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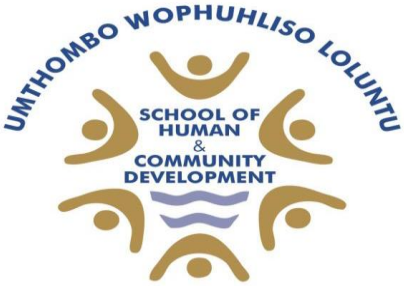
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The Challenge of the Black Middle-Class Men in Negotiating the Elusive Masculine Identities

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Contents

Table of Contents

Chapter 1: Introduction

a. Background 5
b. Statement of the problem 5
c. Rationale.....7
d. Theoretical framework..... 8

Chapter 2: Literature Review

a. The theory of identity formation.....11
b. Research on masculine Identities.....11
c. The role of emotions in the construction.....13
d. The role of blackness in masculine identities 18
e. The black middle class.....20
f. The materiality of masculine identities.....21
g. The social identities of masculine identities.....22
h. Conflict in gender identity.....24
i. Research questions.....25

Chapter 3: Research design and methodology

a. Research design.....26
b. Methodology.....27
c. Research procedures 27
d. Data collection..... .29
e. Data analysis 31
f. Ethical considerations.....33

Chapter 4 Findings and analysis

a. Thematic analysis.....35

Chapter 5: Findings and analysis

a. Discourse analysis.....53

Chapter 6: Conclusion

a. Limitations and recommendations……80

b. Researcher reflexivity /bias……82

c. Findings ……84

d. Concluding summary ……84

e. Bibliography……..85

f. Appendices……..92

CHAPTER 1

Introduction

Connell (1995, p. 78) states that "To be a man is not enough simply to be, a man must do, display and prove it in order to establish an unchallenged manhood". It is insufficient to be born male as a guarantee to function within the masculine identities. Hegemonic masculinity is deemed to be the standard from which all masculinities emanate and to which they aspire. It is defined by Connell (1995, p. 77) 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”. When unpacking the definition, it appears as a pattern of gender practice that consists of dominance over women while there is hierarchy among masculine identities. This suggests that men on different levels within the hierarchy aspire to be at the next level while the evolution of gender discourse continues. That situation reduces their chance of ever attaining the upper level to which men aspire at that point in time. It seems to be an unattainable ripple effect and constantly receding horizon. The aim of this research was to demonstrate the challenges and complexities of idealized hegemonic social construct of masculinity through the study of a sample of men between 25 and 50 years old, supported by theoretical knowledge.

Research Rationale

Ratele (2013, p. 145) proposes that “masculinity is always under construction “and mentions that “men’s gender and sexual practices are always changing and internally unstable”. This calls for an investigation into masculinity as a gender social construct by looking into how that knowledge is formed. The study entails a focus into gender as a discourse, the performative nature of gender, culture, gender as psychical, as well as the challenge of masculine identities. This will be dealt with through the use of inter-sectionality of social identity structures as it caters for the inclusion of all angles that are involved in the study of gender. The subject of study is the South African black middle-class man. The reason for this choice is that he has lived and continues to live through a complex web of changes that have a direct impact on his identity. The identity of the black man has been hugely impacted by the intersection of gender, socio-political changes, cultural dynamics and socioeconomic changes which have affected his identity. Ratele (2013) points out that traditional masculinity studies have the understanding that masculinity is unattainable, yet there has been no direct engagement with that fact. The black man comes from a history of being the first target of the racial discrimination of South African black people during the apartheid regime, and as head of the home in the then conservative patriarchal South African society. Clark and Clark (1947) contend that black liberation is filled with the "confusion of self-worth”. They suggest that there is an aspiration to white society and

a measuring of themselves against the standards of this white society. It is partly the evolution of this aspiration that contributed to the formation of the black middle class that continues to be ruled by competitiveness in material gain, identity and a striving for greater recognition in the corporate world. The business world is marked by the intersection of class, race and gender. Clark and Clark (1947) further suggest that blackness tends to devalue itself by looking for the approval of white society. This study will attempt to engage with the challenge of black middle-class men in negotiating the elusiveness of the masculine identities and the cost attached to this psychologically.

Morrell (2012, p. 2) points out that hegemonic masculinity has been conceptualised "most of the time as the ideal set of values, established by men in power that functions to include, exclude and to organize society in gender unequal ways". He also suggests that the hierarchy of masculinities creates differing ways of accessing power among men. The power he is referring to can be "enforced on a foundation of consent, acquiescence and institutional power". This suggests that somehow masculine identity is bound to find itself advantaged or disadvantaged by this power and that it is mostly disadvantaged. The negative aspect tends to affect men in terms of socioeconomic status, racially, and in terms of gender, which may explain the challenges faced by men within themselves and in terms of society. Intersectionality comes as an approach to study various convoluted points of impact and is defined as the "interactivity of social identity structures such as race, class and gender in fostering life experiences of privilege and oppression" (Gopaldas, 2013, p. 90). This portrays the complexity of masculine identities and the history of gender. It not only highlights the need to study masculine identities but also shows the crucial need to understand and unearth the reality of the challenge to achieve these identities.

Theoretical Framework and Conceptualization

The study will be based on the understanding of social construction as a way of creating knowledge, the definition of hegemonic masculinity as defined by Connell, and intersectionality as an approach to studying gender.

Social construction

Andrews (2012, p. 1) suggests that social construction came about to make sense of the "nature of reality" which is problematic because it is likely to have numerous dependencies while Diaz-Leon (2013) proposes that social constructionism is a realistic version of human beings that is socially constructed, not determined biologically.

Andrews (2012, p. 1) proposes that society is seen as "existing" in both "subjective and objective reality". Social constructionism is suggested to be a relativism view which is set against realism. Young

and Collin (2004) propose social constructionism is what is created by society, whereas constructivism refers to the use of cognitive processes by an individual which creates an experiential world. Andrews (2012) mentions that constructivism and constructionism as concepts tend to be used as substitutes; hence they are incorporated into the word "constructivism" as a generic term. Andrews (2012) mentions that constructionism can be linked back to interpretivist, which is the process by which meanings are created, negotiated and modified. He suggests that the support of interpretivist approaches aims to "understand the lived experiences "in the eyes of the individual who live in that world (Andrews, 2012, p. 2).

Andrews (2012, p. 12) suggests that the constructionist understands "knowledge and truth as created not discovered by the mind". He proposes that it is central to the constructionism argument that "knowledge" is formed as individuals interact in society. This argues that there is general knowledge created by individuals as they interact making sense of being human, and there is expert knowledge, which is complex in nature. For example, behavioural psychology knowledge requires expert understanding. Andrews (2012, p. 3) proposes that society needs to be seen as living in objective and subjective reality. Objective reality is created as "people interact" in society which impacts "habituation and routinization" of the social world (Andrews, 2012, p. 3). This means it becomes part of the social world of daily living which frees space for more creativity in terms of new realities. The objective reality gets carried over to future generations as knowledge.

Subjective reality comes about through "primary socialization" which includes being given an identity and a place in society. For example, the identity of being a man is the result of primary socialization within a specific context. Butler suggests that identity is obtained from society and not from within a person. She alludes to the fact that one is socialized into one's identity over time; it is not an instant event. She suggests that there is no internal identity. This means that if there is an existing knowledge of gender identity that comes about through routinization and habitation, one is born into an existing construct of gender and all one needs to do is to perform it for the purpose of internalization. The exercise of agency while internalizing it is mostly met with resistance and rejection. Foucault (1988) defines agency as the capacity to act and resist the dominant discourse or social force. Andrews (2012, p. 3) suggests that socialization happens through the staging of the objective reality of society by "significant others" who provide meaning to it through language for the individual to internalize. This means one is born and ushered into the social world and its realities. Andrews (2102:3) argues that "language provides means of structuring the world as experienced". Andrews (2012) suggests that subjective reality is "maintained, modified and reconstructed through conversation". It provides concepts to be shared to an extent that they become part of the "everyday conversation" and

language. Subjective reality processes one's personal experience through conversation, and to become common knowledge that everybody understands and accepts as reality.

Streets (2016) supports Andrews' idea by suggesting that the main idea about social construction is that society must be seen in a dualistic sense. It must be seen as "objective as well as subjective reality "(Steets, 2016, p. 83). Objective reality refers to what seems to be the "social fact" for the individual which means it is reality as it appears to the individual. It is external to the individual while subjective reality is the "worldview in the consciousness of the individual" (Steets, 2016, p. 83). The consistent notion is that it revolves around the individual and it impacts one's world whether he creates it or is influenced by society.

Andrews (2012) mentions that contextual constructionism acknowledges objective reality and the relativist understanding portrays that there are numerous realities which suggest the possibility of its multiple interpretations. Multiple realities have attracted a great deal of criticism as they create doubt around the conclusions reached in research. Blyth et al. (2008, p. 34) in which Vivian Burr is one of the contributors, proposes that knowledge created in society shows "dominant opinions" of certain traditions or customs at a specific time in history, as well as the fact that discourses portray a certain interest in specific kinds of politics. This suggests that all knowledge that is constructed slants toward the dominant view of time and place, which explains the importance of the period and context of knowledge.

Hegemonic masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity, or "the maintenance of practices that institutionalize men's dominance over women" is "constructed in relation to women and to subordinate masculinities" (Connell, 1987, p. 185–86). This suggests that gender domination is not simply about the domination of women but it also includes men. Connell (1987, p. 187) suggests the following:

> A reformulation of the concept in four areas: a more complex model of gender hierarchy, emphasizing the agency of women; explicit recognition of the geography of masculinities, emphasizing the interplay among local, regional, and global levels; a more specific treatment of embodiment in contexts of privilege and power; and a stronger emphasis on the dynamics of hegemonic masculinity, recognizing internal contradictions and the possibilities of movement toward gender democracy.

Ratele (2013) proposes that hegemonic masculinity finds its affirmation from other untraditional gender norms which they publicly ridicule. He confirms that men acquire knowledge of masculinity through interaction with others and by evaluating themselves against themselves and others at an early age. This links with the assertion of social construction theory mentioned earlier. It suggests that

masculinity is handed down from those who portray it in socially acceptable ways, a contradictory approach to its constitution that poses a challenge.

Intersectionality

Gopaldas (2013, p. 90) defines intersectionality as "interactivity of social identity structures such as race, class and gender in fostering life experiences of privilege and oppression". The term has its origins from the feminist movement where black women felt that within the black movement their interests were not given consideration because black men became the priority in an attempt to achieve equality with white men. They also felt that within the women's movement the white women took priority as they led the movements from within racial division. The feminist movement decided to "conceptualize social identity structures" differently by recognizing the "demographic classification as interlocking matrices of privilege and oppression". They comprehended that gender cannot be adequately attended to without considering issues of class, sexism, racism and so on. They also understood that it was not the struggle of black women only but there were other minority groups that needed to be included. Intersectionality became the tool or concept that allows the comprehensive dealing with the complexity of gender and social structures linked to it. Mckinnon (2013) writes about Crenshaw's views on intersectionality and she mentions that it seeks to deal with multiple experiences of inequalities. Davis (2008, p. 68) proposes that interactions of "individual lives, institutional arrangements and cultural ideologies are the outcomes of the interactions in terms of power". The latest definitions extend social identity structures to include age, attractiveness, body type, citizenship, education, ethnicity, income, sexual orientation, socio economic status, immigration, and others. The extension of the definition suggests that all social "advantages and disadvantages are open for investigation" (Gopaldas, 201, p. 91). It covers the privileged as well as the oppressed. The definition begins to paint a picture of the complexity involved in gender issues. Bright, Malinsky and Thompson (2015, p. 60) propose that the intersectionality theory pays attention to the notion that "people occupy multiple demographic categories" which bring "complexities into social analysis". They suggest that studies that do not use intersectionality fall short in portraying people's realities accurately.

Gopaldas (2013) also points out that intersectionality has been applied in a variety of ways in contemporary social science. He suggests that at the "macro level of analysis the concept of intersectionality refers to the multiplicity and interactivity of social identity structures such as race, class and gender "while at the micro level of analysis the consequences are that every individual is located at the intersection of social identity structures which positions him/her for "multiple social

advantages and disadvantages" (Gopaldas, 2013, p. 91). This suggests that at some point intersecting with social structures may benefit or and put one at a loss or in a disadvantageous position. Foucault (1974) proposes the shifting of power relations in subjectivity which could be at play in intersectionality. Gopaldas (2013, p. 91) points out that intersectionality covers a wide range of disciplines as it seeks to "analyse social issues and it has been considered as an epistemological perspective or research paradigm".

The usage of intersectionality is supported by the comparison that Gopaldas makes to a traditional paradigm of research on diversity. Ontologically traditional diversity research studies phenomena like class and race as independent variables, which ignores the impact each one has on the others as a collective, whereas intersectionality would look at the previously mentioned phenomena as social structures that are "interdependent". For example, a man's economic status has an impact on his self-esteem. Social identity structures vary from more biologically to culturally determined structures which are more affected by social influences.

Regarding methodology, traditional diversity research uses the experimental, qualitative research methods while caught up in a dualistic approach which would look at men against women. On the other hand, intersectionality research focuses on primary data such as interviews, and secondary data such as historical information, to acquire leverage from various perspectives in each context. Interviews have been crucial in order to capture the lived experiences of individuals. There is a consideration of all voices involved in the phenomena (Golpadas, 2013). Axiologically, traditional diversity research seeks to include the demographic variables that have been sidelined over the dominant one, for example women over men, while intersectionality research seeks to include "multiplicatively" of the dominated groups. Gopaldas (2013) proposes further comparisons by mentioning that the traditional model is "value-neutral" in its contributions to social science while intersectionality takes its stance on phenomena and makes plans for social change. It produces contributions that could lead to social change and prevents one-sided contributions to social change.

There has been criticism of intersectionality expressed by Martinez, Martin and Marlow (2014) making reference to the ontology, methods and so on. Martinez et al. (2014, p. 449) propose that there has been "inconsistency among approaches combined with lack of ontological discussion" that have resulted in the suggestion that the adoption of intersectionality has confused arguments within the field. They also propose that it has tended to ignore issues of agency and privilege and have suggested that intersecting "certain categories [that] have an impact on identities in a fixed way". There is also

a lack of agreement around the main elements of intersectionality theory; the specific example is the fact that it is dependent on the author whether intersectionality is a theory, a paradigm, framework, method or perspective. Martinez et al. (2014, p. 449) point out that “intersectionality is methodologically undertheorized” because it has insufficient research tools to use.

The criticism suggests a general discomfort in accepting the possibility of an approach that can capture all angles of phenomena and remain inclusive which will be taken into consideration but not deter the direction of this study.

CHAPTER 2

Literature Review

The literature review will discuss the nature of subjectivity in general terms as masculine identities are part of subjectivity. The chapter will also discuss subjectivity in gender terms. It will cover studies that have been conducted on hegemonic masculine identities that included the use of intersectionality of social identity structures, namely gender, class, and race. It intentionally points out the challenge of masculine identities and their complexity in order to highlight the comprehensiveness of the concept.

Theory of Identity Formation

Foucault (1982, cited in Smart, 2002) outlines how subjectivity occurs and defines it as the process through which subjects are produced in a discourse. He looks at the process of knowledge production which happens over time (decades and centuries) and suggests that there are consequences of producing knowledge. He suggests that knowledge is produced through a discourse and defines it as "practices which systematically form the objects of which they speak" (Smart, 2002, p. 72). This definition has some link to Parker's (2005) definition of a discourse where he defines it as a system of statement that forms an object. The commonality is that the object of knowledge is formed through a system of interaction. An interaction always involves language which speaks to the role language plays in subjectivity.

Foucault (1982) suggests five functions of a discourse. Firstly, he suggests that a discourse creates, affirms and promotes relations of power. He views power as non-hierarchical, not top-down but rather as interconnected. He also proposes that power shifts; one does not always have power. Secondly, as per the definition of a discourse, it produces objects or objects of knowledge. This is knowledge that defines a certain group of people and how they should behave. Thirdly, it produces lenses through which people see the world and how they themselves should be viewed. Fourthly, the discourse produces subjects within which we find subjects and positions. Fifthly, the discourse constructs the world. In essence this means a discourse is a vehicle through which the world of individuals is created using power relations which dictate what is allowed for certain groups and is not within a dominant discourse. Foucault (1982) suggests that power and knowledge are intertwined; they produce each other. I would venture into saying they support and reinforce each other. The subject is constituted through knowledge systems, institutional and discursive practices.

Butler (1993) presents a different view of subjectivity. She suggests that there is no internal identity but it comes into being through performance of gender in the moment. She refers to it as the process of doing something that represents that gender on how one is socialized. Butler suggests that gender

identity is performed over time to bring the subject into being. The performance is the socialization into the subject one is being made into. The socialization takes on a psychological stance. She says gender is per formatively predetermined by society. Butler (1990) states that the subject is created in doing and through what they are doing. This means that when a woman puts on make-up, that is when she is constructed as a subject (woman) through the deed that is deemed to be womanly by society. She says "it is the action that produces a subject". Gender does not exist without it being expressed. So it is implied in Butler's definition that one's gender identity is established through the deed that represents gender. Gender performativity means it is constituted in the expression.

Butler suggests that gender identity is performed over time to bring the subject into being. Butler (1993) elaborates on the impact of repetition in performativity by suggesting that there is an accumulative force that is brought about by repetition, which I assume reinforces what the subject is being socialized into. In Butler's view, gender is a "regulated process of repetition" which reinforces what the subject is being socialized into. She suggests it asserts the practices of normative gender which are never attainable. Repetition also serves the purpose of naturalizing the construction of gender identity until the subject does not think about the performance. It becomes part of the unconscious process of being. An example would be a moment where a man publicly shifts or scratches his genitals. Repetition of such an act would then produce a (subject) man who is socialized into touching his genitals in public. The meaning attached to that would be how the gender identity comes into being. In most African cultures the elders become the custodians of culture reinforcement where young males and females are consistently reminded of how a woman, or a man, should behave to reinforce the required behaviour; this is done in a repetitive manner which supports Butler's view.

Butler suggests that language plays a role in the performativity of gender identity. As a result, she talks about the ways in which language reinforces the performativity of gender. This is the kind of language that has production capacity in creating the subject and its identity. For instance, taking an oath in court can be deemed to produce a witness who will tell the truth. The subject is formed into somebody who will behave in a certain expected way and this is referred to as the constitutive language which describes behaviour. It is important to consider the conditions that make it possible for the repetition of these messages in order to have an impact. Butler talks about the ways in which language reinforces the performativity of gender. In Butler's work, "It's a boy" sounds as if one is born into a gender structure within which the individual must fit and perform as expected or prescribed, hence the forcible citation of the norm. With "It's a boy" one is hailed into a process of becoming a boy, the subject. Butler suggests that gender boundaries have predefined language on how not to be. One is

initiated into a predefined way of living that has every stage of life defined; even when times change, one still falls within the boundaries of what it is to be a man or a woman through language. Generally, one hears about how to be before one is expected to behave in that way. Butler continues by suggesting that only some authorities, relationships and practices matter and they are linked to social power.

Research on Masculine Identities

Chadwick and Foster (2007) point out that a budding attention to masculinity in South Africa became prominent in the early 1990s, a period that was followed by writings and discussions before 1995 echoing an already pronounced crisis in masculinity in Europe and America between the 1960s and 1970s. The change of government to a democracy which came with attention to gender issues and equality brought discomfort to South African masculinity through the legalisation of gender equality. It destabilised the position of men. The destabilization was also caused by an increase in the opportunities for women to be in positions equal to those of men, and often higher, as a way of transformation through policy reinforcement. Chadwick and Foster (2007) propose that the discomfort was exacerbated by factors like HIV/AIDS and growing attention in men to allow socio political change. This led to a recognised transition of masculinity which incited an increase in theoretical and conceptual "directions" in the study of men. Chadwick and Foster (2007) point out that in the late 1990s there emerged a new man, "metrosexual" who distorted the gender lines and added to the existing data on masculinity. They point out although gender-based types of crimes were not deterred by the arrival of the new man, there was instead an increase in rape and violent gender-based crimes. It seemed that while much was changing and there was progress in terms of the discourse, events that portrayed harmony in terms of gender issues did not take place.

There have been other studies conducted that give pictures of discourses that have existed around masculinity. In an analysis of how white men defined themselves, which was referred to as "white men's talk", findings from the interviews conducted did not portray a positive image about the understanding of masculinity. Chadwick and Foster (2007) suggest that there was distinct difficulty in being able to define what masculinity was. There was no consensus among the interviewees on the definition of masculinity but the discussions digressed to the "notions" of being a man like a new man and a macho man. The participants mentioned the fluid nature of being a man that was forever changing in society, but for the most part the traditional forms of masculinity were seen and held as the preferred forms. Mankayi (2010) conducted a study that portrayed military men as the ideal picture of hegemonic masculinity. This study portrayed the relationship the man had with a gun in the

same terms as with a woman, namely in terms of ownership. This kind of man can be seen around the struggle for democracy through the protests and boycotts. There was still a contradiction to be seen where a man desired to meet all hegemonic standards but also wanted to be well groomed and dress well. This trend showed the impact of consumer discourse on men. Mfecane (2016) conducted a study on the impact of HIV and AIDS on local masculinities. The study revealed the challenges of men seeking medical care and disclosure of sexual practices as well as the challenges of taking ARVs. One of the challenges was that men are loath to seek medical attention until sometimes it is too late. It revealed the impact of the loss of breadwinners and the relationship between masculinity and "death defiance". There are also contradictions revealed in terms of the perceived emotional strength of men and of them having to seek help.

