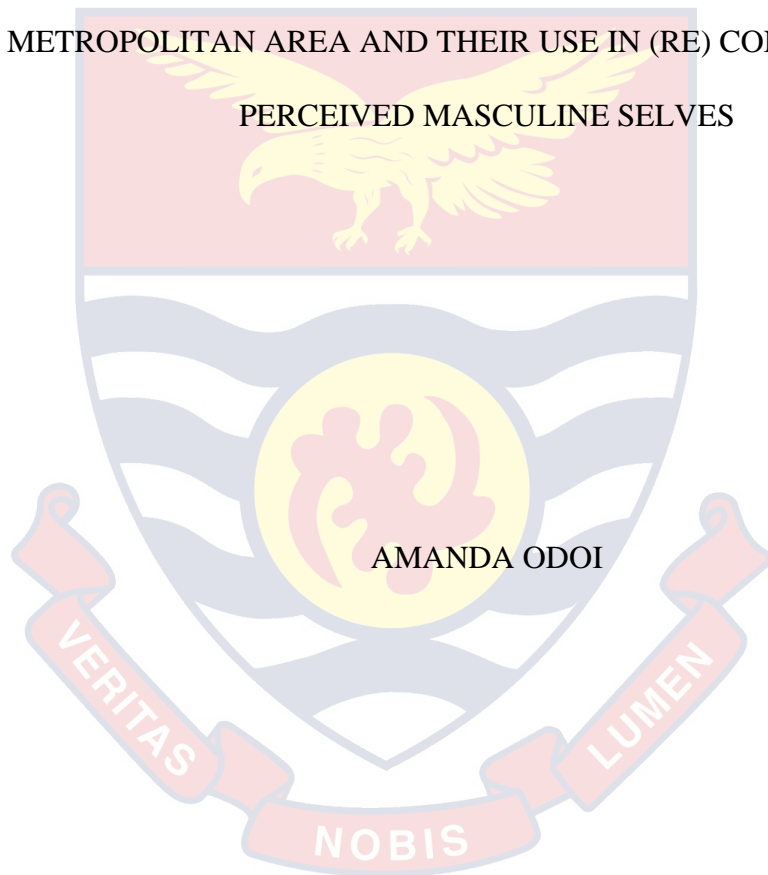UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

DISCOURSES OF MASCULINITY IN THE GREATER ACCRA

METROPOLITAN AREA AND THEIR USE IN (RE) CONSTRUCTING

PERCEIVED MASCULINE SELVES

AMANDA ODOI

2019

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST
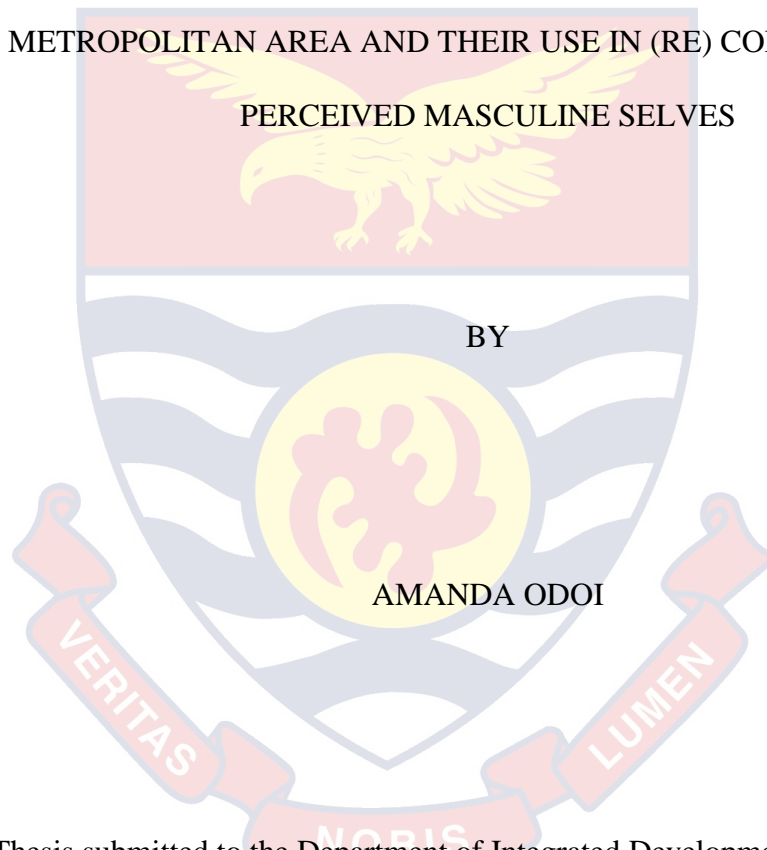
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METROPOLITAN AREA AND THEIR USE IN (RE) CONSTRUCTING

PERCEIVED MASCULINE SELVES

BY

AMANDA ODOI

Thesis submitted to the Department of Integrated Development Studies of the
School for Development Studies, College of Humanities and Legal Studies,
University of Cape Coast, in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the
award of Doctor of Philosophy degree in Development Studies

AUGUST 2019

DECLARATION

Candidate's Declaration

I hereby declare that this thesis is the result of my own original research and that no part of it has been presented for another degree in this university or elsewhere.

Candidate's Signature: …..…………................   Date: ....

Name:

Supervisors' Declaration

We hereby declare that the preparation and presentation of the thesis were supervised in accordance with the guidelines on supervision of thesis laid down by the University of Cape Coast.

Principal Supervisor's Signature: ....   Date: ....

Name:

Co-Supervisor's Signature: ……………..............   Date: ....

Name:

ABSTRACT

This study explored the discourses of masculinity employed by men in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA) in (re) constructing their masculinities. It addresses a research gap in the area of gender studies in Ghana, masculinity studies and contributes to the gender and development scholarship deliberations on the importance of researching men and masculinity performance for the achievement of gender equality. Using qualitative methods, the study gathered data from females and males aged between 13 and 70 years who are residents in the GAMA. In all, a total of 29 individual and 15 group interviews were undertaken. The study adopted the symbolic interactionism theory as its theoretical underpinning whilst the discourse analysis and grounded theory approaches were employed in analysing the data. The findings of the study revealed the existence of diverse masculinity discourses available to men in shaping their masculinities. Nonetheless, men differed in which of the discourses they employed in constructing their preferred masculinity. 'Being responsible' was, however, an important discourse preferred by men of all ages and socio-economic background. Peers and male figures were also identified as the most preferred sources of information and guide in fashioning perceived masculinities. The study recommends that gender researchers in Ghana pay attention to masculinity discourses and their interpretation in all aspects of their research on men as a tool for achieving sustainable gender equality.

KEY WORDS

Discourse

Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA)

Masculinity

Self

Social construction

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DEDICATION

To the Centre for Gender Research, Advocacy and Documentation, University

of Cape Coast and Desmond Kwabena Asimeng Duodu Sarkodie.

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CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

Background to the Study

The study of men and their behaviour, termed masculinity studies, has been around for over a century now (Connell, 2005). It is, however, only in the last three decades that studies in this field have gained renewed currency (Adinkrah, 2012; Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Courtenay, 2000; Newton, 2002). Tereskinas (2016) for instance notes that although masculinity studies had taken shape by the 1970s, it is only by the end of the 20th century that it gained much attention. Some of the documented challenges associated with the acknowledgement of the need for men's studies were, fears that a focus on men's issues will compete with the attention to women's issues (Tereskinas, 2016) or offend feminists (Newton, 2002).

The recent surge for masculinity studies has been attributed to the potential benefits the field offers in addressing pressing gender inequality concerns. Research on family-work balance for example, points to the fact that having family friendly work environment where men can take up some of the responsibilities for child care such as paternity leave, enhances women's career development and labour force participation. These studies also identify that men's active participation in the lives of the children help in the development of the children (Doucet & Merla, 2007; Pleck, 2007; Vandello, Hettinger, Bosson, & Siddiqi, 2013). Similarly, Gender Based Violence (GBV) advocates believe studying men will equip GBV researchers and interventionists with insight into understanding the factors that contribute to men's violent behaviour from men's perspective. Beiras, Cantera and de Alencar-Rodrigues

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(2015) for example, note that exploring the relationship between masculinity and violence can help to establish more effective interventions with male perpetrators of violence against women.

The need for masculinity studies further became necessary with the appreciation of the importance in understanding men's experience and enactment of their gender by feminist researchers (Adomako Ampofo, Okyerefo & Pervarah, 2009) and the recognition that men just as women have problems but are marginalised (Connell, 2001; Rutherfford cited in Rheddock, 2004; Tereskinas, 2016). Authors such as Connell (2005); Ituala-Abumere (2013); Newton (2002); Vandello, Hettinger, Bosson and Siddiqi (2013) for instance point out that, masculinity is in crisis and that men face inequalities as well. The assertions on masculinity being in crisis is founded on the notions that not all men are able to live up to the expected performance of masculinity such as being strong, dominant and the bread winners. For instance, changes occurring on the economic front such as women's labour force participation and consequently their economic independence and participation in the financial provision of the home are identified to be a source of crisis and emasculation in men (Dover, 2005; Newton, 2002; Tereskinas, 2016; Zdravomyslova & Temkina, 2013).

Accordingly, masculinity studies have been applied to several areas of research in the social sciences, health (Courtney, 2000; Evans, Frank, Ollife, & Gregory, 2011; The Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA), United Nations 2011; Tannenbaum & Frank, 2011) sports (Drummond, 2002) and military (e.g. Holmgren, 2013). Other areas include work (Haile & Siegman, 2013; McGinley, 2016), construction of masculinity (Bird, et al.,

2006; Usta, et al., 2015), patterns of identity in men (Cassey, Masters, Beadnell, Wells, Morrison & Hoppe, 2016), Schools (Khodji-Molji, 2012; Pascoe, 2007) and racial studies (Enck-Wanzer, 2009; Sabri, et al., 2016). Family/fatherhood studies (Brandth & Kvande, 2015; Brandth & Kvande, 1998; DESA, 2011; Hobson, 2004), Gender Based Violence studies (Cassey et al, 2016; Dagirmanjian, et al., 2016; Fulu, Jewkes, Rosselli & Garcia-Moreno, 2013; Gevers et al, 2013; Peralta & Tuttle, 2013; Yount, et al., 2016), sexuality (Tamale, 2011) and religion (Neal, 2011; Powers, 2002) have also received attention in recent times.

A key phenomenon that emerges from all these studies is the pertinent role of discourse or language. These studies argue that as a product of gender socialisation, masculinity is a learned behaviour and an identity acquired through social interaction (Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Beiras et al., 2015; Connell & Messerschimdt, 2005; Harris, 1995; Ituala-Abumere, 2013; Ratele, 2016). Discourses on gender shape the identity of members of society, inform how they behave and has an impact on how the recipients of the discourse behave (Cusack & Manuh, 2009; Hooks, 2001). Harris (1995) notes that gender role performances emanate from the internalization of received messages on the part of the recipient and how they interpret the received messages.

Courtney (2000); Evans, et al., (2011) and Tannenbaum and Frank (2011) applying masculinity to the field of health observed that the health seeking behaviour of men are informed by messages (healthy or unhealthy) on men and how they are expected to behave. These men thus beheld their health through the dominant ideals of manhood of the strong, tough and self-reliant

man and health seeking as a form of weakness. Beiras et al., (2015) in looking at masculinity construction and violence observed from their study that men's violent attitude centred on fashioning themselves to meet the expectations of the metaphor of the bull in Spanish discourse. Peraltra and Tuttle (2013) who also studied masculinity and violence revealed that internalised allusions of messages on men's expectations contributed largely to their use of violence. These men thus used violence as a form of masculine capital to reinstate their dominant role when they fall short of their expectations. Adomako Ampofo and Boateng (2007) in their study on the construction of masculinity among young men identified that these boys constructed their identity as men based on the existing discourses of what is to be female and male in their community, as well as men as heads and women as domestic bearers.

Despite the widespread application of the concept of masculinity to diverse disciplines, some scholars (David, Albert & Vizmanos, 2017; Edstrom & Shahrokh, 2016 & Jones,2006) highlight that there is still paucity of attention in relation to development studies. For example, Jones (2006) argues that a search of literature on women and international development produces about 4, 000 more literature than can be found in the case of men and international development. Furthermore, the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) on gender equality (Goal 5) for instance is critiqued for neglecting masculinity issues or issues affecting men in particular (Edstrom & Shahrokh, 2016). Seven out of the nine objectives in the Goal 5 are targeted at addressing women issues while the remaining are couched in a neutral manner and not particularly addressing the issue of masculinity (Edstrom & Shahrokh, 2016).

However, embedded in the Gender and Development (GAD) theory is the acknowledgement of the importance and necessity for prioritising men and masculinity issues in working towards achieving gender equality and empowerment. A focus on men and masculinity issues it is argued helps in identifying challenges and inequalities faced by men, highlights the unequal social relations between women and men, and also disputes the notion that development issues can be addressed only through the lenses of women's challenges (Cornwall, 1997; Green, Robles, Pawlak, 2011; Levi, Taheer & Vouhe, 2000; Parpart, Connelly & Barriteau, 2000). Cornwall (1997) notes that by looking at development from the 'perspective of the oppressed woman, the problematic male while disregarding the complexities of male experience, development initiatives aimed at being 'gender aware' can fail to address efficiently the issues of equity and empowerment that are crucial in bringing about positive change' (pg. 8).

Furthermore, studies in the field of masculinities are also wrought with the challenge of the concentration of literature from the global north despite the widespread application and the potential attention that studies in this field offers. Most literature on masculinity have emanated from countries such as United States, Australia and Europe with few coming from the global south (Jones, 2006; Miescher, 2005). Masculinity literature in Africa for instance is noted to be scanty (Miescher, 2005; Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005; Ratele, 2016). A search of masculinity literature reveals a handful (in comparison to other regions) of journal articles and books focusing on African masculinities. The concentration of these literature to the global north, however, poses a challenge for application of certain aspects of the findings and argument to other parts of

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the world such as Africa, given that masculinity and its performance have geographical limitations (Ratele, 2016; 2008; Wetherell & Edley, 2014,1999). It is noteworthy that Connell (2005) asserts that masculinity as a concept, does not exist for all societies. Barker and Ricardo (2005) also notes that the existing discourses surrounding what is considered a man in a specific society is noted to shape how men act out their maleness.

The geographical specificity of masculinity also poses methodological and conceptual concerns within this field of inquiry. Methodologically, masculinity is identified to be a concept very difficult to measure or too fluid to conceptualise (Robinson, 2013). Also, embedded in this methodological and conceptual challenge is the idea of discourse. Two main debates underlie the challenge of conceptualising masculinity (Connell, 2001, 2005; Hearn, 1996). These arguments centre around whether the concept of masculinity is in reference to the biological male or that it is an acquired social identity. The former suggests masculinity is biologically determined and essentially male. It is perceived a male trait inhabited by all men. Relying on factors such as genetics, masculinity is believed by this perspective to be fixed, intrinsic in men and emanating from male bodies (Connell, 2005). That is once a person is born male, he automatically imbues masculinity. To this argument therefore masculinity is just one form, the male. Given this explanation, masculinity findings can be generalised.

The argument that masculinity is socially acquired nonetheless positions masculinity in specific contexts thereby making it difficult to generalise. Founded in social constructionist theories for example, feminist theories, social learning theory, hegemonic masculinity theory, discursive-

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psychology theory and the symbolic interactionism theory this perspective argues that masculinity is a learned behaviour and identity acquired through social interaction. It is more within this argument that the fluidity of masculinity is made evident. As a learned behaviour, aligned to a particular context, masculinity thus becomes flexible, amenable to change and multiple along the lines of race and or ethnicity (e.g. American, African, Asian, Black or white masculinities) and socio-demographic characteristics such as age, social class, education, and employment types (Adomako Ampofo et al., 2009; Miescher, 2005; Ratele, 2016).

Masculinity Studies and the Place of Discourse in Ghana

There exist, enormous work on gender studies in Ghana. Underpinning all these studies is the acknowledgement of the importance of understanding masculinity and its critical role to development and gender relations (Adomako Ampofo & Prah, 2009; Cusack & Manuh, 2009). Also, evident in these studies is the fact that discourses on gender are key to how men behave. These studies identify masculinity performance, men's position in society and associated privileges as contributing to social problems such as women's participation in mainstream society from issues of education, health, engagement in national politics to Gender Based violence. One key attributing factor to Gender Based Violence (GBV) for instance in the country has been the messages men hear as part of their socialisation and the acceptance of these discourses (Adjah & Agbemafle, 2016; Adomako Ampofo & Prah, 2009; Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Ammah-Konney, 2009; Cusack & Manuh, 2009; Institute of Development Studies, Ghana Statistical Service & Associates, 2016; Nukunya, 2003; Odoi, 2012; Oduyoye, 2009).

Further, studies that have specifically focused on men in Ghana such as fatherhood (Adomako Ampofo, Okyerefo & Pervarah, 2009; Health (Ataborah & Adomako Ampofo 2016); Construction of masculinity (Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Adomako Ampofo & Prah, 2009; Miescher, 2005) and sexuality studies (Adomako Ampofo, 2002) all emphasise discourses as being key to men's enactment of their masculinities. Miescher (2005) in his work, the Making of Men in Ghana shows how storytelling, norms on gender and the introduction of Basel missionary in Kwawu, education and formal employment fostered a change in the understanding of masculinity in his study participants. Adomako Ampofo and Boateng (2007) also reveal the significance of messaging on women and men's role in constructing young boys understanding of masculinities.

Statement of the Problem

In spite of the understanding researchers in gender and masculinities in Ghana have about masculinity and its relevance to men's behaviour and the place of discourse in men's behaviour, these studies have rarely focused on discourses as a specific subject of interest. By employing the hegemonic masculinity arguments as the foundation for explaining men's behaviour for example, these studies have failed to address which discourses are informing men's behaviour in Ghana. However, as the foundational argument for men's conduct, it is pertinent that researchers in this field tease out more explicitly and from men's perspectives the discourses of masculinity they are hearing, their understanding of these discourses and how they engage these discourses in their daily lives in order to make conclusive arguments. Edley (2001) and Wetherell & Edley (2014, 1999) note that for masculinity studies to be

effective in annexing the intricacies in masculinity performance and identity, there is the need to focus on discourses that shape men's identity as the site of investigation.

Further, evident in literature is the fact that masculinity is geographically specific and that the existing discourses surrounding masculinities in a specific society shapes how men act out their maleness (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Connell, 2005; Ratele, 2016). A review of masculinity literature in Ghana, however, points to the fact that these studies have mainly focused on masculinities from just one ethnic group, the Akan (Miescher, 2005; Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Adomako Ampofo et al., 2009). To therefore be able to engage the place of Ghanaian masculinities in general, it is imperative that researchers in the field expand their coverage to be able to identify the various discourses on masculinity existing in Ghana and how men interpret these discourses in their communities to shape behaviour and construct masculinity.

This is to also have a conclusive understanding and representation of what constitutes masculinity in Ghana. Ghana, is a multicultural and multi religious society (Adomako Ampofo et al., 2009; Asante & Gyimah-Boadi, 2004; Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). Consequently, a great variety (although there may be some similarities) exists around how gender systems and socialisation are organised. To bridge these gaps in masculinity studies in Ghana, this study seeks to explore from a cosmopolitan perceptive, using the Greater Accra Metropolitan Assembly (GAMA) as a case, masculinity discourses on one hand, and how men make meaning of the discourses and employ them in (re)constructing their perceived masculine selves. GAMA is a

100 percent urban setting. GAMA also serves as the capital town of Ghana and the economic hub of the Greater Accra region. With these characteristics, the metropolis attracts persons from all parts of the country (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). The selection of GAMA thus offers the opportunity to cover persons of diverse background and various ethnic groups in the country and to identify diverse forms of masculinity discourses from the various ethnic groups in the country.

Objectives of the Study

The general objective of the study was to explore how men in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA) engage masculinity discourses in the (re)construction of their perceived masculine selves. More specifically the study sought to:

1. Explore existing masculinity discourses in the GAMA

2. Explore how masculinity is performed in the GAMA

3. Explore how discourses are used to legitimise masculinity in the GAMA

4. Ascertain how men in the GAMA interpret or make meaning of masculinity discourses

5. Profile how masculinity discourses structure forms of masculinity in the GAMA

Research Questions

To meet these objectives, the following questions guided the study

1. What are the existing masculinity discourses in the GAMA?

2. How is masculinity performed in the GAMA?

3. How are discourses engaged to legitimise masculinity in the GAMA?

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4. How do men in the GAMA interpret or make meaning of masculinity discourses?

5. How do masculinity discourses structure masculinity in the GAMA?

Scope of the Study

The study explored how men in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area employ discourses on masculinity in constructing their perceived masculine selves. Using selected communities in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area of Ghana, the study investigated the forms of discourses on masculinity in Ghana, the sources of these discourses, how men interpret these masculinity discourses available to them while going about their daily lives and ways in which the men's interpretation of masculinity discourses structure different forms of masculinity in Ghana. The study setting was selected for its cosmopolitan nature. A review of masculinity literature in Ghana pointed to the fact that these studies have mainly focused on masculinities from just one ethnic group, the Akan. GAMA was thus chosen to bridge this gap. The study area offered the opportunity to identify diverse forms of masculinity discourses from the various ethnic groups in the country.

This study's interest in discourse rests on the assumption that the way men go about fashioning and identifying their masculine identity is dependent on the messages on the norms of maleness and femaleness existing in their environment. Discourses are noted to shape the identity of members of society, inform how they behave and has impact on how the recipients of the discourse behave (Cusack & Manuh, 2009; Hooks, 2001). Discourse is defined differently by researchers according to their disciplines (Bucholtz, 2003; Burr, 2003; Crystal, 1997). For the purpose of this study, discourse refers to the

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verbal and non-verbal messages and language on norms of femaleness and maleness that shapes relationships of members in society, how they understand their interaction and how they are to act.

Significance of the Study

Eminent in current gender and development literature globally is the fundamental role of focusing on men and boys in gender studies to ensure the achievement of sustainable gender equality and development (Edstrom & Sharockh, 2016; Jones, 2006). Edstrom and Sharockh assert engaging boys and men serves the opportunity to challenge their investment into harmful norms and customs which impinges on their engagement in vices such as sexual and gender-based violence. Further, in Ghana, evidence suggest men's engagement in harmful masculinity performance such as gender violence emerge from messages on masculinity men get exposed to during socialisation.

This study offers insights into discourses of masculinity in Ghana, how these discourses shape masculinity identity formation and performance and further provides the avenue to interrogate how men interpret masculinity discourses and their influence on their behaviour. The findings of the study stand to offer gender and development advocates a tool to engage men in addressing harmful masculinity behaviours and further in reconstructing any toxic behaviour. It also offers the space for men as a group to identify the impact of masculinity discourses have on them. Finally, the study seeks to contribute to theorising masculinity pertaining to the Ghanaian context.

Organisation of the Study

The study is organised into seven chapters. The first chapter introduces the study. It presents the general overview of the study, the statement of the

problem, the study objectives and research questions, significance and the scope of the study and the section outlining how the write up of the thesis is structured.

