



Gender, Place & Culture

A Journal of Feminist Geography

ISSN: 0966-369X (Print) 1360-0524 (Online) Journal homepage: www.tandfonline.com/journals/cgpc20

Masculinities in Africa beyond crisis: complexity, fluidity, and intersectionality

Carole Ammann & Sandra Staudacher

To cite this article: Carole Ammann & Sandra Staudacher (2021) Masculinities in Africa beyond crisis: complexity, fluidity, and intersectionality, *Gender, Place & Culture*, 28:6, 759-768, DOI: [10.1080/0966369X.2020.1846019](https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2020.1846019)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2020.1846019>



© 2020 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.



Published online: 16 Nov 2020.



Submit your article to this journal [↗](#)



Article views: 17293



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)



Citing articles: 42 View citing articles [↗](#)

Masculinities in Africa beyond crisis: complexity, fluidity, and intersectionality

Carole Ammann^a  and Sandra Staudacher^{b,c} 

^aAmsterdam Institute of Social Science Research (AISSR), Department of Anthropology, University of Amsterdam, Amsterdam, Netherlands; ^bInstitute of Nursing Science, Department of Public Health, University of Basel, Basel, Switzerland; ^cAnthropology, Department of Social Sciences, University of Basel, Basel, Switzerland

ABSTRACT

Rapidly changing and divergent everyday realities on the African continent call for a more differentiated examination of the complex experiences and representations of men than is offered by the discourse on the ‘crisis of masculinity’, which depicts men as being criminal, violent, dominant, and irresponsible. By contrast, this introduction to the themed section ‘Masculinities in Africa beyond Crisis: Complexity, Fluidity, and Intersectionality’ aims to engage critically with the concept of hegemonic masculinity and argues that multiple images of masculinities co-exist in Africa and beyond. To comprehend new discourses and practices around masculinities, we must consider the question of how masculinities emerge. Discourses and practices relating to masculinities and manhood are situationally and relationally adopted, contested, transformed, and reconfigured. In this special issue, we closely analyse individual’s daily efforts ‘to be “good men”, as well as “good at” being men’ (Inhorn and Isidoros 2018, 2) in times of political, social, and economic transformations. We aim at examining how ideas and practices of masculinities shape individual and collective agency on social, economic, political, and cultural levels. Paying attention to the historical, geographical, and cultural diversities of masculinities in African countries, we discuss how images of masculinities evolve and become manifest in everyday life and analyse how these imaginations circulate within translocal and transnational spaces. We thereby pay close attention to how gender intersects with other identities, such as age, class, race, ethnicity, and sexuality.

ARTICLE HISTORY

Received 30 June 2020
Accepted 24 July 2020

KEYWORDS

Africa; gender; intersectionality; men; masculinities

CONTACT Carole Ammann  c.ammann@uva.nl  Amsterdam Institute of Social Science Research (AISSR), Department of Anthropology, University of Amsterdam, Postjesweg 114-3, Amsterdam 1057 EH, Netherlands

© 2020 The Author(s). Published by Informa UK Limited, trading as Taylor & Francis Group.

This is an Open Access article distributed under the terms of the Creative Commons Attribution-NonCommercial-NoDerivatives License (<http://creativecommons.org/licenses/by-nc-nd/4.0/>), which permits non-commercial re-use, distribution, and reproduction in any medium, provided the original work is properly cited, and is not altered, transformed, or built upon in any way.

Stereotypical and simplistic images of 'the African man'

Possibly on no other continent are men and masculinities depicted more homogenously than in Africa. Regardless of whether one researches aging, health, politics, NGOs, or migration, one regularly encounters self and foreign attributions of an essential 'African masculinity'. The stereotypical and simplistic image of 'the African man' is often negatively connoted. This image is linked to violence, domination, the abuse of power, irresponsibility, drugs, virility, and promiscuity. Because of the extensive focus on African men 'being a problem', the term 'masculinities' itself has sometimes been negatively connoted (Ratele 2008, 521). Especially young men in Africa – perhaps more than anywhere else – have increasingly been unable to achieve their ideals of masculinity, such as providing for one's family, marrying, fathering, and building a house, which has led to a discourse of a 'crisis of masculinity'. Connell (2005 [1995]) states that the 'crisis of masculinity' is related to men's contested roles, identities, and duties. According to this discourse, men in Africa have increasingly come under pressure (Reid and Walker 2005, 10–11). Perry (2005, 209) links these challenges to the neoliberal structural reforms in the late 1980s and early 1990s, which 'removed men's edge' and increased women's access to the labour market.