Langa (2012, p. 3) conducted a study with adolescent boys with the intention of finding out how they "negotiate multiple voices of masculinity in Alexandra Township". The study also intended to "identify healthy alternatives for the constructions of masculinity in order to influence public policies" (Langa, 2012, p. 3). Langa discovered that there is no one way of being a boy and that there are "complexities" associated with the township masculine practices that the boys have accepted and others they have rejected, depending on the context and time. While masculinity shifts and changes, according to Ratele (2016) there is a complexity in the idea that there are ways of being a boy which speak to masculine identities. Langa (2010, p. 1) points out that there are some "dominant positions" of masculinity and others that are not dominant. It also came out that boys watch each other for compliance with certain masculine norms as lived in the township. Langa (2010, p. 2) reveals that boys who tend to live outside the gender norms also tend to be "othered" and called derogatory names. Langa (2010, p. 2) mentions that the "real boy" was perceived by the adolescent boys in the study as one who "engages in risky behaviours like smoking, drinking and having sex with multiple partners".

Langa cites Frosch et al. (2003) who discovered in their study that ethnicity and social class did contribute to the identities of the boys. They discovered that there was an intersection between social class and the stance taken in interpreting the meaning of masculinity which described the ideal man. This is evidence of the fact there can be various stances that can be taken depending on one's context and social class. With respect to class distinction, it was found in this study that boys from middle-income families were likely to recognize the values of leadership and intelligence compared to working class boys who subscribed to being street-smart as a type of masculinity. Langa (2010) points to the socio-political context as being different between the masculinity discovered in the boys who were part of the study and the militarised masculinity promoted pre-democracy. The latter group of boys

were encouraged to become involved in political activities in protest against the apartheid government, whereas the post-apartheid masculinity discovered in the study is based more on class. Langa (2010, p. 2) mentions that the pre-apartheid masculinity was constructed around being “strong, fearless, tough, and aggressive “. Langa (2010) proposes that the types of boys that were identified in the study did not fit neatly into specific categories, for example “tsosti “. They fitted into multiple positions, which adds another complexity on top of the fact that there is no one way of being a boy and the concept changes often. That proposes the many demands and positions that a boy faces and possibly some may contradict each other, which could have an impact on his identity.

There is a psychical cost that a few writers point to. Langa (2010) discovered that some boys get involved in fights as a defence mechanism against feelings of shame and humiliation as they can be deemed to be afraid of another boy. Langa (2012, p. 156) also suggests that the narratives of the boys mentioned the toilet as a “masculinized” space because that is where the tsotsis had the space to display their type of masculinity compared to the academic boys who shine in class. Langa (2012, p. 5) argues that "boys often find themselves having to save face in living up to expectations of being a real man. Even the most successful may feel that they have repeatedly proved themselves". As quoted in the introduction: “To be a man is not enough simply to be, a man must do, display and prove it in order to establish an unchallenged manhood” (Connell, 1995, p. 78). The challenge is that a man does not have to prove himself once; it is a continuous performance against changing standards and differing contexts in various aspects of his life. For example, a man who was born in the rural areas, who moves to the city for better job opportunities or to study, has to face new standards of masculinities that must be learnt, perfected and performed.

Langa (2012) suggests that research on masculinity has mostly focused on the social side with less consideration for the psychological side. Langa (2012, p. 13) suggests that there is interplay between “external social and internal psychic processes”. Masculine identities have to juggle between meeting the standards of both sides. Langa (2012) proposes that power and struggle are at the heart of one’s experience of masculine identity. He also suggests that there is a "cost" attached to the chase for the appropriate masculine identity and it is substantial. Butler (date) suggests that there is foreclosure as a person chooses one identity over another. Foreclosure refers to letting go of one form of identity in order to embrace another. Butler suggests that there is always a sense of melancholia in the choice of one gender identity. It is always accompanied by a sense of loss as one always chooses one over the other. One has to foreclose one’s identity in order to become the other. Sometimes, in order to

identify with who we are, we have to foreclose who we are not. This author argues that there is always a cost in choosing identity and that cost is the sense of loss which is a psychological concept.

Further psychical impact of the challenge of masculine identity as a social construct is portrayed in how men feel about themselves. Kimmel (1996) points out that men tend to amplify the traditional masculine traits due to the fear of being seen as homosexual, or less than the desired standard as portrayed by the hegemony. He suggests that there is a fear in men of it being found that they are not enough as men, which would mean they are not real men. Eldridge (2009) writes about the same fear noting that they do not measure up to unknown standards unless they feel that they are as strong, handsome, competent or muscular as other men. This is accompanied by a stronger fear of the discovery that they are inadequate in their masculinity. That makes the climax of achievements to be laced by another degrading fear that men will be expected to produce the same or a greater achievement in future and this brings self-doubt when doing it again. Eldridge (2009) points out that as a result some men are likely to downplay their achievement. This situation is not so enjoyable because they would be expected to do it all again and fear that somebody might discover that they do not have what it takes, even if one is an expert in his field. This fear is compounded by the lack of certainty in how one measures up. The fear of not measuring up spreads to the complex issues of race and class which all compromise the identity of a black men. Langa (2012, p. 4) suggests that research shows that boys find themselves under pressure to "perform" hegemonic masculinities, which means having to "display hardiness, sport prowess and high risk-taking behaviours". The epistemological tension between intra-psychic and social construction theory is acknowledged because each misses out on the other. The intra-psychic does not consider the social context of how the identity is formed whereas the social construction theory does not take consideration of the psychological side of identity. Consequently, this study attempts to bridge the gap by looking at identity as involving the psychosocial.

Lusher and Robins (2010, p. 22) analysed Connells's work on hegemonic and other masculinities and point out that "Connell's relational assertion is that the hierarchical relation between genders is reinforced by hierarchies within genders". That warrants the acknowledgement that there is a hierarchy within the male gender. Connell proposed that the oppression that women experience at the hands of men is reinforced by oppression of some masculinity that gets pushed aside. Lusher and Robins (2010) suggest that Connell sees hegemonic masculinity as the dominant form that promotes oppression of women. He suggests that gender is intertwined with power which dictates how masculinity should be lived. He acknowledges that masculinity is a gender construct. He proposes

plurality in the forms of masculinity, hence the use of the word “masculinities” in his research (Lusher & Robins, 2010, p. 22). He mentions that there is complicit masculinity, which is the masculinity that promotes the dominance of hegemonic masculinity, and this covers the majority of men. There are subordinate masculinities which disregard hegemonic masculinity and stand for traits that are against the traditional model. This type of masculinity includes “gay, academics and any other association with femininity” (Lusher & Robins, 2010, p. 23). There are also the marginalised masculinities, a complex construction that includes the intersection of “socio economic status and ethno-cultural gender” (Lusher & Robins, 2010, p. 23). There is also a proposed strong usage of violence to reinforce dominance over masculinity and femininity. The point that stands out in the formations mentioned is that these configurations may take various forms in different contexts. This is complicated by migration into other configurations in terms of context to form a combination of the man’s past and the encountered formations which makes a point for lack of attainability.

Blye (2002, p. 1) writes a review of Connell’s book titled *The men and the boys* and mentions that Connell suggests that the masculine body is the place where “struggles of gender and masculinity are drawn into history, as the process of violence and body culture in the construction and politics of masculinities”. He proposes that schools play an active role in promoting certain forms of gender and negotiating how they should relate. He refers to schools as “masculinity-making devices” (Blye, 2002, p. 1). This suggests that schools have a structure that promotes certain types of masculinities. He says they play a role in the promotion of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity and positions schools as gender training grounds. Connell proposes that gender is not fixed. He suggests that masculinities are constructed from “specific historical circumstances like all other social constructions and as those circumstances change, the gender practices can be contested” (Connell, cited in Blye, 2002, p. 1). This speaks to the fluid nature of social construction. Blye (2002) proposes that hegemonic masculinity always stands a chance of being challenged.

Lusher and Robbins (2009, p. 23) points out that Connell’s theory on masculinities has met with criticism. The theory is criticised as being “structurally deterministic and disavowing of agency”. It is seen as detached from individuals’ everyday experiences or lives. There is theoretical confusion expressed around what individuals do in their daily lives which is based on two challenges. Firstly, there is not enough detail around the link between the individual and cultural as well as structural aspects. Secondly, there needs to be an investigation into the local context within which masculinity is performed.

Role of emotions in the construction of masculinity

Emotions have been used as a generic differentiator between masculinity and femininity. This has also been implicated in the behaviour differences. There are psychological challenges that are posed by the intricacies of the masculine identity in terms of emotions. Montes (2013) comments that how masculinity is constructed changes, based on challenges associated with migration. She suggests that traditionally, there are emotions that masculinity is constructed to be associated with that take a different form when one is faced with the intensity of emotions. Montes (2013, p. 471) describes the role of emotions as existing to assist an individual to "adapt and survive". She proposed that they are influenced by "social structures such as gender and culture" (Montes, 2013, p. 471). She draws on Bourdieu (1992) and Rosaldo (1984) regarding the concept that an individual is a "positioned subject" that is provided a certain set of circumstances like gender, etcetera which leads to a predetermined set of emotions that one can express. This links to the concept of subjectivity which has been discussed. She contends that a man is commended for exhibiting emotions such as anger, pride and independence. She suggests that many cultures hold in high regard men who have "internalized rigid emotional expressions "(Montes, 2013, p. 471) and those who have mastered the ability to hide their emotions. Leadership appointments of men have not been hesitant to recognize men who display an ability to mask their emotions. This supports the predetermined nature of knowledge about men as an already formed identity into which one is socialized.

Montes (2013, p. 472) mentions Connell's sentiment that "masculinity is anything men think and do to be men". This speaks to the performance of masculine identity. She proposes that there is a link to "power locations" both in, and outside, masculine identity. She suggests that there are hierarchies of power that exist within masculinities which disadvantage the subordinate masculinities because they do not fit the definition of hegemonic masculinity. She contends that hegemonic masculinities are hailed as the ideal to look up to and makes subordination to it by men and women acceptable. Montes (2013, p. 472) contends that the construction of masculinity reveals structures such as class, ethnicity, race, gender and sexual identity which "intersect". Montes (2013, p. 472) emphasizes the study of the intersectionality of the previously mentioned structures as well as the "analysis of the developing frameworks and changes where men live".

Most masculine studies take the angle of men as fathers, which is one of the ways men obtain masculine identity. Montes (2013, p. 473) points out that in urban Guatemala, which was the context of her study, men obtain their masculine identity through providing for their families, becoming involved in socially recognized moral-value activities that portray hard work, as well as in "religious practices to achieve levels of authority". They have to perform that masculine identity. She points to

elements of agency where some groups of men in Guatemala remove themselves from hegemonic masculinity identity by not adopting violence-based measures of discipline in their offspring as a way of modifying some parts of the identity. It is proposed that masculinity responds to social practices and is individually based.

There is evidence that masculinity is always under construction. Montes (2013, p. 475) mentions the plight of Vietnamese men who upon moving to the US improve their socio-economic status in the context of where they come from, while in terms of "racial hierarchy" they move to the bottom. This portrays a shift in masculine identity to a construction of the new identity. She portrays intersectionality in the study of Ecuadorian men where migration presents a struggle to maintain the masculine traditions of their community of origin while trying to cope with the economic pressures of the US. She also mentions Mexican men who like all men have to redefine masculinity in terms of economic, cultural and social transformations over the years. This is similar to the masculine identity negotiations that South African men experienced when they navigated the government changes from apartheid to the current government in terms of the economy, the promise of a better life and race. Montes (2013, p. 478) concludes that in terms of the emotional world of men, "that means emotional behaviour is not a stable property but a multidimensional construct with many causes, modes and consequences". In the midst of strong emotions, men are carried by a significant sense of responsibility for their families which made some of them move to the US.

The challenge of masculine identity is further displayed in political and traditional leadership as perceived custodians of masculinity considering the history of men in power and that the majority are currently still men. Ratele (2013) mentions that the South African constitution promotes gender equality, with male politicians, tribal chiefs and kings who are put into office to uphold the ideals of the constitution. He (2013) points out the contradictory messages portrayed by some of the black male leaders while they carry a strong influence in gender norms. As part of the first few black leaders in post-apartheid South Africa, most men would hold them in high regard, which means they do provide a certain level of affirmation to masculinity. He also suggests that they have a right on behalf of the nation and tradition which either confirms or disputes certain discourses. However, there are incidents of contradiction in terms of gender equality and affirmation of subordinate masculinities. There is a mention of the Zulu king condemning same-sex relationship as "rotten" and rejecting it as untraditional. There is a clear contradiction between the attempt to preserve the traditions and upholding the ideals of the constitution.

Role of blackness in masculine identities

Bonnett (1993) views blackness as a “political noun [rather] than ethnic” as it represents everybody who shares the experience of segregation. Fanon (1967) proposes that when a black child comes into contact with the white world, an “abnormal child” is produced. This suggests the effects attached to skin colour. This viewpoint could also suggest that collision of blackness and whiteness produces undesirable effects. Cesaire (1972) refers to the "inescapable essence of one's blackness”. This can be interpreted as one being trapped in blackness and its consequences either negative or positive. The development of psychology as a discipline is implicated in the definition of the black subject as McDougall (1908) associated a submission to human instinct with blacks. Blackness seems to take different positions depending on the context in which it is based but the common theme is that it carries inferiority and unwantedness with it.

Lambley (1980) analysed the black psychology in South Africa and contends that segregation resulted in "internalized oppression among black people”. Lambley (1980) suggests that there are a number of behaviours among black South Africans that portray "self-deprecation, self- rejection and low self-esteem” which he contends are the results of internalized oppression. This suggests that policy-controlled oppression may have ended but there is evidence of psychological oppression which is seen in destructive behaviours as a cathartic approach from unbearable emotional states that some black people experience. An example of this would be alcohol abuse. Manganyi (1973) supports Lambley by stating that the conditions that black people were subjected to are reflected in their self-esteem and self-control.

As humans are not static organisms, it is inevitable that the world created by the discourses of race, class and gender would also not be static which adds a complexity to the identity that gets created for the subjects who have to function within it. Segal (date page number) makes a point about masculinity that “the more it asserts itself, the more it calls itself into question”. The quote suggests a perpetual chase of its ideals found in various contexts and aspects of life. The chase is interwoven in how the men navigate and interact with the economic, class (urban), culture (rural and urban) and racial aspects of their lives, especially within the South African context, against the social construction as a standard of life. The intersection of the previously mentioned aspect takes a unique nature in consideration of the individual set of circumstances that each man faces, for instance, when considering the context of the community they come from as well as psychological dispositions among others.

Black Middle Class

In the analysis of a film documentary on Soweto golfers, Iqani (1992, p. 127) points out the difficulty of defining the middle class as it is not

> a fixed social category but a working social concept, a material experience, a political project, and a cultural practice – all of which acquire meaning only within specific historical experiences and discursive conditions.

The middle class becomes more questionable when looked at in terms of race especially in the South African context. In an article published in *The Conversation Africa,* titled "Shaky grounds: The challenge of being black and middle class", Khunou (2016) describes the middle class as occupying an unjustifiable position that requires "renegotiation". She proposes that being black, South African, and middle class is not stable or definable. Khunou (2016) further mentions that the media has depicted the black middle class as "conspicuous consumers" and as "black diamonds who can earn between R16 000 and R50 000 per month". They have higher educational qualifications, "white collar jobs and are under the age of 44 years old". She proposes that the classification does not say anything about the "experience of being black and middle class". It says nothing about the experience of keeping up the internal and external pressures that come with the class and of maintaining one's position in the class. This class is dominated by consumerism.

Khunou (2016) asserts that the challenge of the black middle class cannot be understood without considering the racial history of South Africa where assets were unequally divided. She points out that the black middle class has to contend with high demands of taking care of large and extended families which increase the number of financial obligations. One may have a house in the city "suburbs" while taking care of the living costs of parents and younger siblings who are either in the township or in the rural areas. While the salary may be deemed to be sufficient for somebody with a tertiary qualification and at a certain level of management, the pressure of obligations, living in multiple identity contexts with racial pressure at work is not catered for in the definitions and practical consideration of the class. There is also growing retrenchments in the corporate world which do not secure the position of the black middle class. Khunou (2016, p. 1) argues that the concept of class in a racialised society is "uncomfortable" and unpredictable. She portrays it as a class with "shaky privileges".

Khunou (2016) suggests that the expenditure trends within the black community are made worse by class position, race and personal relationships. She explains the class identity as belonging to the black community and the need to negotiate the world that is still crippled by racial identity. She suggests that many black people do not view themselves as belonging to the middle class because they are not "different enough" and they are not as privileged as white people who are in the white middle class. Khunou (2016, p. 1) further explains that they find themselves operating in "white spaces as the other

middle class" but with "barred access where they have to explain themselves". She mentions that even those who are within the black middle class, experience tensions between class and race because they may have the privilege but they do not have the colour that acknowledges their privilege (Khunou, 2016).

Materiality of Masculine identities

Materiality in terms of the social world is defined in various ways by various authors. In Sorensen (2007) Kant separated "matter from substance". Matter is defined as the "superficial ", non-permanent "variable appearance of an object while substance is the permanent existence" (Sorensen, 2007, p. 3). Hegel in Sorensen (2007, p. 3) emphasises the physicality of the matter "in contrast to content" which refers to the mind, spirit, abstract or ideal. Marx emphasised the physicality "but additionally he let the material be central to the formation of phenomena; of content" (Sorensen, 2007, p. 3). All theorists refer to materiality as having to do with "entities". Phenomenologically material is referred to as the nature of things, which is ontology. In Sorensen (2007) Heidegger defines materiality as a thing instead of an object. Schatzki (2010) also confirms the notion that materiality is physical elements and building blocks of the world. As cited in Sorensen (2007), Lantour proposes that materiality needs to be "studied relationally with the social, as a component part of socio-material". He suggests that this allows for the "co-existence and interplay of the materiality and the social world" (Sorensen, 2007, p. 4). It is suggested that materiality can be defined as the "formed pattern which a particular entity takes part in and which allows it to relate in a particular way to (an) other entity (ties)" (Sorensen, 2007, p. 4). In her earlier work, she refers to the arrangement as the entity being "in concert" with other entities. They depend on each other in order to function. It is also suggested that an entity obtains its distinctiveness from how it is organized around other entities. Schatzki (2010, p. 129) proposes material organization which is "interconnected material entities" which can be divided into four types: "humans, artefacts, organisms and other things of nature". The coexistence of humans emerges as part of the connection of "practices and material arrangements" which suggests that humans are connected through a series of "actions" one performs within a "practice" (Schatzki, 2010, p. 129). The series of actions creates a practice or way of doing things which can also be called a culture. A culture or way of doing things has identity. He also proposes that people are connected by material arrangements which consist of structures, space and communication networks. There is a proposed overlap of practices which leads to a wider and more complex connections or web of ways of doing things. In essence materiality involves "physicality, bio-physicality, nature and environment" (Schatzki, 2010, p. 133). The possibilities of what a person can do depends on their network and how they are aligned to it. Schatzki (2010) suggests that materiality is part of social life in various ways; it

is in evidence through physicality and biologically as previously stated. Secondly, it is part of social life in a way those entities that are part of the formation do posses physicality; a chemical makeup. Schatzki (2010, p. 137) proposes that over and above the physical makeup, humans have to deal with the "physical manifestation of physical events and phenomena". Thirdly, materiality gushes through the "practice arrangement nexuses" (Schatzki, 2010, p. 137).

Social Power in Black Masculine identities

Walker and Schiffer (2006) explored the materiality of social power by studying social interactions with artefacts. They propose that social power refers to persons with "privileged social identities employing their power over other people", which suggests that there is a different status of social power (Walker & Schiffer, 2006, p. 68). For example, parents can exercise some control over their children which is different from the power a traffic police officer can exercise over motorists and pedestrians. This alludes to the inequalities that exist in society. They also propose that social power is distinguished into various fields where differences in how it is exercised can also be seen. It distinguished into economic, political and judicial fields but it cuts across fields when it is understood as "relational in terms of people – artefacts" (Walker & Schiffer, 2006, p. 68).

Snell Jr. (1986, p. 443) conducted an investigation into the masculine role inventory in order to answer questions about the psychology of men. He proposed that major themes in men's lives include "anti-femininity" (no sissy-stuff) which is the desire to avoid femininity, success which is the understanding that life is a competitive journey with "limited available proofs of manly achievements, and tough confidence and aggressiveness, which refers to the belief that it is a man's right (Snell Jr., 1986, p. 444). There was evidence to support that men tend to exhibit "preoccupations with success, restrictive emotionality and inhibited affection towards others" (Snell Jr., 1986, p. 453). What was not known was the effect, in terms of health, of exhibiting the three previously mentioned characteristics as they grow older. Feiring and Coates (1987, p. 611) established that there are interconnections between individuals as social units as a social network framework consists of "social relations, social opportunities and social constraints through a diagrammatic picture of significant others". These authors suggest that one is born into a social network which includes people and activities. The networks start with parents, family and extend into the wider world through schooling and later work life with each serving a specific social function. They propose that a person's development and socialization takes place through social networks. Feiring and Coates (1987, p. 615) proposes "health sustaining functions "such as "gratification of affiliative needs which cover companionship and belonging, self-identity maintenance and enhancement and self-esteem enhancement". Where

people find themselves within the physical area of the network, which is linked to gender function within the network, that determines where a person can go for assistance and guidance. It also determines whether one can ask for guidance from the social network which may put constraints on their development. This displays the challenge of masculinity.