The second chapter, which addresses the theoretical, conceptual issues and empirical review, in the first part presents the theory used for the study. The second section discusses the key concepts emanating from the topic and discussion of the theory and empirical review, and finally the conceptual framework guiding the study. The symbolic interactionist theory was employed in this study. The concepts addressed are language, the self and role play or reflexivity as emanated from the theory. Other key words discussed were discourse and masculinity. The third chapter presents the research design and methods employed for the study.

The discussion of findings covers three chapters; chapters four, five and six. The fourth chapter themed, learning to be men: discourses of masculinity and their sources, discusses the discourses of masculinity identified by the study and how participants come about these discourses. The section discusses responses to two of the objectives. The first objective which sought to explore discourses of masculinity and the second objective which looked at how masculinity is performed in Ghana. The fifth chapter which also discusses findings from the third and fourth objective, looks at how men interpret masculinity discourses and engage these discourses in their daily lives. In the seventh chapter, the study profiles the forms of masculinity existing in the study area. The write up is divided into two parts. The first section tests the application of the study data from two key masculinity perspectives in

masculinity literature before moving on to attempt the profiling of masculinities in the study area.

The section on summary, conclusions, and recommendations constitutes the seventh and final chapter of this thesis. This segment of the thesis summarises the whole work, draws conclusions from the findings of the work and makes recommendations for future studies.

CHAPTER TWO

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter presents the theory underlying the study, the concepts of interest to the study, a section on empirical literature reviewed and the conceptual framework guiding the study. The section begins with a conceptual overview of discourse and masculinity. The discussion here addresses the working definitions of discourse and masculinity as pertains to this study.

Discourse and Masculinity: A Conceptual Overview

The Concept of Discourse

Discourse as a concept and object of study is said to be a contemporary phenomenon (Pascoe, 2007; Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002; Edley, 2001). Influenced by Foucault (Burr, 2003; Mills, 2001), discourse studies are mostly carried out by people interested in identity, subjectivity, personal and social change and power relations. As a modern phenomenon, discourse studies are said to be plagued with conceptualisation problems. The concept of discourse is given different meaning by different authors (Burr, 2003; Carling, 2004; Mills, 2001) or often used arbitrarily without being defined (Jorgensen & Philips, 2002). Mills (2001, p.1) postulates that the phrase 'discourse' has become so much of a common currency in a variety of disciplines. It is possibly the term with the 'widest range of significations in literary and cultural theory, and yet it is often the term within theoretical texts which is least defined' and where defined is it shrouded in fluidity.

Hicks (1995), however, states as a key notion in much current work in the social sciences, the meaning of discourse varies according to the

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discipline(s) that researchers draw on. For instance, while in applied linguistics, discourse is frequently, used to refer to a stretch of language; spoken or written in context (Bucholtz, 2003; Crystal, 1997; Mercer, 1995) for many in the social sciences, notably post-structuralist social philosophers such as Foucault (1980), discourse refers to socially and historically situated domains of knowledge or ways of understanding the world. Burr (2003) notes that, when discursive psychologists use discourse, they denote an instance of situated language use. That is their reference is to spoken language. However, discourse can also be, written text. Deconstructionist reference to discourse, however, goes further than language, to look at associated practices (Burr, 2003).

Key to all these definitions is the observation that, discourse is more than language and talk. It is a practice which forms the objects of which they speak (Foucault, 1972 cited in Burr, 2003). It refers to a set of meanings, metaphors, representations, images, stories, statements among others that together produce a version of events which is manifested in text, speech-conversation, written materials such as novels and newspaper, visual images like magazines, films among others. Discourse basically thus becomes anything that can be read for meaning.

Additionally, discourses are sanctioned statements and describe the world from which it originates, categorises the social world and plays a critical role in the lives of people and have institutional force. It provides the framework for the conception of reality in, a given context. Discourses prescribe behaviour and identity of its constituents and consequently have huge implication on how individuals think and act (Mills, 2001; Parker, 1992 cited in Nowosenetz, 2007). Children for instance are said to construct the social

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world through exposure to and participation in verbally marked events, cues and practices that convey these meanings. Gender and language researchers such as Shitemi (2009) and Sunderland (2004) note that it is difficult to talk about gender without talking about discourse.

Similarly, discourses come in several forms, those that are spoken and disappear in short periods and those that linger on for generations (Foucault, 1970). For the latter, it is the avenue through which the culture, norms and values of society are transferred. Further, discourses 'differ with the kinds of institutions and social practices in which they take shape and with the positions of those who speak and those whom they address' (McDowell, 1986 cited in Mills, 2001). In gender studies, discourse dissemination is made possible through socialisation. It is the tool used to pass on the accepted roles and values to persons in the socialisation process. At the same time, these discourses are engaged and used to sustain the expected practices of members of society (Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Cusack & Manuh, 2009; Oduyoye, 2009). Dominant discourses may inform and construct gender and the meanings attributed to masculinity and femininity.

Effect of Discourse

Discourses thus have varying effects on its users. While they make it possible to communicate and understand the world around us, they also have constraining effects on what can be spoken or by whom and to whom (Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Hooks, 2001) and create an effect of truth about how people are to behave which may neither be true nor false (Foucault, 1980 cited in Fox, 1998). Foucault in his work, *Archelogy of Knowledge* identifies discourse as having the effect of truth, inclusion and

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exclusion which are embedded with power and knowledge (Baumgarten & Ullrich, 2016; Hooks, 2001; Mills, 2001; Smith, 1972). Mills (2001) notes that in thinking about the effect discourse has, one needs to, consider the factors of truth, power and knowledge, as they offer the foundation on which the effect of discourse lies.

The effect of truth embedded in discourses is reliant on the person professing a discourse and most probably the person receiving such discourses. Accordingly, discourses do not drive the same effect to and by all members of society. Not all members of society can engage in all forms of discourses. There is a limit to who can make certain pronouncements and whose pronouncements are accepted and adhered to. In other words, discourse harbours prohibition, division, position, and rejection (Foucault, 1970). For instance, when a discourse emanates from a significant member of society such as a preacher, parent, elderly persons, lawyer, policy makers among others, it is seen to wield more power and has an indefinite effect contrary to similar utterances by for example a child or a mentally disabled (Fox, 1998; Foucault, 1990). The effect of discourse is lasting and shapes the identity of people all through their lives. Marcellino (2014) for instance indicates that in the culture of the military, soldiers acquire a way of speaking that has 'life and death stakes for them but nonetheless continue to perform over their careers and transcends to the general community when communicating with civilians. To Marcellino this is because it is on that manner of speech that their values rest.

In a comparable manner, there are limitations on individuals who could enter certain discourses (Baumgarten & Ullrich, 2016; Foucault, 1970). For example, an untrained medical personnel or lawyer cannot and are not expected

to enter the same level of professional discourse as one who is fully qualified. Likewise, women and men, parent-child and teacher-student. This nature of discourse also informs us on how we accept things as truth and further our understanding of the messages received. For example, depending on who the discourse is emanating from, a recipient is more likely to interpret that as truth and not otherwise. The effect of truth from discourses especially uttered by significant members of society as identified in gender violence studies is a major course of men's engagement in gender violence.

Discourse as described in gender studies literature can be characterized by three key features, that it is communicated, performed and sustained by legitimizing institutions in society. Further, these discourses are and or can be communicated in two main forms, verbal and non-verbal. Verbal communication refers to the spoken language experienced through interaction. It is the direct oral communication between people in the interaction process (Burr, 2003). Non-verbal communication on the other hand is a wordless form of articulating one's intent (Hall, 1959 cited in Aliakbari & Abdollahi, 2013). This is conveyed through cues, gestures, body language, dressing, written text such as magazines, text books, non-verbal theatrical performance among others (Aliakbari & Abdollahi, 2013; Holman, 1980). Clothing as a form of communication for instance expresses the occasion, the sex of the wearer, association to a group among others (Holman, 1980).

Communication, however, is not one way. Discourses are therefore expected to produce certain responses the results of which constitutes the performance characteristics of discourse. Core to gender discourses for instance are social norms. These norms transmitted verbally and non-verbally

are used to prescribe and administer the appropriate ways of behaving for females and males (Ram, Strohschein & Gaur, 2014). In response, these women and men are expected to behave in accordance with the norms appropriate to their gender. This they do through gender role performance. Harris (1995), notes that 'young boys become men by responding to situational demands and social pressures'.

These gender role performances emanate from the internalization of received messages on the part of the recipient and how they interpret the received messages (Harris, 1995). Informed with the expectations around how they, ought to behave, these women and men scrutinize the various demands placed upon them by their culture, peers, work colleagues, teachers, religious leaders and their family to construct their own gender identities (Pascoe, 2007). This process produces a subjective effect of gender performance. That is, how a particular woman or man, behaves is solely dependent on the gender discourses embedded in and available to him or her in their culture. Performance of gender discourses thus change with time. Age, family responsibility, work, exposure to other cultures, globalization among others change how people perceive and live discourses. Accordingly, recipients of discourse may not always act in accordance with the messages.

Discourses that shape these gender identities are transmitted in various spaces in the community, the home, schools, work environment, religious gatherings, other social gatherings and among peers (Anderson, 2004; Cusack & Manuh, 2009) and it is within these spaces that performance and legitimizing occurs. In all these spaces exist socialization agents, families, institutions, peer groups, and other platforms noted to be the key institutions that entrench the

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existence and performance of discourse (Connell, 2010; Omar, 2011). Considered significant associates, these institutions are responsible for transmitting and sanctioning discourse related performances. They hold the members of the community accountable for the for the proper or otherwise performance of these norms. They reward and or sanction when members in the interaction process fail to meet the expectations or conform to gender-role standards.

Messages and norms that friends, family members and social institutions reinforce as appropriate behaviour for men and women, including the acceptability of violence within different context become what shapes persons in the interactions process. Omar (2011) and Pascoe (2007) demonstrate how educational institutions through teaching, sporting culture among others socialize and reward hegemonic and dangerous masculinity practices as a form of appropriate masculinity. Omar (2011) found in her study that acceptance of violence as a sports culture on college campuses predispose college athletes to accept gender based violence as normal than their non-sporting colleagues. Connell (2010) notes that in 'managerial masculinities' for instance attitudes are embedded in the routines of organizational daily life, in the work of management, and in the ideologies of the corporate world.

In gender interaction, discourses available places men in higher authority which creates the make believe that they can act in ways ordinarily unavailable to other members of society, women and girls and children. Women more often do not have the same access as men to speaking rights, as has been amply documented by various studies (Adomako Ampofo & Prah, 2009; Oduyoye, 2009; Ammah-konney, 2009; Tannen, 1990 cited in Mills,

2001). This assumed position of authority predisposes men as justified or feel justified to act in certain ways unavailable to other members of society. Gender socialisation and or feminist researchers' arguments on why gender based violence occurs for instance indicate that gender role messages women and men receive from their social environments; norms of male authority, acceptance of wife beating among others affect the levels of men's use of violence (Heise, 2011; Harris, 1995). Clowes (2005) accounts how a magazine 'Drum' through advertisement and its writing portrays various discourses, performances and relations in masculinity. It showed how from little boys, males were expected to take part in their share of domestic work but grow up not to have any role in these. It also shows how men are shaped as breadwinners and guardians of the family purse and further through this shape men's relationship with their sons.

During socialisation, the culturally accepted behaviours of society are handed on. These messages highlight the value of distinctiveness of duties for women and men. In the creation of these distinctions, certain culturally established boundaries of acceptable individual social behavior and relations are set. In this process, it is men who gain access to this dominant, patriarchal position and associated privileges one of which is violence use or engage in gender based violence. Adomako Ampofo and Prah (2009); Butler (1999) and Webley (2014) state that gender roles create and support social stratification and inequality where men are raised superior and more prestigious over women in all aspects of their lives including being granted the permission to use violence against women. In some societies, per this socialisation a man's right to violence becomes unquestionable. It is impractical to argue about men's

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violence against women as it is bequeathed on a man to guide and be responsible for a wife's behaviour and correction (Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2016; Robinson, 2013; Zakar, Zakar & Kraemer, 2013; Serpe & Stryker, 2011; Tamale, 2011; Nukunya, 1992; Parker, 1992). Niekerk and Boonzaier (2016) in their work found that men interpreted their violence and subordination of women to be a 'patriarchal right'.

A United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA) report in 2000, observed that the customary accepted belief that a husband has the right to beat or coerce his wife in Asia and Africa was a profoundly held belief, which resulted in the acceptance of violence even among women of higher status (cited in Kimani, 2012). Ilkkaracan and Jolly (2007) argue that beliefs claiming that women should be pure and chaste can lead to female genital mutilation, honour killings and restrictions on women's mobility should they go contrary, while notions that men should be macho can mean that certain violent practices such as sexual violence is expected in men rather than condemned.

The use of violence as a masculinity practice, Peralta and Tuttle (2013) note, stems from the fact that it is the most easily accessible resource for establishing their masculine self. For instance, it is observed, hegemonic discourses that tie masculinity to one's ability to support one's self and one's partner or family challenges men's masculinity when these resources are not available resulting in violence as a measure of establishing the lost authority. Niekerk and Boonzaier (2016), Peralta and Tuttle (2013) and Silberschmidt (2005) found that men's difficulties in providing financial assistance to the household undermined their social roles and their social value. Men in their study positioned themselves as men mainly through their ability to provide.

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Possessing no means to change their economic status these men responded by developing macho attitudes and resorting to physical violence against women. Engaging in harmful masculine behaviours thus becomes compensatory to their lost status and serves to accrue their masculine capital (Arnell, 2014; Peralta & Tuttle, 2013).

Deriving from these arguments and types of discourses and bearing in mind gender construction as the subject of investigation, this study uses discourse to refer to the messages and language on norms of femaleness and maleness that shapes relationships of members in society, how they understand their interaction and how they are to act. These discourses can be verbal and non-verbal obtained through observation, written texts among others. The definition of discourse from this perspective is to relate it to the everyday social practices that shapes the attitudes and behaviours of members of society and is embedded in Foucault's definition which looks at socially and historically situated domains of knowledge or ways of understanding the world.

Masculinity: A Conceptual Overview

The concept of masculinity is noted in literature to be a fairly new historical product, about a few 100 years old (Connell, 2005). According to Connell (2005) masculinity is 'fabricated on the theory of individualism that surfaced in early modern Europe with the growth of colonialism and capitalism'. Knowledge about masculinities, however, developed more rapidly over the past three decades (Adinkrah, 2012; Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Courtenay, 2000; Tereskinas, 2016). Rutherford (1988) attributes this to the 'recognition of the fact that men have problems and in part to the erosion of the 'myth that men are neither a problem nor have problems'

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(cited in Rheddock, 2004). Connell (2001) affirming this also characterises the upsurge in masculinity studies to cultural disturbance about gender and the position of men. Others have also attributed this to the benefits masculinity studies offer in addressing pressing gender issues in society such as gender based violence, family friendly benefits and reconstructing masculinities.

While masculinity studies grew out of discussions emerging from empirical works in the 1980s and 90s from the global north, Australia, Britain and the USA, the perceived importance and benefits of masculinity studies have led to the upsurge of scholarship from other parts of the world (Connell, 2005; Miescher, 2005; Yount et al, 2016). We have work on masculinities from many regions and countries, Asia, Middle East and Africa (Ataborah & Adomako Ampofo, Adomako Ampofo & Prah, 2009; Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Connell, 2005; Connell, 2001; Miescher, 2005; Ouzgane & Morrell, 2005; Ratele, 2016, 2008) and expansion in the field of application (Connell, 2005).

Masculinity as a concept has also been applied to several disciplines within the social sciences and the humanities, health (Adinkrah, 2012; Andoh-Arthur, Knizek, Osafo, & Hjelmeland, 2018; Ataborah &Adomako Ampofo , 2016; Courtenay, 2000; Tannenbaum & Frank, 2011; Rheddock, 2004), Education and workplace (Khoja-Moolji, 2012; Cockburn, 1983), Sexuality studies and Sports (Ratele, 2011; Omar, 2011), Gender Based Violence studies (Beiras, Cantera, & de Alencar-Rodrígues 2015; Cusack & Manuh, 2009; Gevers et al, 2013), Fatherhood (Adomako Ampofo, Okyerefo & Pervarah, 2009), Psychology (Wetherell & Edley, 2014, 1999), Men in the military

(Holmgren, 2013), Men in batterer intervention programmes (Abrahams et al, 2004, 2006) and Reconstructing masculinities (Beiras et al, 2006).

With the considerable achievements in the application and the bourgeoning works, however, masculinity studies are still faced with the challenge of conceptualisation. The idea has been tagged too complex and fluid to theorize (Cassey, Masters, Beadnell, Wells, Morrison & Hoppe, 2016; Rheddock, 2004). Donaldson (1993) sums up the complexity in conceptualising masculinity is this manner 'masculinity as a notion is slippery and difficult as the idea'. Connell (2005) further notes that masculinity is not a coherent object about which a generalizing science can be produced. For example, equated with men, the concept masculinity has in most literature on this subject matter been left undefined and left to the judgement of audience to know that whenever the concept is evoked it is in reference to men.

Connell (2005), however, identifies four themes around which the concept of masculinity has been defined within the social sciences namely; the essentialist, positivist social science, normative and the semiotic approaches. The key difference between these four is what they each emphasis. The essentialists Connell notes for example focus on features. They pick on an item perceived as a key distinctive attribute of men (such as risk taking, aggression and responsibility) and employ it in defining masculinity. She, however, argues that such an approach makes the definition arbitrary. Positivist social science on the other hand defines masculinity as what men actually are. Still defining masculinity in terms of male traits, positivist social science, represents masculinity as the nature of men. Connell (2005) attributes this thinking to the basis of the Masculinity/Femininity (M/F) scale in psychology whose items are

validated by showing statistical discrimination between groups of women and men.

Couched within expectations of what is manly, the normative definition conceptualizes masculinity as what men ought to be. Embedded within this definition is also the subjectivity in what is considered masculinity which Connell (2005) critiques. To Connell, by limiting masculinity to individual levels, this definition allows different men to approach the standards of masculinity to a different degree which in turn produces paradoxes. The final approach, the semiotic definition explains masculinity as being contrary to femininity. This definition focuses more on masculinity as being relational to femininity. It deserts the level of personality and define masculinity through a system of symbolic difference in which masculine and feminine place are contrasted thereby escaping the 'arbitrariness of essentialness and the paradoxes of the positivist and normative definitions'. Aligning with this definition, Ituala-Abumere (2013) for instance intimates that the closest answer to masculinity is to indicate that it entails those 'behaviours, languages, and practices, existing in specific cultural and organizational locations, which are commonly associated with males and thus culturally defined as, not feminine'.

Nonetheless the main debate on the fluidity of masculinity or the difficulty in conceptualising masculinity in literature straddles two main arguments, biological determinism and social construction. This debate is associated with the question of whether masculinity refers to the biological male or the expectations and performance of what is deemed masculine (Connell, 2005; Greig, Kimmel & Lang, 2000). Greig et al., (2000) posit that albeit the fact that these schools of thought, biological determinism and social

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construction acknowledge the usefulness of masculinity in explaining men's behavior, they differ in their description of what constitutes masculinity. Sanchez, Greenberg, Liu and Vilain (2010) for instance, note that although masculinity and femininity are commonly used in everyday language in relation to the physical and biological differences between men and women, most of the characteristics that are associated with masculinity and femininity are socially constructed.

Another pressing question is whether masculinity is just about men. Although most societies assume masculinity is fixed and that true masculinity flows from men's bodies and is inherent in the male body (Connell, 2005), there are also others who believe that masculinity can be inhabited by women thereby disputing masculinity as a male's domain and further masculinity being associated with a particular biological or physiological make up (Lwambo, 2011; Miescher, 2005). Connell (2005), for instances defines masculinities as simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture.

These two sides of the debate can, however, be situated in the four definitions identified by Connell (2005). The argument on the biology of masculinity for instance aligns more to the essentialist and positivist social sciences definitions of masculinity. This argument postulates that masculinity is a biological determination, an inborn characteristic of males that, distinguishes them from females and not amenable to change. That is once you are born male, you imbue masculinity. Masculinity as regards this is defined and considered as, one form encompassing all males, an essential aspect of

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men's nature and fixed (Mohammed, 2004). From this perspective, men's dominant and privileged status over women, hinges on their genetic inclination to be physically strong, aggressive and having high sexual drive whereas females are predisposed to being passive, weak and sexually reserved (Adomako Ampofo & Prah, 2009; Cusack & Manuh, 2009; Ituala-Abumere, 2013). According to Greig et al (2000) going by the biological argument, masculinity is or can be viewed as

> men's nature, and as such helps to explain not only differences but also inequalities between men and women. Men's political, economic and cultural privileges arise from their 'masculine advantage', as variously reflected in genetic predisposition to aggression (in contrast to the passivity of femininity), physical strength (in contrast to the weakness of femininity) and sexual drives [in contrast to the sexual reserve of femininity] (Greig et al, 2000, p.3).

Although masculinity on more occasions than not is still defined in variance to females, the biological conceptualisation of masculinities and its associated indispensability is challenged. Discursive or social constructionist perspective on masculinities, have come to identify masculinity as performance, fluid, and multifarious beyond biology (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Clowes, 2005). Barker and Ricardo (2005) and Connell (2005) and other authors of masculinity for instance identify variations in masculinity across societies shaped by power relations between females and males and within males. Connell (2005), notes that by limiting masculinity to a physical sense of maleness and a certain feel to the skin, muscular shapes and tensions, posture, certain possibilities in sex or bodily performance, masculinity cannot be sustained in for example instances of physical disability.

The social construction definition of masculinity thus refutes the innate characteristic of masculinity and aligns more to the normative and semiotic

definition of masculinity identified by Connell (2005). It views masculinity as a product of gender and a form of identity constructed through symbolic interaction (gender socialisation) across time and space (Beiras, Cantera & de Alencar-Rodrígues, 2015; Bhana, 2005; Connell, 2005; Vahed, 2005). To the social constructionist, masculinity is formed in the environment and learnt overtime from members of society, family, peers, religion, school, social groups, priest, journalist, politicians, designers, play writes, film makers, actors, novelists, musicians, activists, among others (Donaldson, 1993; Peralta & Tuttle, 2013). It is further determined by the roles, expected behaviour, dress code among others associated with a particular gender most often, male (Kachel, Steffens & Niedlich, 2016; Salamone, 2005).

Bhana (2005); Khoja-Moolji (2012) and Pascoe (2007) for instance identify schools as one important arena where masculinity and more importantly violent masculinity is learnt. Ammah-Konney (2009), Andersen (2003) and Oduyoye (2009) also show how religious teachings become critical in shaping masculinity and grant men power. Clowes (2005) concentrating on a particular magazine in South Africa, the 'Drum magazine' showed how the media shaped and transformed what is considered masculinity and manhood through media space. Through media discourses, the Drum incorporated and eliminated what is considered masculinity from the male domestic being attached to his family to the public sphere male who has little or nothing at all to do with domesticity except providing financially for the up keep of the home. Further, Beiras, et al., (2015) acknowledging the socially constructed nature of masculinity conceptualise masculinity as a 'performative game that is enacted through the legitimation of peers in daily socialisation, made up of

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bodies that are standardised according to ideals of supposedly 'correct' or 'accepted' masculinity'.