We understand masculinities as norms and expectations related to what men say and do to be men (Gutmann 1996). Following Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, 836), we contend that '[m]asculinities are configurations of practice that are accomplished in social action and, therefore, can differ according to the gender relations in a particular social setting'. Masculinities are not fixed male identities but multiple, complex, and intersectional social practices and experiences that are fluid and sometimes contradictory. Ideas, practices, and experiences of masculinities are negotiated among diverse actors, and they change over time and space. Feminist geography scholars like Valentine (2007), Hopkins (2018), and Vaiou (2018) place special emphasis on intersectional analyses and demonstrate how social inequalities shape different axes of identities such as gender, age, ethnicity, race, language, religion, sexual orientation, (dis)ability, place of living, education, and thus also shape masculinities. Consequently, masculinities are relationally adopted, contested, transformed, reconfigured, and intersectional with diverse identities.

When writing about men, power and dominance are important axes of analysis. The concept of hegemonic masculinities, initially introduced by Connell (2005 [1995]), remains very much in vogue (Hearn and Morrell 2012). By *hegemonic masculinity*, Connell understands social practices aimed at producing gender-based hierarchies including the subordination of women and the subordination of men in relation to other men. According to Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), hegemonic masculinities may only be enacted by a minority, but they nevertheless constitute the normative frame of reference for many; they are the 'currently most honored way of being a man' (832).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been criticized by many authors from diverse scholarly fields (e.g., Beasley 2008; Hearn and Morrell 2012; Inhorn and Isidoros 2018). The virulent debate led Connell and Messerschmidt to re-evaluate their concept. A key finding in this re-examination is that since masculinities are plural, there must also be multiple hegemonic masculinities. Furthermore, they point to the hierarchizing and institutionalization of masculinities and emphasize how they change over time. In their reformulation of the concept, they also explicitly recognize the geography of masculinities, 'emphasizing the interplay among local, regional, and global levels' (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005, 829). In this special section, we want to take into account diverse geographical levels to challenge simplified and homogenous understandings of masculinities.

Towards pluralistic representations of masculinities in Africa

The articles in this themed section aim to counteract the tendency to deny pluralistic representations of masculinities in Africa. The seven contributions highlight different perspectives on masculinities in diverse places and spaces. They illustrate how masculinities are embodied, negotiated, and enacted depending on different situations. The authors acknowledge the multiple challenges that men – and women – face in African countries. Or in Fuh's (2017, 238) words: 'Men [in Africa] are troubled and their masculinities troubling.' These troubles do not mean, however, that men's reactions and positioning towards these difficulties are uniform – on the contrary. Another aspect this special section deals with is how masculinities emerge. Inhorn and Wentzell (2011, 802) introduced the concept of emerging masculinities 'to account for ongoing, context-specific, embodied changes within men's enactments of masculinity' in a diverse and globalized world. We will thus discuss how images and practices of masculinities evolve and manifest in everyday life on the African continent and also analyse how they circulate within transnational and translocal spaces.