Conflict in Gender Identity

Pompper (2010, p. 683) explores how the concept of masculinity has changed over time. She suggests that masculinity is a "slippery notion of what is expected of men". The slipperiness speaks to the changing nature of the notion of manhood. Kimmel (cited in Pompper, 2010) mentions that the reality of being a man includes a variety of interrelated identities, which explain the plurality of masculinities. Pompper (2010, p. 683) proposes that gender role conflict refers to "how sexism and gender role socialization interact to produce oppression". The state of oppression is created by the conflict during the process of socialization. She suggests that gender role conflict is a "complex multidimensional construct describing an unconscious phenomenon produced when perceptions of masculine gender roles deviate from, restrict, devalue or violate norms" (Pompper, 2010, p. 683). She proposes that gender role conflict consists of four parts, namely success, power, constrained emotionality, which has constrained affectionate behaviour between men, and relational conflict between work and family. Pompper (2010, p. 683) proposes that the abovementioned components produce effects such as "anxiety, depression, lack of self-esteem, interpersonal and abusive behaviour problems". She mentions that many researchers of the gender role conflict have discovered that "gender roles are individualised, generational and contextualized according to age, masculinity ideology and ethnicity" (Pompper, 2010, p. 683). The intersection of gender and age proposes that younger people tend to higher incidents of gender role conflict. It is suggested that men tend to deal with gender role conflicts through aggression or excessive exercise to develop muscles as a way of obtaining some masculine ideals through the physical manifestation of the body (Pompper, 2010). She suggests that "hyper masculinity "could be a sign of apprehension about masculinity. This portrays anxiety disguised in healthy muscular bodies. Pompper (2010) explains that masculinity is marked by denunciation of homosexuality and femininity. It is intriguing that hegemonic masculinity ridicules anything linked or perceived as effeminate as it proves that it defines itself with what it is not. Gutterman (cited in Pompper, 2010, p. 683) proposes that masculine identity is "relational so that what I am or claim to be is rooted in making distinctions from what I am not". She explains that men are socialized to "use physical force for conflict resolution" and to dominate femininity; that is also how it defines itself (Pompper, 2010). What it is not seems to form part of its identity.

Pompper (2010) proposes that masculinity is passed from older men to younger men "by the force of personal example". This suggests that there is a dependency from one generation to the next but the discourse changes and brings the complication of what the previous men may not have experienced which renders them incapable of advising the next. This puts the generational nature of masculinity at risk. She also points out the complexity brought by metrosexual men who define themselves as a man who "spends considerable resources on appearance and lifestyle". Consumerism is a socio-economic ideology that promotes the acquiring of goods and services at an increasing rate. This is in pursuit of the good life and happiness (Wikipedia, 2016). The metrosexual man is perceived to be the product of a combination of femininity and the gay culture. This is to produce a less threatening man as a way of promoting consumerism (Pompper, 2010). He is perceived to be heterosexual, bisexual or gay in various contexts. The metrosexual culture has further complicated the life of black middle-class men because trendiness of fashion, corporate wear, male grooming and lifestyle are associated with the metrosexual culture which involves a lot of spending at every fashion season. This happens at the time when men are putting a great effort into climbing the corporate ladder, establishing a family or raising a young family withal its needs, and ensuring that home life meets the standard of the metrosexual culture due to the competitiveness that is in men, amongst other things. While there is economic pressure there is also negotiation of the identity boundary so that the metrosexual's trendiness is still distinct from femininity. Pompper (2010) suggest that the fluidity of masculinity and the "consumer-driven trends threaten" gender contrasts. This makes the masculine identity more vulnerable to lack of attainment of the identities.

Research Questions

- What are the dominant hegemonic masculinity constructs amongst black middle-class men?
- How do dominant hegemonic masculinity constructs interface with other social categories, particularly race, class and gender?
- How are men vulnerable to the dominant hegemonic constructs of masculinities?
- What do the dominant masculinities constructs demonstrate about hegemonic masculinity's inherent unattainability?

CHAPTER 3

Research Design

The study used qualitative methodology as it allowed the investigation into social phenomena underpinned by social practices and social structures in various contexts that have an influence on the behavioural patterns of an individual. Gender studies are a phenomenon that is multi-layered and extends to various social contexts. There is no single comparison of variables that can be successful in studying gender as a social phenomenon. Wagner, Kawulich and Garner (2012) propose that qualitative methodology aims at establishing a "coherent story" as portrayed through the perspectives of social subjects who are part of the story and characterise their experiences as they have lived through social situations. It also allows the creation of meaning in a way that can be consolidated and subsequently theorised. The construction of gender lends itself to the need to understand how certain structures and subjectivities are viewed, created and sustained, which contributes to meaning-making in pursuit of the understanding and of being able to describe human nature interpretatively. It is further suggested that qualitative methodology allows for "rich, deep exploration and descriptions of data (Wagner, Kawulich & Garner, 2012, p. 126).

As previously stated, social constructionism was created as a way of attempting to understand reality with the view that it is constructed, not discovered (Andrews, 2012). It is the adopted belief of this study that the reality of gender is socially constructed and therefore masculine identities are also a social construction as they fall within gender. Andrews (2012) proposes that constructionism is about how knowledge is created, how it becomes socially acceptable and important in society. Wagner, Kawulich and Garner (2012) suggest that the constructionist and interpretivists share the understanding of how meaning is made. The interpretivist puts emphasis on the subjective experiences of individuals. Masculine identity as a social construction within gender is better understood by studying and interpreting the subjective experiences of individuals in order to understand the construction. The interpretivist paradigm is suitable for this study as it is based on the belief that the social world and human knowledge cannot be separated, which is in line with the understanding of identity as Butler describes it and as one of the sources of information for this study. It also assumes that human behaviour cannot escape being influenced by the social world, according to Wagner, Kawulich and Garner (2012), and that coincides with the intentions of this study and the multi-layered nature of the social world.

Methodology

Payne (2006) suggests that research into social phenomena is multi-dimensional and as result requires flexibility in choosing multiple research methods in the collection and analysis of data. He proposes plurality of research methods as an attempt for a multiplicity of perspectives to be produced. He suggests that the chosen methods need to be suitable for the social phenomena that are being studied. Gender studies have used the plurality of methods in acknowledgment of the many dimensions and also as a way of capturing the complexity found in it. In the study *Hyphenated selves of young identities*, which focused on marginalised youth, Katsiaficas et al. (2011) used multiple methods. The study of masculine identities used a plurality of research methods; discursive analysis and thematic analysis. The discourse analysis was useful in dealing with the discourses that arose in the focus group and the thematic analysis focused on the themes that arose. This was an attempt to enrich the depth of the study.

Research Procedure

The subjects of the study were black middle-class men who reside within South Africa's borders and work in corporate environments. Recruitment took place by sending the study information sheet via email. The sample (recruits) was randomly selected from the researcher's acquaintances, friends, colleagues and business associates. A total of five men were required for participation in the individual interview and another five for the focus group. Seven men were recruited for the interviews to cater for lack of availability and five participated in the individual interviews; eight men were recruited for the focus group and four men participated in the focus group. The fact that four out of the five that were expected showed up catered for multiple voices and experiences which closed the gap by one man. The recruited men were a combination of both heterosexual and homosexual orientation between the ages of 25 and 50 years. However, the men who participated were all in heterosexual relationships except one homosexual man who was part of the individual interviews.

Interview participants

Name	Age	Race	Occupation	Class
Zola	33	Black	Operational risk middle manager	Middle class
Tshepo	35	Black	Operational risk middle manager	Middle class
Chinedu	42	Black	Business Manager	Middle class
Vusi	28	Black	Quality Assurance Manager	Middle class
Mathew	32	Black	Business Operations Senior Manager	Middle Class

Three interviews were conducted in restaurants and two were conducted in the office environment with which participants were familiar. Each of the participants was asked questions that explored what society had given them as an ideal picture of manhood and how it matched up with his personal experience of being a man.

Focus group participants

Name	Age	Race	Occupation	Class
Thabo	36	Black	Information technology project Manager	Middle class
Peter	36	Black	Corporate Banking Compliance Middle Manager	Middle class
Tokollo	31	Black	Auditor (chartered accountant)	Middle class
Sandile	34	Black	Lawyer (admitted attorney)	Middle class

Four participants showed up for the focus group out of all that had been invited. The focus group discussion was held in the social lounge of an office environment. The question-led discussion focused on the analysis of profiles from a *Destiny SA* magazine of businessmen from various sectors with the aim of soliciting the characteristics of an ideal man that would inform the attainability of the masculine identities. *Destiny SA* magazine was chosen because it portrays a wide range of those black middle-class men who are deemed to be successful. It captures men from various backgrounds in terms of

origin and industry who are seen to have been successful in terms of career and business ownership and was an effective tool for research.

Data Collection

As alluded to previously, the focus of the research design was the lived experience of each participant and the meanings attached to it. The data-collection techniques used were interviews and focus group discussions. The use of both techniques allowed for a measure of consistency and depth in the information that was collected. Kitzinger (1995) suggests that a focus group is a group interview that allows the usage of group processes to access people's experiences and attitudes through the use of open-ended questions. However, she also points out that it may be difficult to access varying perspectives through focus groups due to the group norms which "compromises confidentiality" and can silence some participants. To counter the expressed sentiment, semi- structured interviews were used to access the individual experiences in a way that allowed authentic knowledge to be collected. The assurance of confidentiality of data to be collected was given through the consent form as a formal document. Holstein and Gubrium (2002) propose that knowledge in an interview is put together at point of "encounter". They suggest that it is necessary for the interview to be interactional and active like a conversation while the beginning may be structured. Montes (2013) considers that masculinity identities are constructed as less expressive, and are cautious of intense emotions. In consideration of this the interviews took the interactional nature to allow for the participants to open up, based on specific questions asked. It was also necessary to conduct the interview in an environment that was less threatening for the participants to freely express themselves. The focus groups and interviews were recorded after the consent form had been signed by the participants. All interactions were transcribed for analysis.

Cohort

The population of men studied spun between 25 and 50 years residing within Gauteng province. The age group was chosen based on the fact that 25 years is typically the age when a man would have finished his studies, for those with resources to do so, but also the pursuit of a manly identity is becoming clearer in whatever he becomes involved. The age group spun through the ages where a man seeks full-time employment or activities that prove independence. These are the ages when a man pursues the idea of making a name for himself, either through climbing the corporate ladder, starting his own business, or changing jobs in pursuit of a higher salary. He pursues a more permanent type of romantic relationship, some get married, set up homes and have children, which applies to both heterosexual and homosexual relationships. This is supported by Erikson's (1963) epigenetic theory of human development. Erikson suggests eight stages of development where each stage is

characterised by a crisis through which the individual must orientate himself between two opposing poles based on the crisis brought about by the interaction between the individual and society. Once the crisis has been resolved, which simply means once a person has grown from that stage, they can then move to another stage as the satisfaction of their needs resides at the next stage. Erikson (1963) proposes that the seventh stage, which is where one gets a sense of generativity to avoid stagnation, is where most of adult life is spent. Generativity refers to productivity, passing on of one's culture to the next generation and creativity. The person at this stage concerns himself/herself with ensuring the enrichment of self and others. One will educate children, do meaningful work, etc. It is for this reason that this age group was chosen as it will make it possible to solicit information that answers the research topic. The last part of the age group is when a man has chased enough and resorts to other alternatives that will be explored with recommendations. It needs to be noted that Erikson's theory is limited in thinking that every person moves to the next stage without any underdevelopment or links to the previous stage. The current study considered this shortfall and, as a result, contingency plans were made for participants who experienced discomfort when talking about experiences linked to various stages of growth during the focus group discussion or interviews. The other focus was to cater for the ages mentioned by Khunou (2016) in the description of the middle class.

The participants were a group of nine middle-class men between the previously mentioned ages with varying occupations, varying sexual orientations, at different levels of achievement and life experience chosen from the researcher's circle of acquaintances which includes colleagues, fellow students etc. The interview as a data collection tool was selected in order to collect personal stories that are more in-depth while the focus group assisted with the extracted collective discourse with the benefit of group dynamics. The focus group discussion with four of the nine men was based on articles from *Destiny* magazine portraying a successful man. The guided discussion was focused on the picture of the ideal man by using four profiles of men from the magazine to evaluate whether the man in the picture and what was being said about him matched the ideal man as they know it and does an ideal man exist. Each man was given a profile to read prior to the session, followed by questions linking the profiles with the topic. The individual interviews consisted of five men who each shared their personal experiences of being the ideal picture. In interviews each participant was interviewed individually. In summary, there were nine participants, four participating in the focus group and five in individual interviews on different dates.

The findings of the interviews and the focus groups were linked to the theoretical data to create a consolidated picture of the challenge of masculine identities.

Data Analysis

Data was analysed through the use of a plurality of methodologies which included the use of the thematic analysis and discourse analysis. The thematic analysis was applied in the analysis of the interviews by identifying the themes, describing them, use of direct quotes from the transcript and intersecting with the literature. The themes focused on the lived experiences of the participants interviewed, and the meaning attached to them which was identified through specific words, phrases etc. from the transcripts. The discourse analysis focused on the use of language in the focus group as well as the ideology covered.

Thematic analysis

Wagner, Kawulich and Garner (2012) propose that the thematic approach fits in with qualitative methodology which involves the identification of themes in the data on the same phenomena. It can use the constant comparative method which involves the coding of themes in the data in order to keep track of what is being discovered and to keep checking if there are no new themes emerging from the new data. The expectation in the current study was that the themes would be coming from how participants experience masculine identities and the meaning attached to those experiences. In theme identification one looks at the words, phrases, topics that come up.

Braun and Clarke (2008) propose six steps of thematic analysis which were applied in the analysis of the collected data. The first phase is familiarising yourself with data collected through transcribing, reading and immersing yourself in it. The second phase is to generate an initial coding by noting the features that are relevant to the research topic and question. The third step is to search for themes by gathering all data that is relevant to each identified theme. Braun and Clarke (2008, p. 35) continue to suggest the fourth phase which is to review the identified themes by ensuring that the themes work in relation to "coded extracts". Fifthly, the analyst needs to define and name themes which are part of an ongoing analysis to polish each theme and ensure that there is clear definition for each theme. Sixthly, the analyst needs to produce the report of the analysis of the chosen extract that relates to the research question and literature.

Discursive analysis

Foucault (in Smart, 2002) defines a discourse as a practice through which the subjects spoken about are formed. It is the process through which the dominant reality comes into being, while Parker (1992) defines a discourse as an organised argument. Both definitions highlight language as an important factor that determines a great deal in discourse analysis.

Parker (1992) describes discourse analysis by using a few key elements. He suggests that the analysis needs to look at the "multi-voicedness of language". This refers to focusing on how we are spoken of as well as the experience of speaking. He points out the tendency to avoid contradictions in the data that gets collected instead of looking into what it means. Parker (1992) points out that discourse analysis emphasises "semiotics," which is how language is put together verbally, in images and in texts. He suggests that language is put together in a way that organizes it into a discourse. He suggests that we use words and phrases that have predetermined meaning. He also proposes that language has the power to do things and refers to it as resistance. Words used can insult or praise without the intention of the speaker. Parker mentions that language can be organised into "social bonds" that have power to include and exclude other people.

Wagner, Kawulich and Garner (2012) suggest that discourse analysis aims at meaning-making by combining human behaviours while cultural interpretation uses language to analyse. They propose a few considerations in the use of discourse analysis. It is important to consider the source of the discourse and the implication of the source in the analysis. In this research it is the source of gender discourse which is domination of women and inequality. They suggest that it is necessary to group together similar types of data for comparison. One needs to consider the function of each of the discourses involved and the condition that produces and sustains that discourse. It is necessary to look at the institutions that support or resist the discourse and who hold the power, benefits or is disadvantaged by the discourse. One should also determine how the discourse "oppresses" or "promotes" individuals or society or communities. One should also focus on how participants are using the discourse and the outcome of the usage.

Parker (1992) proposes a few steps which are necessary in the analysis of the discourse. He suggests that the text needs to be generated which in this study refers to transcribing the audio recording of the focus group discussion which is the picture of the meaning constructed between the researcher and the participants. The next step is the identification of the discourse expansion on the discourse. This step involves making inferences between the text and the main aspects of the discourse through looking at associations, obvious and hidden meanings. In the next step, the analyst needs to identify objects and subjects and the relationship between the two in the text. Then the analyst needs to identify the roles and rights implied in the discourse. Foucault suggests that the subject position that subjects occupy provides what they can say and not say. The last step that was applied in this study is painting the picture of the world portrayed in the discourse. The focus group provided a collective discourse with the benefit of group dynamics which helped to show how discourses are generated.

Ethical Considerations

Participants have the right to share the information that they are comfortable sharing. The participants were informed that the purpose of the study was to investigate the challenge of black middle-class men negotiating the elusive masculine identities. The duration of participation in the study was planned to take a maximum two hours for the focus group and one hour per interview. However, in some instances the hour was exceeded but consent to continue after the agreed time was obtained from the participants. The focus group consisted of four men who were given a profile prior to the session to read. They explained it to the other men at the session and then a guided discussion was held where each participant was free to share what they were comfortable with. The interview consisted of a one-on-one semi-structured interview guided by questions. In each of the activities the participant had the right to withdraw from the activity at any time for a reason that may only be known to them and that without any consequences. The meeting times and place for each of the activities was based on the availability and convenience of the participants. The study did not cost the participants anything nor were they compensated for it. There were no benefits of participating in the study except an opportunity to reflect on personal experiences.

The collected data from the study was kept in a laptop and cell phone that is password protected to ensure confidentiality. Only the researcher has access to the recordings of the focus group and interviews. Once the recordings had been transcribed and analysis completed, they were deleted from both the laptop and the cell phone. The supervisor only has access to the transcripts. The transcripts were made available to the participants to ensure that they were at ease with the content shared and this ensured that each one received his own content. They were asked to provide consent after the abovementioned information had been explained to them. Anonymity could not be guaranteed; as a result, pseudo names were used during the study and in the research report to ensure that information shared could not be linked to the participant. Since the participants were individuals employed by specific organizations, a pseudonym was used for the organization in order to avoid identifying information with the individual. The position the individual holds was used as it is relevant to the study.

Through continuous reflexivity on the research process the researcher was vigilant in ensuring that during the course of the study if any of the participants became psychologically affected by the information they were sharing, he would have the opportunity to decide whether he was still at ease to proceed with participation or if he wanted to withdraw. If there was any psychological impact, the

participant was referred to the Witwatersrand University Community Counselling and Development Unit for counselling at no cost to himself.

CHAPTER 4

Thematic Analysis

Findings and Discussion

The findings from the interviews and the focus group will be discussed in terms of the themes that emerged during the investigation. The findings revealed the complex nature of the challenges that masculinities face in attempting to meet society's expectations or standards. The findings proved Connell's assertion (2007) that it is not sufficient to be a man or be born male but one needs to do, to show and to measure up in order to be deemed a man. The challenge is that one's manhood is measured on an ever-changing standards or expectations that are not based on realistic criteria. There are challenges of materiality and sociality which have implications for masculine identities, amongst other things. The findings also revealed that there are challenges and implications of the politics of masculinity which lead to the unattainability of the ideals of being a man. All the above and more will be discussed through the use of the thematic analysis.

The findings revealed that men are provided with expectations that set the standard in terms of the characteristics of achieving masculine identities. The expectations are based on hegemonic masculinity values. The findings revealed that while every man understands what is expected of him in order to achieve masculine identities, there are challenges. The expectations present the challenges in terms of attainability of identities and show the intersection of social structures such as gender, culture, class, ethnicity or race, and sexual identity, all of which will be apparent in the discussion of expectations. This is portrayed by their lived experience which will be discussed later. The expectations are underlined by materiality which poses some challenges that contribute to the unattainability of masculine identities. Materiality is defined by various theorists as the presence of physical characteristics of a matter in contrast to the content or substance. This refers to the emphasis that the value of an object/subject hinges on the existence of its physical or seen characteristics. There is a lack of guidance provided by society for men on how to go about achieving the identities and there is a dearth of significant people who could provide the needed guidance which brings about the argument of social networks in sometimes changing contexts. The interface of the hegemonic masculine expectations with social structures requires men to figure out a way of achieving the expectations which presents challenges in terms of achieving masculine identities.

There was consistency in both the interviews and focus group participants that revealed that society provides thematic standards or expectations for men to live by. The expectations vary depending on

the context within which one grew up. There are the same expectations with emphasis of varying degrees. The laid-out expectations are informally articulated and alluded to, at an early age of growing up and future success is measured through them while they are deeply entrenched in the social practice of manhood. In some instances, it is alluded to, in interactions when referring to exemplary or non-exemplary men in the community and in other instances pointed out directly. Some of the expectations were articulated through the use of negative language. One man mentioned that some expectations came as a way of reinforcing good behaviour by pointing out the unsavoury behaviour other men were exhibiting.

Vusi*: You were not told directly but it came out as a result of a good deed like taking care of yourself or doing chores… A lot does not get said but there is an expectation that you will see how those who does being man well… Parents would make reference to a man who does not support their children.*

The following themes were identified in the findings of the study:

- Masculinity is about having one's own family separate from the family of origin.
- Masculinity is about providing for your family.
- Masculinity is about protecting your own family.
- Masculinity is about avoiding femininity.
- Masculinity is about knowing your origins (father).

The thematic findings reveal the material nature of masculine identities. It shows that masculine identities are inter-subjective. This means that there is interdependence between many factors in order for masculine identities to be achieved. For example, there is a dependence on social factors like social networks and one's position in relation to others, amongst other things, for the achievement to be facilitated. It also shows that masculinity is a social practice where there is an action that takes place intentionally while it is also reflexive as there are possible losses in terms of identity status and agency. This suggests that there is some intentional participation in the masculine practice due to calculated cost and impact on one's identity. There is also a social nature of masculinity which makes the performance of being a man dependent on social structures. These themes will be fleshed out in the discussion and supported by quotations from the participants in order to build an argument.