It is, however, more within this social construction argument of masculinity that the fluidity and intricacy in conceptualising masculinity is made conspicuous. Within this context, masculinity embodies a range of components or features that rise, subject to change and decline in significance (Esplen et al., 2012; Khoja-Moolji, 2012). Masculinity becomes dynamic dependent on the existing gender regime specific to a society. Further, it is relational and has individual or subjective versus collective components. These characteristics make masculinity dynamic and not a fixed characteristic existing in the body or a personality trait. Further, it is a complex phenomenon involving continuous negotiation and thereby not making masculine standard in each society uniform for all men and also consistent for all ages (Bird, Delgado, Madrigal, Ochoa & Tejeda, 2006).

At the individual level, personal factors such as age, marriage, education and fatherhood determines the extent to which a person can engage masculinity and its benefits (Harris, 1995). For example, while it is not in the man's position in certain societies to do so-called feminine works such as undertaking domestic chores, cooking, cleaning and doing laundry, unmarried men are permitted to perform these effeminate roles for themselves and cease after marriage (Adomako & Boateng, 2007; Clowes, 2005; Miescher, 2005). Other factors such as political instability in the form of wars, economic changes, among many other structural changes all bring changes in masculinity (Clowes, 2005; Connell, 2005; Esplen et al., 2012; Overa, 2007). Colonialism on the African continent for instance changed the understanding of masculinity

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and femininity in Africa or slave societies and further aided individual men to cross certain hegemonic forms of masculinity. In Ghana, the Obrempong or big-man masculinities which hitherto were available to a few people and royalty became available to all who had the resources to live up to the standards required of this status (Holland, 2005; Miescher, 2005).

Another complex aspect of subjectivity in identifying what is masculinity is how a person chooses what form of masculinity identity to take on at a point in time. Connell and Messerchimidt (2005) and Connell (2001) point out that there are often contradictions between what is socially and culturally valued and what individual men do in the face of social expectations. A person can choose to adopt or approximate (hegemonic) masculinity as the context dictates and when strategically expedient or can distance themselves from perceived harmful masculinity practices or expressions. Cassey et al (2016) for instance identify that young adults are heterogeneous in constructing their masculinities. Millennial men for example are noted to reject dominance in their relationships. Ganle and Dery (2015) found out in their study on opportunities for men's involvement in maternal healthcare in Ghana that younger men aged between 20-30years, educated or resident in urban towns were more likely to accompany their wives to seek skilled maternal healthcare a development which is in conflict concerning traditional definitions of men's roles as breadwinners and their involvement in maternity care.

Esplen, Greig, Cornwall and Edstrom (2012), however, note that although masculinity patterns exist at the individual levels it is necessary to pay attention to the constellations of masculinity as well. These collectives play out at the institutional level such as the army, schools and sports teams. This

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Rheddock (2004) argues is because while men in society as a collective are powerful, when taken apart (individually) there are men who do not wield any power at all. This stems from the fact that the power of masculinity is socially constructed and unevenly manifested in homosocial relationships. They are subjugated to other men and in other instances to women. Donaldson (1993) notes while hegemonic masculinity for instance is centrally connected with institutions of male power of which most men benefit from, not all men can access or practice it. Ratele (2008) affirming these assertions states that although the dominant actions of males as a group against women is structurally supported, there are men who in their personal situations find themselves subordinate to men who are in ruling positions in society.

Masculinity is also said to be inherently relational (Esplen et al., 2012; Ituala-Abumere, 2013; Rheddock, 2004). It is chiefly defined in relation to femininities. The claim here is that masculinity does not exist except in relation/variance to femininity, men as intelligent, courageous, strong in contrast to the feminine weak thinker or unintelligent, soft individuals' incapable of venturing out alone, lack courage, have no tolerance to withstand adversity and are weak hearted (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Ituala-Abumere, 2013; Khan, 2009; Kumar, et al, 2002). Although defined mostly in contrast to femininity, masculinity is now often defined also in opposition to other masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Esplen, et al., 2012; Flecha, et al., 2013; Ituala-Abumere, 2013; Khan, 2009; Kumar, et al., 2002). For instance, while identified masculinity scholarship reveal that beyond a man's virility and having a family of his own is a major determinant of manhood, existing evidence suggests age in years and wealth status among

many grants some men power holding role. For example, older men getting power over younger ones and also the rich having power over poor or non-working men (Anandhi, Jeyaranjan & Institute of Development Alternative (IDA); Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Chennai, 2002; Miescher, 2005) which exhibit hierarchies and variations in masculinities.

Additionally, while the underlying themes in masculinity point to the fact that masculinity is defined in relation to male characteristics and practices, there exist also claims within the social construction argument that points to the fact that the concept is not limited to men but that women can equally possess the identified masculinity characteristics. The concept can be applied to women if they take the position of workers, providers of the home or assume other male responsibilities (Lwambo, 2011: Miescher, 2005). In the Akan tradition of Ghana, for instance a woman who has reached menopause, acquired male status and can take on masculine responsibilities such occupying male stools and dress in male fashion (Miescher, 2005). According to Akyeampong and Obeng (1995), postmenopausal ability to attain the status of ritual men is because they no longer posed a spiritual danger (cited in Miescher, 2007). Connell (2005) thus explicitly advises against the use of men, male and masculinity interchangeably.

Nonetheless, although females can embody masculinities, the idea critically, is argued as an ideology institutionally embedded within a field of power, and a set of practices engaged in by groups of men (Kimmel, 2002). These practices encapsulate qualities such as the patriarch husband, the wage earner the unemotional, independent, non-nurturing, aggressive, and dispassionate man (Cusack & Manuh, 2009; Morrell, 2005). The female

embodiment of masculinity also comes with issues of conflict (Lwambo, 2011) as it is not ordinarily expected of women to take on such roles and responsibilities.

Giving these dynamics in conceptualizing masculinity, this study conceptualizes masculinity as the socially assigned characteristics or the traditional traits of what is to be male in Ghana. These characteristics or traits encompass both the physiological (biological) expectations as well as the performance of gender roles produced in discourse. Defining masculinity in this manner captures both the biological and social construction argument of masculinity. It places more emphasis on the fact that gender and sex are constructs created by society through naming. The definition further gives room for women to be able to participate in masculinities. By emphasising on the 'what is to be male' the definition considers the assignment of masculinity to males as not actual but a practice subject to space and time and open to all persons who can take on these characteristics. For instance, for the fact that in Ghana a man who deviates from the appropriate male roles loses his male status to that of a female and likewise a woman perceived to be aggressive or more of a male gains the male status (Owusu & Bosiwah, 2014) suggest masculinity in Ghana is measured by gender performance, is fluid and open to all who perform these roles or expectation.

Masculinity Typologies

Advancing masculinity in relation to subjectivity, norms and expectations within a particular cultural and historical context produces multiple and diverse masculine identities (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Connell & Messerchmidt, 2005; Harris, 1995; Pascoe, 2007; Totten, 2003). The literature

masculinity shows a documentation of diverse categorisations of masculinities which reflect the impact of the fluid nature of masculinity. The first documented attempt at classifying masculinities, however, dates back to the work of Carrigan, Connell & Lee (1985) who first identified the concept of hegemonic masculinity by studying gender performances among teenagers in Australian schools. This was further developed by Connell in her grounding breaking work on masculinity 'Masculinities' in 1995. Connell consequently identifies four types of masculinity themed, hegemonic masculinity, complicit masculinity, marginalised masculinity, and subordinated masculinity (Connell, 2005). This development led to the acknowledgement that masculinities are plural rather than singular and, second, that different kinds of masculinities are constructed in relation to, and through struggles with, each other' (Wetherell & Edley, 2014).

Subsequent to these categorisations, there have been other forms of categorisations identified in gender and masculinity literature. Flecha, et al., (2013) for instance identify three forms of masculinity namely Dominant Traditional Masculinities (DTM), Oppressed Traditional Masculinities (OTM), and New Alternative Masculinities (NAM) while Ratele (2008) speaks of the ruling masculinities. All these masculinities when analysed critically, however, can be, put into the main four main forms identified by Connell (2005), hegemonic, complicit, marginalized and subordinate masculinities. For instance, the DTM of Flecha et al., (2013), Ruling masculinity of Ratele (2008) can be, aligned to the hegemonic masculinity while the OTM can further be, likened to complicit masculinity.

Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic or dominant masculinity is defined as the culturally and socially idealised ways of being male (Connell, 2005; Connell, 2001; Peralta & Tuttle, 2013). Drawing from Gramsci's (1971) analysis of social formation, the concept of hegemony looks at how ruling ideologies preserve the rights and the power of the powerful while marginalizing or subordinating others (cited in Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). It is about establishing domination (Donaldson, 1993; Wetherell & Edely; 1999). The term hegemonic masculinity thus denotes the 'ideal-typical, normative form of masculinity embodied by the socially most powerful males of a society and which all males in that society emulate to varying degrees' (Adinkrah, 2012).

It is a pattern of practice, which allows males dominance over females to prevail. Hegemonic masculinity emphasises competition wealth, aggression, heterosexuality, virility, strength, authority, power, leadership, intelligence wisdom; ability to bear pain, physical and emotional (Adomako Ampofo, 2001; Khan, 2009; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Salamone (2005) remarks among the Hausa of Nigeria, 'there is a cultural ideal of masculine superiority in which the maigida (household head) is the complete master of his home'. He is to must provide all the need of the family inability of which is tantamount to failed masculinity. What stands out is the fact that, hegemonic masculinity is used to identify and entrench the position of men in a society and subordinate women. It supports gender inequality in any set space and time (Giddens & Griffiths, 2006, Salamone, 2005). Donaldson (1993) postulates that a fundamental aspect of hegemonic masculinity is women's sexuality. Women provide sexual validation for men and exist as their potential sexual objects.

The model of hegemonic masculinity also expects men to act in any way not likened to women. It concerns dread and flight from women and thus stipulates real men should be more powerful and of higher status than women, should be risk takers, not be emotional or expressive about their feelings and allows men's use of violence (Adinkrah, 2012; Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Adomako Ampofo, 2001; Gómez, 2004; Kimmel, 1996). Society prohibits men's public expression of such emotions as fear, anxiety, pain or sadness (Adinkrah, 2012). They are to be physically and psychologically robust in the face of difficulty and establish their ability to endure. Courage and bravery is therefore perceived as a measure of real men (Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007) and therefore considered unmasculine for a man to express or admit feelings of weakness and emotional dependency.

Men who fail to live up to this expectation are called names that are derogatory to males. Adomako Ampofo (2001) and Owusu & Bosiwah (2015) identify that among the Akans, a lack of bravery or any other masculine characteristic could earn a man the dishonourable categorisation of being genderless or gender neutral (ɔbaa barima or Kodwo basia) and instructively possessing more female genes than male; such a man could also be referred to as feminine (ɔbaa). Greig et al (2000) refers to the performativity of hegemonic masculinities and the desire to hold on to the privileges of masculinity as the 'politics of masculinity'

Nonetheless, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), note that not all men can attain this form of masculinities. According to Greig et al, (2000), to entrench the dominant or hegemonic position of masculinity, subordination and gender discrimination transcends even females to the point where men are,

made victims when they do not exhibit and conform to the scripts of the politics (hegemonic) of masculinity. Homophobia and misogyny for example are, all said to be implications of scripts of masculinity produced by males to lord power over females and men who do not fit the defined masculinities of the communities (Donaldson, 1993; Khan, 2009; Totten, 2003). Donaldson (1993) states that 'although hegemonic masculinity may seem fragile, it constructs the most dangerous things we live with'. A response from some respondents of Kumar, et al.'s (2002) study substantiates clearly this assertion:

> "Mard (men) means a man who has qualities that are not found in a normal man. He is one who has extra qualities and lives in discipline" "…. Masculinity (mardangi) and men (mard) are two different things. For instance, all soldiers fight in war but only few win accolades… even though they all are men. Only those men who win awards have masculinity in them. A masculine man thinks either kill 10-20 people or face death" (p. 10)

Ideal hegemonic masculinity further goes beyond aggressiveness, domination, and use of violence, to encapsulate the fact that it is also an appropriation of male supremacy through culture and societal organisations (Flecha et al., 2013; Connell, 2012). To Connell (2012) 'there are different types of hegemonic models which are characterized by unequal gender practices, and that not all of them are connected to violence' (cited in Flecha, et al., 2013). As such, Connell (2011) further identifies the existence of other stratums of masculinities within this hegemonic masculinity. Thus, an understanding to why other forms of masculinities exist even beyond this strand of masculinity. For instance, while not all hegemonic or dominant masculine males are violent, it is identified that men the use violence are all dominant (Connell, 2012; Cocker-Appiah, 1999). Flecha et al, (2013) supporting this assertion suggest that the dominant masculinity role in

producing violence is evidence in the fact that women in relationship with men in the oppressed traditional masculinity and the new alternative masculinity do not experience violence.

However, resilient the hegemonic masculinity may be, current discussions suggest hegemonic masculinity is under crisis (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Ituala-Abumere, 2013; Zdravomyslova & Temkina, 2013). Connell (cited in Giddens & Griffiths, 2006) state laws such as those permitting divorce, prohibiting domestic violence and rape, globalization, interest formation groups and economic provisions such as pension are weakening men's dominance over women. Through globalization, women are now going to school, migrating, and engaging in jobs that consider equal opportunities and gendered division of labour. Akyeampong (2000) corroborates this with the finding that women in Ghana have traditionally and increasingly over the last century gained importance as breadwinners (cited in Overa, 2007). Further, Overa (2007) also identified that due to economic changes in Ghana men are now doing jobs that involve carrying food on their heads which hitherto were considered feminine activity.

Complicit Masculinity

Complicit masculinity is referred to as masculinity that receives all forms of patriarchy without enacting a strong version of masculine dominance. Flecha et al., (2013) states these two forms of masculinities are so contrary to each other in the gaze that they are two sides of the same coin. This form of masculinity is in itself not dominant but lends support to dominant masculinity norms in hopes of receiving acceptance and rewards for being like that (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Khan, 2009). Flecha et al, (2013) posit

though men in this category may be egalitarian, the capacity to reduce or prevent violence against women is not, transformed in them. Men in this category reinforce the dominant and violent nature of the dominant masculine group.

In Hayward's (2005) work (Dis)Enabling Masculinities: The Word and the Body, Class Politics, and Male Sexuality in El Saadawi's God Dies by the Nile, oppressed men may possess power in the society but their word of authority vanishes at the appearance of the structure of hierarchy, in the presence of a dominant masculine identity. Noted by Connell (2005), complicit masculinity is supplementary and readily available to men all men as to whether directly or indirectly men as a group will benefit from patriarchy. Connell (2005) refers to this benefit as patriarchal dividend.

It is recognized, however, that most masculinities are complicit in patriarchy or tied together through the oppression of women, and that the marginalization of subordinate masculinities is an essential component in the reproduction of the myth of male power (Kimmel and Messner 1995 cited in Rheddock, 2004). Most men are not as powerful as they are made out to be. The problem is that they are socialized to see male power and privilege as a right, if not an endowment; this is the essential contradiction in the dominant production of masculinity.

Marginalised Masculinity

Marginalised masculinity refers to a group of men on the outskirts of hegemonic masculinities as a function of identifying with social groups that are not dominant (Connell, 2001). These could be, based on ethnic, religious, class or racial identifications (Pascoe, 2007). To Pascoe (2007), these group of men

are positioned better in relationships of gender thus equally benefiting from patriarchy or male authority and but are disadvantage in terms of their class. Groess-Green (2009) refers to this form of masculinity as 'protest masculinity'. To Groess-Green (2009) although men in this category cannot enjoy the honours of hegemonic masculinity, they try to amend their male authority in the context within which they find themselves. They are, marginalised in the sense that their views are not largely, recognised by the dominant culture (Connell, 2001; Phillips, 2005).

Myers (2007) identified some examples of marginalised masculinities to be disabled males and men of colour. Poverty, cultural norms among others can also be aligned to the production of marginalised masculinities. Baker and Ricardo (2005) also identify that due to the perceived requirements for masculinities in Sub-Saharan Africa, such as older men's right of control over young men, employment and wage earning as a requirement for manhood; men who fail to achieve these are, marginalised. A Social Sciences and Reproductive Health Research Network (2001, cited in Baker & Ricardo, 2005) finding point out older men who are not, married are marginalised and subordinated in some societies. They are refrained from inhabiting some community positions or titles, labelled homosexuals for not being married and even giving different burial practices from that of married men. Where they do not have jobs, they are, not recognised as adults.

Subordinated Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity gains its form in reference to this form of masculinity. Masculinities in this form is characterised as complete opposition to hegemonic masculinities. Pascoe (2007) states subordinated masculinities

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define men who are, oppressed by virtue of hegemonic masculinity. To Khan (2009) these forms of masculinities are, viewed as denigrated and not viewed as a legitimate performance of men. Subordinated masculinity encapsulates both marginalised and subjugated masculinities. Example of subordinate masculinities is gay men's lifestyle, attention to self-care, are emotional and physical weakness and men exhibiting feminine behaviour (Giddens & Griffiths, 2006; Connell, 2005). Homosexual men are defined as the most unmasculine or emasculated of men. It is suggested that homophobic responses to gay men are one of the means by which hegemonic masculinity polices the boundaries of a traditional male sex role and reinforces a strict heterosexual practice (Connell 1992 cited in Rheddock, 2004).

Although literature on masculinity categorization have mainly hovered around these four masculinity types discussed and Connell has been praised for the importance her work brings to identifying the plurality in masculinities and bringing out the power relations in gender her work has been criticized as well. These criticisms are, however, mainly centered on the hegemonic type of masculinity. Although hegemonic masculinity is the most theorized in literature it is also the most criticised. The hegemonic masculinity theory is condemned for being insufficiently developed in explaining how men negotiate their daily lives and creating a type of manhood no man can perhaps achieve (Wetherell & Edley, 2014).

The applicability of Connell's masculinity types to other contexts outside the global north has also been questioned (Miescher, 2005; Ratele, 2008). It is condemned for being embedded in western ideologies of masculinity. Arguments on masculinity by authors from Africa for instance

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point to the fact that the African masculinity is not hierarchical and therefore cannot be categorized as was done by Connell (Ratele, 2008; Miescher, 2005). The section that follows thus discusses a masculinity typology specific to the African context.

African Masculinity Typologies

Literature on masculinity in Africa has rarely attempted to typify the existing forms of masculinity. Studies in this field have basically aligned with Connell's masculinity typologies in their discussions although its application has been questioned. Miescher (2005) in his book the *Making of men in Ghana,* however, produced some typologies or markers of masculinity largely employed in African masculinity literature (Adomako Ampofo, et al., 2009; Holland, 2005). I treat his work as the African version of masculinity typology due to its level of engagement in African literature and more specifically due to the context of study, Ghana.

The forms of masculinity being discussed here differ from Connell's categorisation in three main areas, context, target group and application in the area of masculinity studies. Unlike Connell's masculinity typologies that have been tested over time across masculinity literature, Miescher's masculinity typing is more localised in African literature and more importantly Ghanaian masculinity literature. Further while Connell's typologies look at relations among men, this work looked at eight men's subjective understandings and recollection of their masculinities within a specific time period. Miescher's masculinity typologies emerges from a study with eight men who have lived through the colonial periods, their experiences of masculinity, and explored 'the complex processes of how these men negotiated with different and at times

competing notions of masculinities. Also, is the fact that the forms of masculinity explored in this work is limited to one particular ethnic group in Ghana, the Akans.

Although the masculinity types to be discussed may be limited in context and historically specific, I am of the opinion that they are relevant in guiding my study discussions. Narratives from this literature reveals how discourses on masculinity and socio-economic changes in Ghana through colonialism shaped and transformed these men's understanding of (their) masculinities. For instance, Akan masculinities prior to the 19th century reflected a warrior ideal. Gun ownership reflected the status of adult masculinity during this period. Emphasis on the male warrior ideal and war as an occupation for men categorised and altered relations between women and men and also seniors and junior males. Focusing on the Asante society for instance, Obeng (2003) observed that pre-colonial Asante notions of masculinity emphasized men's capacity to exercise authority over women and junior males, their ability to accumulate wealth, and their demonstration of personal courage and bravery through heroic military actions or valiant deeds (Adinkrah, 2012). However, colonial conquest ended this warrior ideal of the Akans introducing a series of changes and complicating the understandings of masculinity amongst the Akans. The introduction of education, mission, migration among others, altered the existing forms of masculinity where young people through wealth attained status hitherto occupied by elders or seniors (Miescher, 2005).

Miescher identified four main forms of masculinities introduced in the 19th century namely; the adult masculinity, senior masculinity, the big man

status and the Presbyterian masculinity. Miescher (2005) notes, however, that none of these forms of masculinity became dominant at any point in time in the lives of the men studied rather, they 'created their own synthesis of different cultural practices, shaped by specific social contexts, while navigating this non-hegemonic landscape'. The discussion of these masculinity types will also be done alongside works which have employed the concept or typologies of masculinity along these lines.

Adult Masculinity

Adult masculinity as identified by Miescher is signified by marriage. This stage denoted a 'free man's independence and permission to marry'. Men reached this form of masculinity by taking on the role of the material provider and protectors of their families. This state of adulthood is negotiated by male and female elders. Fathers or uncles step in to choose wives for men when they perceive are of age to marry. As an adult masculinity marker men in this position were expected to take this role of provision in two arena's their immediate family, wives and children and the extended family. As husbands, a man is supposed to clothe his wife, feed her, farm for her, house her and cater for her health. As a father, he is expected to raise his children until they were of age. It was also the responsibility of the father then to find these children appropriate marriage partners. 'A father used to usher his son into manhood "by providing the young man with a musket and a wife, combining puberty and marriage in the same rite'. For his extended family, a man's adult masculinity was measured with his responsibilities towards the well-being of his abusua.

Opanyin (Senior or Elder) Masculinity

The senior or opanyin masculinity is marked by expectations broader than the adult masculinities although adult masculinity is a stepping stone to attaining elder or senior masculinity (Miescher, 2007). It encapsulates the status of an adult masculinity in addition to others or characteristics such as conduct, reputation, occupying leadership positions, ability to mediate conflicts, and provide advice. To achieve this kind of masculinity, the man in question 'must marry, support a wife with capital, provide children with an education, and accomplish financial and social obligations toward the matrilineage'. Fatherhood for example was decisive in attaining senior masculinity. A man who is unable to bear children even if married could not become a respected elder. Akan societies ridiculed married men who could not father children. Infertility was taken through a ritual of mockery where even children can give adult men who could not bear children slaps to spur him into giving birth. Affirmed by Holland (2005) and Eppretch (1998), a successful mediation into adulthood and social worth in Rhodesia and Zimbabwe was achieved through the show of fertility. Epprecht (1998) identify that in Zimbabwe, married men became objects of scorn and shame if they delayed in producing offsprings.

