardly be questioned or analysed, yet the latent processes behind this method of branding. It has been argued that popular culture is teeming with idealized depictions of relation etiquette between masculinity and feminity (West and Zimmerman, 1987). These can be seen as representations of what it means to be a *Destiny Man*, possessing items such as luxury cars and watches; the attainment of these are barometers of success and achievement. Brannon's (1976) four typologies highlighted the main aspects of masculinity at the time. The second tenet 'The Big Wheel' is

of relevance to this section of the thesis as it relates to status, success, and a need to be looked up to. The argument is strengthened by the observations in the corpus of texts that show that one cannot simply drive any ordinary car, or wear any watch; they must be the best amongst competitors, and top of the available range. The inclusion of these luxury vehicles is a display of masculine perception, and the continued flight from feminization that *Destiny Man* continues to maintain; even when the cars are small they must possess an element of masculine identification:



Figure 48.

Even though the car shown is a small vehicle, there still seems to be the need to display it in overly masculine manner, with the winged flames making the car look boyish. The irony in the title 'Hot Wheels' is that this car looks to be a real-life version of the brand of Hot Wheels toy cars aimed at young boys:



Figure 49.

Kimmel (2001) defined a new typology of masculinity called '*Marketplace Manhood*'. This stays with the theme of the dominant social imaginary of neoliberal capitalism of which the Marketplace Man is defined by an identity grounded in success in the capitalistic marketplace, with the accumulation of wealth, power, and status. It is clear that the vehicles advertised in *Destiny Man* are more than simply a mode of transportation; they represent a subset of vehicles that define a type of lifestyle only attainable by a subset of the population. The price ranges in the 'Hot Wheels' section start with a minimum of R105, 000- R120, 000, indicating that these cars are only affordable if one is earning a middle-class to upper-middle class salary. The majority of the cars are shown on roads or in urban areas, with only a few shown in nature ; this phenomenon of displaying the luxurious component of automobiles suggest to the reader that class is exemplified by the type of vehicle one drives. Pertaining exclusively to *Destiny Man*, the notion of African Marketplace Manhood intersects with the repressive apartheid function of preventing non-whites from participating in the marketplace. Kimmel (1994) defined 'Marketplace Man' as basing 'his identity entirely from his success in the capitalist marketplace, as he accumulated wealth, power, status' (pp.62). From this point of view one can see the theme of quantitative barometers that seems to be an essential feature of *Destiny Man*. The cars featured also include vehicle specifications where some of

the numbers are in and of themselves of no significance, but once analysed in the manner of gender display one can make a few observations:

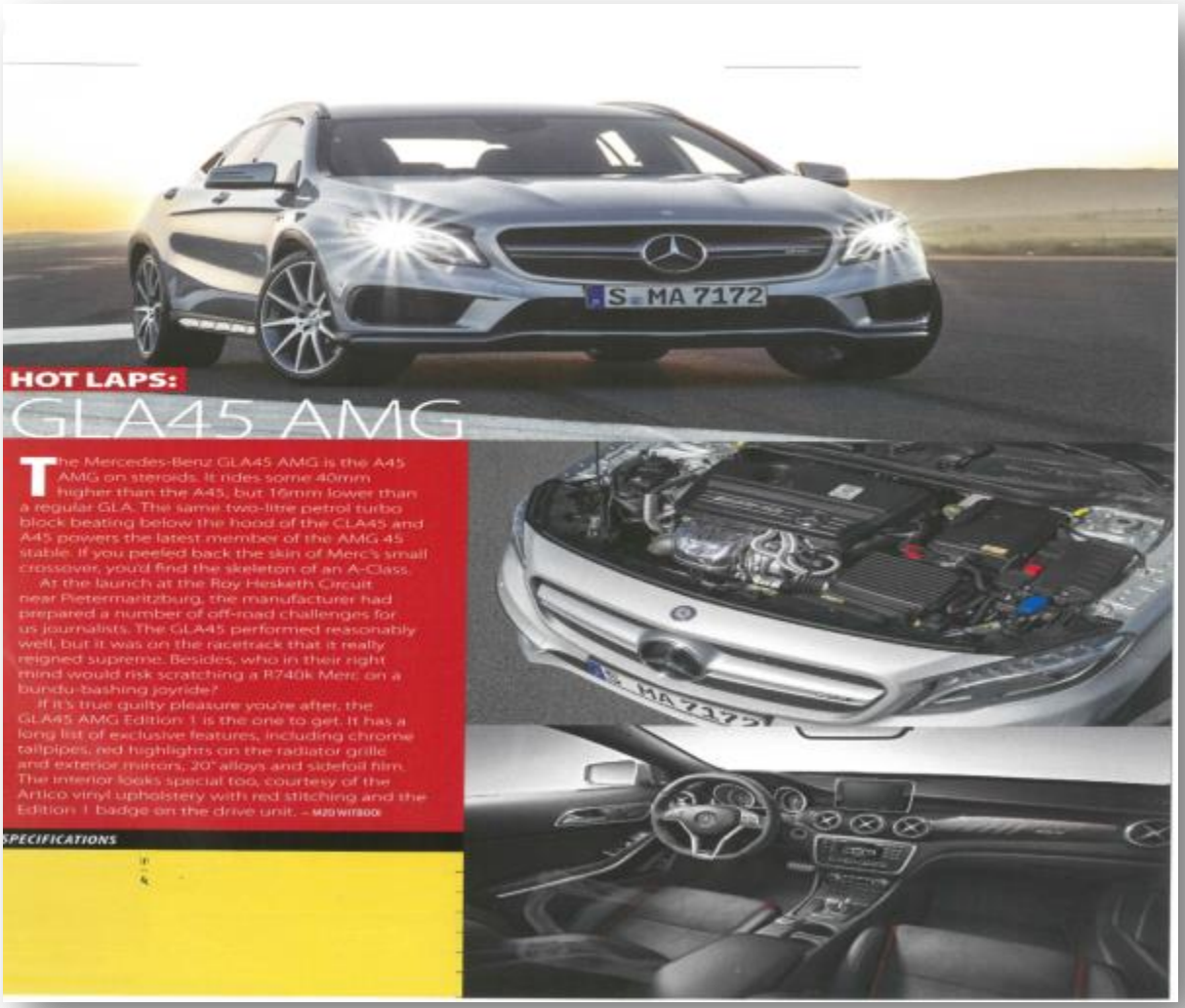


Figure 50.

By analysing the numbers one can see that "there are scheduled performances presented in special locations, and like plays, they constitute introductions to or time out from more serious activities" (West & Zimmerman, 1987: 130). To essentialized natures of feminity the frequency of luxury vehicles would scantly be seen in magazine pages aimed at a female market, while the male readers of the magazine may consider these specifications important as displays of performance/masculinity. How much power the vehicle has is displayed with formulas that only a mechanical engineer could properly comprehend, whilst the speed of the

vehicle is arguably unnecessary on roads where speed limits are imposed on road users; yet these 'Big Wheel' measures are masculine performances of success and power.

4.6.2. Marketplace Men.

Destiny Man seems to display a heteronormative perspective on the organisation of its content, related to the display of gender. However, an important variable needs to be factored into the analysis; that of contextualised masculinity. This pertains particularly to the notion of race, and the intersections between the two constructs in *Destiny Man*. Fanon (1967) included intersectionality in his analysis of racialized subjectivity, providing a phenomenological account of this notion. Fanon's (1967) sociogenic principle attempts to answer the question of what it is like to be black, dually combining both third person, and first person phenomenonlogies to explore the lived experience of consciousness in Africans. When Fanon does this he does not interpret blackness as an objective fact, but rather what the subjective character of what is like to be black in contemporary culture. Therefore, the question can be asked of what it is like to be a *Destiny Man* in contemporary South Africa? Deeper levels of analysis reveal the question: what does it mean to be a *Destiny Man* in contemporary South Africa? The first question is most likely outside of the scope of the current research study as a first-hand account will only be obtainable through the narrative of self-identified *Destiny Men*, however the editor's note gives some perspective on this issue:

It is easy to get caught up in the spirit of "Africa Rising" and Africa as "the hopeful continent" but, for those of us who live on the continent, we, hopefully, recognise that there is much work to be done. For those of us on the outside looking in, they see the stats and, perhaps, the opportunities, but we can't expect them to come and solve our unique challenges. To them, we are a new frontier, but, for us, we are simply what we have always been- African.

(Baffoe, [November] 2014: 08).