Materiality of Being a Man

What is expected from a man must be performed and seen which speaks to the materiality of identities. Materiality in terms of the social world is defined in various ways by various authors. In Sorensen (2007) Kant separated "matter from substance". Matter is defined as the "superficial ", non-permanent "variable appearance of an object while substance is the permanent existence" (Sorensen,

2007, p. 3). Hegel (cited in Sorensen, 2007, p. 3) emphasises the physicality of the matter "in contrast to content" which refers to the "mind, spirit, abstract or ideal". The presence of physicality in the standard of being men suggests that masculine identities are limited to what can be seen. It also suggests that they may lack content or acknowledgement of the internal world like emotions. Marx emphasised the physicality "but additionally he let the material be central to the formation of phenomena of content "(Sorensen, 2007, p. 3). In relating the definitions to masculine identities, there are a few challenges that emerge. There is an excessive focus on the external world of the men as the expectations force them to produce external achievements and pay more attention to external attributes and less attention to the internal word. Materiality seems to introduce complexity to masculine identities when considering the number of things one needs to consider to be deemed successful. The characteristics of the expectations or the standard bring the element of the context within which the expectations are met which differs not only in one aspect but in various social structures per context. Each context consists of the specification required for the expectations to be deemed acceptable. All theorists refer to materiality as having to do with "entities" which refers to the individual man. In Sorensen (2007) Heidegger defines materiality as a thing instead of an object. Schatzki (2010) also confirms the notion that materiality is physical elements and the building blocks of the world. These phenomena and content allude to the knowledge formed about masculine identities that brings about the physicality of manhood and means it must be visible to society.

As quoted in Sorensen (2007), Lantour proposes that materiality needs to be "studied relationally with the social, as a component part of socio-material". This means that manhood cannot be looked at in isolation from other social factors. He suggests that this allows for "co-existence and interplay of the material and the social world" (Sorensen, 2007, p. 4). In other words, this means materiality can better be understood by looking at the interplay it has with social structures like culture, gender etc. as there is interdependence that contributes to masculine identities. The definitions confirm some of the complexities around masculine identities. The expectations of manhood create a sense of physical presence that is required about the masculine identities. It needs to be seen in order to be approved. All the expectations are things that are external to the man and need to be visible to society. It is suggested that materiality can be defined as the "formed pattern of which a particular entity takes part and which allows it to relate in a particular way to (an) other entity (ties)" (Sorensen, 2007, p. 4). In her earlier work this author refers to the arrangement as the entity being "in concert" with other entities. Masculine identities are linked to other entities within the social world. It means the possibility of achieving the identities happens in relation to other factors which could be people or things. This also refers to various forms of masculinities. It is also suggested that an entity obtains its

distinctiveness in how it is organized around other entities. This proposes that the uniqueness of the expectations and types of masculinities come from the interaction with others. Schatzki (2010) also proposes that people are connected by material arrangements which consist of structures, space and communication networks. There is a proposed overlap of practices which leads to a wider and complex connections or web of ways of doing things. In essence materiality involves "physicality, bio-physicality, nature and environment" (Schatzki, 2010, p. 133). Schatzki (2010) suggests that materiality is part of social life in various ways; it is through physicality and biologically, as previously stated. Secondly, it is part of social life in a way that entities that are part of the formation do contain a physical-chemical makeup. Schatzki (2010, p. 137) proposes that over and above the physical makeup, humans have to deal with the "physical manifestation of physical events and phenomena". Thirdly, materiality gushes through the "practice arrangement nexuses" (Schatzki, 2010, p. 137). The possibilities of what a person can do depends on their network and how they are aligned to it. There is an existence of success and failure in the achievement of the masculine identities which is measured by the ability to meet the expectations.

A man is expected to have a family of his own which consists of a woman and children. The participants from both groups were unanimous in agreeing that a man is expected to have a family of his own. It was suggested that a man needs a family to be accountable to somebody (wife) and to lead and serve others. The following statements were made in support of the above:
Thabo*: For me it has to be a family man... a home that has a wife and children and he looks after… As a man you look beyond himself.*

Peter: It's about accountability… it starts from the family values…Doing duties as espoused by society at large…those are parameters that cannot be compromised.

Sandile: A leader who serves other people.

When the focus group was asked about a well-known celebrity gay man, whether he is seen as an ideal man, they answered:
Thabo: It's difficult to classify him as a man when he does not classify himself as a man.
Peter: He is a bad example.
Thabo: His orientation and the way he views himself based on what I can see; he does not think of himself as a man.

The family in this case is the physical manifestation of the man's identity. There seems to be an approved format of a family which includes a wife and children and excludes other formations. There is less tolerance for different formations of families due to sexual orientation. There was clear gender stereotyping that came through in the articulation of this expectation by participants in terms of the kind of family one can have and cannot have. There was no evidence of tolerance for different preferences in the comments of the participants about having a family. This suggests that there is a possibility of being seen as not measuring up should one decide not to have a family of one's own while it is generally understood and accepted that there may be circumstances that could lead to one not having a family. This suggests that society holds this ideal of being a family man regardless of known causes for one to not have or to lose a family because of death or divorce and personal preferences. This expectation portrays the intersection of gender, culture and sexual orientation social structures in that the black culture expects a man to have a family and a specific type of a family which disregards natural processes, sexual orientation and promotes gender stereotyping.

Men are expected to provide for their family, which includes women and children. Provision includes ensuring that his immediate family has a shelter over their heads, food is available as well all the basic needs. This suggests that he needs to have a source of income which means holding a job or running one's own business.

Zola: He believed it was his responsibility to provide a house, the roof over his family (referring to his stepfather) *…. I cannot afford to drive a car if I don't have decent accommodation for my family.*

Tshepo: But look I think in most of my growing up years was sisters and my mom. So my mom schooled me very properly, that look a man, in the house takes care of things.

Chinedu: A man is supposed to look after his family, get yourself a job, meaning providing for them, they must have food, and they have shelter.

Mathew: A man is a provider.

Vusi: You must be able to take care of your family such that if you die, they can have a home and their lives can go on... Adding value at home by buying stuff.

Thabo: For me it has to be a family man... a home that has a wife and children and he looks after them.

Peter: It's about accountability... As a man you look beyond himself... A leader who serves other people.

The varying context extended the degree to which men provide to being specific to food. For instance, in Tshepo's case, his mother emphasised providing food as he was the only boy among his sisters to the point that it has shaped his adult life as he gets satisfaction from buying food for his immediate family. However, in other contexts the emphasis was on basic foodstuff like bread and milk. The majority of men mentioned general provisions as quoted above. It is also interesting to note that the word "provider" for some of the participants had identity connotations or meaning, which confirmed the identity reinforcement of what is expected of him. "A man is …. a provider" was confirmed by Tshepo who seemed to get his explicitly mentioned affirmation from being able to meet this expectation as he mentions that:

Tshepo: Look it actually makes me feel good because it's what I was taught. And I practised it for a while and that whatever money I have I need to look out for my family.

Researcher: Hmm.

Tshepo: So the same still applies today, when I get paid, when month-end grocery times come, I'm the one buying groceries.

Tshepo: It was instilled in me. So, and look, it gives me that identity. And I guess because it was affirmed that that's what a man does.

Anderstein and Boonzaier (2015, p. 520) mention that the "father-provider script" was mostly used by participants in their study on the redefinition of masculinity by young South African fathers. They suggest that the script tends to put a lot of pressure on young fathers to the extent that it influences their choice in terms of finance and employment. Financial support of the child gave permission to the participant to enter the identity of being a father (Anderstein & Boonzaier, 2015, p. 521).

Magaraggia (2012) proposes that the labour market's flexibility and changes have impacted the male breadwinner model which includes the "desire" by women to participate actively, and threatens the male traditional position. The responsibility to provide subjects the men to external factors that they have no control over, namely the socio-economic conditions. Statistics South Africa conducted a Quarterly Labour Survey in quarter one of 2015 and 2016 and they discovered that unemployment had increased by over half a million in both Q1:2015 and Q1:2016 (626 000 and 521 000 respectively) for the black man. This expectation creates vulnerabilities for the black masculinity. Khunou (2016) suggests that the black middle class is unstable as there is continuous negotiation which I can attribute to the external factors which put their identity at stake. The external factors include unstable working relations due to race relations. Khunou (2016) proposes that while the South African middle class may

be deemed to be earning well, they have to contend with providing for their extended families as they are the successful ones in the bigger family, which presents a challenge as the provision does not end with their immediate family. That puts the masculine identities at risk in the face of the changing economy and social conditions, which is confirmed by Ratele (2013, p. 145) in arguing that "masculinity is always under construction" because it is vulnerable to external conditions. The fact that all men mentioned are able to provide for a family, means there is a sense of identity in a man that comes with being able to provide. The expectation for a man to provide implies that he must have a source of income which will enable him to provide. However, the expectation to provide seems to be silent in cases where a man cannot provide because he does not have a source of income. There is an implied association with lacking a sense of responsibility if one cannot provide which suggests a huge impact on the identity of a man who cannot provide due to lack of income but there was no evidence of support mechanisms from the men interviewed that supported men who cannot provide. This suggests a certain level of identity negotiation that involves the level at which a man can provide and identity negotiation for a man who cannot provide. This requires the man to endure the challenges posed by the work environment while there is an equal identity negotiation for a man who has a job as he needs to navigate the work environment as suggested by one man in the expectation to endure work-related "hardships". This suggests that if one cannot endure work "hardships ", there is an impact on the masculine identity as the job is not guaranteed for him and his identity is at stake. One participant supported this point:

Vusi: Being able to take on work hardships.

As the expectations are based on hegemonic masculinity beliefs, there is a strong emphasis on the hierarchy between men and women. Women are put in a lesser position as they need to be provided for.

Snell Jr (1986, p. 443) conducted an investigation into the masculine role inventory in order to answer questions about the psychology of men. It is suggested that preoccupation with success is one of the major themes which is based on the understanding that life is a competitive journey with "limited available proofs of manly achievements, tough confidence and aggressiveness which refers to the belief that it is a man's right" (Snell Jr., 1986, p. 444). This suggests that a man's identity is hugely impacted when he cannot succeed.

The second expectation is that a man must protect his family. The people that need to be protected are women and children. When Mathew (one of the interview participants) was growing up he was

told that a man is strong. A man is also supposed to protect his family from other men. In line with the protection theme, a man is not allowed to lay a hand on a woman.

Mathew*: A man is strong, a man is provider, everything revolves around those two things.*
Tshepo: Any woman. Do you understand? It was just that scale of, look you are the man. You always have to protect, you always have to serve this nation. What you teach your child, the boy child is exactly that. Never raise a hand on, always provide for these ones, when it comes to another man who is trying to then you can be able to. Not violent, just… protect.

The self-evaluation of some participants suggests a level of satisfaction about being able to meet this expectation. This is evident in Tshepo who at the age of 11 years old was told about taking care and protecting his family and it has had an impact when he evaluates the 35 years of his life.

Tshepo*: Yes, protect that nation. So, look those are the learnings I've been through and just in affirming my manhood, we didn't do the mountains things or it was basically those things, to say*
look, take care of family, protect them, and you know when you turn 27 and you realize these things keep echoing in your head, I'm saying 35 years later I'm that boy they spoke to when he was 11.

The type of protection mentioned varies per context according to the nature of the threat. It is assumed, as there was no specific reference to the type of protection needed, that it was physical protection. This reveals another part of materiality in masculine identities as protection can be seen. The expectation on the protection of the family assumes certain qualities of physical strength in a man. However, there is an overall assumption that if a man does not know how to protect, he will work it out. This sentiment was shared by Vusi:

Vusi: They say growing up is difficult but if you keep the perception that is difficult then it becomes heavy otherwise our fathers would not have survive... Always make a plan on what you want to do.

Hunter (2005) conducted a study titled "Cultural politics and masculinities: Multiple partners in historical perspective in KwaZulu-Natal" where he explored the evolution of the concept of "umnumzana" (head of household) over time. Umnumzana is a Zulu word for a man who heads up a home with wife/wives and children. In traditional Zulu culture they would live in a homestead which is a site or yard with many grass-thatched huts separated into sleeping, kitchen type of huts and a kraal with a great number of cattle. According to Hunter (2005), the head of household was responsible for protecting as well as provisioning the household, which to a certain extent defined his

identity. The introduction of migrant labour, which came with the discovery of mineral wealth, took the head of household away from the homestead which meant that protection was gone. While provision remained it was at a distance as it took many months before a man could come home with money. That shifted the identity of umnumzana (head of household) and one of the early signs of the elusiveness of the masculine identity. Hunter (2005) alludes to the effects unemployment brought to men in KwaZulu-Natal. Being able to pay lobola and providing for a household depended on employment later on. That suggested another shift in the identity of a man.

In research done by Snell Jr. (1986, p. 443) on the masculine role inventory, another proposed major theme in men's lives included "anti-femininity (no sissy stuff)," which is the desire to avoid femininity. Thirdly, a man is expected to avoid activities and behaviours that are associated with females which are gender specific. That meant a man should not participate in domestic work associated with females like cooking, cleaning, and other similar tasks. This was extended to boys not doing chores in a household that were considered to be "girly chores"; as Mathew stated:

Mathew*: Can't cook, can't do girly chores.*

Tshepo provided evidence that suggested a man must not do female-associated types of activities in a household because it emphasises or highlights the position of man:

Tshepo: *When food is not in the house I think yea it was a good lesson. And I guess you know the rest of the stuff would have been natural for a man to do. You know, what my mother taught me I think it was that necessary life coaching, not who you are really, in life this is what you do. But when you start taking those in and applying them, it shows you're wise. Because it says you're dealing with life in a certain way, playing your position that's how I look at it. You always played your position. Somebody else will do the other stuff. What she told me again, is never find yourself in the kitchen. 35 years down the line I can't cook.*

The gender-based activity expectation extended to the choice of sporting activities a man can or cannot do which was laced by racial stereotypes. A participant in the focus group stated the disapproval he received from his uncle upon expressing an interest in rugby:

Sandile*: My uncle told me what kind of black person pays rugby…You must play soccer.*
Mathew, (a homosexual man) was advised about the sport he should be doing which he had no interest in.
Mathew: *A good man plays soccer.*

This expectation portrays an emphasis on gender differences which is acknowledged but not acknowledged as bad especially in terms of the household chores. Somehow it is seen that every person is playing their part. There is a lack of consideration for men who may find themselves for various reasons without a female to take care of the household work. For instance, men who are migrant labourers are without wives to cook for them in the cities or towns where they work. This understanding may have created fertile grounds for infidelity by migrant workers as they found themselves without their wives while working in the cities. The rigidity of this expectation leads to the promotion of polygamy as a way of meeting this expectation without being judged or prejudiced. It is interesting to note that the stereotype in terms of sport existed even though the men live in the city where diversity is expected to be more acceptable. This was mentioned to highlight the rigidity of the expectations.

Kimmel wrote a book titled *Guyland: The Perilous World in which Boys become Men* and he suggests a Guy Code which consists of constantly "proving one's masculinity" on a daily basis (Kalish and Kimmel, 2010, p. 458). This also includes complete avoidance of anything associated with femininity while pursuing the ideals of being a man. The constant proving of one's masculinity suggests that the male identity is vulnerable, not only to changing standards and ideals but also to daily social variables which make any attainability of masculinities impossible.

In the investigation by Snell Jr. (1986, p. 443) on masculine role inventory, another proposed major theme in men's lives is "restrictive emotionality and inhibited affection towards others", which is defined as the struggle to show emotions and not allow others to be expressive emotionally. This is accompanied by the tendency to hide feelings of love and showing affection (Snell Jr., 1986, p. 444). Most of the men interviewed were heterosexual, married with children, and one was a homosexual man but both groups experienced challenges with relationships. There was a suggestion of the struggle in relationships which centred on emotional expression, maintaining relationships and dealing with male-to-female or male-to-male differences which suggests that they felt ill prepared to deal with and had never been guided on how to deal with it. As suggested by these two participants:

Chinedu*: We were taught what to do without the how to; it was expected of us to do certain things without heart.*

Vusi*: You only discover when you get there that I did not get training for this.*

Some had to determine how to get help in order to obtain guidance which goes against the expectation that men must somehow know how to deal with things.

Tshepo*: Look it's, in my case it was very recent, I've got cousins but they had their life to live. So there's a cousin of mine, and I made it very clear why we need to have a relationship. You know it's not because I really need anything material from him, I don't need money from him, I don't need anything else and I explain exactly that. Look, you know you know me I'm your uncle's son and I grew up in this kinda space. What I need now, cause see things are happening in my life, I need that person I can talk to when it comes to specifically marriage things.*

Tshepo: *With him? Yes, like it just started recently, and I'm saying recently in this year because I was very specific in that it's not long that I got married and everything else. But those challenges I feel, it's like a peak pressure point.*

There are specific behaviours that are not associated with being a man. It was stated by participants that a man must not express his emotions as this is deemed to be a sign of weakness. It was confirmed that men are not taught how to handle emotions and are also not encouraged to express them. There was a widely expressed discomfort with crying specifically. While most men admitted to crying at some points in their lives, it was deemed to be a private affair with no observers. However, this presented challenges later in life when they were in a relationship where the female partner expected them to show and respond with emotion. Tokollo, a focus group participant, mentioned that:

Tokollo*: As much as a man you are emotional you should not display it. My wife says I am heartless… I don't show my emotions that much.*

Tokollo: We never get to the part where we are taught how to approach sensitive topics or emotional stuff.

Peter: *we were told that a man does not cry…. You do not express your emotions.*

Masculinity seems to simultaneously destroy the same things it promotes. As previously quoted, Montes (2013, p. 471) describes the role of emotions as they exist to assist an individual to "adapt and survive". The experience of relational challenges suggests men's inability to adapt and survive as they are not equipped to deal with emotions which seems to be a cause for a great deal of frustration in men. The lack of suitable and appropriate emotional expression seems to weigh heavily on men which put sat risk the expectation to have a family as Thabo mentioned:

Thabo: *It's a very deep sense of vulnerability. I don't want people to see me vulnerable.*

This reduces chances of a relationship that is able to sustain any kind of intimacy. Schatzki (2010, p. 129) proposes material organization of entities in the discussion of materiality which are "interconnected material entities". The connection that keeps relationships together is hindered by the fact that the masculine identity is kept at a physical level. This suggests that men are set up to fail in this regard which works against the expectation to have a family as evidenced by the above quotations. Men are almost denied men an ability to manage relationships because they avoid emotional responses.

The inability to express emotion seems to present some contradictions. There is an admission that emotional expression is essential but there is lack of will or know-how on how to deal with emotional situations which can be attributed to culture of non-expression and aspiration to be men. As some participants stated:

Peter*: I am not comfortable crying in front of another party.*

Tokollo: *I deal with pain differently; I'd rather go sleep and come back.*

Sandile: *We were told not to cry, and we tried not to cry because we want to be a man.*

There is an acceptance of the status quo in terms of man and lack of emotional education which is partly due to societal views that associate emotional expression with women but also due to the fear of being seen as weak which makes private expression more acceptable. Schatzki (2010) proposes that the coexistence of the human emerges as part of the connection of "practices and material arrangements" which suggests that humans are connected through a series of "actions" one does within a "practice" (Schatzki, 2010, p. 129). The series of actions creates a practice or way of doing things which could also be called a culture. A culture or way of doing things has identity.

There is also an expectation that a man needs to know where he comes from. This refers to the family of origin, especially who his father is, which coincides with a need for man to have somebody who models how to be a man for him. In an ideal environment this suggests that where a man comes from is the place from which role modeling should emanate. There is evidence to suggest that there is a need for a man to know who his parents are but, more specifically, who his father is. The understanding created was that a man needs to learn from his father how to be a man. This is evident in Sandile's articulation:

Sandile: *Chances are I won't be a responsible father because I have never seen anyone playing that role… I am freestyling it. I still feel like I was deprived of an opportunity of being told what a man is.*

This suggests that knowing who one's father is, has an impact on the attainability of masculine identities. Enderstein and Boonzaier (2015, p. 513) proposes that early involvement of a father in a child's life provides "development of progressive masculine identities that privilege care, respect and active involvement". It helps to avoid feelings of inadequacies in later life.

Social Networks and Fatherhood in Masculinity

Feiring and Coates (1987, p. 611) established that there are interconnections between individuals as social units because a social network framework consists of "social relations, social opportunities and social constraints through a diagrammatic picture of significant others". They suggest that one is born into a social network which includes people and activities. The network starts with parents and family and extends into the wider world through schooling and later on the work life, with each serving a specific social function. They propose that a person's development and socialization takes place through these social networks. Through social networks a man obtains exposure to those who model the accepted conduct for him.

The effectiveness of social networks depends on the strength of relationships. This suggests that a man will learn about manhood as it depends on the relationship he has with a father figure. Vassilev et al. (2016) outline the various types of social network in a study of the impact on people with long-term illness. They proposed that social networks have been seen as the tool to promote, rally and implement support. They identified five types of networks: restricted, minimal with family, family, weak ties, and diverse. It is proposed that the restricted network refers to people with "limited support from social network members while diverse network types refers to the people with a high level of emotional support (Vassilev et al., 2016). A diverse network consists of differing relationships that may include friends, family acquaintances and other groups and these tend to have regular contact with each other. They propose that social networks with "weak ties" do have varying relationships but have fewer members in the network with frequent contact. This suggests that a man is made by the strength of his social network which also proposes that lack of it renders a man vulnerable in terms of identity. They highlighted that network typology studies suggest that "diverse and friend-dominated networks were associated with better physical and mental health" (Vassilev, 2016, p. 2). It is interesting to note that diverse networks consisted mostly of men than of women of higher educational levels with an income, which speaks to the study target group.