The definition of the opanyin is, however, fluid. Opanyin in the Akan language is not tied to a specific item. In some instances, this reflected the age of a person being elderly at the same it signified the status the person held in society, chief, head of an institution among others. If a young person behaved maturely and met the expectations of the opanyin, he could be referred to as opanyin while at the same time if an elderly person behaved immaturely, he

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lost the status and referred to as a child. Miescher reference to senior masculinity, however, conceptualised masculinities in reference to qualities embodied in the social position of elder comportment, reputation, and ability to speak well and not necessarily age expressed through a person's action. this made up for both young and old ability to occupy this status. Participants in his study, however, looked at signs of age in the reflection of an opanyin as well as the comportment of the person, his role and significance in the community such as settling disputes

As an acquired status, the opanyin masculinity is not innate. One is not born with it but is attained across time. It is made and discovered (Miescher, 2005). Accordingly, the position is not permanent and can be easily lost if the individual went contrary to the expectations associated with this status. An opanyin is required to continue demonstrating their worth as through their conduct, mannerisms, and speech. People lose respect for misbehaving elders. They are called derogatory names such as Opanyin kwasea (foolish elder). Persons in this position, however, take decisive steps to maintain the associated respect to avoid being disgraced. For example, while every inhabitant of a stool among the Akan is an ex officio opanyin, a misconduct from such a person reduced their honour and that of the office and could lead to destoolment.

Further, the social position elder or senior masculinity can also be attained by women. Women who passed child bearing age (reached menopause) embodied a form of masculinity referred to as the female masculinity. They acquired the status of a man, and could drink liquor, dress in male fashion and pour libations. Senior women maintained political and spiritual powers, symbolized in their menstrual blood. In exceptional cases,

women beyond menopause could occupy male stools and serve as military leaders; they had become ritual men (Akeampong 1999). Women also served as 'mpanyinfoɔ and ahemaa (queenmothers) in the chief's palace or within their lineage and communities or as elected officials'. These women elders are, however, expected to act differently from the elder men.

Obirempong (Bigman) Masculinity

Holland (2005) identifies that the big-man status and model of masculinity was the most desired form of masculinity in the pre-and early colonial period in Africa. The obirempong (bigman) masculinity as identified by Miescher (2005) is marked by disposable wealth, generosity, commitment to share one's riches. Originally a status obtained through chiefly descent, historical transformation such as education, material possession, change in consumer goods, migration, salaried employment and cash cropping reformulated constituents of this masculine status (Holland, 2005; Miescher, 2005). Men who went into cocoa farming or migrated to the other parts of southern Ghana to trade had begun acquiring wealth which surpassed those of the chiefs in the study area transforming the status of the big man masculinity. They exhibited their wealth in erecting large cement buildings, contributing generously among others to their community and through this attained the status of 'abirɛmɔn' (big men) and 'mmarima pa' (valiant men). Acheampong (1999) notes that this form of masculinity was also peppered with the consumption of European lifestyle, social drinking, wearing of European clothing and gestures (cited in Holland, 2005).

To be fully recognised as an obrempong, the person should have to make contributions to the community. The wealth of the person did not matter

so far as there was nothing to show for in the community. Further one was considered a big-man if the people of the community considered him as such (Barber, 1981 cited in Holland, 2005). The success of this form of masculinity was therefore measured as well by the person's loyalty to family and followers (Holland, 2005). Using the case of two men with the obrempong status, P. K. Anim Addo and E. A. Saka who though equally rich were revered differently as 'abirɛmɔn' based on their contribution to the community. Barber (1981) notes that the family and followers also 'performed multiple tasks in return for his financial and social support' (cited in Holland, 2005). This form of was masculinity although became easily attainable, was also increasingly difficult to achieve due to imbalances in wages and cost of living (Akyeampong,1999). Miescher notes that in all his respondents only one was also to attain this form of masculinity.

Mission or Presbyterian Masculinities

The mission Presbyterian masculinity also introduced new forms of masculinity marked by education, employment, residence, forms of worship, fatherhood, marriage, ways of dressing, goods to consume, discipline among others which contested the established ideas of masculinity. Summers (1999) giving account of mission masculinity in Rhodesia notes the ability to handle European, Christian expectations of marriage enabled men procure powers both on the mission and local terms such as big-man status. Married men earned higher incomes, expected land and housing packages as against their unmarried colleagues (cited in Holland, 2005).

Introduction to education ushered boys and young men who patronised these schools to new forms of masculinity and sense of manhood marked by

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features such as dress styles, sports, scouting. Through sports, adolescent boys, entered a state of masculinity evident in proving their physical skills and prowess, perseverance, respect for rules and high value of fair play. Boarding education and the training colleges education exposed men to wearing woollen suits, shoes, and ties, as against 'farmers and elders who dressed in the toga-style cloth of Akan men'. Further, African teachers and catechists, dressed in European clothing, were powerful images of a different life. (Miescher, 2005). These change in dress style challenge the seniors who complained to the mission schools to alter the overdressing nature of training college students leading to the introduction of school uniforms, Khaki and shirts.

Education and apprenticeship also changed notion of senior masculinity coming from abusua where uncles mostly took care of their nephews, trained them and married for them. To people ordinarily outside of the family, masters and teachers who trained them became their role models. Fathers now paid for their children to learn kills and more importantly outside of the purview apprenticeship of agriculture. School graduates also came out as akrakyefoɔ, occupying new social positions of teachers, soldiers, clerks, church leaders and police with change in state of goods consumed and leisure activities engaged in. These work environments further refined these educated men's masculinity and how they carried themselves. The nature of their jobs and wealth coming from these works enhanced their social status and offered them high prestige as political and community influencers. They considered themselves a group superior to and different men and women with less education or no schooling.

Marriage styles were transformed from polygamous to monogamous marriage where husbands' primary allegiance was to their wives and children.

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The extended family came second. In Presbyterian masculinity, pupils educated in mission schools were expected to become monogamous and husbands who advantaged their wives and children and to become men guided by strict discipline expressed in regular work, Christian devotion, and deference to secular and religious authorities like the colonial state, local chiefs, and the church leadership. Monogamy also gave father's rights over their children as they became major or the only carers of contrary to the periods where uncles took care of their nephews. Education also thought men domesticity such as sweeping, cleaning their own spaces although they preferred passing on to their wives or domestic servants.

Miescher acknowledges, however, that these new masculinities were not free of challenges. These new men were subjected to conflicting expectations of combining for example their migrant and employment status with their communities back home. 'Migration caused generational struggles as well, as male elders lost their position as gatekeepers over youths reaching adult and senior masculinity' (Miescher, 2005). Further, clerks who worked mercantile clerks were faced with precarious working conditions.

Sexualised Masculinity

Although virility is discussed under Connell's (2005) hegemonic masculinity and also in Miescher (2005) adult and senior masculinities, I treat this as a stand-alone masculinity typology to cover all categories of men. Several studies point to the fact that the worth of a man in most societies is measured according to his virility (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Groess-Green, 2009; Ratele, 2011). A man in this regard is one who has the ability to satisfy his partner while sexual weaknesses or inability to impregnate a woman is

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considered a blatant emblem of unmanliness (Groess-Green, 2009; Kumar et al., 2002).

Andoh-Arthur, Knizek, Osafo and Hjelmeland (2018) and Fiaveh, Izugbara, Okyerefo and Fayorsey (2014) for instance, notes that the dominant ideologies of masculinity in Africa is expressed by male sexual dominance. Failure to possess sexual prowess thus emasculates a man (Hayward, 2005). Salamone (2005) thus in looking at Hausa masculinities identified enormous pressure on men to perform sexually. Owusu and Bosiwah (2015) posit that among the Akans of Ghana, the only reason a man stood in danger of being emasculated was because he was first and foremost considered to be among the league of men based on his biological possession of phallic attributes at birth. Masculinity's critical association with sexuality is what Groess-Green (2009) refer to as sexualised masculinity.

Limiting sexual prowess discussion to a certain masculinity type thus becomes problematic. In Sub-Saharan Africa, existing norms about manliness suggests that men should be more knowledgeable and experienced about sexual matter than females. Further, sexual experience is perceived an introduction into maleness (Barker & Ricardo, 2005). For instance, boys in Ghana show they have come of age through the declaration of masculinity through bravery and potency (Fiaveh et al., 2014; Owusu & Bosiwa, 2015).

Additionally, sex in marriage is regarded a right and prerogative of men and denial of men this right in marriage permits the use of violence against women (Odoi, 2012). This demand does not have a particular man in mind but treated as a requirement for all men. Accordingly, one major issue of mention in the discussion of gender violence for instance is men's sexual

demands and its relationship to violence, marital rape and other forms of sexual violence (Stanford, 2008; Fus, 2006). Gender studies scholars reveal an emerging pattern of masculinity based on violence and sexuality (Cassey et al, 2016; Wood & Jewkes, 2005; Barker, 2005).

Theoretical Underpinning of the Study

Several theories have been employed in explaining masculinities and men's behaviour. Straddling feminist theories, discursive psychology theories to learning theories. This study is, however, grounded on the symbolic interactionism theory. Three main conceptualisations are identified with the symbolic interactionism theory. The first is that, symbolic interactionism is a social construction theory (Baird & Mcgannon, 2009; Burr, 2003) thereby its applicability to the study of gender and explaining masculinities. Baird and Mcgannon (2009) note that symbolic interactionism is a 'theoretical perspective grounded in social constructionism in the light that it focuses on how people make sense of who they are in relation to an ongoing interaction with the social world'. Underpinning gender and for that matter masculinity and its performance is also the argument that it is a social construct whose creation and performance is informed by interaction with the norms and expectations in a specific society (Brandth & Kvande, 1998; Sandstrom, Martin & Fine, 2003).

Second, is the theory's acknowledgement of the critical place of language. Ochs and Schieffelin (1986) acknowledge that becoming accomplished in one's culture cannot be achieved apart from learning language. Language and culture in this process are interlaced such that as members of the society learn the language of the culture into which they are

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born, they also acquire the roles to play. Gal (2001) and McConnell-Ginet, Borker and Furman (1980) also classify language as that rich source of historical, cultural, and social information about a people who use it and from which one can make significant deductions about the lives, shared or predominant attitudes, values and ideologies connected with their identity such as ethnicity and gender (cited in Alhassan, 2012). This makes language an important arena for the investigation of masculinities.

As a theory, symbolic interactionism also places pre-eminence on the role of language in shaping the identity of members of society. Symbolic interactionists focus on interaction points to the fact that it is literally impossible to talk about this theory without talking about discourse. Further, symbolic interactionism talks about the self and role taking which are impossible without discourse. Naming through interaction is used to construct identity, power and control in members of a society (West & Turner, 2010: Gendrin, 2000). Also embedded in masculinity studies is the assumption that masculinity is an identity formed based on continuous exposure messages norms and it these discourses that shapes men's behaviour and their identities (Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerschmitt, 2005).

Finally, the study employs symbolic interactionism as its theoretical underpinning due to its focus on meaning. This study is interested in how recipients of masculinity discourses interpret and make meaning of the discourse and how such meanings and interpretations inform their actions. According to symbolic interactionism theory, to ignore meaning is equivalent to falsifying behaviour under study. Blumer (1969) notes in typical sociological

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and psychological theories, meanings for which people act are mostly masked up. He further exemplifies that relying on factors such as social positions, roles, cultural perceptions, norms and value, status, pressures and group affiliation to provide explanations to human behaviour in the process do not concern themselves with the meanings for which they behave the way they do and thus swallow up meaning in the factors used to account for human behaviour (p. 3).

This study is of the view that symbolic interaction interest in meaning provides a good foundation for understanding how men (especially in the Greater Accra metropolitan Assembly) make use of masculinity discourses available to them, how they interpret these discourses and engage them in reconstruction their perceived masculine selves and in their daily lives. Further it may help to theorise how masculinity and gender performance affect men's sense of self and categorises men in society.

Symbolic Interactionism

Symbolic interactionism is a social psychology theory which deliberates the meanings individuals draw from interactions and how they process these meanings to act upon the acquired information (Harrelson, 2013; Stets & Burke, 2000a; Blumer, 1969). Symbolic interactionism is also a social constructionist theory which gives credence to interaction. To interactionists meanings of objects are not inherent in the objects but are obtained from interaction with others. According to this theory therefore, people become distinctively human through interaction. It is only through interacting with others that humans acquire behaviours and abilities to live worthy lives such as the qualities to use symbols, think and make plans, take on the role of others, develop a sense of self, and participate in complex forms of communication

and social organization (Harris, 1995; Hall, 1972; Strauss, 1993). Harrelson (2013) thus describes this theory as a perspective, interaction, and meaning, with an emphasis on how individuals interpret others, themselves, and their situations.

Symbolic interactionism as theory is founded on three core arguments espoused by Blumer (Blumer, 1969; Sandstrom et al., 2003). Beyond these three-main premises are other ideas which can be implied from the theory (Charon, 2009; Sandstrom, et al., 2003). Blumer (1969) calls these ideas as the root-images. The three core principles advanced by Blumer (1969) are that, (1) human beings act toward things [physical objects, human beings, institutions among others] on the basis of the meanings those things have; (2) that the meaning of such things is derived from, or arises out of, the social interaction that one has with one's fellows and; (3) that these meanings are handled in, and modified through, an interpretive process used by the person in dealing with the things he [or she] encounters (p. 2).

It is on the third premise that symbolic interactionism theory rests (Blumer, 1969; Harrelson, 2013; Rosebaum, 2009; Sandstrom et al, 2003). Interactionists argue that the meanings acquired by persons during the interaction process are subjective as individuals respond to interactions differently. Consequently, to this theory it will be inaccurate to infer that the behaviour by a person is an application of the meaning so derived from an interaction. The meaning exhibited by an individual in the interaction process is not just as was gathered from the interaction, but rather are from interpretations emerging from the actor's modification. The actor chooses, checks, hangs, reform, and alters the meaning in the light of the situation in

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which she or he is positioned and the course of her or his action (Harrelson, 2013; Serpe & Stryker, 2011; Blumer, 1969). These modifications interactionists suggest, are an internalised process as the individual at this stage talks or communicates to her or himself.

To show the influence on interaction members of society, to tease out the interpretation and meaning process, symbolic interaction theory gives propriety to concepts such as society, gestures or the act, language, mind and the self in explaining human behaviour. According to Mead (1934) the mind evolves in a social context and that the 'mind and the self are without residue social emergent'. What people come to know, the meaning and interpretation are all influenced by society (Litchtman, 1970; Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2017). Further is also the argument that all these are made possible through language, 'that language, in the form of vocal gestures, provides the mechanism for their emergence (Litchtman, 1970, p. 3). Thus, unlike psychologists who focus on the mind, to Mead (1934), society comes before the mind. It is from societal interaction that one develops the mind and the self.

While acknowledging the importance of all these concepts in explaining masculinities, this section discusses two core concepts of interest to the study, language and self. I focus on this as it helps me address how discourse comes to shape men and further how men construct themselves.

The Concept of Language

Language is important to this study because it lies at the core of the symbolic interaction theory (Blumer, 1969; Litchtman, 1979; Mead, 1934; Redmond, 2015). Further, language is also key to constructing, interpreting and understanding masculinities. At the heart of masculinity scholarship is the point

that masculinities are constructed through interaction. The norms and expectations of what constitutes masculinity all carried out/or communicated through language (Burr, 2003; Connell, 2005; Miescher, 2005).

Symbolic interaction theory identifies two main forms of interaction namely conversation of gestures and the use of significant symbols as labelled by Mead (1934) and non-symbolic or symbolic interaction as used by Blumer (1969). It is in the use of significant symbols or symbolic interaction that language resides. The two forms of interaction differ in the sense that gestures or non-symbolic interactions are underpinned by impulse or apparent in reflex responses while symbolic interaction requires consciousness or reflection and also shareable meanings. Language in this sense is what is symbolic interaction.

Accordingly, symbolic interactionists view language as the source of all meaning and underpinning all forms of interaction and the development of the self (Burr, 2003; Litchtman, 1970; Redmond, 2015). Redmond (2015) establishes that the single most important attribute that separates humans from other animals is language. It is what allows humans to assess, strategise, memorise and recollect, organise and communicate abstract thoughts, think about the future, consider alternatives to decisions and outcomes.

Symbolic interaction is also key to this theory in that it is in the use of significant symbols that interpretation resides. Non-symbolic interaction as indicated earlier occurs without interpreting the action (Redmond, 2015). Litchtman (1970) asserts that although 'gestures are original and rudimentary forms of all social action they do not require consciousness but stimuli' (ability to make a response). On the other hand, symbolic interaction or use of

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symbolic gestures involves interpretation of action. It is the human mechanism which allows the very process of adjustment (Litchtman, 1970; Redmond, 2015).

According to the interactionists, humans do not just respond to communication spontaneously but rather think through their thought before acting upon them. It is significant symbols that function to indicate characters of objects which can be meaningfully communicated and acted towards with reference to the field of cooperative behaviour (Hall, 1972; Litchtman, 1970). Through interaction, people assign specific meanings to the symbols they created, create roles and establish social expectations for behaviour and become significant members of society.

Additionally, according to the theory, interaction does not only determine human behaviour, but also personal and social identity. According to Mead (1934) and Litchtman (1970) the unique role of the vocal gesture is the genesis of the self. It is vocal gestures or language that provide the mechanism for the emergence of the mind and self. Humans are not born with a self or mind. These develop in the process of social experience and interaction with others through language. It is also through language and through interaction that a person can become a subject and an object to him or herself (in the process of role-taking). Masculinity studies suggest that it is impossible to have this identity without the presence of language. How men come to know the expectations and all other requirements that come with who they are and how they are supposed to behave come with the presence of language and communication. Interaction with significant members of society, family, peers,

shape and provides men with the required information to form their identity (Andersen, 2003; Clowes, 2005; Courtenay, 2000; Pascoe, 2007).

The Concept of Self

The self is argued to be the pivot of symbolic interactionism (Ritzer, 2008). Stryker & Serpe (1994) define the self as a set of identities that can be evoked individually or simultaneously and when evoked the associated actions are directed at having others verify an identity or identities. West and Turner (2002) note that identity has become one of the prominent means of conceptualising the self. According to Blumer (1969), however, when symbolic interactionism talks about the self, it is nothing mysterious but merely referring to the fact that a 'human being can be an object of his or her own action' (p. 12) or a person's understanding of him or herself as a social object (cited in Dietz & Jansinsik, 2003). For Dietz & Jansinsik (2003) the self is a feat, attained by seeing yourself as others may see you. For example, one identifying himself as a male, student young/old in age among others. Viewed in this way, the self is simultaneously fluid, multiple, social contextual, dynamic and obtained through interaction (Blumer, 1969).

The self is also identified as a social process delineated, evolved and established through interaction with others (Serpe & Stryker, 2011; Stets & Burke, 2000a) and emerging over time. According to symbolic interactionists, no one is born with a self but rather is obtained in the interaction process (communicating with others) and, emerges over time. According to interactionists, the mind and self are not simply givens in the biological makeup of human beings. They are not distinct from the physiological body and their development occurs out of participation in group life and through

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social activities and experiences (Blumer 1981; Redmond, 2015; Ritzer, 2005). Burr (2003) for example asserts that the body becomes self only when the mind is developed. A phenomenon only possible through interaction. The self thus develops out of socialisation. It is only after the self is developed that there is the possibility to exist without social contact.

Mead (1934) traces the development of the self through two stages, the play and game stages (cited in Blumer, 1969; Sage 2017). The play stage is identified to be the beginning stage of self-development. The self at this stage is not considered to be fully developed. This is because the individual at this phase is unable to take on a lot of roles. The characters they mimic are in single units and isolated. The play stage occurs early in the lives of children when they typically begin to play with imaginary friends or take on various roles such as mother, father, police officer, teacher, or even cartoon characters (Mead, 1934; Redmond, 2015).

It is therefore at the game stage that the self is fully developed. It is the period where the individual is able to take on multiples roles or the attitude of the whole community (generalised other) at a time (Mead, 1934). To Mead (1934) by being able to put yourself in the position of everyone else on the team while playing, the person develops a highly organized set of responses (rules) by which he or she is now able to look back upon himself or herself from the vantage point of all the other positions. This emerges and advances through the process of socialisation as we move from the family and immediate peer unit to a wider assembly of persons and institutions (cited in Ritzer, 2005) such as, school and religious gatherings. It is also at this stage that individuals learn to pick what individuals expect of them. The self thus allows people to

take part in their conversations with others.

Mead (1934) identifies two aspects of the self, the 'I' and 'Me'. The 'Me' refers to the socialised self, an organised set of attitudes expected by a person in the interaction process or the generalised other while the other is defined as the future self or   the immediate response of the individual to others (Mead, 1934; Redmond, 2015). The I on the other hand is the immediate response of the individual to others. It is considered unpredictable as no one can tell what the I will do in each situation. The I, only comes out at the point of the individual's response. It is in this stage (the I's response to others) that the persons acquired meaning, internalised discourses and interpretation is exhibited. Mead (1934) notes that it is in this I that the most important values are stored, it is what shows novelty, what we want to be and forms our desired personality. The I thus give the individual in the interaction process agency and makes changes possible. Accordingly, where one conforms to the expected norms of the society, they are said to be dominated by the Me.

The Concept of Role Play or Reflexivity

Role taking or role play brings all the elements or activities spoken of in symbolic interactionism to bear. The attainment of the self, arises out of reflexivity, taking on roles of other members of society. One develops the sense of self when they are able to take themselves as objects, as they now are able to act on and respond to themselves as they would others. Denoting that they have gained the ability to act as a subject and an object (Blumer, 1969; Litchtman, 1970; Redmond, 2015).

It is only through role play that one comes back to him or herself to reflect upon what they have learnt to make their choices. Consequently, it is

within this context that the self, interpretation and meaning are developed. In order to have selves, individuals must be able to get "outside themselves" so that they can evaluate themselves, and can become objects to themselves. This requires the ability to communicate with one's self as will others since the self is not possible in the absence of social experiences.

> According to Mead it is by means of reflexiveness—the turning-back of the experience of the individual upon himself—that the whole social process is brought into the experience of the individuals involved in it; it is by such means, which enable the individual to take the attitude of the other toward himself, that the individual is able consciously to adjust himself to that process, and to modify the resultant process in any given social act in terms of his adjustment to it. (Mead, 1934:134).

By role taking, individuals incorporate meanings and the expectations associated with this role. Because individuals have diverse experiences, roles are said to have multiple meanings. Further, the identities associated with roles also vary from person to person. Role identities become part of individuals' plans and goals because legitimating one's identity in the eyes of others is always a driving force of human behaviour. A person's construction of the self plays a part in how that person evaluates situations and makes discrete choices (Hochstetler, Copes & Williams, 2010).

The importance of communication and the significant symbol are also evident in role play. It is through interaction that one learns what roles to assume and the stimuli which call out that particular response or group of responses in the role paly (Mead 1934). In other words, the child is aware of and can use on some level, a set of stimuli that call out in him or her the sort of responses they call out in others only through significant symbols. Redmond (2015) 'notes symbols are created in a society or culture and those born into it learn'. For example, when role playing a school environment with teachers and

students, the child may check attendance as the teacher and respond with a 'present' for the student's role as the names of each child in the class is read. The role of the teacher here becomes the stimuli calling out a response for the students. These processes lead to a development of self in the child.