Knowledge production on men and masculinities in Africa is – similar to other topics – marked by inequalities and power imbalances between what has been labelled as the Global North and the Global South. While Europe and North America are considered to constitute the centre of academic-knowledge production, Africa is viewed as its margin or periphery. Scholars of radical geography have recently challenged such dualistic views by deconstructing this bipolarity (Andrucki and Dickinson 2015; Hadfield-Hill 2019). Cooper and Morrell (2014, 2) call for the production of knowledge defined by 'Africa-centeredness'. We agree that a critical engagement with the global economy of knowledge and its inequalities is crucial to the study of men and masculinities. Connell (2014) and Mfecane (2018) provide important

contributions in this regard. The latter argues that the understandings of gender in the Global North are too narrow because they 'fail to account for what it means to be a person in most African settings' (Mfecane 2018, 292). Kopano Ratele's provocative contribution to this themed section critically engages with the scholarship on boys, men, and masculinities in Africa. He argues that researchers must consider how coloniality impacts men in Africa, not least because they are struggling to be considered as full and equal human beings. Ratele calls for more scholarship that understands Africa not as a mere site of data collection but also as a place of theory-making and concept production.

The image of the man as a (potential) father and provider has been discussed as a major aspect of masculinities – in Africa and elsewhere (Cornwall 2017). Providing for one's family has become more and more difficult, not least because many men in Africa lack a decent and steady income. Evans (2016) discusses how women's participation in the paid-labour market has increased worldwide, but at the same time, men's unpaid care work has not. Drawing on the example of Zambia, she argues that men's contributions to household chores and care work have increased, but since they take place in private spaces, such transformations have not had a major impact on the local notions of masculinities that discourage men from doing care work. In her contribution, Kristen McLean demonstrates that caring and compassionate fatherhood practices are widespread in contemporary Sierra Leone's urban spaces. McLean shows that masculinities are not in crisis per se – even though there have been major societal disruptions due to war and the Ebola epidemic. She rather argues that new masculine ideals related to egalitarianism, compassion, and love are currently emerging.

Much research on men and masculinities in Africa has focused on youth. This is not surprising considering that Africa has the youngest population in the world. This strand of literature has mostly dealt with young men's quest for social adulthood (Honwana 2012; Finn and Oldfield 2015), their livelihood strategies (Frederiksen and 2007; Dery 2019b), or violence (Langa and Kiguwa 2013; Dery 2019a). Young African men are not, however, generally in crisis. Even though they are 'increasingly unable to buy a ticket to enter the world of manhood' (Fuh 2017, 251), rupture and violence are not the only coping strategies that male youth can turn to when facing challenging life conditions. In her contribution, Katharina Gartner examines musicians in Ghana – who call themselves 'shabomen' – as an ethnographic example that contradicts the negative stereotype of male youth in Africa. Gartner demonstrates that shabomen at times subversively undermine local gendered conventions by, for example, teaching girls how to play the guitar. Her article illustrates the fluidity, diversity, and sometimes contradictoriness of masculinities.

As mentioned, war, violent protests, and domestic as well as gender-based violence have been recurrent topics in research on men and masculinities in

Africa with a typical focus of publications in and on South(ern) Africa (Bhana 2005; Ratele 2013). While the paper by Sherianne Kramer and Brett Bowman also focuses on violence in South Africa, it breaks up the widespread categories of female victims and male perpetrators. Kramer and Bowman analyse how boys and young male victims of sex abuse perpetrated by females negotiate their victimhood in relation to their masculine identities. They argue that due to their victimisation by a woman, the by then adult men in the study all question their own heterosexist masculinity.

Another important strand of the literature on masculinities in Africa deals with sexualities, intimacies, desires, and HIV/Aids (Izugbara and Okal 2011; Decoteau 2013; Wyrod 2016). In the last decade, research on heteronormativity, sexual minorities, and queer identities in Africa has increased (Abbas and Ekine 2013; Livermon 2014; Matebeni 2014; Osinubi 2018). While it is true that homosexuals face many challenges in most African countries, it is crucial not to generally condemn Africa as homophobic. Awondo, Geschiere, and Reid (2012) convincingly explain that the 'image of Africa as homophobic is promoted by both traditionalists who insist that homosexuality is a Western intrusion *and* by the Western media that focus on homophobic statements from African political and religious leaders' (145, italics in original). In their contribution to this themed section, Jasmine Shio and Eileen Moyer demonstrate that homosexual men in Tanzania, face constant pressure to adhere to local norms of masculinity related to heterosexual desires, marrying a woman, and having children. The article provides a nuanced description of the temporal, spatial, and bodily tactics gay men apply to navigate the intricate space of contemporary Dar es Salaam.