The interpretations to be made from this note offer some insight into the phenomenology Fanon (1967) alluded to in his racialized subjectivity:

Some people will argue that the situation has a double meaning. Not at all. The black man has no ontological resistance in the eyes of the white man. From one day to the next, the Blacks have had to deal with two systems of reference. Their metaphysics, or less

pretentiously their customs and the agencies to which they refer, were abolished because they were in contradiction with a new civilization that imposed its own.

(Fanon, 1967: 90).

Baffoe refers to this double-meaning in relation to the lived experience of the African, in the same way that Fanon describes the ontology of the black man; they are in fact, one and the same thing. While Fanon is more critical in his analysis of this ontology, Baffoe attempts to concede to diplomacy in his critique; yet the indistinguishable feature in both these subtexts is the existence of the Other, and the existence of the African/black man in relation to the Other. In the colonial context this experience was largely mediated by the prescription to dominant forms of the colonial system, yet in contemporary Africa the vestiges of these forms still serve as standards by which to measure one by. Baffoe (2014) speaks of "those" who cannot fathom what the African experience entails as to do so would be phenomenologically impossible. It is then left to Africans to negotiate these reifications of existence from the inside-out. In a very realistic sense these tensions are continually grappled with by the *Destiny Man*: an indelible problem of self-definition apart from [white] hegemonic masculinity, and individuation from *Destiny* magazine. Perhaps the need for self-definition speaks to the history of imposed categories underneath the despotic apartheid regime, and the emergence of the African middle class in contemporary South Africa. Baffoe alludes to those as Fanon's (1967) Other, and calls for an agentic individuation similar to Fanon realising that he cannot "rid" himself as an "innate object", to assert himself as a "BLACK MAN" , since "The Other was reluctant to recognize me, there was only one answer: to make myself known" (pp. 95.). Although *Destiny Man* attempts to define itself without a racial categorization, this ontological proviso must surely be factored in considering the colonized history of the African continent.

Due to the suppression of materialistic desires during this regime, the Marketplace Man in contemporary South Africa requires proof and tangible objects of his accumulation as success. Class is thus seen less as a pervasive factor in constituting *Destiny Man* masculinity, but rather one that has a basis in the historical circumstance of deprivation; even the use of the word 'class' is given a sense of elevation in its description.



WRITTEN BY AURELIA MBOKAZI

SUPERIOR CLASS

When presenting the most anticipated vehicle of the year, it's crucial to get every detail right. The team at Mercedes-Benz put together one of the most lavish launches to present what they termed "the best car in the world"

Any marketer worth their salt will tell you that when you're selling something as the "best ever", you go out of your way to ensure your audience believes you. The guests were treated to a five-star hotel, an exclusive restaurant in the winelands, a chauffeur service, champagne on tap, an extravagant menu, entertainment by SA's top musicians and a full orchestra.

The real coup was pinning down Mercedes-Benz's Vice-President of Design, Prof Gordon Wagner, to take the media in Cape Town through the concept for the design of the vehicle.

Ordinarily, all this would be enough to impress anyone. However, for hard-nosed motoring journalists, the proof lay in sitting behind the wheel of the car and getting first-hand experience.

DESIGN

The exterior design of the S-Class pays homage to 1930s automobiles, an era when cars were big, bold and striking. It's characterised by well-proportioned lines and because of its classic elegance, you get a sense of déjà vu at first glance. Mercedes-Benz has left its imposing star on the bonnet as though to reinforce a sense of authority in the vehicle.

INTERIOR

As expected in the S-Class, there's no shortage of luxury and functionality to make driving a pleasurable experience, from the detailed leather to soft suede on the roof and fragranced climate control. With its myriad of multi-media systems, it's virtually a fully-fledged office on wheels and there are plenty of buttons to play around with and discoveries to make during each trip.

As if to prove that ordinary wouldn't do for this car, the design team went crazy on the seats, ensuring only maximum comfort for driver and passengers alike. It took about 100 electric motors to ensure the seats perform optimally and can be adjusted to individuals' preferences. One of the top selling points is the massage option, which is based on hot stone massage principles. When my co-driver, DESTINY IMAN Editor Kajo Baffoe, and I got into the car, we were eager to put the massage to the test. However, it didn't come close to undoing our stress knots and felt more like being stroked by a five-year-child. There's the rub... not!