It is also within this process of the self that there is interpretation and meaning formation. Blumer (1969) notes that the process of interpretation has two distinct steps. The first is when the actor indicates to himself the things toward which he is acting; he points out to himself the things that have meaning. This involves communicating with oneself. In the second step, interpretation becomes the handling of meanings the individual is able to 'select, check, suspends, regroups, and transforms the meanings in the light of the situation in which he is placed and the direction of his action' (p.5).

People do not accept the community as it is if they can reform the community based on their capacity to think. For a person to be able to challenge the existing community or the generalised other, they have to construct for themselves a larger community keeping in mind the past and the future-weigh the consequences and respond to the situation and it is at this phase that meaning comes to play. For instance, patterns of discourses on how men are to behave or masculinity may be so internalised by male members of the society such that they may begin to talk to themselves in this process as they have been told to be in the interactive process. The voice (s) of these people may become part of how the men view themselves. What they hear if it differs may produce different masculinities or multiple identities.

Cooley (1922) also developed the idea of the looking glass self to explain the self. The principles underlying Cooley's glass self is that first, we

imagine how we appear to others, second then imagine what their judgement of that appearance might be and finally in return develop a self, of pride or appreciation or shame based on our imagination of how they perceive us (Carter & Fuller, 2015; Scheff, 2011). Cooley's looking glass self and Mead's concept of self-led to the development of modern symbolic interactionism conception of the self (Blumer, 1969; Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2017).

Empirical Evidence on the Role of Discourse Interpretation in Constructing Masculinities

Masculinity as a concept has been applied to several disciplines over the last three decades (Adinkrah, 2010; Connell, 2005; Tereskinas, 2016). Underscoring all these studies irrespective of the field of application is the fact that masculinity is a social construct. The influence of interaction in constructing masculinity has thus received much attention in literature. Also, eminent in literature is the fact that interpretation of masculinity discourses is, critical in masculinity performance. Meaning of discourses of masculinity and how they inform men's masculinity performances are thus largely implied in masculinity research discussions.

This review discusses some studies that have focused on how men construct and engage in masculinity performances and how internalised discourses shape the way men perform these masculinities. The review teases out critical issues which relate to how make meaning from the masculinity discourses available to them in constructing their masculinity. The works discussed are on health (Courtenay, 2000; Frank & Tannebaum, 2011), gender based violence (Beiras, Canteras & De Alencar- Rodrigues, 2015; Peraltra & Tuttle, 2013), fatherhood and construction of manhood (Adomako Ampofo &

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Boateng, 2007; Adomako Ampofo, Okyerefo & Pervarah, 2009; Doucet, 2004; Hayati, Emmelin & Erriksson's, 2014; Miescher, 2005). Given that context is also important in masculinity performance, these reviewed works are spread across North America, Latin America, Asia and Africa.

Courtenay (2000) in looking at how constructions of masculinity and their influence on men's well-being explored in three different ways masculinity's relationship to health practices in men. Courtenay's work explored ways in socio-demographic characteristics such as educational level, economic status, ethnicity, sexual orientation and social context impact the kind of masculinity that men construct and how these constructions contribute to differential health risks among men in the United States. The study also examined how masculinity and health are constructed in relation to femininities and to institutional structures, such as the health care system. Finally, the author explored how social and institutional structures help to sustain and reproduce men's health risks and the social construction of men as the stronger sex.

The study showed that for men in North America to exhibit dominant ideals of manhood, they ought to reject what is feminine and adhere to cultural definitions of masculine attitudes and conducts. This thus informed men's health seeking behaviour. attitude seeking health. Courtenay expound that the masculinity resources available to men for the construction of their masculinities in the United States of America was so unhealthy that these men interpreted seeking healthcare as weakness and effeminate.

Tannenbaum & Frank (2011) also looking at health focused on masculinity and health in late life men in Canada. The study which sought to

examine the significance of the hegemonic masculinity framework after midlife and to further explore how gender, health, and ageing interact in individual older men. The ways in which men in the study reconciled the decision to engage in healthier behaviours or otherwise were also interrogated. The hypothesis guiding the research was that there exists a rich variability among individual men in relation to the extent to which they conform to masculine stereotypes and their willingness to seek help for their ailments.

Employing the mixed method approach, the study gathered data from respondents aged 55 and above. The Focus Group Discussion method was used in gathering the qualitative data while the postal survey was used in the quantitative data gathering. The findings suggested that the norms on how men are expected to behave underpinned their health seeking behaviour. The men viewed their health through the masculine lens of the strong man and health seeking as a form of weakness.

The influence interpretation of in gender based violence performance is also quite highlighted in masculinity literature. Peralta & Tuttle (2013) expound a connection between masculinity pursuits, economic challenges and control in Intimate Partner Violence occurrence. The study revealed men's inability to meet their perceived economic responsibility which they interpreted as failure drove them to engage in violence as a form of masculine capital. The internalised allusions of such shortcomings and its implication to them contributed largely to their use of violence. Beiras, Cantera & De Alencar-Rodrigues' (2015) also looking at masculinities and violence against women in Spain exposed how the discourse of the bull as a symbol for masculinity in Spain shaped masculinity performance. Beiras et al. (2015) recount that men's

violence attitude centred on fashioning themselves to meet the expectations of the metaphor of the bull in Spanish discourse.

Hayati, Emmelin and Erriksson's (2014) also in looking at the role of masculinity and religion for men's view on violence within marriage in rural Java, Indonesia'. The study explored men's view on masculinity and the use of violence within marriage to gain an understanding of how to involve men in domestic violence prevention. Using focused group discussions with 44 men aged between 20 to 71, the study revealed religion and religious discourses was an extremely important part of people lives. The ways and manner in which men position themselves in relation to masculinity expectations and gender relations, however, produced the existence of multiple masculinities in relation to the understanding and acceptance of violence against women. Hayati et al (2014) also revealed that the meaning boys got from masculinities messages such as financial provision being key to men's role and masculinity informed male respondents prioritisation of school for the sake of their future roles.

Biological fatherhood is key to measuring masculinities. A man's ability to father his own children and care for them validated his masculinity. Adomako Ampofo, Okyerefo & Pervarah (2009) investigating the meanings and significance of fatherhood and its relationship to constructions of masculinity in urban Ghanaian men found that participants emphasis on the importance of biological fatherhood mainly stemmed from importance given to fatherhood in the Ghanaian society. The authors discovered that these men interpreted biological fatherhood as a marked transition into adulthood, notions of responsibility and virility which are discourses on masculinity in

Ghana. Further, they positioned the success of marriage mainly in the existence of children.

Doucet (2004) also studying the phenomenon of fatherhood looked at stay home fathers in Canada. Focusing on 70 men who had given up their work to stay and care for their children, Doucet explored ways in which work and family interact for fathers who traded cash for care. The findings expose that although these men had taken time off their main jobs, they still carved avenues to work. They participated in paid and or unpaid work to still meet their societally expected identities as wage earners and their personal sense of masculinity. The internalised notion of the male breadwinner was very much internalised in these fathers such that they felt pressure to be earning even when no one had complained. The assumed societal gaze on them as stay home dads put pressure on them to find something to engage in to remain relevant.

Masculinity is also identified to be a fluid concept. Historical, institutional and personal factors such as age, education, religion and marriage all come together to create this fluidity in conceptualising masculinity. Hayati et al (2014) identified that three different groups of masculinities in Java. The traditionalist who believe in the conventionally held notion of the superior man, the pragmatist who although give ear to women did not necessarily conform to their contributions and finally the egalitarian who believed women and men are equal. One key factor that contributed to the latter was education. Adomako Ampofo & Boateng (2007) exploring how notions of manhood are constructed among adolescent boys aged 11 to 15 disclosed that these young men interpretation of the discourses available to them constructed in them the

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understanding that had clear notions of their gender. They interpreted engaging in domestic chores for instance as tasks boys and unmarried have to engage in but it to cease in married people. They were therefore ready to take on these roles at their ages.

Miescher (2005) also documented how introduction of colonialism in Ghana and the discourses on masculinity that came with it altered the masculinity regime which existed prior to the 19th century. Narrating the experiences of eight men who lived through the period of the introduction of Presbyterian missions, education and wage labor shifted the discourse of masculinity from the worrier ideals. Miescher, further, exposed how these men's understanding of themselves as educated men, wage earners, Akrakyefo among many challenged certain already existing masculinities and producing multiplicity in masculinities.

The Overview of the Conceptual Framework Underpinning the Study

The conceptual framework for this study describes the design on which this work is founded. The framework describes how all the concepts of interest to this study come together to describe ways in which men engage masculinity discourses in constructing their perceived masculinities. The concepts; discourse, masculinity, self, interpretation and role taking are adopted to explain this relationship. The concept within the framework was adopted from the symbolic interactionism theory and masculinity literature.

Eminent in masculinity literature is the idea that it is a social construct obtained through interaction (Connell, 2005; Miescher, 2005; Ratele, 2016). This interaction informed by discourses (which for this study refers to the messages on norms of maleness and femaleness) take place in various settings

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such as the home, schools, work spaces religious institutions and the general community. Accordingly, masculinity literature has largely attributed men's behaviour to the messages they hear socialisation and also based on their socio-economic background

Symbolic interactionism, however, argues that by employing socio-economic factors for instance in explaining men's behavior researchers overlook the individual subjective and agency position in the interaction. It further ignores the role of interpretation and the meaning people attach to their actions in the interaction process (Blumer, 1969, p. 2). According to the symbolic interaction theory, the individual in the interaction process does not pick the messages as they are but rather are subjective in their interpretation and the meaning they attach to them. They choose the messages that are important to them in the interaction and hang the others (Blumer, 1969, Harrelson, 2013; Litchtman, 1979; Serpe & Stryker, 2011). This subjective interpretation of discourses produces a multiplicity of masculine selves and further a relational gender order in society, where males are superior to females.

In the same manner, the discourses create different typologies of masculinity some hierarchical (Connell, 2005), others which are a continuum (Miescher, 2005) and some which apply to every form of masculinity irrespective of the context they find themselves in. In Connell's typologies for example, hegemonic masculinity marks the socially accepted way of being male. This the type of masculinity by which all other men's masculinity performance is measured. This type of masculinity is marked by discourses such as the head of household, breadwinner, prominent, heterosexual,

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dominant, brave and courageous man. The inability to attain this form of masculinity produces other forms of masculinity below the hegemonic masculinity such as the complicit, marginalised and the subordinate.

Men within the complicit identified by Connell (2005) for the major aspect of the male population. Connell & Messerchmidt (2005) note although only about five percent of the world's male population fall within the hegemonic masculinity order, every male aims to achieve the status of hegemony thus while they fail to do so, either through rejecting some of the markers of hegemonic masculinity such as aggression and violence or inability to meet the expected markers, still support these ideals to be accepted as men. Poverty, disability, social class among others also marginalises men and positions them on a different level to the hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity is marked by full able body, strength, wealth. Men who are not able to meet these signs are marginalised in society when they are calling on men. In the understanding of the order is that, irrespective of the form of masculinity whether hegemonic or subordinate, men in society are of a higher status than women.

The sense of power men obtain from these discourses creates in men an understanding and identity of power, prestige and privileges. Men interpret these opportunities available to them is so many ways key of which is power and control. This power and control at their disposal further creates in men, a predisposition of a dominant powerful self and what they can do with this power. Accordingly, when a man enters a situation of a challenge to this developed masculine self especially from a perceived subordinate (female) he has to respond in such a way that keeps his masculinity intact.

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Fundamental to the fashioning out of this self is language or discourse. The attainment of the self, arises out of interaction with members of society, reflexivity, and taking on the roles (Blumer, 1969, Litchtman, 1970). The self is, however, not a solitary but multiple phenomena as human beings live different lives and identifies in different spaces (Blumer, 1969). According to the symbolic interaction, whatever action a person, takes does not occur spontaneously but are shaped by interpretation of the situation and what they need to do based on which they react. This process although not perceptible to the eyes the theory pronounces takes place through the concept of looking glass self or role taking.

The looking glass self-argument asserts that in the process of interaction, the individual in responding to a situation perceives reaction of society to how they would behave and act accordingly (Carter & Fuller, 2015; Hochstetler, Copes & Williams, 2010; Scheff, 2011). By role taking, individuals incorporate meanings and the expectations associated with this role. It is within these process that men (re)construct their perceived masculine selves or a new form of masculinity relating to the context and situation. A person's construction of self plays a part in how that person evaluates situations and makes discrete choices (Hochstetler, Copes & Williams, 2010). Stryker and Serpe (1994) define the self as a set of identities that can be evoked individually or simultaneously and when evoked the associated actions are directed at having others verify an identity or identities. Dietz and Jansinsik (2003) posit the self is attained when an individual begins to see him or herself as others may see them. Figure 1 show how these study links up concepts discussed to show how men engage masculinity discourses.

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CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK

Process of constructing perceived masculinity/masculine self
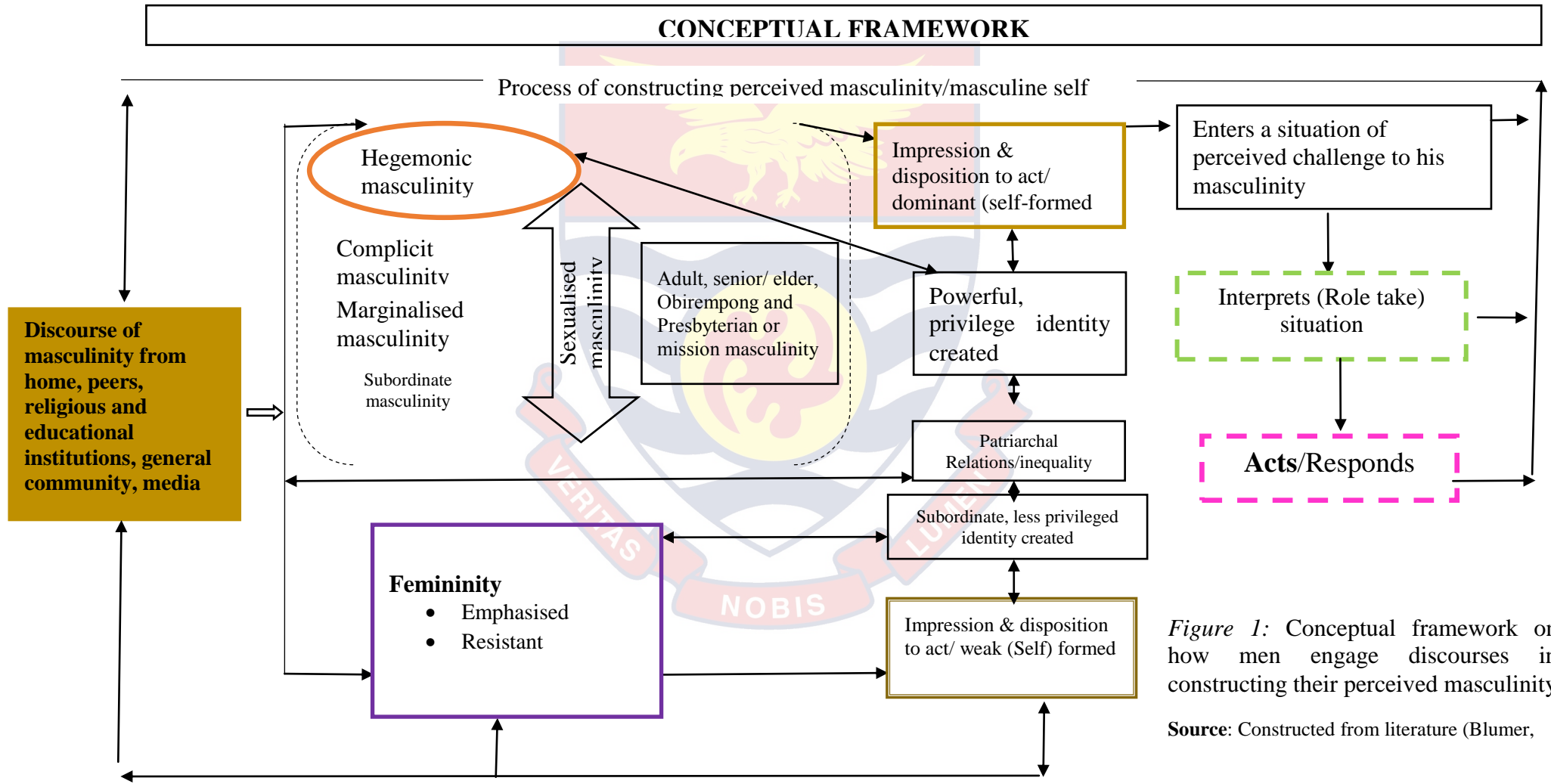
Figure 1: Conceptual framework on how men engage discourses in constructing their perceived masculinity

Source: Constructed from literature (Blumer,

Summary of the Chapter

This chapter discussed the theory underlying the study and related concepts. It also reviewed some empirical work on masculinity and how men engage. The discussion here recognised the fact that masculinity is a social construct acquired through interaction. Further the review of the empirical works pointed to the fact the influence of masculinity discourses is a life time phenomenon and can be identified in all aspects of men's life. The chapter also presented the operational definition for discourse and masculinity and finally the conceptual framework on how men interpret masculinity discourses in shaping their perceived masculinities.
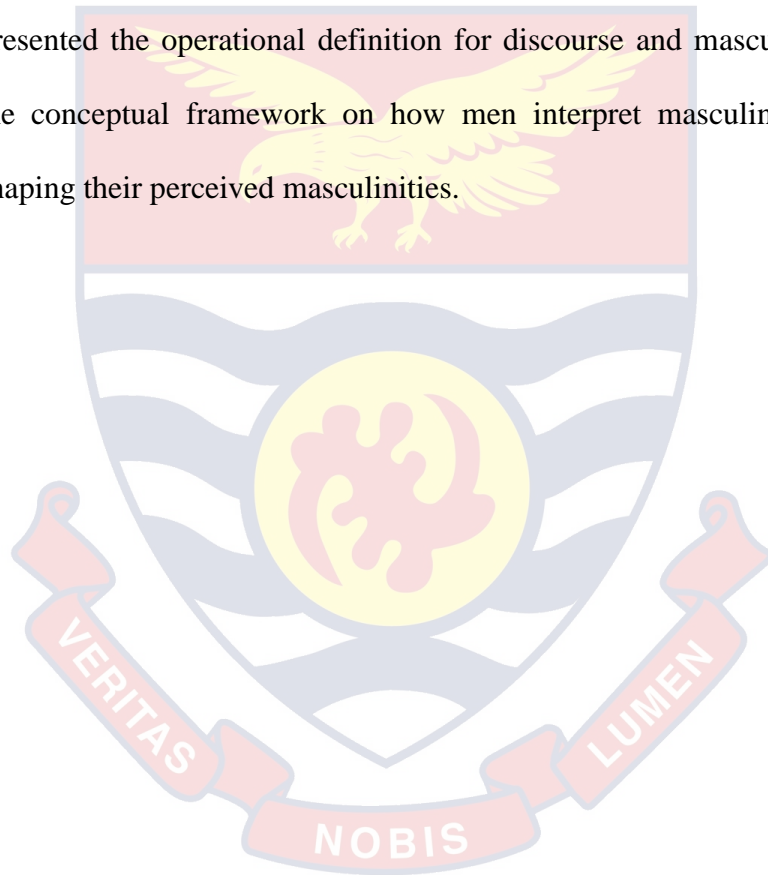
CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

According to Neuman (2014), the scientific community is influenced by the social, political, and economic world within which they find themselves. This could also be said to inform a researcher of the choice of topics to research and the diversity in research conducted (Michel, 2008). Nonetheless, the scientific community has its norms, guidelines and values that govern and spell out the appropriate ways in which all research irrespective of the issue at hand is/are expected to be conducted (Bhattacherjee, 2012; Neuman, 2014; Seale, 2004). The essence of these principles to the scientific community is to among many reasons, bring out the attitude of research, the methods to employ, ensure universalism of findings, aid organised scepticism, honesty and replication of findings (Neuman, 2014; Seale, 2004).

To meet the required scientific norms this section discusses the methods employed for the study observing the expected approaches of the scientific community. It examined the paradigm informing this study and how the research is designed. Neuman (2014) also posits grasping the scientific method alone is not enough but rather it is critical to also, engage the scientific attitude or orientation, rigour, precision, skill, ingenuity, high quality ideals and immense drudgery. The discussion in this section thus explains how the study adhered to this attitude of the scientific community.

The write up begins with a discussion of the research design. This is followed by the research approach adopted by the study which further informed the paradigm underpinning the study and methods employed in the study. The

research design, targeted population, sample and sampling technique, data collection instruments employed, ethical issues considered for this study and how the data was analysed are equally discussed. The final section focused on the discussion on the researcher's reflexivity, a summary of the chapter and what it sought to achieve.

Research Design

The study employed the feminist research approach. This approach was chosen for its central focus of investigation, the paradigm, methodology, and methods. Sumner (2006) posits that a 'feminist research is visible through a distinct choice of topic, methods, methodology or epistemology'. The central focus of investigation by feminist researchers or for feminist research is 'gender'. Feminist research interrogates how relations of gender and power permeate all spheres of social life (Neuman, 2014) and strives to expose the structures and conditions that contribute to an existing situation, educate the community on the factors creating this phenomenon and recommend ways that can help alleviate the problem and ultimately contribute towards social change and reconstruction (Sarantakos, 2012; 1998). This research seeks to inquire into how messages on the norms of maleness contribute to how men construct their identity as men and further raise consciousness or raise awareness of masculinity socialisation and its impact on men.

Although feminist research's central focus is on gender, the emphasis has been more on research on women, for women and by women (Sumner, 2006). This research approach has thus been criticised for overlooking the impact of gender in general on a study, men as gendered beings and position of men who research women's issues. This study, however, engages this research

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approach to explore how men interpret masculinity discourses and engage them in reconstructing their perceived masculinity. The researcher is of the view that this approach is applicable to the topic of study, masculinities. According to (Sarantakos, 2012) the characteristic of feminist research is not only in the methods it employs but their application and purpose. This study recognises that the methods engaged by the feminist researchers are applicable to the study on men. Further, Gardiner (2004) note that masculinity studies and feminist studies are related as they both explore the feminist theory insight on the construction of masculinities. The two argue that feminist thinking has been fundamental to the formation of contemporary men's and masculinity studies. Thereby making masculinity studies, a significant outgrowth of feminist studies and possible to engage feminist research approach in studying such subject area. To Gardiner (2004), masculinity studies can be informed by a feminist project to interrogate different masculinities, whether real (as in corporeal) or imagined (as in representations and texts). This presupposes that feminist theory can be, employed in masculinity studies to investigate masculinity performances thus the use of feminist approach for this study.

Research Paradigm

Although feminist research is considered a paradigm on its own, feminist research also operates within the interpretivist-social constructionist paradigm (Neuman, 2014; Sarantakos, 2012) which this study employs. The underlying assumption of this paradigm is that reality is socially and historically constructed and how we know (or perceive) what we know is subjective and that research is value laden (Jupp, 2006; Monnette, Sullivan & Dejong, 2002). Feminist research assumes that the world is socially constructed

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(Punch, 2000 cited in Neuman, 2014; Sarantakos, 2012). As regards this, feminist research stresses the 'importance of recognizing subjectivity, not only that of the 'researched' but also that of the researcher' (Sumner, 2006). Accordingly, this research approach displays a relative aversion to empirical positivistic methodology, and rejects the value-free nature of research (Punch, 2000 cited in Neuman, 2014; Sarantakos, 2012) which this study sought to do. This paradigm suited the theoretical and research approach chosen for the study. The use of this paradigm helped appreciate the diversity in the understanding and interpretation of masculinity to men.