Studies on masculinities in contexts of migration and transnationalism in and beyond the African continent show how people relate to diverse and changing masculinities and how these are challenged, reaffirmed, and (re)configured (Pasura and Christou 2018). At times, such ideas are enacted in a 'hyper-masculine' fashion to compensate for a marginal position (Charsley and Wray 2015). Susanne Schultz illustrates in her article how men struggle to regain their dignity as men after they are deported to the Malian South. At the same time, they actively and creatively try to refind their respectabilities in the local (rural) society by, for example, working hard and reinterpreting their adventure experiences so as to reinvent themselves as men.

Migrating men within the African continent often face structural difficulties and prejudices. South Africa has become one of the main destination countries for (mostly male and young) migrants (Bolt 2010; Matshaka 2010). Parts of the South African population view this large-scale migration as problematic (Nyamnjoh 2006; Kupe, Verryn, and Worby 2008). In their contribution, Linda Musariri and Eileen Moyer zoom in on 'cornered' migrant African men living on Johannesburg's periphery. They demonstrate how social

spaces like Uncle Kofi's Corner are gendered and how such spaces provide possibilities to debate, (re)negotiate, challenge, and redefine masculinities.

Grounded in time and space: analysing complex, fluid, and intersectional masculinities

All the contributions to this themed section move beyond simplistic and all too often negative representations of African men by illustrating their constant efforts of being “good men”, as well as “good at” being men’ (Inhorn and Isidoros 2018, 2). On the one hand, many men in Africa face difficulties in postcolonial, neoliberal, and often precarious contexts. On the other hand, such troubles also lead to creative disruptions in which new possibilities emerge. The papers in this themed section provide insights into how men in Sierra Leone, Mali, Ghana, Tanzania, and South Africa position themselves towards and shape those challenges and how they are currently giving meaning to their lives and to their manliness. Through rich ethnographic examples, the authors nicely illustrate that the plural trajectories of masculinities are grounded in time and space. Without making generalizing claims, they nuancedly depict how masculinities are constantly established and rebuilt in flexible, multiple, diverse, and intersectional ways. The authors of this themed section, of whom five out of nine have (at least partly) been educated in an African country, thus also make a call to decolonialize studies on boys, men, and masculinities or, as Ratele titles his contribution, this is ‘an invitation to decoloniality in work on (African) men and masculinities’.

Overall, we contend that several issues are of special importance for masculinities on the African continent. First, we argue that further attention should be paid to how masculinities change over the course of life. There is a lack of research on how age shapes masculinities. While there is much literature on male youth, middle-aged and elderly men are often absent from these discussions. Second, founding a family and becoming a father as well as caring and providing for one's family members is paramount for many men in Africa; it often constitutes a major aspect of masculinities. Thus, we call for more research on the social practices of fatherhood and grandfatherhood and how they intersect with class, health, ability, ethnicity, religion, education, occupation, income, and the place of living. Third, the impact of class – especially the growing literature on the African middle class – should be further explored in relation to gender to better understand how social positions of class are interlinked with masculinities. Fourth, more emphasis on the importance of social spaces is needed, such as on the care and (social) regimes that take place in them and that help enable or disable certain gendered identities – sometimes even over transnational spaces. We thus call for attention to the geographies of masculinities, of the power

relations between different gender and social positions, and of economically and historically based inequalities. Studies should not only address the question of how men and masculinities are understood but also the question of how images and practices of masculinities emerge and change depending on the context and throughout the life course of men on the African continent and beyond. Masculinities in Africa need to be analysed beyond crisis but contextually grounded in time and space.

Acknowledgements

We would like to thank the many colleagues who have inspired us to reflect more on masculinities in Africa and beyond, especially the contributors of this special section, the participants of our panel 'Changing Masculinities in Africa and Beyond' at the conference of the African Studies Association Germany 'African Connections' in 2018, as well as the students of our common seminar 'Afrika und Männlichkeit' at the University of Basel in 2018. Additionally, we wish to thank Margaret Walton-Roberts for her support and helpful comments. Thanks, also to Anthony Mahler for the language editing.