SAFETY

For the car that first introduced the driver airbag, it's become a norm for the S-Class to set safety trends. When it comes to safety technology, Mercedes-Benz is looking to the future and is already researching technology for autonomous driving (a car that drives itself) with zero accidents. While engineers are still hard at work ensuring that becomes a reality in our lifetime, the S-Class continues to be innovative and comes equipped with more than 20 assistance safety features. These include the Nightview Assist Plus, which can identify animals and people walking in front of the car at night. The LED headlamps turn on so that the person or animal isn't blinded and can make a safe escape. In addition, the Stop & Go Pilot feature will detect the speed of the car in front of you and limit the speed of your vehicle to avoid or minimise a collision.

Those who have to drive on uneven and potholed roads will also love Magic Body Control, a feature which enables the chassis to anticipate the surface conditions and absorb the bumps, ensuring that the car's occupants don't feel a thing. During our drive on some of the Western Cape's battered roads, we were pleasantly surprised as the car glided smoothly over the hazards.

THE DRIVE

On the drive of just over 300km, we were on the lookout for faults – but were hard pressed to find any, given the Merc's superb comfort levels, safety systems and performance. We began in the S400 Hybrid model, which had a bit of lag from take-off and whose acceleration felt a tad delayed on open roads. However, the S500 had ample power on tap and required some restraining. It was the next best thing from the S63 AMG and will go down well among petrolheads without burning the budget.

S400 HYBRID
Price: R1 237 000
Acceleration from 0-100km/h: 6,2 seconds
Top speed: 250km/h
Combined fuel consumption: 6,1 litres/100km (claimed)
Carbon emissions: 159g/km

S500
Price: R1 664 000
Acceleration from 0-100km/h: 4,8 seconds
Top speed: 250km/h
Combined fuel consumption: 9,1 litres/100km (claimed)
Carbon emissions: 213g/km

Figure 51.

These are symptomatic of Big Wheel masculinity measured by wealth and status, the signification of which is reflected in the vehicle that one is seen driving around in. The notion of class can be intersected with racialized subjectivity, and the male experience of being in

the African middle class. Fanon (1967) recognised that the experience of the white man and the experience of the black man were fundamentally different; the white man is sealed in his whiteness, and the black man is sealed in his blackness. This entails that for the African psycho-existential questions are effected by both economic concerns, and the epidermilization of blackness. The sociogeny of the lived experience of the black has transcended generations into the pages of *Destiny Man* magazine. The dilemma exists as the emergence of the African middle class comes in the midst of the era of neoliberal capitalism, whereby the measures for success are economic, and a previously hindered group strives towards this marker imagined by a [white] hegemonic authority.

4.6.3. The Urban Jungle

With this interpretation in mind the latent processes behind some of the manifest images are all the more striking:

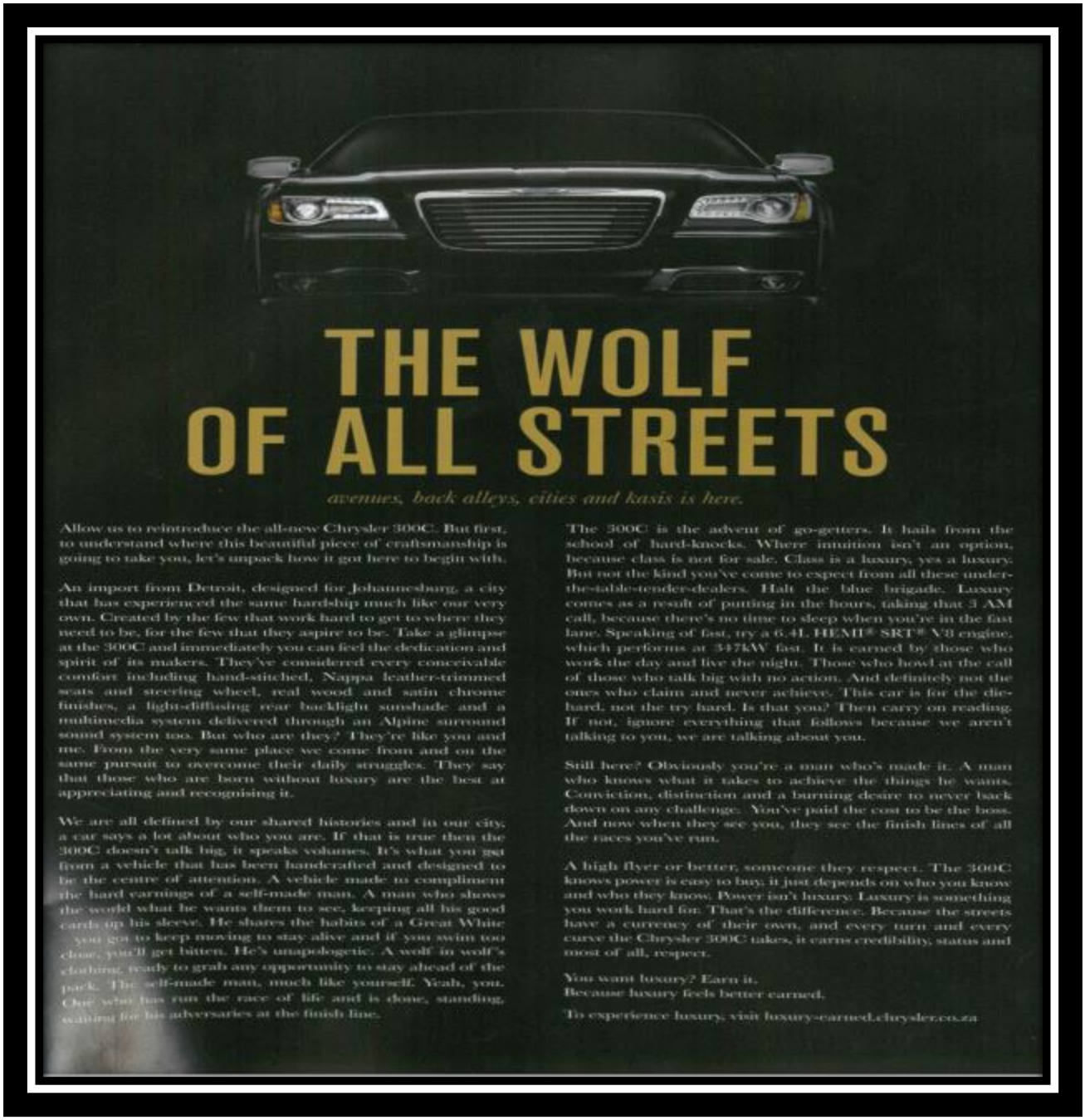


Figure 51.

These three images collectively depict the subtle inferiority complex African men feel as a consequence of being black, leading to the black man being "face to face with the language of the civilizing nation", and "above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards" (Fanon, 1967: 18). The "jungle" can be interpreted as the kasi delineated in the Chrysler 300C advertisement. Here, masculinity is given the imagery of predatory survival, still within the theme of wealth in the neoliberal capitalist paradigm. The heading is a pun from the autobiographical book-turned-film The Wolf of Wall Street in

which the protagonist recounts his career as a successful corruptive stock broker in New York City. Despite this, the car is seen as a "vehicle made to compliment the hard earnings of a self-made man…A wolf in wolf's clothing, ready to grab any opportunity to stay ahead of the pack". With this ode, it suggests that the pursuit of wealth holds no admonishment, but rather reverence for doing whatever it takes to attain it. This ode places the mode of African Marketplace Masculinity in a ruthlessly individualistic approach, from the jungles of the kasi to the boardroom whiteness of white-collar crimes. The racialized description of this jungle has a linguistic history with Africa being called "the dark continent", and its people being uncivilized "savages" and kaffirs. The *Destiny Man* therefore attempts to reconstitute this by being a man amongst Men, the Men in this sense of course alluding to the white Marketplace Man, being afforded the opportunity of participating in the market and the so-called corporate jungle. This is adopted by the second Chrysler advertisement that shows a black man leaning against the hood of a black Chrysler emboldened with the words "Never forget where you came from".



The vestiges of the kasi jungle still remain as a distant memory to the African male who has materialised his success through an affluent acquisition. Yet his blackness cannot escape the nature of his racialized subjectiveness, but it is seen as something which he must not forget; yet not what he is. He is now an African Marketplace Man:

Within the dominant culture, the masculinity that defines white, middle class, early middle-aged, heterosexual men is the masculinity that sets the standards for other men, against which other men are measured and, more often than not, found wanting.

(Kimmel, 1994: 63).

The standard is an inescapable, inherent, feature of neoliberal capitalism, defining global marketplace etiquette. Rather than opposing this characterisation, the *Destiny Man* must adapt to its inner workings in some way or another:



Figure 53.