Methodology

Sarantakos (1998) defines methodology as the research principles closely related to a distinct paradigm, translated clearly and accurately down to guidelines on acceptable research practices. Consequently, this study employs the qualitative methodology as it suits the paradigm and research approach chosen for the study. Qualitative approaches deal with non-numerical data and underscore the fact that reality is socially constructed. Methodologically, feminist research engages the qualitative methodology. Although some feminist researchers tend to use the quantitative methodology, feminist researchers are more inclined to qualitative methods (Neuman, 2014; Sarantakos, 2012). It employs qualitative methods such as in-depth interview, observation, Focus Group Discussion and other innovative methods such as consciousness raising, drama and group diary (Neuman, 2014; Sumner, 2006).

The study further employs the qualitative methodology due to the nature of study at hand. The concept of masculinity as indicated in literature is very difficult define (Connell, 2005, 2001; Hearn, 1998). Similarly, in Ghana,

there is no one item or concept to define masculinity. Qualitative methodology thus became the most appropriate approach to employ as it made it possible to probe.

Additionally, Denzin & Lincoln (2005) explains qualitative act as a multicultural gendered process. Qualitative methodology is used to provide the researcher with a flexible style of eliciting and categorising responses to gain a deeper understanding of the subject matter under investigation (Sarantakos, 2012). Vidich and Lyman (2000 cited in Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) assert that 'qualitative research in the social sciences, sociology and anthropology is born out of the interest to understand the other'. Social action is always changing; therefore, contextual explanations and situated meanings are integral to ongoing sense making. Qualitative research method therefore enabled the researcher to approximate an understanding of people's (in this regard masculinity) experience (Monnette, Sullivan & Dejon, 2002).

Denzin and Lincoln (2005) posit that the qualitative research community encapsulates persons endeavouring to device a critical interpretive methodology that will help them and others around them make sense of the disturbing circumstances that define daily life. They employ constructivist, feminist, critical theory, queer theory among others in interpreting their studies. Captured by Denzin and Lincoln (2005)

> Qualitative research is a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world……. involves an interpretive naturalistic approach to the world…qualitative researchers study things in their natural settings, attempting to make sense of or interpret, phenomena in terms of the meaning people bring to them.

These characteristics of the qualitative methodology and the summary of what qualitative inquiry as a methodology expounds makes it the appropriate approach for answering the questions of the researcher. What this study sought to do was to find out from respondents in their own communities or places of abode the meaning they derive from masculinity discourses and how these discourses create in them a sense of or understanding of their masculinities. The use of qualitative methods thus offered the study the tools to have a deeper understanding on how masculinity is acquired through discourse in its natural setting. It enabled the researcher to approximate an understanding of people's (in this regard masculinity) experience (Monnette, Sullivan & Dejon, 2002).

Although the paradigm chosen and the discussion of the methodology point to the appropriateness of qualitative methods, there are also criticisms of the use of this methodology. Critics of the qualitative approach to research posit that this method is subjective, lacks the rigour or hardness of a scientific study, lack verification of findings, replication and generalisation (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005; Ryan & Hood, 2004). Nonetheless, this study does not seek to generalise but rather raise consciousness on the subject at hand. The exploratory nature of the study further confirms this fact. Also, the use of multiple methods addresses the weaknesses in the methodology.

More specifically, however, the research was designed to explore men's interpretation of masculinity discourses in Ghana and how they employ these discourses in (re) constructing their perceived masculine selves. The design of the study thus fits into the exploratory research design. Scientific research takes several forms. Three key purposes, however, stand out in literature (Neuman, 2014), descriptive research which seeks to systematically describe a

phenomenon, situation or problem using words or numbers among others (Neuman, 2014), explanatory research which aims to understand and explain a phenomenon or situation or problem and the exploratory design.

Exploratory research is concerned with discovery and development of new theories (Davies, 2006; Neuman, 2014). Research is undertaken where there exists little information on or about the topic at hand, a subject is new or nothing is known about it (Neuman, 2014; Patton, 2002). It addresses the "what" questions in research. Due to this nature of the design, it is mainly treated as a first stage of inquiry and synonymous with the notion of 'feasibility study' or 'pilot study' thus a limited appreciation of this type of design (Neuman, 2014). Davies (2006) nonetheless posits that all research in the social sciences can actually be considered exploratory as they are fused into the notion of exploration and the researcher, as the explorer.

The exploratory research was engaged for two main reasons. First is the dearth of masculinity studies in general literature and in Ghana and second due to the fact that this research design lends itself to a qualitative research approach. Exploratory research has been used most often synonymous with qualitative research although, to Neuman (2014), this 'narrows the meaning of exploratory research and undermines the notion of exploratory research as being concerned with the development of theory from data'.

Overview of the Study Area

The study was carried out in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA). GAMA was chosen for its suitability in meeting the research goal of identifying diverse discourses of masculinity in Ghana and how men engage these discourses in (re)constructing their perceived masculine selves.

GAMA presents a group whose masculinity are undocumented in Ghanaian masculinity studies, the Gas while at the same time offering access to other ethnic groups of interest to the study. Studies on masculinity in Ghana reveal that most of these have focused on the Akan masculinities (Adomako Ampofo et al., 2009; Miescher, 2005). The researcher in order not to replicate the already existing discourses, cover a larger group of persons in a particular location, give room to gather more discourses likely to be reflective of a majority of Ghanaian masculinities and to be able to profile the forms of masculinities selected the GAMA which is a cosmopolitan district with a more diverse group. The administrative and economic function of GAMA and the metropolitan nature of the city presented the presence of other forms of inheritance practices and languages and therefore a context where diverse masculinity discourses abound.

The indigenous people of Accra are the Ga Mashie who are believed to have migrated from Nigeria at the beginning of the 15th Century and first settled in James Town (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014). The inheritance system of the people in this community is the patrilineal system of inheritance. A focus on Akan masculinities suggests that existing masculinity discourses in Ghanaian literature are emanating from a matrilineal society. The literature on gender studies, however, note that systems of inheritance have an influence on gender, gender socialisation and practices. The choice of the Accra metropolis thus offered the research a different perspective to masculinity discourses in Ghana.

The Greater Accra Metropolitan Assembly established in 1898 serves as both the regional and national capital for the country and also the economic

hub for the Greater Accra Region and Ghana as a whole. It is one of the 16 MMDAs in the Greater Accra region covering a land area of 139,674 Km^2. The metropolis itself, however, consists of 10 Sub Metropolitan District Councils made up of 72 communities. It is bounded to the North by Ga West Municipal, the West by Ga South Municipal, the South by the Gulf of Guinea, and the East by La Dadekotopon Municipal (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014).

Socially, GAMA area is a multi-ethnic, multi-national community represented by all local ethnic groups in Ghana and internationals. The proportion of Ghanaians by birth in the Metropolis is 91.2 percent. Out of the total population of 1,665,086 about 47 percent are migrants, persons born elsewhere in the Greater Accra Region or other regions within and outside Ghana; Western (12.2%), Central (14.2%), Volta (16.8%), Eastern (27.8%), Ashanti (15.1%), Northern (7.6%), Upper East (3.1%), Upper West (1.2%) with 6.1percent born outside Ghana. These migrants had been residents in the municipality for not less than a year. Others have lived in the municipality for 20 years and above. About four percent of the people in the metropolis have dual nationality, another four percent being non- nationals while 1.3 percent have naturalised to be Ghanaians. ECOWAS nationals constitute a higher percent of the foreigners (2.9%).

According to the Ghana Statistical Service (2014), the religious affiliation of persons living in the metropolis is reflective of all the religions recognised in Ghana, Christian, Islamic and Traditional religion. The Christian religion is, however, the most dominant group representing about 79 percent. This is followed by Islam (17%) and then Traditionalist (0.3%). There are, however, others who are identified to belong other religions (1.0%) other than

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these three-recognised religions while others did not identify with any religion (3.0 %). Pentecostal/Charismatic were the largest among the Christian religious group (40.8%) followed by Protestants (22.7%), Catholics (7.8) and other Christians (2.4).

Economically, it is host to a number of institutions (financial, health and education), companies (telecommunication and oil) industries (tourism, manufacturing and agricultural) among others. These economic characteristics advertently feed into the activities of the residents in the metropolis. The metropolis has a working population aged 15 years to 65 years and above who are basically engaged in the primary, secondary and tertiary sectors of the economy. The service sector is, however, the major employer. More than a third (38.5%) of the population is employed in service and sales work (Ghana Statistical Service, 2014).

Demographically, the metropolis as of the year 2010 had a population of 1,665,086 representing 42 percent of the region's total population. Males constituted 48.1 percent of this number. The metropolis according to the population and housing census findings of 2010 has the majority of its population being youthful. About 43 percent of the population are children under the age of 15. The Ghana Population and Housing Census attribute this to the country being a developing country. Further, the population pyramid of the metropolis also showed that the population advances with age. The population peaked at the age group 20-24, representing 12.4 percent followed by the 25-29 age group (11.5%). Identified as unusual dynamics in a population, the Population and Housing Census conversely relate the dynamics to migrant influx into the metropolis particularly for the purposes of

employment. Literacy is also high in GAMA. Of the population 11 years and above, 89 percent are literate. Five out of ten of the populace in this age category, representing 52 percent can speak and write both English and Ghanaian languages. Literacy is, however, high in females (98,439) than males (39,567). Figure 2 gives a pictorial view of the GAMA and its location in Ghana. It also highlights the communities in GAMA selected for this study.
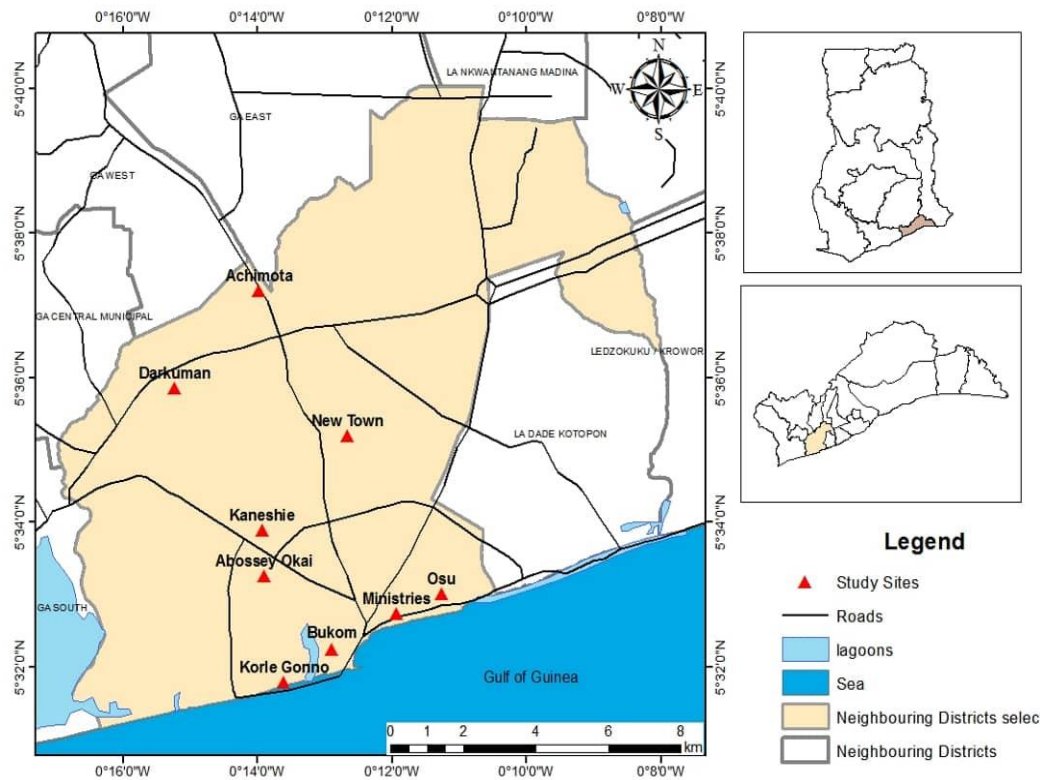
Figure 2: Map of Study Settings

Source: GIS unit, University of Cape Coast (2017)

Study Population

Respondents for this study were chosen with certain demographics in mind; age, sex, educational background, religion, marital status, ethnicity and occupation of respondents. The consideration given to these elements were informed by a review literature on gender on one hand and masculinity studies which note specifically that these characteristics are critical in determining how

members of society act out their gender (and masculinity). The interest in these demographics was further informed by the fact that although masculinity is context specific, changes such as education, religion, employment, living arrangements, globalisation have influence on how people perceive and understand their masculinity (Connell, 2014).

Table 1: Summary of Demographic Characteristics of Study Participants

Characteristics	Frequency (N= 29)	Percentage (%)
Sex		
Females	11	37.9
Males	18	62.1
Age		
Youth (19 -39)	14	48.3
Middle age (40-59)	11	37.9
Elderly (60 >)	4	13.8
Educational background		
No years of schooling	1	3.4
Junior High School/MSLC	11	37.9
Senior High School	6	20.7
Tertiary	11	37.9
Marital status		
Single	8	27.6
Married	19	65.5
Divorced	1	3.4
Widowed	1	3.4
Occupation		
Formal sector	5	17.2
Informal	22	75.9
Student	1	3.4
Unemployed	1	3.4
Religion		
Christian	27	93.1
Muslim	2	6.9
Ethnicity		
Akan	18	62.1
Ga-Adangme	5	17.2
Mole-Dagbani	3	10.3
Ewe	1	3.4
Gruni	1	3.4
Northerner	1	3.4

Source: Field Work (2017)

The ages of the entire study population ranged between 12 to 70 years. The ages of the individual respondents, however, ranged between 19 years and 70 years. There were two persons aged 19, five in their 20s, seven in their 30s, six in their 40s, five in their 50s, two in their 60s and another two in their 70s. These were further grouped into three categories, namely youth (19 to 39) middle age (40 to 59) and elderly (60 and above). Fourteen of the respondents, representing 48 percent fell within the category of youth. The middle-aged category was made of eleven respondents representing about 38 percent of the respondents. The least represented group was the elderly which had just four respondents representing 14 percent.

By comparing these cohorts, the researcher aimed to have a cross-generational and in-depth view of the discourses on masculinity in Ghana. Robinson (2013) posits masculinity cannot be, studied at a glance. It is played out differently in different spaces and informed by changes in person's life, marriage, employment, old age amongst others. Due to the cross-sectional nature of this study, the researcher was unable, to follow respondents in the target group in their life course and capture the changes that come with it. The use of elderly males was thus to provide some insight into how masculinity discourses and practices differ with age and other socio-economic changes.

Further granting that this study's emphasis is on men, the study included female participants to explore their perception of masculinity and the role of discourses in masculinity acquisition and actions. The use of female respondents helped answer whether masculinity discourses and further discourses in femininity in relation to masculinity contribute to female acceptance of male dominance. Women were also engaged due to the fact, that

masculinity is a relational concept (Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerchmidt, 2005). Masculinity exists in relation to what is considered feminine and as a result men and women are exposed to discourses of masculinity and femininity to ensure they do not cross boundaries. As such women are also informed on what is considered masculine or masculinity in society and can thus contribute to the profiling of masculinity discourses in the Ghanaian society. In all 29 females and males took part in the individual interviews. The researcher, however, covered more males than females. There were 11 females constituting about 38 percent of the respondents and 18 males representing 62 percent of the respondents. The choice of higher number of males was a conscious effort by the researcher to have more male voices in the study. The number of females was decided when the researcher reached saturation in responses.

In terms of religion, the study had the majority of its respondents (ninety three percent) being Christians with the remaining seven percent being Muslims. None of the participants in the study identified to be a traditionalist or not belonging to any religion. The respondents were either single, married, divorced or widowed. The divorced and widowed constituted the least group, a respondent each while the married constituted the majority with nineteen of the respondents representing about 66 percent. The second largest group of the respondents were the single, 28 percent.

The ethnicity of respondents enclosed five of the local ethnic groups in Ghana, Akan, Ga-Adangme, Ewe, Mole-Dagbani and Gruni. Eighteen of the respondents representing a majority of the respondents (64.3%) were of the Akan ethnic group. Of this number, 3 (16.7%) were Fante, 12 (66.7%) Asantes,

1(5.6%) Akuapem, 1(5.6%) Kwahu and 1(5.6%) Akyem. Ga-Adangme's represented 17. 2 percent followed by Mole-Dagbani (10. 3%), the ewe (3.4%) and Gruni (3. 4%).

Only one of the participants of this study had no years of schooling. This respondent was an elderly woman aged 70 years. The reason she gave was that her parents at her infancy did not value female education and was therefore made to sacrifice her education for her parents to be able to send her brothers to school. The minimum level of education for the participants, however, was Junior High School. Eleven of the respondents had their educational background to be Junior High School or the Middle School Leavers Certificate. This number represent about 38 percent of the respondents. The highest level of education history of participants was tertiary. Four of the participants had their level of education being polytechnic, one teachers training college, one master's degree holder, three currently pursuing their undergraduate studies and two PhD candidates. The remaining six had their educational level to be Senior High School.

The various occupations engaged in by participants, ranged from works in the informal economy to the formal economy. Five of the respondents representing a little over 17 percent of the respondents were workers in the formal sector. They worked as administrators, lecturers, teachers and officials in the government sector. The informal sector was the major employer with about 22 (75.8%) responses. Most of the respondents, 25 representing a little over 76 percent of the study participants were engaged in the service sector. That is retail, education, security services, faith based service provision among others. Only one person in the study identified as being unemployed.

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Sampling Technique

The study employed the non-probability sampling technique in its data gathering as it was not interested in large numbers and also generalising the findings of the study. This sampling technique was also chosen for its suitability in qualitative studies (Bryman, 2012) and effectiveness in exploration analysis (Monnette, et al., 2002; Sarantakos, 2012). More specifically, the purposive sampling technique was employed for the study. Purposive sampling aims to deliberately sample research participants and or cases in a strategic way, to enable a researcher sample cases relevant to the research questions being posed and ensure a good deal of variety in terms of key characteristics relevant to the research question (Bryman, 2012). The use of purposive sampling helped in identifying the spaces of interest to the study while at the same time offering the researcher the opportunity to select study participants of diverse interest to the study.

Further, Bryman (2012) notes that 'discussions of sampling in qualitative research tend to revolve around the notion of purposive sampling'. What this assertion implies is that the purposive sampling is the foundation of all forms of sampling in qualitative study. However, there are several types of purposive sampling such as the extreme or deviant case sampling, typical case sampling, criterion, maximum variation, theoretical, opportunistic, stratified, and snowball sampling techniques. This study employed the theoretical sampling was employed mainly in selecting cases. This technique is a grounded theory approach in gathering data (Hammersley, 2006; Sarantakos, 2012). It is not concerned with numbers thereby allowing the researcher to collect data until a point of saturation is reached (Hammersley, 2006). The

researcher in this regard can add on to the sample as many as possible cases until the goal is reached and no new insights are coming up (Bryman, 2012). Bearing this in mind, data management was carried out in tandem with the interviews. The data collection seized when the researcher identified that there were no new insights coming up from the responses.

Masculinity is a social construct and a product of socialisation. Masculinity acquisition, therefore, takes place in diverse key areas in society, home, work spaces, religious spaces, general society among others. To be able to have diverse sources of information on masculinity discourses, it was imperative that the researcher covered as many of these spaces as possible to give the study a rich data and understanding of how these spaces informed what is considered masculinity. The maximum variation sampling technique was employed in selecting the study sites. The approach is concerned with ensuring the inclusion of as much wide variation (cases of interest) as possible in the study (Bryman, 2012).

The data was collected from nine communities in GAMA, Achimota, Ministries, Osu, Bukom, Korle Gono, Abossey Okai, Darkuman, New town and Kaneshie. The selection of these communities enabled the study gain access to people with diverse social backgrounds that make them useful sources of information necessary for the achievement of the study's objectives as they fall within three of the four main clusters of Accra namely Accra North, South, Central, East and West.

Osu and the Ministries communities are located within the Accra central cluster. Osu was chosen for the high cosmopolitan nature of its neighbourhood. Osu can be categorised into two, those along the coast and

Osu-RE. Osu-RE to be precise is arguably the liveliest part of Accra and the most preferred hang out for tourists. It is also noted to be one of the wealthiest neighbourhood in Ghana. The coastal section of Osu, unlike the RE neighbourhood, is a highly indigenous Ga community and a fishing community. The selection of the vicinity within the ministries offered the opportunity access the public sector working class. Both individual and group interviews were carried out in these communities. There were five group interviews in all carried out here.

Abbosey Okai, Bukom, Korle Gono are located in the Accra West cluster. Abossey Okai, a trading centre for car parts, was chosen in order to explore how the masculine nature of the work environment inform masculinity performance and discourses. Bukom and Korle Gono were chosen specifically for their indigenous characteristics. These communities are highly populated Ga communities and offered the opportunity to cover a larger group of native Ga respondents. The data gathered here were from group interviews. Four of the group interviews were carried out in these communities

Accra Newtown, Achimota, Kaneshie, and Darkuman fall within the Accra north cluster of GAMA. Communities and neighbourhoods within this cluster house some of the wealthiest population of Accra such as Airport residential area, East and West Legon, Dzorwulu and Roman Ridge. Kaneshie and Darkuman are, however, business districts and were mainly chosen for these reasons. Darkuman, more specifically komkompe (dealers in car parts) was selected for its masculine space. It was also chosen to compare whether there are differences in the responses of a similar work space, Abbosey Okai. Individual and group interviews were carried out in this community. New

town was chosen for religious reasons; to have access to a Muslim or Zongo community. Data gathered here were from individual interviews.

Although this is the case, the study had some of the respondents being residents outside of the selected communities although they reside in the communities in GAMA. This occurrence was informed by the selection of the spaces for gathering the data such as schools, work spaces and religious gatherings. Respondents were of diverse educational, ethnic, marital and religious background and this influenced the identified discourses and interpretations.

Sample Size

Due to the theoretical sampling approach employed by the study, the researcher started the study with no particular number of respondents in mind. The aim was to gather the data until there were no new ideas coming up. Bryman (2012) notes that a significant difficulty a qualitative researcher encounters while employing the theoretical sampling technique is establishing from the outset, the number of persons to cover in the study. The study, covered 29 individual interviews and 15 group interviews. This was determined when the researcher reached point of saturation. The sample of these interviews comprised of 11 females and 18 males. The group interviews were made up of ten (10) all-male groups, four all-female and one mixed. The mixed group constituted an elderly persons' discussion. Six of the group interviews were carried out with students, Junior High School (2), Senior High School (2) and Tertiary (2), see appendix for

Data Collection Techniques/Methods

Qualitative research employs several methods that describe its data gathering endeavours (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Some of these methods which are mainly employed for primary data collection are interviewing, diary keeping, observation, participatory inquiry, visual methods and Focus Group Discussion (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). For this study, however, data was collected through individual and group interviews. The use of these methods aided in probing and obtaining comprehensive information on the subject matter. Neuman (2014) posits 'researchers who conduct exploratory research must be creative, open-minded, and flexible; adopt an investigative stance; and explore all sources of information. They ask creative questions and take advantage of serendipity (i.e., unexpected or chance factors that have large implications)'. The use of interviews methods offered the space to ask questions and take advantage of the opportunities to probe issues hitherto not considered.