Social networks are driven by the type of relationship, proximity and frequency of contact which facilitates varying levels of interaction and influence (Vassilev et al., 2016). In both the interview group

and the focus group there was reference to the pain caused by not having or knowing a father figure. Participants referred to a father-figure as "the reference point". The reasons for the absence may have varied from being an illegitimate child, having a workaholic father to absence by death. There is a challenge presented by not knowing or having been influenced by a father figure which leads to a feeling of lack of confidence as men are not sure of what they are doing as fathers as they never heard or saw a father as parent which could extend to pure modelling of manhood. This is better demonstrated in the comments made by a few men:

Sandile: There is nothing I could do because I did have a father – he was told. I am still crying to watch a soccer match with my father. Chances are I won't be a responsible father because I have never seen anyone playing that role… I am freestyling it. I still feel like I was deprived of an opportunity of being told what a man is.

Peter: My current marriage reference point is how my grandfather dealt with it.

Thabo: I don't have a reference point… what I do with children? What does a father d? It almost paralyses you… I don't even know what not to do.

Tokollo: My father was always working.

Zola: I never had a typical family, a household with a mother and a father… Then my dad was another impact in my life, not in a negative way but in terms of knowing where I come from and who are might be my biological parent. I had to get used to my biological dad... What was really tough for me, I must be honest with you was, I really had an affinity towards my stepdad and my mother.

A father seems to have a huge impact on a man's life. As one participant stated:

Zola: Then my dad was another impact in my life, not in a negative way but in terms of knowing where I come from and who might be my biological parents... I had to get used to my biological dad which was really tough for me.

Men who had physically absent fathers blamed the lack of confidence in fathering skills and manhood to fatherlessness while the men who had absent fathers by any other reason than physical absence profess to have learnt the correct behaviour or ways of being a man from witnessing incorrect behaviour. This is better expressed in the following quotation.

Thabo: I don't have a reference point…what do I do with children…what does a father do? It almost paralyses you…I don't even know what not to do.

Tokollo: My father was always working.

It seems masculine identities are bestowed on the next generation through observation as one man lamented that:

Sandile: Chances are I won't be a responsible father because I have never seen anyone playing that role.

This suggests that a man needs a role model in order to learn how to be a man as part of his social network. Feiring and Coates (1987, p. 615) propose the "health-sustaining functions such as gratification of affiliative needs which covers companionship and belonging, self-identity maintenance and enhancement and self-esteem enhancement" that a social network provides to an individual. The place where a person finds himself within the physical area of the network is linked to gender function within the network, and that determines where a person can go for assistance and guidance. It also determines whether one can ask for guidance, which may put constraints on one's development, as confirmed by the participants.

A standard without procedure, which is the "how to", tends to provide an unfair disadvantage. The men who do not measure up are easily identifiable due to the physical nature of the standard without any consideration for circumstances and personal preferences around their perceived failure.

The expectations do not seem to serve the individual but the proposed good of society's ideal picture. This suggests that the individuals are unconscious in the practice of masculine identities due to subjectivity. Bourdieu (1992) refers to gender identity as the habitus which speaks to the way it is inscribed to who we are. Habitus is the socialized subjectivity that links the external as well as the internal world. It is unconscious identities that are difficult to change because one is not aware of them. He proposes that habitus is more than the individual identity but it is socialized into the body to the extent that we wear it because it is embodied in us. It can be seen in how we carry ourselves and present ourselves. Masculine identities are unconscious and embodied in men. Bourdieu (1992) suggest that habitus "constitutes the social world in the same way as it is constituted by the social world". "When habitus encounters a social world of which it is the product, it finds itself 'as a fish in water', it does not feel the weight of the water and takes the world about itself for granted" (Bourdieu in interview with Wacquant, 1989, p. 43). There is an element of being unaware of the social factors at play if identity is one and the same with the social world as they are made of each other and make each other. There is also a possibility of not being certain even when the standard has been met which may produce a constant search and lack of confidence in masculine identities' achievement.

Habitus and Foreclosure in Masculine identities

Bourdieu (1992) mentions that we carry the habitus into various social fields which are social structures found in society. They consist of dispositions which refer to attitudes, emotions, social reality and style of living. Transformation is not possible without the change of dispositions. Social fields refer to work life; home life etc. and each of them has specific rules and ways of being. Social fields consist of macro and micro levels which relate to each other through structural positioning. The habitus has dispositions which are ways of being that we learn for various social fields. Bourdieu suggests that social fields are occupied by those who have social power, and those who do not have it, but everybody has access to power at different times; as a result, there are shifting attempts to exclude and dominate others. This suggests that men can make attempts to acquire or attain masculine identities but due to shifting power and not having access to it at all times, they may find themselves on a perpetual chase of the elusive masculinities.

Bourdieu and Wacquant (1992) propose that power works through cultural capital which has a currency of its own. Currency refers to things that are deemed to be important and carries more weight in a specific culture. There are three forms of cultural capital that exist. There is an embodied cultural capital which refers to how you carry yourself. The objectified cultural capital refers to material resources used within a specific setting and the institutional cultural capital reinforces certain power relations. It carries more weight to live by the expectation stated in the findings than not. This suggests that there is a possibility of intentionality in the practice of being a man. A man knowingly performs certain masculine identities due to the currency that standard carries within a specific culture. Below are some of the examples where participants knowingly performed specific identifying behaviours due to expected cultural currency:

Sandile: We were told not to cry and we tried not to cry because we want to be a man…. It never made sense but I did it.

Mathew: *You have friends who cover for you…. Corporates are run in a certain way; to advance you cannot be seen as…. You have to play the ball not the man…. In very traditional places where these things are quite queer to them, you cannot disrupt that if you go to a village where there is no running water you don't take a bath for three days, you adapt. Is that the worst thing that can ever happen? No.*

Sandile intentionally decided not to express emotions in the form of crying so that he could be accepted as a man while he did not understand it and Mathew had to decipher disguised explanations

with friend's support so that he covers for the fact that he had been on a date with a man. He also mentions the use of pronouns referring to females to disguise the male date in order to hide his sexuality and remain approved of in terms of heterosexuality. He also talks about keeping his sexuality at work private due to the culture of corporates that do not accept his sexual orientation. This suggests that there is intentional foreclosure of certain identities in public spaces due to specific currencies that are at stake in specific environments.

Social power of Masculine Identities

The power that works through cultural capital can also be understood in terms of social power. Walker and Schiffer (2006) explored the materiality of social power by studying social interactions with artefacts. They propose that social power refers to persons with "privileged social identities employing their power over other people" who suggest that there is a different status of social power (Walker & Schiffer, 2006, p. 68). They also propose that social power is distinguished into various fields where differences in how it is exercised can also be seen. It is distinguished into economic, political and judicial power but it cuts across fields when it is understood as "relational in terms of people – artefacts" (Walker & Schiffer, 2006, p. 68).

Butler suggests that gender identity is performed over time to bring the subject into being. Butler (1993) elaborates on the impact of repetition in performativity by suggesting that there is an accumulative force that is brought by repetition which would inevitably reinforce what the subject is being socialized into. The findings revealed the fact that a man needs to repetitively perform the acts of providing, protecting his family, and avoidance of feminine behaviour like emotional expression for socialization to take place. Due to the fact that the findings portrayed physicality, which means the behaviour or action must be seen and depends on other social factors, it means there is also the maintenance of the masculine identities. The nature of providing, protecting and masculine behaviour is a life-time activity that one cannot take a break from. As Foucault (1982) proposed, power shifts in subjectivity. This suggests that the moment a man stops behaving in a manner approved by the standard, he loses the status associated with masculine identities. This contributes to the unattainability of the masculine identities as there is no end while one is alive.

Butler (1993) also proposes that while there is socialization over time, identity is performed in a moment by doing something that produces the specific gender identity. For example, it is the moment of providing or protecting that produces the masculine identity. Since these activities depend on other social factors, such as the ability to make money for provision and physical ability for protection, it

means that a man is dependent on moments where all social factors culminate in the fulfilment of the standard to sustain masculine identity.

Butler (1993) suggests that there is always a sense of melancholia in choosing one gender identity. It is always accompanied by a sense of loss because one always chooses one over the other. One has to foreclose one identity in order to become the other. Sometimes, in order to identify with who we are, one has to foreclose who we are not. She says there is always a cost in choosing identity and that cost is the sense of loss, which is a psychological concept.

Kalish and Kimmel (2010, p. 452) studied the suicide by mass murder in American educational institutions and gleaned some interesting points about the masculine identity. They propose that the hegemonic masculinity culture tends to "encourage young men to find solace in violence as an attempt to get even with the attackers of their masculine identity but also to prove their masculinity even if through an act of taking their own life". The encouragement happened through movies where the victory of the main actor takes place in a violent act to achieve power. They propose that the suicide of the perpetrator is an act of gaining the power that they may be losing. This suggests a few things that could be taking place in masculine identities. Firstly, it suggests that there is an active struggle taking place for the masculine identity and it is detrimental to the identity because perpetrators go to the extent of taking their lives in an attempt to fight for it. Secondly, the violence directed at the self and others could suggest a lack of adequate synergy between the individual and the social world which puts the masculine identities at risk.

CHAPTER 5

Discourse Analysis

The second part of the analysis will focus on the discourses unearthed by the focus group and how they impact on masculine identities. The discussion will look into the politics of masculine identities through the use of language to create knowledge about identities of subjects, the power of language, use of power through language, the possible conflict created by language used and the impact of language used. The use of the discourse analysis will assist with what Wagner, Kawulich and Garner (2012) suggest, namely that it aims at meaning-making by combining both human behaviour and cultural interpretations. It uses a language approach for analysis. The data gathered through the focus group can be relied on as it consists of many voices that confirm identified discourses. These will be fleshed out through the presentation of the quotations from the focus group discussion and argued through an analysis of the utterances.

What is a discourse?

As quoted earlier Foucault (cited in Smart, 2002) defines a discourse as a practice through which the subjects spoken about are formed. It is the process through which the dominant reality comes into being. The dominant reality of masculine identities is articulated in the findings of the study which are the expectation that forms that standard of being a man. Foucault uses the functions of the discourse to create a clear picture of what it does. He suggests that a discourse creates, affirms and promotes relations of power. It produces objects or objects of knowledge which define the subjects. It produces lenses through which people see the world and how they should be viewed. The discourse constructs the world of the subjects. In essence, this means a discourse is a vehicle through which the world of individuals is created using power relations which dictates what is allowed for certain groups and not within a dominant discourse. Foucault (1982) suggests that power and knowledge are intertwined; they produce each other. The knowledge created about men is powerful enough to compel or force them to live according to how they are defined. It is that force, and that power, that sets them up for failure.

Parker (1992) defines a discourse as an organised argument. The definitions of Parker and Foucault (date) point to language as an important factor that constructs the reality of subjects in a discourse. Parker (1992) describes discourse analysis by using a few key elements. He suggests that the analysis needs to look at the “multivoicedness of language”. This refers to focusing on how we are spoken of as well as the experience of speaking. The standard of being a man varies per context as previously stated, which means there is likely to be many voices and ways of describing what a man should be

doing with emphasis placed in varying places. That suggests that if a man changes location, he also changes the description of the standard of being a man, as they vary per context.

Kawulich and Garner (2012) propose a few considerations in the process of discourse analysis. It is important to identify the discourse, consider the source of the discourse and the implication of the source in the analysis. They suggest that it is necessary to group together similar types of data for comparison. One needs to consider the function of each of the discourses involved and the condition that produces and sustains that discourse. It is necessary to look at the institutions or gender group that supports or resists the discourse and who holds the power, benefits or is disadvantaged by the discourse. One should also determine how the discourse "oppresses" or "promotes" individuals or society or communities. One should also focus on how participants are using the discourse and the outcome of the usage. In this discussion the steps to be followed will be to name the discourse, and discuss what it is constructing. Ask the questions: What power relations are at play? How does the discourse get redefined? What is the role played by language in each of the steps? The discussion is going to elaborate the above in each of the data groupings. Some data groups will deliberately be used more than once to show links between different discourses.

Findings and Discussion

Peter: It's a perception. I think, I promise you every man; we are a product of our environment and the circumstances.

Sandile: *When I said you know what I wanted to go and play rugby and he said what kind of a black person you wanna go and play rugby.*

Researcher: *What kind of a black person you want to play rugby (laughs)?*

Sandile: You see there's always that thing of saying you know what you cannot do this thing because you a black person.

Researcher: *And there's never been anybody who has done that before.*

Sandile: *And the concept of businesses is not a big thing in black culture, we are never encouraged to start business, we are always encouraged to say get an education and go and work. Where our counterparts of other races are always told, create an asset that people can make you money through that asset and I think that's what stifles a lot of us.*

Researcher: Hmmm.

There is the discourse of the black middle-class man who is the subject of the study. A black man cannot be studied without discussing how racism in South Africa played a dominant form of

subjectivity. His identity was, and is, influenced by the history of segregation and discrimination in South Africa. The discourse of black men became formally more pronounced at the inception of the apartheid system in South Africa which had uniquely crafted strict laws that regulated his existence but was also echoed in the world in terms of the segregation and colonization of black people. Black men were the subject of slavery which dates back centuries. According to *brycchancarey* (2013, website on the chronology of slavery), it dates back to a period between 1300 and 1500 and men were highly impacted as society was then extremely patriarchal. Physical strength was a huge deciding factor in buying male slaves as workers. This system is guided by certain ideologies which lead to domination. Hoyt Jr. (2012) defines racism as the belief that members of one group have superior qualities, abilities and characteristics over another. Racism is a system of racial domination by one group over another. In South Africa the dominant belief was that the white race was superior to the black race.The term "black" refers to the racial classification system of people in South Africa as defined in the repealed Population Registration Act No.30 of 1950 which was in effect during the apartheid regime. It was inclusive of everybody who was not white or of European descent. The term black people or natives as it was initially coined, carried segregatory power over how black people lived their poorly resourced lives in terms of the laws that controlled them in South Africa. Due to the legacy of apartheid, the term remains widely used even in the democratic South Africa. This is supported by Parker (1992) in his proposal that language has power to do things. This discussion will focus on the discourses and power relations that are linked to black middle-class men.

The blackness discourse contains complexities that transcend time; change of government from apartheid to a democratic system was a change of policies. There is an extensive legacy of damage done to the identity of black men by the racist system and the secondary effects accompanying it are still at play. To add salt to the wounds, there is still evidence that surfaces through social media which supports the fact that racist attitudes are still in existence in some white people of South Africa. The patriarchal arrangement of society places black men as the first recipients of the effects of racism in South Africa, then and now. Erlank (2003) mentions that when pass laws were initiated, they firstly affected black men with respect to being in certain places at certain times. The pass law was a document initiated to control the movement of black people within the country which they had to carry with them at all times. A person's failure to produce the document, or to be found by the police in an area where you do not have permission to be, resulted in jail time. It was meant to control the movement of black people, amongst other things. It restricted men from moving around which meant they could not make sufficient money to make ends meet and this put a strain on the African men's confidence. When power is removed from a man the tendency is either to retaliate, as proven by

political struggle movements, or give in. This was a fight to rescue the shredded pieces of African male dignity and identity. Earlier on in history, Erlank (2003) mentions that in the 1920s to 30s, African men refused the issuing of night passes to African women because it interfered with their sense of control over their women. This was a sign of an identity fighting for its survival. The government created a subject based on racial lines which was controlled by the information (laws) created by them. This is one of the historical events that support the fact that black men were at the forefront of recipients of racism. A few authors portray apartheid in the following manner. Gobodo-Madikizela (1997) states that apartheid "cultivated a seed of dehumanization" in the entire population which suggests a general woundedness among the black and white subjects which means the damage was done to all races. Cesaire (1972) refers to the "inescapable essence of one's blackness" which speaks of the long-lasting effects of being black. The psychological effects of a racial system that goes back centuries in the rest of the world and over 50 years in South Africa, cannot be erased by a mere 22 years of democracy. It is in that negative impact that the identity of the black middle class is found. The current black middle class are the grown up children of the parents who suffered greatly under this system as they were still at school during the height of apartheid. The current black middle-class men have not been spared from the socioeconomic effects of the construction of blackness.

Sandile*: Success in a black culture to a large extent, if you think about what we were told when we were growing up is to say you must be a doctor, you must be a teacher and then life will be good and I think to a large extent it limits the way that a lot of people think. A lot of people don't want to think outside that because that's not how success is defined from where they come.*

Sandile*: And another thing is when I grow up, I remember I was staying with my uncle when I said you know what I wanted to go and play rugby and he said what kind of a black person you wanna go and play rugby.*

Researcher*: What kind of a black person you want to play rugby (laughs).*

Sandile: *Play soccer man. You see there's always that thing of saying you know what you cannot do this thing because you a black person.*

Biko (1971) proposes that "The most potent weapon in the hands of the oppressor is the mind of the oppressed". One of the characteristics of apartheid was Bantu education with predetermined career choices which emanated from the thinking behind the Bantu schooling system. The Bantu Education Act, 1953 (Act No. 47 of 1953), which was later renamed the Black Education Act, 1953, was a segregated education system which reinforced the ideology of apartheid. The main goal was to enforce the racist belief of inferiority of black people by providing a substandard, subject-shaping

system of education in under-resourced educational facilities. This had an enormous negative impact on the black mind. It was designed to produce servants not owners. Success for black people was defined by exposure that was limited based on the thinking that black people were an inferior race. Posel (2010, p. 169) confirms that Bantu education, as it was called, was built with the intention of creating generations of labourers and "setting a ceiling on their upward mobility". The black male subject was shaped to choose careers like teaching, nursing etc. that kept them as subjects of the state and this thinking has not improved entirely over time as suggested by the participants. Ezza and Libis (2010) studied the role of language in negotiating power in Sudan and propose that access to education becomes another tool that is used by the dominant group to enhance their own group while limiting access for the dominated group. The black men consist of generations that had to go through learning the Afrikaans language to enhance the domination. The previously mentioned points suggest that apartheid did not set up the black masculinities well.

Thabo: For me it has to be a family man, a home that has a wife and children and he looks after. It does not help to be the superstar in the office and get home and my kids think I am the biggest idiot. Because of my religious convictions –I will have to answer to my Maker one day.
Peter: For me, I mean just to add on what Thabo said, I mean the thing that I just analyzed now. So it starts from the family values, the values, the principles, because I believe those are values that you cannot simply compromise.
Tokollo*: A leader who serves other people.*

The discussion above portrays the family discourse as prescribed by most mainstream traditional religions and society at large. It refers to the family that consists of a man, wife and children. The family is presented as an institution that a man is responsible for, which comes with knowledge that is formed about him. Durkheim (2012, p. 218) states that "Today's family is neither more nor less perfect than that of yesterday; it is different because circumstances are different". This suggests that family discourse has its roots in history and is still constructed the same way it was many years ago with its imperfections. The man is a subject within a family and everything he does is for the family. The man is constructed with the leadership role in the family structure which seems to be based on religious and societal norms. The family is the institution through which the responsibilities of a man are displayed and measured. Thabo suggested that a man "has a wife and children that he looks after". This proposes that he needs to acquire a wife and reproduce children with her and look after them as one of his responsibilities, which becomes part of his identity or how he is identified. The identity of a man is linked to his responsibilities which are supported by the phrase "a family man". These words could mean that he is owned by the family, he is responsible for the family or he belongs to the family,

or all of these. All the possible interpretations still link to his identity. Pompper's (2010) study confirms the findings on the fact that a man must be responsible for his family, provide, and protect and promote non-violence. She also found that participants were in agreement on the fact that a man must be willing to take charge. That means he is given a leadership role. The black male identity within the family was heavily impacted by the migrant labourer concept during apartheid. Migrant labour refers to job seekers leaving their place of origin and moving to the cities for work. Kenney (1980) writes about the start of black urbanization which was triggered by the discovery of gold in Johannesburg. Since there was a strict control on the homelands in terms of subsistence farming amongst other things, he had to leave the family and work in the mines for a source of income. This introduced vulnerabilities within the black male identity. It meant he could not fulfil his leadership role in person, which was to physically protect his family, and was limited to financial provision. There was an identity negotiation that took place due to the change of context. This meant there was a shift in the identity of a black man because he could not be identified by a rural standard only but he also belonged to the city as a worker. This had an impact on the family structure and the identity of a man. The family discourse seems to reproduce after its own kind for its existence and to transcend time. It has prescribed discursive practices which are referred to as "family values and principles" which are ways of living. It also means that he puts together a family that will produce children who will grow up to form or be part of other families. These are some of the conditions that sustain the existence of a family discourse. This is also sustained by feeling obliged to have a family by a certain age which portrays power intertwined with discourse knowledge. It is important to note that there is silence around the required level of functionality of the family within the discourse which renders the male identity a failure as its leader. He has no standard to work from and has to determine this on his own. Durkheim proposes that there has been no improvement in the functionality of the family, which means the negative impact on male identity has been in existence for centuries.