Disclosure statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Notes on contributors

Dr. Carole Ammann, PhD, is a postdoctoral mobility fellow at the Amsterdam Institute of Social Science Research (AISSR) at the University of Amsterdam. Previously, she has been a postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of Geography at the University of Bern and a junior fellow at the Walter Benjamin Kolleg at the University of Bern. She received her PhD in Social Anthropology at the University of Basel, where she wrote an ethnographic dissertation titled 'Women, Agency, and the State in Guinea: Silent Politics' that has just been published by Routledge. Her current research project deals with fatherhood and masculinities in Guinea and in the Netherlands.

Dr. Sandra Staudacher, PhD, holds a postdoctoral position at the Institute of Nursing Science at the University of Basel. She received her PhD in Social Anthropology as a member of the Graduate School of Gender Studies at the University of Basel. She wrote an ethnographic dissertation titled 'Cosmopolitan Aging in Urban Zanzibar: Elderhood, Health and Transnational Care Spaces Related to Oman' with a focus on the intersection of gender and aging. Previously, she was a research fellow at Harvard Medical School, scientific assistant and consultant at the Swiss Tropical and Public Health Institute and was visiting lecturer at the State University of Zanzibar. She completed her BA and MA studies in Social Anthropology and Law at the University of Basel and the University of Lausanne.

ORCID

Carole Ammann  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-6056-5092>

Sandra Staudacher  <http://orcid.org/0000-0002-3762-2407>

References

- Abbas, Hakima, and Sokari Ekine, eds. 2013. *Queer African Reader*. Dakar: Pambazuka.
- Andrucki, Max J., and Jen Dickinson. 2015. "Rethinking Centers and Margins in Geography: Bodies, Life Course, and the Performance of Transnational Space." *Annals of the Association of American Geographers* 105 (1): 203–218. doi:[10.1080/00045608.2014.962967](https://doi.org/10.1080/00045608.2014.962967).
- Awondo, Patrick, Peter Geschiere, and Graeme Reid. 2012. "Homophobic Africa? Toward a More Nuanced View." *African Studies Review* 55 (3): 145–168. doi:[10.1017/S0002020600007241](https://doi.org/10.1017/S0002020600007241).
- Beasley, Christine. 2008. "Rethinking Hegemonic Masculinity in a Globalizing World." *Men and Masculinities* 11 (1): 86–103. doi:[10.1177/1097184X08315102](https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X08315102).
- Bhana, Deevia. 2005. "Violence and the Gendered Negotiation of Masculinity among Young Black School Boys in South Africa." In *African Masculinities: Men in Africa from the Late Nineteenth Century to the Present*, edited by Lahoucine Ouzgane and Robert Morrell, 205–220. New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Bolt, Maxim. 2010. "Camaraderie and Its Discontents: Class Consciousness, Ethnicity and Divergent Masculinities among Zimbabwean Migrant Farmworkers in South Africa." *Journal of Southern African Studies* 36 (2): 377–393. doi:[10.1080/03057070.2010.485790](https://doi.org/10.1080/03057070.2010.485790).
- Charsley, Katharine, and Helena Wray. 2015. "Introduction to the Invisible (Migrant) Man." *Men and Masculinities* 18 (4): 403–423. doi:[10.1177/1097184X15575109](https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X15575109).
- Connell, Raewyn. 2014. "Margin Becoming Centre: For a World-Centred Rethinking of Masculinities." *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies* 9 (4): 217–231. doi:[10.1080/18902138.2014.934078](https://doi.org/10.1080/18902138.2014.934078).
- Connell, Raewyn W., and James W. Messerschmidt. 2005. "Hegemonic Masculinity – Rethinking the Concept." *Gender & Society* 19 (6): 829–859. doi:[10.1177/0891243205278639](https://doi.org/10.1177/0891243205278639).
- Connell, Robert W. 2005. [1995]. *Masculinities*. 2nd ed. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Cooper, Brenda, and Robert Morrell. 2014. "Introduction: The Possibility of Africa-Centred Knowledges." In *Africa-Centred Knowledges: Crossing Fields & Worlds*, edited by Brenda Cooper and Robert Morrell, 1–20. Rochester: James Currey.
- Cornwall, Andrea. 2017. "Introduction: Masculinities under Neoliberalism." In *Masculinities under Neoliberalism*, edited by Andrea Cornwall, Frank G. Karioris, and Nancy Lindisfarne, 1–28. London: Zed Books.
- Decoteau, Claire Laurier. 2013. "The Crisis of Liberation: Masculinity, Neoliberalism, and HIV/AIDS in Postapartheid South Africa." *Men and Masculinities* 16 (2): 139–159. doi:[10.1177/1097184X13488865](https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X13488865).
- Dery, Isaac. 2019a. "Give Her a Slap or Two ... She Might Change': Negotiating Masculinities through Intimate Partner Violence among Rural Ghanaian Men." *Journal of Interpersonal Violence* 088626051986906. doi:[10.1177/0886260519869066](https://doi.org/10.1177/0886260519869066).
- Dery, Isaac. 2019b. "To Be a Man is Not Easy': Everyday Economic Marginality and Configurations of Masculinity among Rural Ghanaian Youth." *Masculinities & Social Change* 8 (2): 171–194. doi:[10.17583/mcs.2019.4157](https://doi.org/10.17583/mcs.2019.4157).
- Evans, Alice. 2016. "The Decline of the Male Breadwinner and Persistence of the Female Carer: Exposure, Interests, and Micro–Macro Interactions." *Annals of the American Association of Geographers* 106 (5): 1135–1151. doi:[10.1080/24694452.2016.1184557](https://doi.org/10.1080/24694452.2016.1184557).
- Finn, Brandon Marc, and Sophie Oldfield. 2015. "Straining: Young Men Working through Waithood in Freetown." *Sierra Leone. Africa Spectrum* 50 (3): 29–48. doi:[10.1177/000203971505000302](https://doi.org/10.1177/000203971505000302).