Further, the use of these individual and group interviews served as a measure of validation of responses (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005). Flick (2002 cited Denzin & Lincoln, 2005) posit 'qualitative research in itself is inherently multi-method in focus'. This nature aids in obtaining in-depth information on the subject under study and serves as an alternative to validation. An unstructured interview guide, a semi-structured interview guide and observation checklist were, employed in collecting the data. The unstructured and semi-structured interview guide were used to elicit responses from the individual respondents and group interviews.

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The observation checklist was constructed from literature and a preliminary study on what is considered masculinity in Ghana. This served as a guide in probing responses given by participants. The researcher also did some observation of discussions on masculinity performances and expectations. This was carried out to identify how masculinity discourses are engaged and played out in a natural setting (where persons are not aware of being observed). The issues discussed were the same for all the types of interviews engaged.

Data Gathering Procedure

The data gathering was carried out by three persons, two field assistants and the researcher herself. All interviews were carried out face- to- face with respondents. The interviews were carried in English and two local languages, Ga and Twi. Respondents were approached at their places of work, homes and other settings. Locations of respondents were of key interest to this due to the underlying assumption in masculinity studies which indicates that contexts within which men find themselves is key to shaping their masculinity and the kind of masculinity exhibited (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Ratele, 2016). Each participant of the study was informed of the purpose of the research before being engaged in the interviews. Interviews were mainly recorded using an audio recorder. The researchers sought the permission of respondents before recording. Where permission was denied, the researchers took notes of the interviews. The unstructured and semi- structured interview guide were used for the study.

I began with unstructured interviews due to the limited knowledge of masculinity discourses in the study setting and further the opportunity it offered in covering as much information as possible on masculinity discourses. After a

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number of interviews, however, I resorted to the semi-structured interviews. The introduction of the semi- structured interviews was to enable the field assistants undertake the data gathering on their own. Bryman (2012) identifies that in an instance where more than one person is undertaking interviews as part of a research, the most preferred form of interview will be semi- structured to ensure a degree of comparability in interviews. The use of semi-structured interviews also became necessary when the research team began having clarity of focus and the issues at hand (Bryman, 2012).

The data gathering began with the group interviews. In all a total of fifteen group interviews were undertaken, a group of senior high school students (all fe/male), junior high school students (all fe/male), tertiary students (all fe/male), all-male pastors (2), out of school all teenage group, all-male adult groups (4), all female adult group (1), and a mixed group of elderly persons. A group interview is a form of interview that usually has more than one participant in the interview but mostly constitutes about four or more persons in the group (Bryman, 2012). This form of interview is just like the focused group interview as a result is mostly used interchangeably with a focused group. The difference between group interviews and focused group methods rests in the specificity in characteristics of respondents preferred in the latter (Bryman, 2012).

Beginning the data collection with the group interviews provided me with information on masculinity discourses to undertake the individual interviews. It offered me insight into how masculinity is challenged and performed by individuals in their daily lives. Members of the group challenged each other on issues raised, reminded participants of their earlier assertions on

masculinity and probed each other's reasons for their stands on certain questions thereby offering the researcher more true-to-life accounts on how men interpret masculinity discourses, how and why they choose and hang others. The use of the group also offered the researcher the space to leave the discussion to respondents and reduce the power relations between respondents and the researcher which is a key feature of feminist research. Participants could probe and raise people's consciousness on issues already deliberated for clarity and confirmation.

An average of two group interviews were carried out a day with each lasting a minimum of 40 minutes. The interviews were carried out at the places of work, schools, in the community and after church meetings. This was done for reasons of convenience on the for the participants and the researchers. The interviews with the schools were the first set of data gathered. To get permission to interview the students, I visited the schools a week prior to the interviews to seek permission from the heads of the schools and to schedule a date for the interview. The interviews mostly took place during the break periods and after school hours in order not to disrupt the activities of the students. The interviews were carried out on the school compound and places convenient to the school authority. Interviews were carried out in English interspersed with local languages since English was most preferred by the students. Local languages were used where the researcher was of the opinion that the students lacked clarity on the question asked. The remaining interviews, however, were carried out in Akan or Ga local languages.

Similar to the approach employed for the students of senior and junior high schools, in the interview involving a group of pastors, the pastors were

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informed about a week earlier to the interview date. The researcher on the day of the interview worshipped with that congregation after which the interview was undertaken. In the other interviews, however, the researcher began with a few people she chanced upon before others joined in the conversation. The number of persons per interview was eight except the groups for the pastors and the mixed group (elderly persons aged between 45 and 60 years) which were made of four persons each.

The individual interviews and observations were carried out alongside some group discussions. The individual interviews were chiefly carried out in households. Some of these interviews were, however, carried out in the spaces where the group interviews were undertaken to be able to confirm or otherwise the responses elicited from the groups. Twenty-nine interviews were carried out in all. The individual interviews lasted an average of 30 minutes. There were also three observations carried out. The data gathering took place between May and June 2017. In all, a total of six weeks was used for the field work.

Data Management

The data for this study came in the form of audio recordings and notes taken on the field. Observing the rule of thumb of the theoretical sampling technique which indicates that data collection should cease when data become saturated (Glaser & Strauss, 1967), data management went hand in hand with the data collection. Transcription, coding and organising of data to generate themes were carried out at the end of each day of data collection. An approach which aided the researcher identify the recurring themes. Data mangement began with the field notes to address the difficulty of transribing lengthy

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interviews daily. Responses noted on the field were typed out and coded every night after the field work to enable me study the trend of responses and areas to further explore.The information from each day were compared with the transcribed data to observe the emerging similarities. At the end of the field gathering, the recorded interviews were transcribed by the researcher and the field assistants. At this point, the data was studied in detail to aid a conclusive coding.

Data Analysis

Qualitative data analysis can be done electronically (using data analysis tools such as NVIVO, Nudist, Saturate and Atlas ti) or manually (Bryman, 2012). I however, analysed the available data manually. The choice of analysing the data in this manner was informed by expediency. I was more comfortable with this approach than employing the electronic analysis tools. The data analysed, included verbatim transcriptions of primary documents such as individual and group interviews, and notes taken by field-workers directly as part of the observation process.

Discourse analysis was employed in analysing the data for the study. Discourse analysis is an approach that treats language as a topic. It treats language as a focus of attention and not merely a tool used to inquire and seek information from people (Bryman, 2012). For this study, language or description of what is considered a man in reference to masculinity was the key focus. Coding for the data was carried out in three stages. In the first or open coding phase, I went through all the data per respondent line by line looking for discourses or items used to describe a man. This was done for each question asked as respondents brought up a lot of markers in answering the various

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questions. At the axial coding stages, I looked through the codes generated from the open coding to identify relationships, similarities and difference. There were themed together at the final or selective coding stage to develop categories for the analysis. Discussion of findings was prepared around the following lines, Discourses and the sources of information, Interpretation of masculinity discourses and their use in constructing perceived masculinity and Profiling masculinity typologies in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area.

Reflexivity

This section discusses my motivation for undertaking this study, my experiences on the field, my background and how it influenced the study participants, and these have shaped the final document I am presenting. Three key issues underscore my motivation for this study, academic, career and in fulfilment of a certain personal agenda. These three key things kept me going even when it seemed like I could not do this work. The main objective of this study is in partial fulfilment of a PhD degree. Second, it is to secure a career and contribute to my department. I work with a gender institute which places emphasis on addressing masculinity issues as an advocacy tool for ensuring gender equality. Specialising in this field thus enhances my skills to contribute to my department while building my career aspirations.

The more personal reason for this study is to fulfil a desire and uncompleted activity. In 2012, I had the opportunity to attend an Australia Awards Fellowship. During the short course programme, we were introduced to masculinity studies and also men's group 'white ribbon' working to end gender based violence in Australia. This ignited my interest in masculinity studies as found that as a gap in Ghanaian literature and violence studies and

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thus decided to as part of my Work Plan on Return undertake my research in masculinity and violence. I could not fulfil this requirement as I changed departments on my return and decided to work on this as my thesis instead. My initial motivation for this study was thus to gain an insight into how masculinity discourses shaped men's attitude towards violence. This however, changed along the line when we (my supervisors and I) realised there was not enough discourses with which to initiate this study.

Researcher's Background Influence on Study Participants

I have lived in Accra for the major part of my life. I could as a result speak, Ga which is the native language in the Accra Metropolitan Area. The ability to speak was thus an advantage to me in selecting the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area. I also speak a number of Akan languages and English and could as well engage the English and Akan speaking communities. Although I have lived in Accra, I was not familiar with the communities under study. Places such Korlegono, Bukom, Abossey Okai and the Osu coastal environ were places I had never been to prior to the study. This made me an outsider to the respondents. However, being a woman researching things that pertains to men somehow seemed to have bridged this difference. Respondents' interests and excitement to participate in the study was heightened when they realised I (being a woman) was striving for high academic qualification. The male respondents were excited to see a woman who had reached this far in education. Respondents were also excited to see a woman studying men. This made it much easier to probe into issues and get information. Although this was the case, the introduction of male field assistants brought out more issues for discussion. They seemed to be more open when the male field assistants

came on board. This made my outsider position in relation to gender, female studying men pronounced.

Field Work Experiences and Analysis of Data

Although I am quite conversant with undertaking qualitative studies, I was a bit jittery with this particular study given that I was now going to gather discourses. My uncertainty was how to be able to pull out of respondents as much information as possible without feeding participants with my own idea of what they had to say. Further, the whole experience of the field work was much more emotionally draining than I had anticipated. I did not anticipate most of the challenges I encountered on the field. Going by other researchers experiences in studying masculinities from literature, the anticipated limitations of the study before going to the field were mainly around language barrier and the measuring of masculinity. Masculinity is said to be a hypothetical construct (Robinson, 2013; Thorpe, 2011; Kahn, 2009). It is not a tangible object to be seen, does not abide in one object (man) and its characteristics can hardly be agreed upon thus studying it as a subject can be difficult (Robinson, 2013; Thorpe, 2011; Kahn, 2009). Further, Robinson (2013) indicates a major methodological challenge with masculinity studies is how to get at or gain one's masculinity, as masculinity is a continuous process informed by a succession of events. She also argues that getting at what is masculinity is difficult because the concept is taken for granted thus make reflexivity difficult.

To make up for these challenges, I put in measures to help capture and also address any challenge of language barrier. I adopted a maximum variation sampling approach to data collection to cover how masculinity changes with

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characteristics such as age, occupation, marital status and parenting. I in this regard made sure a wider of group of participants in terms of age, marital status and employment were covered. A checklist of identified traits of masculinities from literature was, also created to guide in probing into what constitutes masculinities and analyse the forms of masculinities existing in the Ghanaian society. Finally, in dealing with the challenge of the taken-for-grantedness of masculinity, I used the expression 'who a man is' as proxy for masculinity to enable reflection. The use of group interviews as a method was also employed, to raise the consciousness of respondents on what is masculinity.

Although I put in these measures to overcome all the identified potential threats prior to going to the field, I was faced with other challenges on the field namely language gap and the challenge of being female. Although I could speak Ga, I realised there were differences in the various communities in how they expressed themselves in Ga. Further, although respondents in the early stages (group interviews with students and pastors) were open to the discussions, males in the individual interviews were, however, a bit reluctant in speaking with the researcher. To make for the language challenge, I employed the services of two male field assistants. The male field assistants chosen were also recruited with language consideration in mind which enabled the researcher to overcome the language gap. Field assistants could communicate in and understand the languages of the study area.

My experiences of the discourses and stories of violence also broke me down. I have done a study on marital rape, shared with people experiences on gender violence and read literature on this subject matter but going to the field

and having people share their experience of abuse and resulting murder broke me down. For weeks and till date I am shaken when I remember stories and get flash back of images on some particular stories. I was also overwhelmed with the discourses and expectation of men so much so that I became traumatised from the interviews. Even though I am a Ghanaian and have heard quite a number of these expectations, hearing it from respondents and the quest to fulfil all these to me was traumatising. I felt there was too much expectation placed on men such that it had negative and toxic consequences. This affected the period for my analysis. I got depressed anytime I listened to the interviews and imagined the respondents and how they yearned to fulfil their duties even among the younger males.

As a female researcher studying men and having to be in constant contact with them, it also came with the consequences for my security. I experienced instances of sexual harassment. Some male respondents' comments and quest to want to touch me got me scared and uncomfortable. I therefore had to at some points end abruptly the individual interviews I was carrying out and leave the individual interviews solely to the field assistants to focus on group interviews. Further, I had to withdraw such that it does not influence responses. Finally, this is my first time of doing a discourse analysis. This affected my confidence in the data coding and analysis unlike my previous of experiences of doing qualitative analysis.

Although these challenges threaten the validity and reliability is the case, I am certain I covered all the discourses and confident in the absoluteness of the approaches employed. I am also excited to have been able to fulfill my desire of studying masculinities. The thought of achieving this

brings smiles to my face. Having finally come to a close with this work after three and half years, the ups and down is satisfying. What I could potentially achieve with this work further increases my joy in being able to undertake this work.

Summary of the Chapter

The chapter presented a brief background to the study community used for the study, the methods employed and also the activities that were undertaken during the field work. It also offers insights into how the data was analysed gives an of the challenges encountered by the researcher during the data gathering and my personal reflection on researching into masculinities as a woman.

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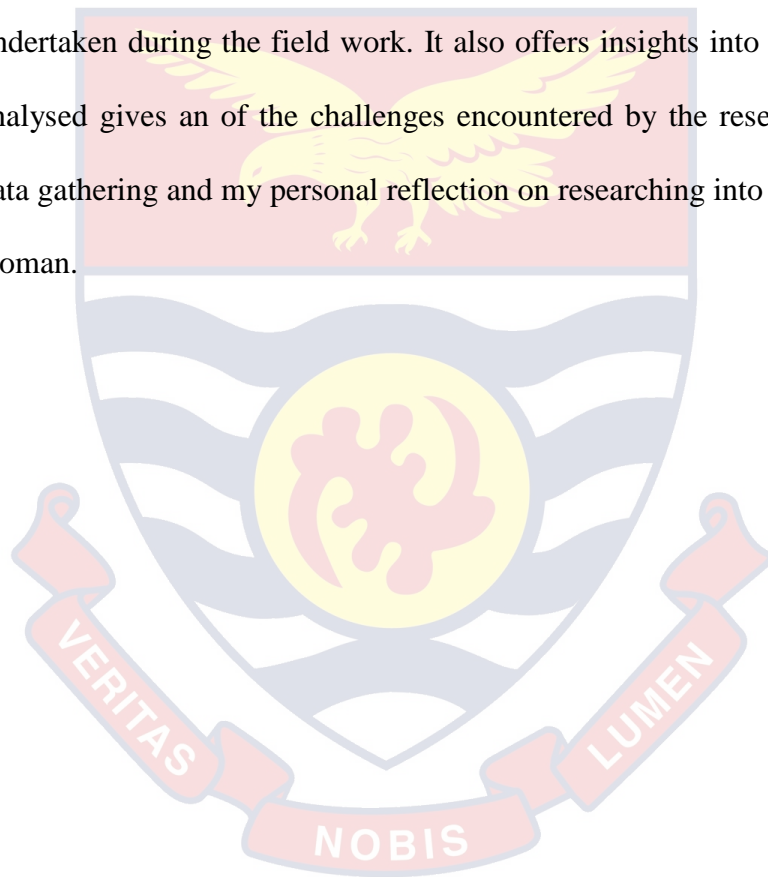
CHAPTER FOUR

LEARNING TO BE MEN: DISCOURSES OF MASCULINITY AND

THEIR SOURCES

Introduction

In this section, I discuss the findings on discourses of masculinity as emanated from the study and sources of this information. The discussion here combines responses from two of the objectives underpinning the study, one and two. Objective one sought to explore discourses of masculinity in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA) while the second objective focused on exploring masculinity expectations. These two objectives are combined due to the fact that all responses basically centered on expectations as markers of what is to be masculine.
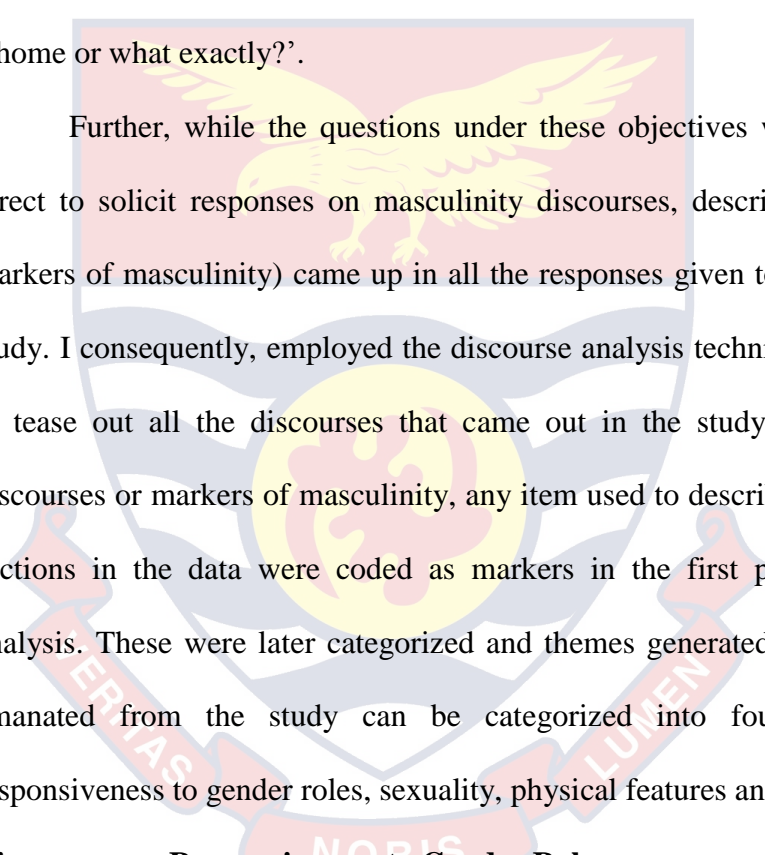
The overall goal for gathering this information, however, was to document masculinity discourses in GAMA as a foundation for identifying discourses employed by men in constructing their masculinities. Masculinity as identified in literature is context specific (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Connell, 2005) and given the fact that masculinity studies in Ghana have focused largely on Akan masculinities it became important that I gather some more discourses. The discussion is divided into two parts. The first part presents the identified discourses or markers of masculinity while the second part deals with the sources of information on these masculinity discourses.

Discourses on Masculinity in the GAMA

For the purpose of this study, discourse was used in reference to the messages and/or language use on norms of femaleness and maleness that shape relationships of members of a society and how they are to behave. The

study also conceptualised masculinity as the socially assigned characteristics or the traditional traits of what is to be male. Although I had already conceptualised what represented masculinity for me before going to the field, it was difficult to capture this in the local languages with a single word. Nevertheless, going by Parker's (1992) assertion that discourses have huge implication on how individuals think and act (cited in Nowosenetz, 2007), the word 'man' was used as a proxy to reflect masculinity during the data gathering to generate responses on what constitutes masculinity. The use of 'man' as a proxy for masculinity was also in line with Ghanaian literature which chiefly engage or associates masculinity in relation to men (Adomako Ampofo, Okyerefo & Pervanah, 2009; Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Adomako Ampofo, 2001; Ataborah & Adomako Ampofo, 2016; Miescher, 2005) and also my personal experiences of Ghanaian discourses on masculinity. This was, however, done still bearing in mind the possibility of women inhabiting masculinities.

To initiate conversations that would bring out the discourses on masculinity, the questions were asked in four different ways. There was a general question on who is a man, a more specific one on who is considered a man in participants communities, a third question on the expectations (which addresses the second objective) of men and finally a question on who respondents specifically considered a man. Asking the questions in this manner was to offer respondents the room to identify as many discourses as possible, to identify and to also generate as many responses as possible so as to guide the study. Whereas it was easier using 'man' as a proxy for masculinity, respondents always admonished before answering their questions

that what is considered 'man' (masculinity) in Ghana is very broad and as such, when asking or answering a question on this one must contextualize the form of manhood one is speaking of. Participants, thus, preceded their responses when first asked about who is considered a 'man' with questions such as 'are you talking about a married man or any man at all?'. A respondent validating the broad reference for the word man indicated 'For who is a man, this one statement brings out a lot of issues, is it about money or taking care of a home or what exactly?'.

Further, while the questions under these objectives were specific and direct to solicit responses on masculinity discourses, description of men (or markers of masculinity) came up in all the responses given to questions in the study. I consequently, employed the discourse analysis technique to enable me to tease out all the discourses that came out in the study. To identify the discourses or markers of masculinity, any item used to describe a man from all sections in the data were coded as markers in the first phase of the data analysis. These were later categorized and themes generated. The markers as emanated from the study can be categorized into four main themes, responsiveness to gender roles, sexuality, physical features and character.

Discourses on Responsiveness to Gender Roles

The responsiveness to gender role theme addresses the markers or discourses on masculinity which express the social roles men are supposed to undertake. The identified markers are responsibility towards the family, employment, marriage, helping with domestic chores, ownership of property and leadership.