While it may seem that the man has the autonomy and power as the leader of the family unit, there are power relations at play even within this unit. The power of a man is linked to the responsibilities over which he does not have full control, or control all the time, yet it is how he is identified. A man is the only subject within a family discourse by which the family unit is measured and is based on the perceptions of the other subjects within the family and society at large. The power of a man remains intact while the other subjects within the family and society perceive the support and provision to be adequate. The power shift, based on the perception of being looked after by the wife and children. The participants imply that the man's power is challenged based on the perceived insufficiency of "looking after" the family. In a family unit the "looking after" is assumed to involve emotional and financial support, and providing safety. However, the Maintenance Act No.9 of 2015 enforces only the

financial support of dependents. The Maintenance Act is the law that regulates the lodging of complaints, investigation, granting of maintenance court orders, manages defaulting and ensures the enforcement of the law in this regard. This is in contrast to the "looking after" family involving a lot more aspects. The outcome of the court maintenance order is geared towards financial support only which suggests that society puts more emphasis on financial support which takes away the power of a man in terms of other forms of support. The identity of a man is affected by the fact that he shifts to being measured by finance only compared to emotional connection and providing safety. It can be argued that most of the time the family would have been dismantled when the court gets involved in the maintenance issues but it does not take away the fact that part of a man's identity is to "provide" all-round support as expected by the family discourse through the participants. That suggests that power shifts away from a man when he can only provide financially while he is socially constructed to provide all-round support. Having the identity of a man constructed around this responsibility leaves a man's identity vulnerable to things that he has no control over yet has great impact on his identity, like keeping a family together and socioeconomic changes.

Thabo: It doesn't help that I come to a corporate environment and I'm thought of as this superstar but I get home and my children think what a biggest idiot.

There is a shift of power relations from the understanding that a man must mainly succeed at work so that he can provide for his family, to the thinking that it is insufficient to be accomplished in the workplace if family life is not non-existent. This implies that a man's identity depends on having a family. It also refers to an undefined territory of managing a balance between career success and family that masculinity needs to manage. It is undefined because there is no information produced by the participants in this study that refers to how the art of balancing these two worlds should happen. In addition, participants did not mention the awareness of the act of balancing and how they manage it, which suggests being stuck in the demands of the dominant culture. This exposes masculinity into lack of attainability of the identities due to a lack of objects of knowledge that provides the "how to". It suggests that a man will never know if, and when, he has achieved the balance because there is no standard; even if he comes to conclusions himself, times change and pose a risk to a self-constructed standard, and that in turn negatively affects his identity.

Power relations are further challenged by the fact that there is a mention of "religious convictions and family values and principles" which are outside a man's control. The religious conviction, family values and principles exist as mentioned by the participant regardless of whether the man believes in them or not which suggests he is measured by them as well. They may come with expectations of success

in a family unit, which may not align to the socioeconomic conditions of the specific man, and this renders a man's identity vulnerable and powerless in terms of attainability.

Peter*: Corporate environment is stressful – family is the motivation to persevere.*

Peter*: Doing duties as espoused by society at large…As a man you look beyond himself.*

Sandile: *We need to have a sense of purpose, a belonging in a way.*

Peter: *Single unmarried but successful – you need a driver. Hold yourself accountable. The broader society has to benefit, we are here for the betterment of other people.*

Tokollo: *A leader who serves other people… I can't let them down.*

Peter: *I mean for me my seven-year-old actually drives that so for me it's just to see him smile. I mean, it's just a feeling that I cannot actually comprehend. So we need to have that purpose, a belonging in a way so it's a, it varies from person to person but obviously the similar sentiments, I mean the golden thread is that you just need to have something that you're working towards.*

Researcher: *So what's bugging me about what you guys are saying is that a man cannot be responsible without having a sense of purpose or accountability. So take a man who is near his 40s, not married, no children, holds a high job, he cannot be, are you saying he cannot be responsible enough because there is nobody that he is accountable to?*

Peter: *Not really.*

Tokollo: *You need a driver. What drives you?*

Thabo: *There's so many things that drives us.*

Tokollo: *Yes. Using your scenario, okay, you're 40, not married, no kids no nothing. But there is something that is driving me to say I must keep on pushing.*

Researcher*: Okay, alright. So there is a purpose?*

Tokollo: *There is a purpose somewhere.*

Researcher: *It doesn't have to be a human being then?*

Tokollo: *No, no.*

Peter: *Ah, okay.*

Researcher*: You have reservations.*

Tokollo: Look at it this way Arthur, right now your drive is your kids, your wife. I could be a multimillionaire and say my drive is to be a billionaire. That's my drive.

Peter: Yea but now then the follow-up question becomes that after attaining that billion then what, who gets to benefit from it?

Tokollo: No no, it's not for…

Thabo: It's personal fulfilment.

Tokollo: It's personal.

Peter: Is it a personal, is it a selfish thing?

Tokollo: Yea well it's a harsh way of saying it.

Peter: Ya but… (laughs).

There is a discourse of belonging and purpose that is portrayed which is connected to the family discourse. The discourse of belonging is sustained by the social construction of the man as a family man and the dependence of other subjects on him which becomes his purpose. Initially the man is constructed as a subject that needs to belong to the family. This could suggest that it is a need in a male subject to belong or he is expected to belong. This is supported by Maslow's hierarchy of needs where there is a ladder of needs that becomes important once an earlier need in the hierarchy has been met. After all, basic needs like a need for food, shelter and safety have been met; one has a need for affiliation, which is to belong somewhere, but it seems to be prescribed for the male subject otherwise his identity is inadequate to belong to a family that he puts together, as earlier stated. Secondly, he is constructed not just with a need for belonging but so that he can be "accountable". The *Little Oxford dictionary* (1994, p. 5) proposes that to be accountable means to be "responsible" and being "required to account for one's conduct" and "explicable". The word explicable is suggested to mean explainable. Parker (1992) points out that discourse analysis emphasises "semiotics" which is how language is put together verbally and in texts. He suggests that language is put together in a way that organizes it into a discourse. He suggests that we use words and phrases that have predetermined meaning. The three meanings carried by the word "accountable" construct an environment for a man to function in, with predetermined ways of being, behaviour and identity that build on each other. The male subject must be responsible; he is required to be able to account for his conduct and his conduct must be explainable. This introduces an element of power as somebody with

power needs to keep the man's behaviour in check. This presents another angle from which his identity is vulnerable.

Peter suggested that *Doing duties as espoused by society at large* and *as a man you look beyond himself* and his sentiment was supported by Tokollo in saying *A leader who serves other people* and *I can't let them down.* This suggests that the identity of the man is in what he does for other people and there is society that prescribes what a man must do. The language used presents the requirement in an essentialist manner as it comes across as what it is or how things are in a social world or meant to be. This also suggests that society has the power to judge the success of a man as the institution that sets the criteria for measurement of performance which is how he must conduct himself. The word explainable in this context proposes that the conduct should be justifiable to society or should meet the criteria for what is acceptable. This suggests that society holds the power at all times when it comes to the performance of a man's identities for two reasons, as confirmed by Peter's comment:

Peter: *There's certain societal standards that we ascribe to whether rightly or wrongly, whether you are aware or not, so the mere fact that you are living within this ecosystem or system of society that actually expects you to go to school, go get a job, work and provide and all that, then should all those things, or one of them not happen, unfortunately, you will get criticism from society and obviously you need actually to be mindful of those things*.

Firstly, there is a suggestion that he is forced to live by this standard whether he believes in it or not. He is judged based on what he has not done, not on what he has done. Secondly, he will be judged regardless of whether he has performed or not as there may be wrong or misguided ascription to societal standards. The lack of commentary from participants on being judged based on how well one takes one's responsibilities supports this view. The masculine identities further loses power in being masked as a leader or given the illusion of power while he does not have control over how he is defined as the characteristics of his subject-hood are defined by "society at large". This renders the masculine identity constantly unattainable and receding. However, it is also interesting to point out that there were no facial expressions that showed awareness of the lack of power and identity being vulnerable in participants even though their language portrayed it. This could be attributed to the differences in each participant's personal experience with regards to this discourse.

In contrast to the discourse of belonging, there is a discourse of purpose that surfaced. The accountability of a man to someone does not seem to be sufficiently explained by the participants which present s an essentialist view of a man that "he must just be". There is a conflict suggested by the inability of the participants to limit the need for accountability. It seems unfathomable that a

man's identity can be based on anything else other than being accountable to family and society because of how a man's identity has been constructed. It is far too risky for a man not to be defined by being himself. This produces a moment of redefining the masculine identity as power shifts from being uncomfortable with the status quo to the exploration of a new possibility of who a man can be or can be differently constructed. As a result, there is the emergence of the purpose discourse that moves away from only being accountable to a family to exploring personal interests. In the words of some of the participants, it comes across clearly that the sense of purpose is not a world that is well understood or explored, as it would be constructed and construed as "selfish". It also gets defined as a "drive" which seems to be new territory. The discourse of purpose seems to construct the masculine identity as the pursuit of personal goals that are not linked to external motivation and definition but to "personal fulfilment".

Peter: Maybe society will judge you harsh, because there's certain societal standards that we ascribe to whether rightly or wrongly, whether you aware or not, so the mere fact that you are living within this ecosystem or system of society that actually expects you to go school, go get a job, work and provide and all that, then should all those things, or one of them not happen, unfortunately, you will get criticism from society and obviously you need actually to be mindful of those things. Whether it's right or wrong it's a debate because there's a guy who might simply say I'm not getting married and he's got his own reasons why he's not going to, it is not for me to decide but obviously because I'm human I am bound to actually pass judgment. So obviously from time to time if he happens to be my friend I will distance myself and your wife will tell you, do not actually mix with these people because instead of you coming home you are going with these people and you it's, a reality but if you look at it broadly, society dictates how we should…

Peter: If I want to be happy and at peace I just toe the line – listen to the wife.

There is a representation of the helplessness discourse portrayed in the above quotes which is a by-product of the enforcement of the subject position male subjects need to occupy. Corey (2009, p. 172) proposes that helplessness is "powerlessness and an inability to make decisions or effectively direct their own lives". Helplessness is sustained by the fact that there is a high probability of failing to keep one's personally defined subject position and succeeding in living up to the prescribed criteria that most people subscribe to because it is the only reality that is known. It is also sustained by performing one's masculinity identity with the anxiety of "harsh" judgement lurking above should you fail. Society enforces adherence through judging the male subject. Masculine identity seems to find itself forced to abide by the societal standard to avoid being judged, as Peter mentions in *I want to be happy and at peace I just toe the line – listen to the wife*. Bourdieu proposes that in subjectivity there is a symbolic

violence, which is domination, based in the habitus or disposition of the dominated subjects; it is taken as a natural way of being or living. Symbolic domination or violence has gripped subjects at a mental or intellectual level in such a way that one fails to recognize its workings as it is part of him like fish in water. The functioning of symbolic violence is made possible through making those dominated willing to collaborate and participate in their own domination by others, because they are unable to recognize it. Peter's comment suggests a lack of awareness of the gravity of domination by participating in the practice prescribed by society for male subjects, except that there is admission and acceptance in his case of symbolic violence. He forecloses the possibility to choose differently in order to avoid conflict. He recognizes the domination in a conflicted manner as he seems to understand that it may be "rightly or wrongly" ascribed to but there seems to be no choice in abdicating one's position due to the pain of judgement. Judgement and criticism seem to carry connotations of failure and competitiveness, which has a massive impact on the masculine identity. Snell Jr. (1986, p. 443) conducted a study into the masculine role inventory in order to answer some questions about the psychology of men and it is suggested that preoccupation with success is one of the major themes in a man's life, which suggests a greater identity impact when one fails at anything, let alone in what he believes defines him as a man. Peter also admits to participation in judging those who do not meet the criteria, which is evidence to being "co-opted" to participate in his own domination.

Tokollo*: Look as much as, I think this is how we are brought up as well, as much as a man you are emotional, you not, you shouldn't display it…*

Peter*: Is that your view as well?*

Tokollo: *No no no no… It's not my view as well. I think what I've learnt with time, the more you get your feelings known, it's easier, for one, for people to relate to you as well cause what I'm suffering from, Peter could be as well but because we never going to talk about it. However, if we actually step back and talk about it, we could say mfwethu this is what we are going through, I think this is how we approach it. Cause we never get to a level where we are taught how to approach sensitive topics or sensitive emotional stuff.*

Thabo*: So true you know we brought up, we told not to be emotional, so each and every time we told not to, you don't have to look at your feelings, how you feel, you don't have to express your feelings. So in that way, each and every time whether we have a wife, whether you have a girlfriend…*

Peter: That is a sign of weakness, my friend.

Peter*: (laughs) what sort of a man cries? Take the bull by its horns.*

Tokollo: *Hasn't your wife ever told you that wena you're not emotional? You don't expose your emotions.*

Peter: *Me, me I do cry. I'm a cry baby. (Laughs)...I am not comfortable crying in front of another party.*

Thabo*: It's a very deep sense of vulnerability. I don't want people to see me vulnerable. Crying it's actually a very important outlet in my life right now…we lost an unborn child I cried but it was difficult to get there…. But I'm saying, for me to get to where I'm comfortable being emotional in front of my wife took me time, whether right or wrong, I'm not saying it's the ideal way, but I'm saying it took me time to get there, to get to a point where it does not matter anymore what anybody else says. But growing up, you mentioned the fact that when I grew up I hated crying. It was the worst thing that I could do and I tried to suppress it with everything that I was and as I grew and matured and started to understand things a little bit better, it's actually a very important outlet for me right now in my life. My wife and I went through an experience where we lost a child, she miscarried a child it was a very traumatic thing for me. Here I am, I want this child, and the child is not coming anymore. You know the excitement of, I'm going to be a father and then this child is not there and I wept. I wept for a very long time and my wife was actually the opposite. She was there comforting, "Don't worry, you'll be fine. It's okay"… (Laughs). But it took me time to get there and it's not an easy thing for a guy because of how we've been wired and what we've been told, to say you don't do these things and it's difficult for you to then get there and be vulnerable. Uhm, but but it is such a liberating thing.*

Peter*: You know what the most fascinating thing is about these things that we tend to subscribe to; none of us have stopped, what's the worst that could happen if you were to do it. I mean supposedly, the only thing that they can look at you, no one's gonna hit you, they can either talk and say that you weak or whatever but no one has actually said let's slam the brakes on this thing and let's ask the question why but you are not, again you were told not to question their advice.*

Sandile: *No one has ever thought what the worst that can happen is. As you grow and mature you kind of create your own idea - and question what you were told growing up.*

Thabo: *It's quite important to know the time but I think as you grow and mature you kind of start to create your own idea and once you start to create your own idea you start to see, no no no, what this guy was telling me is not actually right. This is actually better for me.*

Peter: *Human being is a complex thing; there can't be a one way of doing it.*

Sandile*: Growing I was deprived because I never connected with my inner because I was told just man up.*

Tokollo*: Sometimes I get, sometimes especially for women, she's very emotional. She wants to connect with me on a very stronger emotional level and for me I just have this wall or these boundaries…*

Researcher*: Where are you comfortable to cry? Oh not in the presence of other men? Why is that? Why not?*

Peter: *Like I said, I mean, some of these things when they happen you know the theory that says you're supposed to cry and all that and you know that the ideal you need to actually express your emotions whether somebody sees you or not but, however, you tend to sort of slide or slant towards the way you were brought up most of the time because society is going to say so. I prefer to do it in my…*

Researcher: *Privacy.*

Peter*: Private space and come out when I'm okay.*

Researcher: *Are you afraid of being judged by other men? So if we were here talking about something very sad you wouldn't because you would be, are you afraid of being judged?*

Peter: *I think that's why I said, the environment again, so obviously I can't just be sitting in a bar and everything and then my wife comes and tells me something, I just can't cry and then everything I expect everything, obviously if somebody is sharing a sad news or they may have a crisis in their lives and then it warrants people to resend in a particular way, why not. But I'm just saying that I would not actually just come and cry, obviously I would try and deal with it, internalize it, deal with it and then obviously portray this forced child that I'm….* (laughs).

Sandile: *It's so nice to connect with your inner being. Yak. Because the outer being is saying, no, I'm this man, the outer, the inner being is crying saying, please show the emotion.*

There is an intricate relationship that surfaces in this study between men and their emotions as a discourse. Montes (2013, p. 471) defines the role of emotions as they exist to assist an individual to "adapt and survive". She proposed that they are "influenced by social structures such as gender and culture". That suggests that a man's emotional interaction is mostly influenced by his social environment that has constructed the man in terms of his emotions. Snell Jr. (1986, p. 443) proposed that one of the major themes in men's lives is "restrictive emotionality". This is accompanied by the tendency to hide feelings of love and showing affection (Snell Jr., 1986, p. 444). This suggests that there are imposed barriers in the emotions of a man. The aspects that surface and will be discussed in this section are how a man is constructed around emotions, issues of emotional display, fear of being judged, pressure to express emotions and the questioning of the men's emotional construction.

Tokollo: We are brought up.

Thabo: We told … because of how we've been wired and what we've been told.

Peter: That is a sign of weakness.

Parker (1992) suggests that we use words and phrases that have predetermined meaning. There is evidence to suggest that masculinity is socially constructed for men to disassociate themselves from emotions, as borne out by the statements made by the participants that they were "told", "brought up", or "wired". The words used propose that it is part of the upbringing of a boy child; it is verbally articulated during the upbringing of a boy child and an inherent part of raising a boy child until he becomes "wired". The object of knowledge built around men and emotions is that it portrays them as weak and, as implied in the study by Snell Jr. (1986), that men cannot associate themselves with failure due to the preoccupation with success which means this has a lasting impact on the male subject. Foucault (1982) suggests that a discourse colours the lenses through which the subject sees the world. This suggests that even if a man dares to behave emotionally different, there is a social world that expects him to be removed from his emotions.

Tokollo: *You shouldn't display it.*

Thabo: You don't have to look at your feelings.

The object of knowledge produced around men proposes that emotional expression should be avoided. The language used suggests that men do have the ability to express emotion but it is not recommended for them. There is no suggestion that it is compulsory for men not to express their emotion because the ability remains. Montes (2013) suggests that traditionally there are emotions that masculinity is constructed to be associated with, which take on a different form when one is faced with the intensity of emotions. For example, masculinity is associated with anger, pride and independence which means it is not devoid of emotions. Parker (1992) mentions that language can be organised into "social bonds" that have power to include and exclude other people. Men are excluded from association with emotions. The language used by the group participants did suggest that there are those who meet the standard and those who do not. Men who express emotions fall short of the standard and are excluded compared to men who do not express emotions who are commended by society.

Social construction voice	Personal voice
Tokollo: We are brought up. *Peter: What sort of a man cries?* *Thabo: We told … because of how we've been wired and what we've been told.* *Peter: That is a sign of weakness.*	*Tokollo: I think what I've learnt with time.* *Peter: I am not comfortable crying in front of another party.* *Thabo: I don't want people to see me vulnerable.*

Parker (1992) points out that discourse analysis emphasises "semiotics" which is how language is put together verbally and textually. He suggests that language is put together in a way that organizes it into a discourse. He also proposes that language has the power to do things and refers to it as resistance to subjectivity. There is also a portrayal of double consciousness of the dominant culture as well as one's own views. There are two groups of voices that come through in the emotional expression. There is a voice of knowledge of the social construction about masculine identity which speaks to the norm. Then and there is also a personal voice which is individual in nature but is in response to how men are constructed which seems to resist the social norm. It speaks to the concept of how one applies the social construction into one's own personal life, which also suggests that a shift of power relations between the construct and the individual occurs which can be made worse by a change of context. Montes (2013) contends that how masculinity is constructed changes, based on challenges associated with migration, which introduces masculinity into a new set of expectations due to the new culture with new social norms shaped differently. This is similar to what happened to the South African migrant labourers.

Tokollo: The more you get your feelings known, it's easier, for one, for people to relate to you as well cause what I'm suffering from, Peter could be as well but because we never going to talk about it. However, if we actually step back and talk about it, we could say mfwethu this is what we are going through, I think this is how we approach it. Cause we never get to a level where we are taught how to approach sensitive topics or sensitive emotional stuff.

Peter: Me, me I do cry. I'm a cry baby (laughs).

Thabo: It's a very deep sense of vulnerability. I don't want people to see me vulnerable. Crying it actually a very important outlet in my life right now…we lost an unborn child I cried but it was difficult to get there.

There is another contradiction that emerges which suggests an internal conflict between living up to what masculinity is socially constructed to be and personal experiences around the expression of emotions. Some participants admitted that while they are not supposed to cry, in their personal experience, they do in fact cry and have cried. The benefits of emotional expressions were acknowledged but there is no evidence of each participant making an attempt to influence the external social world, which suggests the enormity of the phenomenon. This also proposes that there is constant negotiation of identities between the social construction and personal stance based on personal circumstances. While there is an embodiment of the masculine identities, there is also the previously mentioned negotiation due to the era or context one finds himself in which suggests that identities are never fully attained. The negotiation is further exacerbated by two other factors. Firstly, they are made worse by the consciousness of loss of approval should one be emotional expressive through judgement. This proposes a power exertion onto masculine identities which is at the level of the soul in order to comply. One has to consciously foreclose being identified with emotions in order to avoid pain of judgement. Secondly, negotiation of masculine identities is negatively impacted by the fact that a mutually satisfactory relationship requires emotional expression. It is suggested below that the romantic relationship requires an emotional connection with one's partner, to which a man finds himself conflicted and having to negotiate between how he is constructed versus the requirements to sustain a relationship. One of the participants confirmed this concept.

Tokollo*: Sometimes I get, sometimes especially for women, she's very emotional. She wants to connect with me on a very stronger emotional level and for me I just have this wall or these boundaries…*

The inability to meet the relationship demand for connection conflicts with the idea of a family man who needs to emotionally connect with a wife and children. This makes the conflict more pronounced as the two discourses contradict each other, leaving the man vulnerable once again to the unattainability of masculine identities. Masculinity is not equipped and permitted to fulfil what defines it due to the conflict of the prevalent existing discourses. He is defined by being a family man yet he is not permitted to do so when emotional expression is not allowed.