- Frederiksen, Bodil Folke. 2007. "Politics, Popular Culture and Livelihood Strategies among Young Men in a Nairobi Slum." In *African Alternatives*, edited by Patrick Chabal, Ulf Engel, and Leo de Haan, 73–93. Leiden: Brill.
- Fuh, Divine. 2017. "Competing for Attention: Youth Masculinities and Prestige in Bamenda, Cameroon." PhD Diss., University of Basel.
- Gutmann, Matthew C. 1996. *The Meanings of Macho: Being a Man in Mexico City*. Berkeley: University of California Press.
- Hadfield-Hill, Sophie. 2019. "Margin." In *Keywords in Radical Geography: "Antipode" at 50*, Edited by the Antipode Editorial Collective, 170–174. Hoboken: Wiley Blackwell.
- Hearn, Jeff, and Robert Morrell. 2012. "Reviewing Hegemonic Masculinities and Men in Sweden and South Africa." *Men and Masculinities* 15 (1): 3–10. doi:[10.1177/1097184X11432111](https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X11432111).
- Honwana, Alcinda Manuel. 2012. *The Time of Youth: Work, Social Change, and Politics in Africa*. Sterling: Kumarian.
- Hopkins, Peter. 2018. "Feminist Geographies and Intersectionality." *Gender, Place & Culture* 25 (4): 585–590. doi:[10.1080/0966369X.2018.1460331](https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1460331).
- Inhorn, Marcia C., and Konstantina Isidoros. 2018. "Introduction—Arab Masculinities: Anthropological Reconceptions." *Men and Masculinities* 21 (3): 319–327. doi:[10.1177/1097184X17748168](https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X17748168).
- Inhorn, Marcia C., and Emily A. Wentzell. 2011. "Embodying Emergent Masculinities: Men Engaging with Reproductive and Sexual Health Technologies in the Middle East and Mexico." *American Ethnologist* 38 (4): 801–815. doi:[10.1111/j.1548-1425.2011.01338.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1548-1425.2011.01338.x).
- Izugbara, Chimaroke O., and Jerry Okal. 2011. "Performing Heterosexuality: Male Youth, Vulnerability and HIV in Malawi." In *Men and Development: Politicizing Masculinities*, edited by Andrea Cornwall, Jerker Edström, and Alan Greig, 21–32. London: Zed Books.
- Kupe, Tawana, Bishop Paul Verryn, and Eric Worby. 2008. *Go Home or Die Here: Violence, Xenophobia and the Reinvention of Difference in South Africa*. Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press.
- Langa, Malose, and Peace Kiguwa. 2013. "Violent Masculinities and Service Delivery Protests in Post-Apartheid South Africa: A Case Study of Two Communities in Mpumalanga." *Agenda* 27 (1): 20–31. doi:[10.1080/10130950.2013.793897](https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2013.793897).
- Livermon, Xavier. 2014. "Soweto Nights: Making Black Queer Space in Post-Apartheid South Africa." *Gender, Place & Culture* 21 (4): 508–525. doi:[10.1080/0966369X.2013.786687](https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2013.786687).
- Matebeni, Zethu. ed. 2014. *Queering Queer Africa, Reclaiming Afrikan: Queer Perspectives on Sexual and Gender Identities*. Athlone: Modjaji Books.
- Matshaka, Netsai Sarah. 2010. "Marobot neMawaya'—Traffic Lights and Wire: Crafting Zimbabwean Migrant Masculinities in Cape Town." *Feminist Africa* 13: 65–87.
- Mfecane, Sakhumzi. 2018. "Towards African-Centred Theories of Masculinity." *Social Dynamics* 44 (2): 291–305. doi:[10.1080/02533952.2018.1481683](https://doi.org/10.1080/02533952.2018.1481683).
- Nyamnjoh, Francis B. 2006. *Insiders and Outsiders: Citizenship and Xenophobia in Contemporary Southern Africa*. Dakar: Codesria Books.
- Osinubi, Taiwo Adetunji. 2018. "Introduction: Denormativizing Imperatives in African Queer Scholarship." *College Literature* 45 (4): 596–612. doi:[10.1353/lit.2018.0034](https://doi.org/10.1353/lit.2018.0034).
- Pasura, Dominic, and Anastasia Christou. 2018. "Theorizing Black (African) Transnational Masculinities." *Men and Masculinities* 21 (4): 521–546. doi:[10.1177/1097184X17694992](https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X17694992).
- Perry, Donna L. 2005. "Wolof Women, Economic Liberalization, and the Crisis of Masculinity in Rural Senegal." *Ethnology* 44 (3): 207–226. doi:[10.2307/3774056](https://doi.org/10.2307/3774056)