This advert shows the supposed progression of the young male black South African, into the professional corporate Marketplace Man; he enters the car as a passenger and leaves as the driver. He has also changed his clothing to a physio-generic business suit, allowing him to look like the African middle class man. While not classified as a luxury vehicle, one can perhaps assume that the car [or attainment thereof] is [literally] a vehicle to success. The "new" man who emerges from the car is now seen as ready to take on the neoliberal capitalist landscape:

You've worked hard to get where you are. You've challenged the status quo. Now you've got your eye set on the next stage of your life…So when it comes to unveiling the next generation you, don't just arrive, make an entrance.

([November], 2014: pp.149).

The young African male is seen as a beacon of inspiration for his contemporaries, using his solo efforts to somehow overcome his challenges. "The next stage" is presumably making "an entrance" in the corporate market to become *Destiny Man*. One can believe that the next step in this progression is thus. The advertisement displays a black male in front of a sideways-facing Chrysler 300C. The top headline reads "SHOW WHERE YOU ARE GOING", while the bottom line says "WITHOUT FORGETTING WHERE YOU ARE FROM"; the top headline is written in white, and the bottom line is written in black. This advertisement combined with the previously-shown "Wolf of All Streets" advertisements provides plenty of rich text that one could use in a well-formulated interpretation. The first can be summed up as the black male having come full circle, and becoming more fully-human in the seat of luxury. Fanon (1967) displays the temporal transcendence of his sociogenic analysis:

Negroes who return to their original environments convey the impression that they have completed a cycle, that they have added something to themselves, literally returning full of themselves.

(Fanon, 1967: 19).

In part, this alludes to a specific socio-economic circumstance that the African male has had to make it through, one made infinitely more complicated by the multifarious barriers enforced by a colonialist, and in the South African context, apartheid regime. Yet, for an African male to return "full" of himself is to perceive oneself as phenotypically superior to

the environment from which one emerged from; *Destiny Man* returns to his jungle, the kasi, as a Big Wheel. Even the selective colouring of the text enables the realisation of the latent bifurcation of success in the advertisement- white is where he is going, black is where he came from. This seemingly innocuous choice is a process in itself; with the circle being completed once one has attained the fullness of the whiteness.

Kipfer (2005) has reread Fanon in the paradigm of the spatio-temporal, relating his work to multiple scales of what colonization means today. This has the implications that the many intersections of Fanon's analysis are inevitably coterminous with other elements of the analyses. Spatialization in the colonial sense has strong ties with the development of identity, and played a key role in the type of black which Fanon experienced himself as on a French train. The physical aspect of this spatialized interaction is the third phenomenological experience as both object and subject in Fanon's writings, sealing the black man in his blackness. Shefer, Stevens, and Clowes (2010) have noted how masculinities are produced within specific material conditions, echoing the arguments about the spatio-temporal relevance of Fanon. These material conditions, the lived experience of the black in the kasi jungles of South Africa are the constitution of the *Destiny Man*. The historicity of the kasi shows the construction of these spaces as jungles that African bodies can inhabit on the outskirts of white existence-kasi being the colloquial term for township, the huge sprawling working-class adjuncts to each South African town and city. These spaces were created during the apartheid era as engineered separatist living spaces for the African working class, and the unemployed Africans. Fanon explains these juxtaposed geographical spaces in the Wretched of the Earth,

``*The zone where the natives live is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers. The two zones are opposed, but not in the service of a higher unity… The settlers' town is a strongly built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage cans swallow all the leavings, unseen, unknown and hardly thought about.. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire.*"

(Fanon, 1963 [1961], page 39).

Within the kasis the working class can gaze with envy at the city of the urban white, the clothes they wear, the humanness in their appearance, the luxury of their vehicles. White is

no longer the gold standard, as the white man is sealed in his whiteness, it is the white standard. The spatial organisation of this gives the black man knowledge in "knowing where" he is going; towards the concrete streets of suburban existence, and away from the dusty streets of the township- this is what is meant by the phenotypic change the African male undergoes in his "becoming". Having obtained the white standard, he may emerge as follows:



Figure 54.

Similar to the text in the previously mentioned Chrysler advertisement, Andile Khumalo (displayed in this advertisement) portrays the symbol of the wolf in wolves' clothing, a black suit in a white Chrysler. Constituting more than the topographical status, the latent process behind becoming this wolf is evident in his history:

My present doesn't determine my future. I was born in 1978 in Umlazi, Durban, and grew up amid the political violence that engulfed Kwazulu-Natal…my teachers would tell me about the limitations of being black in SA. I'm fortunate to be alive, healthy, educated and economically active today. The opportunities are immense and, at times, overwhelming.