Sandile: *Ah, I think for me neh, the challenge was, when I grew up, I was raised by my uncle, my grandmother and the challenge was, you know we used to go and fight and all that, then come back and say this man, heh, what what and my grandmother would say hey, you don't have a father so you not supposed to do that. So I never had that opportunity to you know, just to connect. So each and every time I had to be reserved.*

Researcher*: Oh, so you were kind of cut short every time?*

Sandile: *Ya, because there was nothing that I can do because I didn't have a father. So my mind was, there's nothing that I can do because I don't have a father*

Researcher*: And inside, what was going on around that?*

Sandile*: It was, you know what, it was a bit of a challenge and you know, even when my wife told me that you know, I'm pregnant it was a mission. I said what because I was afraid of that responsibility cause I was deprived of that opportunity of having that father-son relationship. So even when I met my father, this year in Jan, this word accountability... I couldn't understand the word accountability because that was the first word my father said when we met in Jan. He said hey boy, I had to be accountable to my wife because I was married. I said accountable, what do you mean?*

Researcher: *Cause it carries those bad connotations?*

Peter: *I think with me, it's more or less similar to what Sandile because like I told you I was raised by my grandmother and my grandfather and for me those two resembled a mother and a father structure. So now this guy that happens to be my dad or my father, I know him, he knows me so there is not that connection, so maybe I've actually taken a hard stance that says that you not responsible and I expected you to do a, b, c, d and that didn't happen so therefore I'm just cutting and obviously everyone was actually telling me the guy wants to see me and I'm just blatantly saying no. So I don't know whether, and obviously that means they have asked me to deal with, maybe I'm still not emotionally stable for me to actually have that kind of, I don't even know why he wants to see me and for me, I've actually taken the surname of my granddad which is Moyo and that's who I am.*

Sandile*: Big time. Remember as a man, I think it's something that we talk about that you need to have your identity, you know, where am I coming from. I was robbed of that cause I never had an opportunity to sit down or even this day, I'm still crying to go to a stadium with my father. I'm an old man but hey, you know but I'll never get that opportunity just to go and watch a soccer match with my father. I'm still crying for that.*

Sandile: *Chances are maybe I won't be a responsible father because I've never seen anyone playing that role, I'm freestyling it. So sometimes I'll get it wrong, sometimes I'll get it right, I still feel like I was deprived of an opportunity to be told what a man is. So me, if you can give me the question, what is a man, for me it would be difficult to define what is a man cause I'm freestyling.*

Thabo: *Sandile I can relate … I don't have a reference point and eh, that's where you feel like you need to freestyle and figure it out as you go.*

Fatherhood is another discourse that has an impact on the attainability of masculine identities. Magaraggia (2012, p. 2) suggests that the handed-down models are increasingly becoming insufficient which necessitate a need to obtain new "psychological and relational skills". The models of manhood handed down to men render them inadequate in meeting the expected standard. In a study of fatherhood in Italy, Magaraggia (2012, p. 3) discovered that the models that portray a picture of fathers as providers goes unquestioned which is what perpetuates the traditional models of being a man. She mentions that modern fathers, who are happy to be involved in the lives of their children and discard the conservative ways of being fathers like parenting from a distance, are frowned upon. She explains that they have to face "cultural norms" which are incapable of integrating with modernity. She suggests that "negotiation with the old and new ways of parenting results in "complex redefinition of what it means to be a father. This leads to a rejection and acceptance of parts of old and new ways of doing things". Magaraggia (2012, p. 3) proposes that

> While maternal behaviour, although changing, seems to maintain a stability of traits, fathers' behaviour, seems to be dependent on a wide range of factors including those related to the personal and social sphere.

As a result, it is difficult to find the picture of an ideal father. This again presents a challenging unattainability for masculinities.

The focus group participants had all experienced an absent father for various reasons, ranging from not being claimed by their biological fathers who are still alive, death or being workaholics. There was a general sense of emotional pain in the group due to the scar of having an absent father. This phenomenon was exacerbated by the apartheid legacy where black male migrant labourers had, and still have, to leave their families in the rural areas and find work in the cities in order to provide for their families. This means being away from their families for extended periods of time and sometimes new relationships were formed and offspring produced. In some cases the children could not be claimed by the father due to the fear that it would dismantle the rural family. It also meant there was no modelling of manhood to the boys. Pompper (2010, p. 683) proposes that masculinity is passed from the older to the younger men "by the force of personal example". Generally, this discourse supports a prevalent understanding in the African culture that a man carries the name of his father as the next generation and so he needs to know his origins which refers mostly to his father so that the cultural traditions of the family and customs can survive. The constructed subject knowledge creates a psychological need compared to mere knowing and carrying family traditions. There are two insights and needs that emerge in the study and they are the fact that masculinity needs to be modelled or demonstrated for the offspring to know how to be a man. Modelling suggests having an older man,

preferably the biological father demonstrate manhood through daily living in front of the son. Modelling refers putting on display the daily living of a man in order to mould masculinity in a young man. The outcome of the demonstration is a man who has learnt from his father or a male guardian as first point of orientation into manhood how a man lives and fathers by seeing him perform the duties of a man. The participants made the following comments emphasizing lack of modelling:

Sandile: *I've never seen anyone playing that role, I'm freestyling it. So sometimes I'll get it wrong, sometimes I'll get it right, I still feel like I was deprived of an opportunity to be told what is a man.*

Thabo: *I don't have a reference point and eh, that's where you feel like you need to freestyle and figure it out as you go.*

This portrays lack of confidence in the man's abilities to tackle manly duties like raising children from a father's perspective as there is no modelling done. There is mention of words like "reference point", which refers to a person from whom the pattern of masculinity is learnt, and "freestyling" fathering, which refers to working things out as you go through life or choosing your own way of raising children. There is a proposal that masculinity is bestowed on a man through observation and demonstration. Lack of object knowledge about the subject position of being father to a young man affects the attainability of the identity of a man as it is not only the basic psychological needs that are not met but the know-how in performing a man's duties as well. There is an implied physicality in being a father or need to be seen, as the father must demonstrate for the next generation. One needs to see a father to learn and one's fathering must also be seen for a successful fathering exchange to take place. Yet the factors mentioned above indicate that in most cases it does not happen which puts the masculine identity at another risk of unattainability. The apartheid system created and promoted a legacy of absent fathers. This means the black masculine identity was constrained in terms of being passed on to the next generation. The time with children has been replaced by long hours that black middle-class men spend working in order to climb the corporate ladder, which again impedes the attainability of the black masculine identity.

Peter: *But I think for us to your point, I think ours is actually it's a journey that began from a very disadvantaged and tentative beginning. So you look at the political and social structure of where we come from. So the 1994 dispensation, so a lot of things were not actually exposed to you, so malls mushrooming and everything, I mean they are still mushrooming now. When people are talking about township economy and obviously we need actually to,*

The dawn of democracy in 1994 brought a systemic and policy change for the discourse of black men as it opened doors of equal opportunity to participate meaningfully in all spheres of life. This brought

a new form of subjectivity for the same black men. There was a clear start of more pronounced socioeconomic classes among the black people which were not policy constrained as they could work and live anywhere. There was change within the black masculinity as he was not systemically and policy-wise defined by discrimination. New objects of knowledge were created about black men. There were things to which they had never been exposed before without orientation. They could be a black partner in a business through the black economic empowerment policy. A black man could move into the previously white suburbs and their children could attend racially mixed schools and so on. There was a double consciousness of how they had been previously identified and opportunities that they had which ushered in another journey of chasing the elusiveness of the new masculine identities. Unfortunately, the process of undoing and unlearning subjectivities created over decades of apartheid is not something that happens overnight. Hence black middle-class men are not yet free of the past although they experience better exposure to new ways of being.

Chapter seven in a book written by Watkins and Shulman (2008), titled *Towards psychologies of liberation,* delves deep into the transitional realities that face societies who have crossed the bridge of legislative reforms but still are facing the huge, daunting process of reconciling the past collectively as a nation. Zerubavel (2003) suggests that the subjects from an oppressive system carry different "time maps" which is referred to as what each group deems to be important. It is suggested that not everything that has to do with an oppressive system is remembered, or even historically recorded. The members of the oppressed often find themselves with memories that are not recorded anywhere and that are not heard, especially by the dominant groups. Many subjects have numerous memories and time maps that require socially created environments to navigate identities that come with them. This suggests a vastness of differences of experiences, memories, time maps and identities which needs to be considered in order to address the "collective wound" and integrate the nation, as suggested by Zerubavel (2003). It is these historical learnings, time maps and collective wounds created by the apartheid system that produced a black male subject who after transition is still bound by the effects of discrimination as well as living in a world with social structures that were created for the oppressor. The black middle-class men carry with them memories that are not being recognized.

Tokollo*: So I think it speaks to a lot of people within our circle of friends, families, who started off from the ground and are still working their way to the top, to become middle class, I'm one of them, trying to become one of… I think even, not even when you go into business, but when you start working, you speak about when you start buying a townhouse, golf because your peers are moving towards that level. That could classify as rewarding yourself too quickly. I mean you are in a position where you can actually build, not only yourself but also your assets as well.*

The black middle-class men discourse emerges from the findings as well. Khunou (2016) defines the black middle class as prominent black consumers with a tertiary qualification who earn between R16 000 and R50 000 a month. This definition covers the characteristics of the participants of the study. Iqani (1992, p. 127) proposes that the difficulty of defining the middle class is that is not a

> fixed social category but a working social concept, a material experience, a political project, and a cultural practice – all of which acquire meaning only within specific historical experiences and discursive conditions.

The material experience on a shifting political and economic landscape is the challenge of the black middle-class masculinities. This is not setting up the black masculine identities well because the measures of success are continuously changing which is acknowledged by participants when looking at the path of material acquisitions one is expected to walk. There is also evidence of the success "corporate ladder" that one is expected to climb, and also referred to as working your way to the top.

Sandile: But you know what, sometimes you know I look at the TV look at the ads that are there. They are just there to drive us in terms of spending because everyone knows that you know black people they are there to spend. Once you expose them to this they'll spend it impulsively, without even thinking, so that's the challenge.

Tokollo*: I think even, not even when you go into business, but when you start working, you speak about when you start buying a townhouse, golf because your peers are moving towards that level. That could classify as rewarding yourself too quickly. I mean you are in a position where you can actually build, not only yourself but also your assets as well.*

Thabo: *Is that we reward ourselves too quickly, too much.*

Researcher: *But what's wrong with that? Rewarding yourself?*

Posel (2010) proposes that the culture of consumption among black South Africans is directly linked to the history of racial discrimination under which they suffered. She defines consumption as the acquiring of perishable and non-perishable goods which comes with psychological, cultural and political outcomes. This suggests that the culture of spending on goods comes with effects and perceived benefits that have psychological, cultural, and political effects and, I would add, the perceived positive social effects. She alludes to the fact that the experience of racial exclusion created capacity for aspiration to identity that black people could not access previously. Posel (2010) continues by suggesting that modern consumerism, which is my focus in this study, is connected to the performance of an identity and for historical reasons it is linked to the development of the mass market overlapping class boundaries. Black men live two lives: an urban life with immediate family

while supporting his extended family in the rural areas. He may be classed as black middle class in the city while in rural areas he is supporting many members of the extended family, which suggests that he has to attain two types of masculine identities (rural and urban), which set him up for failure. Posel (2010) contends that consumerism is implicated as the powerful tool connecting the world in terms of the goods available but mostly in capturing the "imagination" of the consumers who wish to possess these goods. There is a debate that the modern scholar proposes as to whether "commercial culture and consumption is emancipatory, liberating or repressive" (Posel, 2010, p. 162), especially as it allows a way for one to show not only care for others, but also for oneself. This is evident in the expectation of "reward yourself" once a person starts earning a salary. This concept proposes that black men waited far too long to acquire material items and so a culture of self-gratification developed.

Thabo: I think that's a perception that we have in terms of we think that you know having these flashy cars it makes you think that I have arrived.
Peter: It's a perception. I think, I promise you every man; we are a product of our environment and the circumstances. And the markets detail these things.

Freire (1970) suggests that there is a tendency by the oppressed to envy the lifestyle of the oppressor, hence when they take over they imitate the oppressor because that is the only reality they have been exposed to and aspire to. The situation is compounded by advertising on the media which portrays a desired lifestyle. Posel (2010) confirms this by proposing that the effects of power exerted to ensure the political and economic exclusion of black people have had an impact on the increased desire to procure material goods linked to the oppressor. Posel (2010) contends that civilization was associated with the acquisition of goods which was construed as making the black skin more acceptable to the white people. This applies to fashion that makes a black person to become whiter, which is deemed to take away the rejection of blackness. This suggests that the culture of consumerism is the psychological effect of entrenched racial discrimination and economic exploitation. Posel (2010) also argues that representation of whiteness guaranteed privileges, whereas blackness represented a lifetime of being segregated socially, politically and economically. Consumerism is not about acquiring goods so that one can experience the privilege of living a luxurious life. By contrast, it appears to revolve around the acquisition of a white identity through the goods. The challenge is that even with the acquisition of material goods, classified as depicting civilization, black men are still not white in terms of possessing an acceptable identity. The year 2015 was littered with utterances of racial discrimination made through social media. The victims were black people who fit in with the black middle class as they can afford things like holidays, eating at restaurants etc., which is evidence that consumerism does not purchase one's identity as they were still discriminated against regardless of

their financial position. This suggests that black men are identified by consumerism. They are defined by material acquisition which is elusive as it will never be sufficient. The black masculine identity remains unattainable in the face of being able to afford a good life. The power of the black male identity has shifted from being racially segregated to being controlled by material wealth within which black masculinities are found wanting.

It is suggested that with the rollout of the Black Economic Empowerment plan to address the socio-economic imbalances, there is a challenge of a lack of psychological adjustment among white citizens in institutions that are supposed to participate in the redress of past inequalities, in terms of fully participating and being the conduits of change (Fleiser, 1993). In this case, economic exploitation takes a different form because black men are given shares in the company (shareholders) in order to meet the legislative requirements for the company to participate in the economy but sometimes they have with no decision-making powers as shareholder or department manager. Black masculinity in modern South Africa is put in the position of running a company but without the authority to make meaningful changes in that company because the majority of shareholders are white and continue to look after their own interests. This suggests that economic power is not in favour of the black middle class masculine identity as the black man remains exploited even in white-collar jobs. During apartheid black men were labourers making money for white men; in the democratic South Africa he continues to make money for the white men while sitting in an office in high-paying job. There is an illusion of power that is brought by the position and salary yet with no decision-making power. Hook (2004) states that capitalism tends to give a contradictory impression that citizens have freedom while they are governed and controlled in various ways. He suggests that the personal nature of people's lives is actually not personal as Marxism portrays it because every aspect of people's lives is invaded by the state. Some of the examples include the fact that during the apartheid period the state controlled who is employed and where. The post-apartheid the state still controls who is employed, even though it is now for different reasons, namely to accomplish capitalist ideals and having nothing to do with personal freedom. The structure of the economy determines what people consume and their location in society. Capitalism seems to carry symbolic power that controls one at the level of the soul. Mannix (1962) proposes that capitalism degraded human race into its principles of profit and loss. That has set up the black middle-class man for failure as he cannot achieve the masculine identities under the profit and loss rules that were set with intentions of dominating him.

Sandile: And the concept of businesses is not a big thing in black culture, we are never encouraged to start business, we are always encouraged to say get an education and go and work. Where our

counterparts of other races are always told, create an asset that people can make you money through that asset and I think that's what stifles a lot of us.

There is a suggestion of new ways of thinking about the black men in terms of the economy. Biko (1978) suggests that racial segregation in South Africa was created for economic reasons. It was created so that white people could enjoy the resources at the cost of black people. The cost was not just monetary; it cost the black man his identity for the white man to have all the privileges he enjoys. For change to happen Biko (1978) proposed black consciousness which refers to the creation of the black identity even within the economic framework. This suggests the creation of a world where a black man is an entrepreneur and starts his own business, thereby becoming an owner of wealth-creation opportunities; he thinks wider than being an employee. Lambley (1980) analyzed the black psychology in South Africa and contends that segregation resulted in internally adopted oppression among black people. Lambley (1980) maintains that there are a number of behaviours among black South Africans that portray "self-deprecation, self-rejection and low self-esteem" which he contends are the result of internalized oppression. Manganyi (1973) supports Lambley by stating that the conditions to which black men were subjected are reflected in their reduced self-esteem and self-control. These arguments support the existence of a deep aspiration to the standards of white society and a desire on the part of black men to measure themselves against these standards. Furthermore, these authors suggest that blackness tends to devalue itself by looking for the approval of white society.

Tokollo: *However, if we actually step back and talk about it, we could say mfwethu this is what we are going through, I think this is how we approach it.*

Sandile*: No one has ever thought what's the worst that can happen? As you grow and mature you kind of create your own idea and question what you were told growing up.*

Peter*: Human being is a complex thing; there can't be a one way of doing it.*

Sandile*: I never connected with my inner because I was told just man up.*

There is an idea of questioning the current reality of masculine identities which presents a contrast, namely the experience of facing the challenges of current masculine identities and the desire to create new objects of knowledge. It becomes clearer in the analysis of men and discourse of their emotions which seems to emphasise more strongly the conflict that men must deal with. The emergence of the idea of questioning provides a possibility for the social construction of masculine identities, not in terms of emotions, but extending to other discourses as well. A new subject is being created. There is

a need to “step back” from current reality and explore new and different ways of dealing with emotions, such as bouncing challenges with other men. This approach would create men who acknowledge that not everything resides within themselves, but there is assistance that can be obtained from talking about emotional topics and sensitive matters. Additionally, in the same manner that masculine identities were taught while they were growing up, there is a need to continue to teach and to create awareness that a differently constructed subject could, and should, emerge. It is proposed that the intensity of the conflict experienced might be a motivation to question what could go wrong if a man’s identity was constructed differently.

There is a comparison to existing construction with the identified gaps. The proposed masculine construction needs to consider the “complexity of a human being” that would lead to a diverse and flexible social construction of masculine identities compared to limited constructions. There is also the acknowledgement that there is an “inner man” compared to the current masculine identities that are characterised by external physicality as a social construction and as an identity. The comparison portrays an in-depth view and insight into personal understanding created by the experience of assumed failed attempts to attain masculine identities but which were not admitted to. The language used portrays a level of surrendering to the unknown in order to create new objects of knowledge about men.

The discourse analysis discussion provides a clear picture of how masculine identities are discursively unattainable as the man is socially constructed to constantly negotiate the elusive existence. He is constructed in ways that do not support his functioning. The discourse provides contrasts and conflicts that do not promote holistic functional masculine identities. For instance, black masculinity is not supposed to be emotionally expressive yet is socially constructed to function within a family discourse and when he fails, that creates a sense of helplessness as he is “harshly” judged by society. The plight of the black man doubles the state of helplessness as he grapples with the undertones of the racial legacy that South Africa is still dealing with, while perceived to be slightly removed from poverty. There is a sense of “I have made it but I am not there yet”.

In concluding the discourse analysis discussion, the discourses that define the subjectivity of masculine identities come with complex knowledge of the male subject. There is an interaction of discourses as they depend on each other to function but they also work against each other in most instances, which creates internal conflict for masculine identities as it renders the man incapable of attaining the identities. The interaction with the internal conflict gives rise to the questioning of how masculine identities are discursively set up as outlined in each of the discourses discussed. It is the continuous and intense discursive questioning that provides or will provide an opportunity for the revised or even

new and attainable objects of knowledge to be created about masculine identities. He is defined by things that are outside his control.

CHAPTER 6

Conclusion

Limitations

The study attempted to maintain the consciousness of possible bias. The data was collected from black males who belong to a black middle class which means they cannot all be generalized for other groups of men as the findings may be limited to the chosen sample of participants. There could also be bias caused by the fact that the study was conducted by a researcher of the same race and class as the participants which may create blind spots in the study as there is no outsider point of view. As a result, the findings were reflected upon and checked against existing research of black masculinities.

Recommendations

There should be an evaluation and self-introspection of how black middle-class men are constructed. Socialization of men should be looked at in a way that positions them for a better participation in society as everybody stands to benefit. A review of the qualities that form the male identity is required. Ratele (2016) suggests that masculine identities are at high risk of failing themselves and those who depend on them because they have not received sufficient positive and constructive attention. This means the masculine identities' investigation is beneficial to everyone. Ratele (2016) proposes that there is insufficient understanding of the African masculinity and so there is still a need to understand the men better so that interventions aimed at them can be of benefit to them and this is due to the fact that black masculinity research is still growing. This implies that there is knowledge about black men that is irrelevant to the reality of their lives. Ratele (2016, p. 116) suggests the need for a "multi-dimensional, less one-dimensional, gender-critical models of black conscious manhood". He proposes that this requires work through men's experience and practices. The reality of black men needs to be approached with the understanding that they are not an extension of anybody else but an entity themselves that is fully functional without dependence on racial stereotypes. Ratele (2016) comments that it is important to understand men as products of constructions like gender and racism and that the emancipation of men and women needs to be viewed as the same struggle, otherwise the structures that oppress women will continue to be ignored. This basically means that the emancipation of women cannot be seen in isolation from men and vice versa.