- Ratele, Kopano. 2008. "Analysing Males in Africa: Certain Useful Elements in considering Ruling Masculinities." *African and Asian Studies* 7 (4): 515–536. doi:[10.1163/156921008X359641](https://doi.org/10.1163/156921008X359641)
- Ratele, Kopano. 2013. "Subordinate Black South African Men without Fear." *Cahiers d'études africaines* 53 (209-210): 247–268. www.jstor.org/stable/24475023.
- Reid, Graeme, and Liz Walker. 2005. "Masculinities in Question." In *Men Behaving Differently: South African Men since 1994*, edited by Graeme Reid and Liz Walker, 1–20. Cape Town: Double Storey.
- Vaiou, Dina. 2018. "Intersectionality: Old and New Endeavours?" *Gender Place & Culture* 25 (4): 578–584. doi:[10.1080/0966369X.2018.1460330](https://doi.org/10.1080/0966369X.2018.1460330).
- Valentine, Gill. 2007. "Theorizing and Researching Intersectionality: A Challenge for Feminist Geography." *The Professional Geographer* 59 (1): 10–21. doi:[10.1111/j.1467-9272.2007.00587.x](https://doi.org/10.1111/j.1467-9272.2007.00587.x)
- Wyrod, Robert. 2016. *Aids and Masculinity in the African City: Privilege, Inequality and Modern Manhood*. Oakland: University of California Press.