(pp.78).

Khumalo expresses the difficulties faced in the intersecting economic and racial realms of apartheid South Africa, having been forewarned of his possible exclusion as a human because of his blackness. Khumalo's path, however, begins to follow the pervasive pattern of having successfully 'escaped' the jungle into the concrete streets of suburbia, all the while doing so in luxury. Khumalo can be viewed as the real-life embodiment of the objective of the Nissan advertisement.

Conclusion.

In more ways than one, being a Big Wheel is very much tied with the notion of Marketplace Masculinity, and perhaps the constitution of a *Destiny Man*. These quantitative barometers have been expounded on in this section with the inclusion of an understanding of the racialized subject that is the *Destiny Man*.

Chapter Six

Reflective Conclusions & Recommendations

6.1. Conclusion.

The aim of this research study was to conduct a multimodal analysis of *Destiny Man* magazine. The foregoing chapters explained the rationale of this study, and located it within the South African context. In addition, existing media analyses were reviewed and the insights gleaned from these assisted in the formulation of the current study. The methodology of this research provided the reader with a chance to be briefed about the theoretical approach to understanding masculine hegemony. The overall conception was the core feature of the foregoing chapters and the examination of which was comprehensively covered in the discussion.

The findings took a preliminary analysis of *Destiny Man* magazine and briefly included descriptive quantitative data. The balances of these data were further described in the discussion chapter. The findings also provided the reader with an account of the outline of the discussion to follow.

The discussion itself used deep levels of interpretation at the psychoanalytic level. This allowed the researcher to uncover the unconscious content of *Destiny Man* magazine, and link this to wider social processes. It is hoped that this research will enable the reader to be critical of what she is reading, and become aware of the structure of society itself.

6.2. Reflexivity

This researched allowed me to engage with aspects of my own masculinity on a continuous basis. I was challenged to take an introspective look at elements which I had been previously unaware of. The first of these was the construct of masculinity. I had to think about my subject positioning in relation to men, women, children, and transgendered people, and examine the impact I had on each of these separate elements. I began to think quite heavily about what it means to identify as a man in contemporary South Africa, and was confronted with the reality of male privilege in our patriarchal world. I thought about the "benevolent" acts of door-opening, and load-carrying that perpetuate oppression in everyday life.

Being black by nature is an issue which repeatedly confronted me in the writing of this thesis. I was not fully aware of the historicity of my existence as a collective (*ubuntu)* and the profound complexities of my identity in this time period. It has allowed me to come to terms with the fact that in most cases my (historical) culture is literally lost in translation. Being a black first-language English speaker placed me in a strange mode of conscious experience that could be immensely alienating in many respects. This research has allowed me to slightly bridge that gap by engaging with my blackness at deep levels, bringing new ideas to the surface that could aid in transforming and conscientization.

I was also rather struck by my conformity in fashion choices that corresponded with neoliberal conceptions of masculinity. I had previously thought that being a 'well-dressed gentleman' was a naturalised process, but I came to be aware of the nature of my fashion choices: a westernised influence. This awareness has led to analysing the complexities of the African experience in the 21st century, and is certainly more complex than a fashion preference.

6.3. Future Research Possibilities

Despite the comprehensiveness of this study, it is recommended that taking *Destiny* magazine into account will add to the layers of interpretation. Reviewing the entirety of *Destiny Man's* existence could also prove beneficial in the interpretive content.

It is also recommended that the reader be conscious of the omission of homophobia and homoeroticism in this study. *Destiny Man* included one article on the topic of homosexuality, yet it was strangely presented as an economic issue. A discussion of African sexualities would probably add to the depth of contemporary understanding of masculinity in popular media. That being said, there simply wasn't enough content to review in light of this, yet perhaps future research can also tap into this realm.

Gaining a qualitative richness may also require personal contact with the magazine writers, in the aid of researching this magazine.

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APPENDIX: PLAGIARISM FORM.

Word Count: _____ Copies submitted: _____

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- I have not allowed anyone to copy my work with the intention of passing it off as their own
- I understand that the University of the Witwatersrand may take disciplinary action against me if there is a belief that this is not my own unaided work, or that I have failed to acknowledge the source of the content in my writing
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