Biko (1978) suggests that there is a link between one's history and belief in oneself. The history of black middle-class men consists of the structural consequences of racism as well as its psychological impact. Black masculinities cannot be seen isolation from their past. Biko (1978, p. 20) maintains that

black men “become a shell, a shadow of man, completely defeated, and drowning in his own misery”. He proposes that a black child learns to have animosity towards his origins due to the destruction of his heritage and finds comfort in identifying with the white culture. Since the black middle class men are now educated he has learnt more ways to associate with the white culture because there is nothing left of his own heritage to admire. He is the one of the successfully overstretched attempts of fitting into the white culture devoid of black identity. He speaks about black consciousness as rewriting black history to where black heroes portrayed as role models: “People without positive history are like a vehicle without engine” (Biko, 1978, p. 29). They become the followers of the more successful society. He proposes Black consciousness, which he defines as the revelation that black men need to participate in issues that affect them, and remove the thinking that all that is good is white. It is about instilling their values and culture systems to their outlook on life. He points out that social and economic freedom is linked to the consciousness of self. Black men need to rid themselves of the notion that they will be perpetual servants. Biko emphasises that this has to do with rectifying the image of the black men in terms of culture, education, religion, and economics. He needs to define himself rather than depend on being defined by others. Biko (1978, p. 30) contends that proponents of black consciousness should attempt to reveal “the value of their own standard”, especially as the standard found in the study showed numerous loopholes that leave the masculine identity in jeopardy. This requires a reflection into what is not working in order to correct it and create a new standard. Biko (1978) holds the position that black men need to see themselves as actual human beings and complete in themselves; in other words as a full entity on his own and not an appendage of something else. There is a need to repair the emphasis put on the importance of human relationships in order to minimise the impact of materialism. The black middle class is the epitome of materialism as it has been groomed to consume goods made by western culture. He proposed that black man has disassociated with himself and attaches all that is good to whiteness.

The above suggests the social construction of black masculine identities that are black-conscious while living in a global world. It is the identities that acknowledges its heritage and see the value in itself. The black man’s consciousness must want to add to its essence, not dilute itself. Black masculinities require an obsession with ensuring that younger generations are taught about the pitfalls of the past and be modelled in order to create a new path. It is the identities that are reconciliatory in their attitude in terms of working together with white people to build the country.

Researcher Reflexivity/Bias

My interest in the topic was triggered by incidents reported in the news of men who have committed various crimes. This started a process of investigation into how men are socialised. My initial thoughts on the study were that men may not be set up well to succeed in general.

I had the following questions in mind:

- Why is it that most crimes are committed by black men?
- Why it is that relationships are perceived to have failed because of men?
- There are many incidents of domestic violence; what goes wrong in a man's emotional state that leads to domestic violence?
- Why are trauma, neglect and violence mostly attributed to men while women have a field day in attributing to men many of the things that have gone wrong in their lives?

Upon investigation I discovered that there are numerous discourses involved in the life of a man and so the question became what specifically could be the challenges of men that prevent them living up to their full potential. Psychoanalysis looks at the fact that adult counselling has a lot to do with dealing with childhood traumas or wounds which happened at various stages of life. There must be something that either happens, or does not happen, when a boy or a man is brought up which contributes to the later challenges men face in trying to deal with life.

The question that came to mind is whether a man has become what society has set him up to be. Is the news about men the result of what society has created? The way boys are socialised is very different compared to that of girls. Raising a girl child seems to be a preparation for adulthood while the same does not seem to apply to boys. For example, girls are set up to be able to express themselves far more than boys. A girl child is given a guide on what to do in life with a lot of instruction on "how to do it" while a boy child may know what to do and I wonder if they do know how to do it. This called for a wider look at a men's life and a holistic investigation into men's life which would have been too wide for a master's study.

Male identity seems to control much of what goes on in the life of a person because a person behaves according to how they see themselves. The study started with investigating how one learns to be a man and the fact that manhood is a social construction. If a man is taught to be a man, the question becomes what are they taught? The bias of being a man came in as I reflected on my own experience of growing up and where I am now. The challenges of identity and a need for affirmation arose as some of the adulthood struggles with which I had to deal could be ascribed to a certain lack in earlier years. There was a lot of comparison with how females are raised, which provided considerable insight into gaps that exist in raising a male child. For example, in patriarchal society females are raised to

nurture a family while there is no direct comparison to men. This then suggested that male identity may not be achievable.

The process of collecting data provided many insights into proving some of the initial thoughts to be correct. It revealed that there is no one way of being a man. The plurality of masculine identities was revealed. It became clear that there exist different ways of being a man or subcategories of men: traditional men, homosexual men, metrosexual men, politically famous men, urban men. Ratele (2016) introduces an idea that there have to be many models of masculinity and more information is required in order to create initiatives that benefit men. He also suggests that masculinity be taken as seriously as femininity is, otherwise one would be doing injustice to women. There is also an idea that masculinities are not all equal and that they create each other. Data collection and analysis also revealed the fact that men do have a socially constructed standard to live up to but there are no procedures or guidelines on how to go about it meeting the standard. The construction of male identity consists of contradictions that go unquestioned as the focus is on attaining the masculine identity. In my experience the black middle class carries more weight in ushering in a new era due to the legacy of apartheid. The experience of the participants is testimony to the pressure to change the construction and mindsets. The legacy of apartheid seems to have been undermined by the notion and belief that we are now in the democratic South Africa, that policies have changed and that everything must have changed; the truth is it has not and the male identity pays the price for it. He pays the price because he is expected to put a family together, keep it together, while climbing the corporate ladder and dealing with the shifting power relations of the workplace. This sets the man up for failure.

Black middle-class men are expected to be what was never modelled for them. He must become what he has never seen before within all existing contradictions. Black men are expected to have a family by keeping a relationship together while he must not be emotional, for example cry or express a range of emotions. Being men is measured according to things that are affected by changing times which leaves men vulnerable in terms of identity; they fall short of the standard when the goalpost moves.

The experience of the research suggested that men do not have the vocabulary to describe their experience as social construct of men is limited to expectations and lacks integration of their experiences to inform the inevitable change which would have informed their vocabulary about themselves. The participants used the words generally available about them. However, it is encouraging to note that there is a trend of questioning how men are socially constructed. Some insights were provided by participants without realizing the impact it has on them, which speaks to

the habitus that Bourdieu refers to (date). Men live in the experience so much that they are not aware of it.

The ultimate conclusion is that more research is needed into the lives of black men so that more information is unearthed to rescue the identity of black men. This is to prevent black middle-class men from seeing themselves in a limited view of the expectations as outlined because acceptance of these expectations renders him vulnerable. The more information that is available and absorbed into the very fibre of men and society at large, the more informed interventions can be created to assist men with the challenges they face.

Findings

The study was aimed at investigating the challenges black middle-class men face in negotiating the elusive masculine identities. The data was collected from a sample of nine black middle-class men between the ages of 25 and 50 years. The data collection methods were interviews of five men and a focus group of consisting of four men. Data was analysed using thematic analysis and discourse analysis. The findings of the study were that black middle-class masculine identities face the challenge of being defined by responsibilities. He is expected to have a family with a wife and children, provide for his family, protect his family, avoid femininity and know his origins. Unfortunately, his responsibilities are need-based and change over time which renders the black masculine identities vulnerable to unattainability. The discourses that provide objects of knowledge about black masculinities portray contradictions and conflicting constructions that produce each other while working against each other. There are dominant discourses like racism and the socio economic conditions which cut across all social structures in rendering black middle-class men incapable of attaining masculine identities. Time and context seem to play a crucial role in the lack of achievement of black masculinities.

Concluding Summary

The black masculine identities are guided by expectations and social constructions which are based on hegemonic masculinity. The extent to which these constructions are enforced varies depending on the context in which one finds oneself. There is an interface among the discourses that construct the identity of black middle-class men but it is riddled with contradiction and conflict. The discourses that produce the identity of black men contradict each other and produce vulnerabilities for the subject yet they are judged harshly for not attaining the standard.

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Appendices

1. Proposal acceptance letter
2. Participant Information Sheet
3. Informed Consent form for participation
4. Tape Recording Informed Consent form - Interview
5. Tape Recording Informed Consent form - Focus Group
6. Possible Interview Questions
7. Focus Group Questions
8. Four profiles of *Destiny* magazine discussed by the group

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Student Number: 0005649T

Mr Thokozani Samuel Nkosi
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14 July 2016

Dear Mr Nkosi

APPROVAL OF PROPOSAL FOR THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS BY COURSEWORK AND RESEARCH REPORT IN PSYCHOLOGY

I am pleased to be able to advise you that the readers of the Graduate Studies Committee have approved your proposal entitled "*The challenge of black middle class men in negotiating the illusive masculine identities*". I confirm that Dr Peace Kiguwa has been appointed as your supervisor in the School of Human and Community Development.

The research report is normally submitted to the Faculty Office by 15 February, if you have started the beginning of the year, and for mid-year the deadline is 31 July. All students are required to RE-REGISTER at the beginning of each year.

You are required to submit 2 bound copies and one unbound copy plus 1 CD in pdf (Adobe) format of your research report to the Faculty Office. The 2 bound copies go to the examiners and are retained by them and the unbound copy is retained by the Faculty Office as back up.

Please note that should you miss the deadline of 15 February or 31 July you will be required to submit an application for extension of time and register for the research report extension. Any candidate who misses the deadline of 15 February will be charged fees for the research report extension.

Kindly keep us informed of any changes of address during the year.

Note: All MA and PhD candidates who intend graduating shortly must meet your ETD requirements at least 6 weeks after your supervisor has received the examiners reports. **A student must remain registered at the Faculty Office until graduation.**

Yours Sincerely

SD Mfupa

Sarah Mfupa
Postgraduate Division
Faculty of Humanities
Private Bag X 3
Wits, 2050

PARTICIPANT INFORMATION SHEET

The challenge of the black middle class men in negotiating the illusive Masculine Identities

I hereby invite you to participate in a research study to be conducted by Thokozani Sam Nkosi, who is a Masters student from the Psychology Department at Witwatersrand University. Mr. Nkosi is conducting this study for his master's research report. Dr Peace Kiguwa is his supervisor for this study.

Your participation in this study is entirely voluntary. You should read the information below and ask questions about anything you do not understand, before deciding whether or not to participate. The study requires 10 men who are between the ages of 25 and 50 years old to participate in the focus group and individual interview of this study.

- **PURPOSE OF THE STUDY**

The purpose of this study is to investigate the challenge of black middle class men in negotiating the illusive masculine identities through the lived experiences of the participants.

- **PROCEDURES**

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we will ask you to do the following:

1. To participate in a focus group with four other man that will take the form of a semi structured discussion led by the researcher which will take about two hours including the briefing. You will be given a piece of information to read in preparation for the focus group session.
2. To participate in an individual semi structured interview led by the researcher. The interview will be guide by questions based on the topic and it will take about an hour including the briefing.

- **POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS**

There are no expected risks, discomforts, or inconveniences. If you experience any emotional discomfort, you may discontinue your participation.

- **POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO PARTICIPANTS**

It is not likely that you will benefit directly from participation in this study, but the research should help you reflect on your lived experiences as a man.

This study does not constitute psychological therapy but you can be referred to the Witwatersrand University Community Counseling and Development Unit, should you express a need which is free of charge.

- **COMPENSATION FOR PARTICIPATION**

You will not receive any payment or other compensation for participation in this study. There is also no cost to you for participation.

- **CONFIDENTIALITY**

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of a pseudo name in terms of written text. We will not use your name in any of the information we get from this study or in any of the research reports.

Information that can identify you individually will not be released to anyone outside the study. Information will be used only for this study purpose.

The audiotapes that we make will not be listen to by anyone outside the study unless we have you sign a separate permission form allowing us to use them for other purposes.

- **PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL**

You can choose whether or not to be in this study. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you do not want to answer. There is no penalty if you withdraw from the study and you will not lose any benefits to which you are otherwise entitled.

- **DETAILS OF THE RESEARCHER**

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact the researcher:

Mr Thokozani Sam Nkosi
Cell: 0832255697
Email: Sam.nkosi2@standardbank.co.za

- **RIGHTS OF RESEARCH PARTICIPANT**

The Witwatersrand University has reviewed my request to conduct this project. If you have any concerns about your rights in this study, please contact Dr Kiguwa on Peace. Kiguwa@ wits.ac.za

Informed Consent Form

I hereby agree to participate in the study titled "*The Challenge of the Black Middle Class men in negotiating the Illusive Masculine Identities"*. The purpose , procedures and my rights have been explained to me and questions have been answered to my satisfaction

_____
Printed Name of Participant

_____ _____
Signature of Participant Date

_____ _____
Signature of Witness Date

Tape Recording Informed Consent Form – Focus Group

I hereby agree to be tape recorded as part of my participation in the focus group of the study titled "*The Challenge of the Black Middle Class men in negotiating the Illusive Masculine Identities*". The purpose, procedures and my rights have been explained to me and questions have been answered to my satisfaction

_____
Printed Name of Participant

_____ _____
Signature of Participant Date

_____ _____
Signature of Witness Date

Tape recording Informed Consent Form – Interview

I hereby agree to be tape recorded as part of my participation in the individual interviews of the study titled *"The Challenge of the Black Middle Class men in negotiating the Illusive Masculine Identities*". The purpose , procedures and my rights have been explained to me and questions have been answered to my satisfaction

_____
Printed Name of Participant

_____ _____
Signature of Participant Date

_____ _____
Signature of Witness Date

Interview Questions

Part a – Social Awareness

1. What did you grow up being told that a "man" (meaning a good man) does?
2. What did you grow up being told bad man does?
3. Do you think these expectations /constructs were/ are realistic?

Part B – Personal Background

4. How have you experienced living up to those things that you were told a good man or boy does?
5. What was not said that you wish had been said or advised in preparation for becoming a man?
6. What has been the difficult part in your adult life about being a man?
7. Who was your role model growing up as a young boy or man?
8. Please tell me about the defining moments or events in your life as a man
9. Why are they defining?
10. What do you struggle with as a man?

Focus Group Profiles and Questions

1. What is considered to be the ideal man?
2. How is the man on the profile below portrayed (what does it tell you about the ideal man?)
3. Does the profile represent everything there is about being a man or the ideal man?
4. What is not being said about the man on the profile that you know a man should be or have?

DESTINY MAN .com
Bold Distinguished You

The art of craft beer

November 25, 2015



With craft beer breweries mushrooming all over the country, we speak to two men in the vanguard of the craft beer revolution in South Africa

Ndumiso Madlala, Chief Beer Officer of MadMead Brewery Co, had grown tired of requests from foreign
friends for a truly local beer when visiting Vilakazi Street in Soweto, so he decided to come up with a solution.

The 35-year-old brewer from Elandskop in KwaZulu-Natal and his Swedish-born partner Josef Schmid formed MadMead in 2012 and began producing Soweto Gold ale. Based at the Ubuntu Kraal complex in Soweto, which has become a tourist attraction in its own right, the success of the enterprise has exceeded the pair's expectations: they recently doubled their production capacity to 30 000 litres a month and are shattering sales records regularly.

However, it wasn't all full-bodied pleasure and frothy heads at the start. "I have gone from door to door with investors. Some did not want to listen, but I never gave up on my dream of starting a

brewery in Soweto, a township that means a lot to many people. There are a lot of negative perceptions about townships.

You need to produce high-quality products to counter these. I gave up a cushy corporate job in the name of pursuing my dream. We are now in 93 restaurants across SA," says Madlala.

DESTINY MAN .com
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Meet Teboho Twala, the man who wants to cure your hangover

April 22, 2016



If you drink alcohol you know what follows a night of merriment. Entrepreneur and aspiring industrialist Teboho Twala says he has the solution in the form of Zzero Hangover

Tired of his friends' complaints about their hangovers after nights of heavy drinking, Teboho Twala has come up with what he says is a cure for the dreaded hangover.

Born in Qwa-Qwa in the Free State, the trained metallurgical engineer has worked for Imapla Platinum and South African Breweries and has a lot of business experience. He has a thriving Rustenburg-based company called Soul Africa Group that supplies equipment such as tippers,

hydraulic hammers, all-terrain forklifts, graders, bulldozers, and rollers to mines in the area. The company also offers logistical support to the mines and has been thriving for well over three years.

Twala is also the co-owner of a thriving News Cafe in Rustenburg. The intrepid businessman says he still wakes up with a fear about starting new business ventures, but pushes through with a single-minded determination to become an industrialist.

READ MORE:Why it will benefit your brand to think out of the box

His journey has not been easy. Born to an alcoholic and abusive mother, he once had to live on the streets before he graduated from the University of Johannesburg with an engineering degree.

Twala says his secret is education: “I want to emphasise, particularly to the young people, that it’s important to get an education even if you want to be an entrepreneur. Education will help you network confidently and read up on many issues that may help you move forward,” he says.

DESTINY MAN .com
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Soweto entrepreneur on turning failed businesses into a success



April 20, 2016



George Nkosi's entrepreneurial journey is an inspiring one and shows why business people should always be on the lookout for new opportunities

Townships have become a breeding ground for great business opportunities as more people join the ranks of the middle class.

As a result, many consumers who live in the townships enjoy the convenience of being able to find the same services that people in the city have access to.

Soweto is one township that's given rise to many entrepreneurs because many resourceful individuals have found better ways of providing these services to consumers. One such individual is George Nkosi, who owns several petrol stations in the township.

The Soweto businessman says that as an entrepreneur, looking for business opportunities should always be at the top of the list of priorities, because these chances will not come to you.

Nkosi, who worked in the pharmaceutical industry in the 90s, decided to quit his job in 1999 to pursue entrepreneurship. "I decided to take the plunge and quit my job as I wanted to go out and look for opportunities," he says. "I had this thing in me that said I had to do something on my own before it was too late and I wouldn't have the courage to do it."

Soon after leaving his job, Nkosi spotted a Caltex site in Soweto that was no longer being used. "I approached Caltex. I felt I could do something with the site and they approved my application," he says.

As this was his first business and he had no prior knowledge about running a petrol station, Nkosi approached other businessmen who were doing well in this kind of business. "I would literally suck information from them by going and sitting with them," he explains. "I would have a list of questions. Eventually I chose one of them to mentor me."

In October that year he started operating his petrol station, Roddy's Motors, which is situated on the Soweto highway in Diepkloof. "Slowly the business started to grow, and in 2001 I identified another Caltex site that wasn't doing well. The previous owner wanted out of the business."

The site came with a number of challenges. One of them was the lack of business at night, which meant it could not operate in the evening – not ideal for a petrol station.

They also had a problem with the drainage system. So much so, that when it rained the place was flooded and motorists couldn't come in. But Nkosi persevered and turned the business into a profitable one.

"Those were very difficult challenges to overcome. It tested us, but we build it bit by bit over the years. It wasn't an overnight thing."

Following the success of his two businesses, Nkosi spotted yet another Caltex site in Dawsonville, Soweto. It too had difficulties and he wanted to take it over.

"The site was constantly running out of fuel," he says. "I went to enquire about the site and was told that the owner was having financial problems and that Chevron [the company that owns Caltex] wanted someone to resurrect the site. Again I raised my hand and got approval to take over the site."

Based on his determination and success with the previous sites, Chevron identified Nkosi as one of the entrepreneurs they could sell the petrol station to, something he's grateful for to this day.

DESTINY MAN.com
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Isaac Mophatlane's lessons on building a valuable asset

April 6, 2016



Business Connexion (BCX) co-founder and CEO Isaac Mophatlane chats to DESTINY MAN about what it takes to build your small business into an attractive asset of value that you can eventually sell off

Very few people have the privilege of making a career out of their hobby and even fewer people are able to turn their hobby into a multi-billion-rand empire that attracts acquisition attention from a big corporation like Telkom.

Mophatlane and his late twin brother Benjamin certainly didn't think BCX, the ICT company the brothers founded almost 20 years ago this year at the age of 23, would grow into a massive operation that employs 7 000 people.

But what the Mophatlane brothers did know from the get-go was that they wanted to build a “truly South African company” that was centred on building skills, creating opportunities for young professionals and leaving a lasting legacy.

To do this, the brothers partnered with Microsoft to become a certified and specialist solution provider in the country. The partnership gave the brothers access to support and training, which Mophatlane says was critical to the business’ development and their ability to secure a three-year, R100 million contract with Telkom that he describes as a major turning point for the business.

“The contract gave us the staying power and gave us enough spotlight to showcase ourselves,” he said.

Within just two years, Business Connexion was able to repay the R4 million loan it received to start the business.

READ MORE: Business Connexion’s new head

And with the loan amount settled, the brothers were able to focus on building a business that was customer-centric. This, he says, is another cornerstone in building an asset of value.

“We won customers over because we were professional, punctual and always delivered on time. We spent time sweating the big stuff, but at the same time, we also didn’t ignore the small stuff,” Mophatlane said, adding that the power of word of mouth has the ability to either propel your business or sink it.

For the brothers, it led to bigger contracts and several merger and acquisition deals over the years.

“The real thing about mergers and acquisitions is the human chemistry, people who share the same values as you, which always is important. We’ve always looked at management teams with the same aspirations as us, who ran well governed businesses.”

In 2014, Telkom initiated a whopping R2,6 billion merger bid for BCX, which was approved by the Competition Tribunal the following year.

“We were able to sell to Telkom because we were quite disciplined in ensuring that governance remained straight. When people look at your business, they speak to your auditors, customers and suppliers about how well you run it and they look at the integrity of how you do it,” he said.

But before you get to this point, according to Mophatlane, you need to build a company culture that motivates your employees to perform at their best.

We were able to sell to Telkom because we were quite disciplined in ensuring that governance remained straight. When people look at your business, they speak to your auditors, customers and suppliers about how well you run it

To do this successfully, he said business-owners should be open, lead with integrity, acknowledge their mistakes and take responsibility when things go wrong, develop employees and most importantly, reward them when they achieve good results.

Bearing in mind that the objective is to build a business that “lives beyond you”, Mophatlane advises that you constantly seek out knowledge and “surround yourself with people who are a lot smarter than you and do not be embarrassed to ask for help and be mentored”.

Other lessons he’s learnt along the journey is to resist the urge to allow criticism to drag you down. Once you’ve decided on a specific strategy, he advises that you stick to it and remain true to the cause.

And if you do ever get the opportunity to sell your business and the acquiring firm decides to keep you on to manage it, embrace the transition.

“The key is to remain relevant within the business. If you’re still relevant, then reporting lines don’t really matter,” he said.