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Being Responsible/ Responsibility Towards the Family

The most outstanding discourse on masculinity identified by respondents, whether males or females, was the responsibility towards the family. A man's commitment to the family in terms of providing their needs was identified by all participants of the study as a key marker of masculinity. This character is a reflection of maturity. Accordingly, whether married or not, old or young, wealthy or poor a Ga, Akan, Mole-Dagbani or Ewe the ability to meet responsibilities was a key feature in all the respondents discourses of who a man is or constituted masculinity. To the respondents, this is what makes one's manliness whole. If a man is unable take care of a home, wife, children, parents or other members of his family then he is considered a failure. For instance, no matter the wealth status of a man, if he failed to meet this expectation or marker but a person with fewer resources is/was able to take up this role, then the latter is considered more resourceful and a man. Noted from a group interview with an all-male Senior High School students

> *I think in our ethnic group the Gas, A Ga man is supposed to take good care of his family and aged parents who raised him up. If you are working and you have made a family and you are not taking care of them, you are not a man. What makes you a man is your ability to struggle for your family if even there is nothing at all (no riches) that is what makes you a man (MHOTBS).*

To another affirming this assertion in the group:

> *Am an Ewe and in the Volta Region or let's say to be an Ewe man, responsibilities are like very very huge. Eeerm even without a wife or child, you being there for your family, I mean the extended family is very very important. So maybe in terms of eerrm, in terms of need, need when I say need may be financial or anything, anything that the family needs they look up to the man first and the lady will be second (MHOTBS).*

Corroborating these responses, from an all-female Senior High School group interview what is considered or makes someone a man,

> *First is the responsibility. The one who has responsibility*
> *is what we call a man (HAMLEF).*

The age of the person meeting this responsibility did not matter. From the responses, what was important in this marker, is that the individual is meeting this expectation. In the same manner, the wealth of the person carrying out this expectation did not matter to participants. If a younger male in the family met this expectation while older males or wealthier males failed to do this, he became more of a man or attained a masculinity status. Although the age of the person meeting the responsibilities did not matter, meeting these responsibilities were, however, mostly mentioned in relation to married persons or people that have fathered children:

> *'As for a man in the Asante dialect, a man is the one who is able to*
> *perform his duties, like you are married, takes care of his wife, given*
> *birth, take care of his children, build a house for his family he*
> *created, sends his children to school. If you are able to all these that*
> *is when we say you are a man' (Okoe, an individual male Christian*
> *respondent, Akan and a farmer)*

In discussing these responsibilities, educating children (formal education) was itemised as a key measure of a man's adherence being responsible. Respondents emphasised education as a critical expectation of men. Providing education, it was indicated was to make the children become better people in society and to also enable them to sustain the legacy of the father. The emphasis on education was thus the importance it served in equipping male children most especially with the skills to be able to meet their gendered role of providers. The following remark from an all-male adult group interview sums up this observation:

> *What makes you a man is that after you are born your*
> *parents have sent you to school. If you go to school they*
> *teach things very well, you come and take good care of*
> *your parents then you become a man. Not that you will*

> *become a man then with a wasted life, when they say don't go here then that is where you go. That one it is called a 'foolish man' (MBKG)*

How responsible a man is, was also accounted for in how he took care of himself as an individual. Remarked in an all-male senior high school group interview,

> *When we say a man, the man is someone who is able to look after himself then others maybe when the family is in need or something' (MHOTBS).*

Employment

The man's role as the breadwinner of the home and invariably the need to be the major contributors of financial resources places more emphasis on men's productive labour. Participants remarked that the fundamental expectation of a man, is that he works hard to be able to support and fulfil his duty of providing for his family. It is within this remit that he gains his status as being responsible and leader or head of the household. The work men do it was also identified should not just be any job at all but one that fetches you enough income to be able (or prepare them) to meet their masculine roles. Mentioned by Maame a 70-year-old female Christian respondent, a trader and divorcee,

> *Men have to work because after a point in their lives they have to marry. Even the bible says the man is the head of the family; he should be able to take care of his wife and kids. You shouldn't let your wife work to support you whiles you are just there doing nothing.*

Also noted in the all-male adult group interview was the idea that,

> *As a man, you have to work hard to make a lot of money because if you are making money and your money is not plenty, you cannot be a man. If you are working for instance and you have finished all forms of education and your salary is not enough you cannot be a man [because it does not place you in the position to provide]*

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> *but if you are working and your salary is enough you can treat your family well and all your things. That is when we say you have become a man (MBKG).*

Accordingly, participants did not associate masculinity with wealth. If a man is rich, that was a plus for him. However, the most important thing is that, the wealth was taking care of the family, immediate and extended. If he is not then he is not a man. This was so entrenched in participants such that even when acknowledged that women could work and receive income, it was still deemed a man's responsibility. To the participants a woman working did not take away the man's duty to provide for her. Itemized by Rasta an individual male Muslim- undergraduate student-unmarried respondent,

> *Eerm we the Akans we have been saying something that the man is the head of the house of the house always as such the man is supposed to work hard, take good care of the family which is the errm, let me say the family and his....so we the Akans even when the woman is working or even if the woman is having more money than the man.*

Marriage

Marriage was a marker of adulthood and consequently a state of masculinity. It was one of the noticeable discourses identified in the study. The place of marriage as a marker of masculinity was evident as participants specifically pinpointed to this marker and in inference from the responses that identified taking care of and providing for wives and children as an indicator of masculinity. Although participants mentioned young men could father children, the emphasis was mostly in the context of marriage. Participants stressed taking care of a wife and children in the same instance thereby situating child birth in marriage.

Marital status also determined who a man was. Irrespective of one's age, if he is not married, he was not considered a boy. Exemptions from this were, however, possible. If you were not married, but had a child, it offered you some status of manhood as you will be taking care of a child and a mother. Where you failed to do take up these responsibilities, you revert to the status of a boy or an irresponsible man. Mawusi a 42-year-old female respondent in identifying how age differentiated respect and recognition given men remarked:

> *.... for me that is not a man. If you are in my house, instead of calling the kids to pound fufu I could call you to do it and also to go on errands as I would have made you do if you are my child and haven't married yet.*

Helping with Domestic Chores

Some of the domestic chores identified by participants are, cooking, cleaning, fixing bulbs and broken items, bathing children, getting the children ready for school and assisting with their assignments. Adult and married participants of this study identified assisting with the care of children such as bathing them and sending them to school as a marker of true masculinity. To them, this signified maturity in the person. Although participants acknowledged assisting a wife with domestic chores enhanced a man's status as a matured loving and responsible man, there were limits with the extent to which these works will be undertaken. Male respondents noted assisting with domestic chores will only be carried out at their free times and also hidden from public view where these works are considered effeminate. Men who assisted wives publicly were mocked.

In one of the adult group interview sessions undertaken by the field assistants, I sat at a distance away to do some observation on how masculinity

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was carried out when people are not aware of being observed. A gentleman who [from the discussions] assists his wife with carrying gas cylinder and also prepare her indomie for selling came by the venue for the group discussion. He was called by some participants while he was approaching the group to come and join the discussion because it was interesting and helpful. Some of the interview participants, however, shouted at him to stay back and not to come close as the discussion was not for 'women'. They mocked him saying he was not a man since he openly undertook effeminate roles. In the voice of one of the men asking him to stay back:

> You what are you coming to do here. When men are talking you are also coming. Go and help your wife with her indomie. A man that carries cylinder to follow his wife around and cooks indomie for her can this one too be called a man?.

In some instances, the responses given in relation to this marker suggested the readiness of men to assist with domestic chores was not necessarily because it was a discourse on masculinity but rather to free the women for sex in the night. Gathered from an adult group interview

> You see me for instance I like sex and I go for long…and I know that when a woman is tired she will not be in the mood for that. So, the day I want to go on road [have sex] I can go home early and cook or help her in cooking so that she will not be too tired'(ABSKGM).

Also evident was the fact that the tasks these men considered domestic and a way of helping their women were chores ordinarily associated with males such as changing bulbs, and weeding. Some of the participants acknowledged this sexual division of labour in the home and the tasks they take up at home. Further, these tasks were undertaken as a means of bonding with children. From a group interview, it was remarked that;

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The house chores, there are two kinds the one for the women which is cooking, cleaning, washing and so on and the one for the men, giving chop money, changing bulbs, doing the difficult works at home that the women are not expected to do. I however, bath my children and send them to school because I want them to get to know [bond with] me as I come home late. The women spend all the time with the children and at some point, it becomes as if you never contributed. Especially on this mothers and fathers' day (ABSKGM).

Leadership

The man's role as the head of family is most emphasised under this theme. In the family, this is what distinguished him from the woman and the children. Participants noted that everyone has a role is to play in the family and the man's roles is to be the head. The man's role as the head of the family comes with other responsibilities such as offering good counsel, bringing the family together, leading an exemplary life, being strong. To the study participants, if you are a man and you are unable to carry out all these even if you have a penis you are not a man. Highlighted in a group interview with pastors,

A man is the head of the family so if you are the head, then you have to be careful of the steps you take and the things you do very well before we see that as for this person, he is a man. Some of these is that you take care of your family and any duty you are to perform, you do it. You will take care of your wife, your child, whatever is worthy to do, you have to do it for them. In the raising of your children, in the upbringing of your children you have to draw your children close and not to be pushing them away. That is what will show that you are a man. Is not that as a man you give birth and you live your children then you will be going around with friends. It is your duty to perform so don't wait for someone to even come and tell you (PsK.).

Leadership as a marker also covered a number of items such as having authority, being in control, ability to take charge or direct and protection. A man is supposed to be authoritative, direct and protect the women in his life. If

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a man is unable to perform these roles, then he is not considered a man. The idea of the weak feeble woman was some of the reasons stated for a woman needing a man's protection and direction. Accordingly, to some of the participants whether the person is the first or the last born in the family a man is supposed to be the leader. Acknowledged by Nii an individual Christian male respondent a Ga, and an administrator,

> *Even where you are the last born, you are being looked upon to act as the leader. So, the man from the name man you are supposed to lead so whatever is to be done you are supposed to be the one leading it so because it's perceived that the man is given certain eerm authority to be a ruler so a man is always supposed to be the head wherever he finds himself".*

Some participants, however, recognised the fact that women can take on these masculinity performances such as provider, leaders and protector. In the role as the protector, for instance, a respondent noted that a woman can take up the role of the family protector although they still situated it in the context of an absent male figure in the home mean. Remarked in a group interview:

> *…may be the man is not doing his job well so the woman can take care of it but if the man is in the family he is the one who is supposed to do that' (OSGMYT).*

Discourses on Physical Features

The identification on the discourse of physical features as markers came in out in two forms, the biological features and secondly other external characteristics differentiating men from women. Some participants in this study associated masculinity with the male body. When asked who a man is, they identified markers such as having penis, flat broad chest, having beard and masculine features as markers of masculinity. Mentioned in an out of school all-male teenage group interview:

> *A man is someone who has features like the penis and sometimes has beard and other stuff (OSGMYT).*

Affirmed in an-all female adult group interview:

> *Isn't it the sex, when they give birth to a child you will know that this is a man or this is a woman (BKMF).*

Participants also affirmed the relational discourse on masculinity; that is, masculinity being what women are not. These respondents defined masculinity as being in variance to who a woman is. To these respondents a man is reflected in how different he was from a woman, physically. Features such as soft skin, walking styles, not having protruding buttocks, mode of dressing such as not having pierced ears, the difference in voice, mannerisms, not having breast or a vagina. Remarked by Nanny a 47-year-old female respondent, a Christian and a Teacher:

> *He [a man] doesn't have breast, his way of walking, how he speaks; they don't talk whiles beating their thighs, men have beard.*

Kukua a 58-year-old farmer also in describing the difference between females and males stated:

> *A man has his own character and personality so has a woman. Even when you listen to the radio or even on TV and you someone coming, just by the look of their feet, you could tell who is a man and a woman because the way a woman's skin is, is different from that of a man so if a man and woman are standing at a place…. that's the difference between the two.*

Also stated in an all-male adult group interview:

> *I will base on what my brother said, man has hormones [referring to testosterone] while they [women] have estrogen so that's what a man different from a woman* (OSGMYT).

In discussing the biological features, mentioning the sex organs as markers came with some difficulties for participants. Participants responding to

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the interview questions in the local language never used the native words to describe these features. In describing the penis for instance, respondents used objects such as wood, stick or thread as representation. Words such as 'dua' for the Akan speaking respondents and 'tso' and 'kpa' for the Ga speaking respondents. 'Dua' and 'tso' represent wood or stick while 'kpa' means thread. Nana, a 27-year-old female -individual respondent in the description of biological feature as a marker of masculinity, found it so difficult mentioning the penis such that we (respondent and myself) eventually had to abandon my probing on this subject at as some point to let her use the form of word she was comfortable with and to also enable us continue with the interview

> Like the reproductive organ of a baby can determine [interviewer: what is a reproductive organ?] oh! I can't say it ....hehe [laughter] you should know it oh! when you look at the baby's structure, or is it not what you want to hear? The reproductive organ for the woman is for given birth and the men are. hahaha

Discourses on Sexuality

The discourses on sexuality as a marker of masculinity was one of the most referenced in all the identified markers. The items identified here are phallic competence, sexual prowess, virility, competency in bed and stamina during sex and heterosexuality.

Phallic Competence

The ability to father a child which I refer to as phallic competence was also identified as a key measure of masculinity for participants especially male participants. This study borrows the concept of phallic competence from Adomako Ampofo, Okeyerefo and Pervarah (2009) in signifying biological fatherhood. Although taking care of children was mentioned as a marker of masculinity, childbirth marked the transition into manhood for the study

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participants. It defies the notions of (old) age as a maker of masculinity identified by respondents. From the discussions, a person has reached the stage of being a man so far as he has been able to impregnate a woman and father a child. Even if he is a teenager, he becomes more of a man than a fourty-year-old man who has not fathered a child. In a quote from an all-male Senior High School group interview

> *The man as the bible says you should give birth like sea sand. A man he is supposed to be able to satisfy his wife in the way of sex. So, we the Akans we say something like 'if you marry and you are not able to give birth then it means you are not a man'(MHOTBS).*

Sexual Prowess

For participants in this study, sexual prowess captured in various ways like virility, potency stamina during sex as a marker of masculinity was the second dominant discourse after 'responsibility'. Sex as it was realised from the respondents is what completed a man while a man's ability to sexually satisfy a woman and prove his competence ushers him into manhood. Correspondingly, a man's inability to have sex raises questions about his status as a man irrespective of the roles he plays at home or wealth and this produces frustrations:

> *Not all that, not all that (meeting responsibility) makes you a man. Some people are there they can take care of all the responsibilities but they are impotent and the fact that you are impotent does not make you a man (OSGMYTR2).*

Participants in an all-male adult group interview affirmed that:

> '…how you will approach a woman in bed [have sex] excuse me to say 'ni oba twa lɛ tso' [you will hit her with the stick (make love to her)] for her herself to know that you have reached manhood' (MBKG).

Sexual prowess also earned a man respect and sponsorship from women,

> *'I have been married for seven years now and I know that sex is the thing that will make a woman respect you paa [very well]…even if you don't have anything because of that thing [being sexually competent] she will sponsor you (*OSPB2G*).*

In a response from another all-male adult group interview which corroborates the validation sex offers men,

> *'as a man, you should be able to sleep with [make love to a woman] such that when the women see you coming they will be given you appellation and calling your name SK, SK, SK when it happens like that then you see that your head is heavy and you say yea' (*ABSKGM).

Some female participants also avowed the importance of sex in the discourses of manhood and the sponsorship that came with being sexually competent such as women overlooking abuse and neglect because of good sex:

> *'Yes, that's why people stay in abusive relationships because he satisfies you in the bedroom so if even he is beating you, you are ok'* (BKMF).

Confirming this is the same group interview,

> *.... there are some [women] who want to be played the stick [sexed]. For this our community, there are people if even the man is not taking good care of her and the stick[sex] is there she is ok. If you don't give her money, she is ok with the stick. If the stick is not working she can leave you. If the stick is working and there is even no money, she prefers the stick. She can have an affair elsewhere to get money but for you she is with you because of the stick[sex].*

Female respondents in general, however, emphasised that sexual prowess was not priority in their measure of masculinity. To them, as couples or people in a relationship, sex is always going to be a part of the union what is important, however, is the ability to meet the needs of the family beyond being sexually competent.

> *.... for me it is not about the sex. I prefer a man who takes care of the home and is sensible. For the stick[penis] is mine so that is not what we use to measure your manliness. The one that takes care of the home is the man. Do you understand me? For the stick [penis,*

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sex] that also shows that you are a man but for me if even its not part of the relationship and you are able to take care of me and understand me, it is ok with me. If you are a man and you take care of a home and do not allow hardship/difficult times at home, I see you more of a man than…. (BKMF)

There are also some male respondents who questioned the importance of sexual prowess being a key marker of masculinity. They acknowledged the fact that some men may fall short in meeting this mark but maybe able to meet the key marker of masculinity, responsibility. In a discussion that ensued in a two separate group interviews, participants contested the importance of the place of sexual competence as against responsibility. I present some discussions. In the first discussion, the debate was between a married and a single man who claimed to be a virgin (was corroborated by another study participant though). One was a pastor while the other was a pastor trainee. The discussion that ensued gave a sense that priority to sex depended on men who are already sexually active.

> **OSPB2G2**: When you have a problem with your manhood [penis] or a woman doesn't enjoy you the way they are expecting, there is a problem. Seriously when you are not able to satisfy a woman in bed you are lacking something…

> **OSPB2G1**: Eerrrm I think he is speaking from experience because he is married, am not yet married so…. but from the little I have also heard it is not sex that makes a man…because I learnt that the women they will be lying down just like that. It is the men that lose a lot. Also, I am told there is no way a man can satisfy a woman

> **OSPB2G2**: No, you say because it's lack of experience. A taa no ei osofo [they sit on it pastor] …you see…yoo [ok] let me keep quiet…imagine a woman you want to marry she has met machines [men with big penis sizes/ who last long in bed] but you have not had sex before…I tell you, you will be forced to take drugs to satisfy her hm you will get there.

The second group of arguments led to another critical issue of discussion in masculinity literature, hetero and homo sexuality.

> **ABSKGMR3:** A man is also someone who has manhood [penis] …………and when it comes to bed time play [sex] too he stands on his feet [he is strong/ virile]
>
> **Other respondents:** what about if he meets all his responsibilities but when it comes to sex, he is not strong does it mean he is not a man?
>
> **ABSKGMR3:** if you are able to give chop money and do everything but when it comes to sex you are not good, then you are not a man.
>
> **ABSKGMR4**: So, are you saying the kojo besia people [gays] are not men?
>
> **ABSKGMR1**: No for them they are not men, the gay people they are not men. That is why I said we have men of the men.
>
> **ABSKGMR3**: Even for them God speaks against them so we won't work with them. What God speaks against, we will not consider
>
> **ABSKGMR4**: What about alcohol doesn't God speak against it?
>
> **Interviewer**: So, you the one saying gays are men, what makes them men?
>
> **ABSKGMR4**: Yes, they are men because until the person has sex how will you know that the person is a man because as he stands there he is a man.

Akin to discourses of masculinity in literature, heterosexuality was important to respondents. Masculinity as defined by respondents was in relation to the heterosexual male. Homosexuality was thus keenly shunned by respondents, both in the individual and group interviews. Participants disgust for homosexuality emanated from the fact that they were engaging in unnatural carnal acts and behaved like women. 'Oh! they are not men…they are animals even if I use the word animals that is even better because animals will not do that. Those guys should be on different planet' (Mickey). There was, however, the recognition of the existence of homosexuality in some of the communities of study.

The knowledge about (or the experience of) homosexuality by people in these communities had given them a redefinition of homosexuality. In these communities' all the study participants were tolerant about homosexuality. Their disapproval was more aligned to those homosexuals with effeminate characteristics. Over here, respondents categorised homosexuals as only those

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[gay men] that behave like women. Behaving like a woman was very much abhorred by respondents as they believed a man should not under any circumstance behave like a woman'. Accordingly, if the men in the homosexual relationship behaved in a masculine manner, they were pardoned. Also, where the men engaged in the act of homosexuality as a form of livelihood, it was not considered homosexuality. In response to a question on whether men engaging in 'homosexual sex trade' are men, a response from an all-female adult group interview indicated that

> *...for them they are doing it because they walking with big people who have money so for them they are doing it for the money to be able to take care of their wives' (BKMF).*

Some participants noted these men who engaged in homosexual transactional sex had their families- wives and other members of the extended family in the known. The disapproval for homosexuality was towards homosexual who behaved like women. Where homosexuals were considered men in the communities with no mentioning of existing practices of homosexuality, it was by the fact that they possessed male bodies:

> *'They are men but they are doing what a man will not do naturally, that is bad character. They are men because when you see them you cannot call them 'sister' you will call them 'bla'[brother] (Mawusi, a middle school leaver, an Akan and a trader).*

The existence of homosexuality was also identified as a huge threat to men and their masculinities. In one community, where there existed both gay and lesbian sexualities, men expressed a sense of failed masculinities bursting with frustrations. The men complained bitterly about how wealthy women were taking away their women because they [the lesbians] could cater for the women better. Itemised in an all-male adult group interview

> *Over here homosexuality exists. The supi [lesbianism] is here plenty and because of that we are losing our women. These women in the lesbianism, they have a lot of money and they give these monies to our women and take them from us. Because of that marriages don't last two months, three months then she has packed her things back home. It doesn't also make our women respect us (*MBKG*).*

This was affirmed by female respondents who indicated they have to beg the men for money but the lesbians can give their partners as much as GH 50 a day. They, however, disputed the argument that lesbianism is the reason for which marriages fail. They associated that phenomenon with the fact that the men are abusive, cheats and stingy.

In a similar challenge, as was observed in naming the reproductive organs under the marker of physical features, the description of virility as a marker of masculinity came with similar difficulties. In the instances of talking about sexual intercourse, some of the respondents will not even mention any word at all and just say '…but you know what I am talking about already'. Where there was description, words such as 'Mpa so agoro' for the twi speaking Akans or 'mpa mu agoro' for the fante speaking Akans and 'wo', 'massage' Gbele ni bii (open things) and 'approach' in Ga speaking communities. Mpa so or 'mpa mu' agoro can be translated as 'playing in bed' while 'wo' means to sleep. However, where these responses were given in English participants had no challenges in mentioning the words. Among the young participants, Junior High School interviews, they used gestures or referred to sex as the 'thing'. In the only mixed group interview made of elder persons, while describing the importance of sexual prowess to masculinity

> *…. or when we say a man let's say God created Adam and Eve. A man is someone ….. Ewura yi be yɛ aaa ma, ma ka ade bone oo hmm (this lady will make me say something bad o) [**interviewer**: you say whatever is on your mind it's all part of the responses] that's*

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> *what I have cut short.... You see anyone that does not know how to play beds play can't be called a man(EDG).*

Discourses on Character

Mainly mentioned in reference to what was considered a 'man' at the community level, character as a marker was in reference to the attitude and mannerisms a person exhibited. Highlighted in one of the adult all-male group interview,

> *In this community to be considered a man depended 'on your Osu (behaviour) ke (and) Oban(character) that you exhibit in the community* (MGOC).

Embedded in this were discourses such as courage, restraint, strength, being critical, fidelity and leading an exemplary life or being a role model to others in the community. Accordingly, men who did not live up these discourses such as speaking loosely, being fearful, alcoholics or abusive towards their wives and other women were seen lack the attitude of men and thus could not be considered men,

> *A man is someone who has self-control and keep things to himself so a man who talks by heart [anyhow] and not scared. Here [in this community] that person is not a man and a man who is not courageous or who does not have an attitude of a man is not referred to as a man* (Nkrumah a 70-year-old retired evangelist)

For one participant who associated character with ability to solve pending problems in the society and family,

> *'In this community if we say Agya is a man oo then he has performed all his duties. For example, when things happen in the society or family, men are the ones who take first in solving it and when there is a fight go in and resolve it'* (Okoe).

Another individual respondent, a female who observed men's community role as being that of protectors and ensuring peace noted:

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They are to do hard work to help the country to move on well. Let's take for instance there is a fight or when something terrible happens, the men are able to stand firm and resolve these to bring peace and comfort. Even when there is theft or robbery in this vicinity, we call out the men as volunteers who walk about in town and guard the place to keep it safe (Kukua)

Role Modelling or Leading an Exemplary Life

This marker was prominent in the youth, both individual and group interview participants. This group of respondents looked up to men in the community as role models and people they can learn from. Noted in a group interview

… in the community when we look at man from the angle of the youth, a man has certain potentials that we might be able to learn from. Because they have to set good examples for the young ones coming to learn from because they have passed that level so they might have a lot of experiences to help to build the community. But we have people in the state of man but they don't act as man. They don't act as man, they don't think as matured people so although physically they are men but they don't act as men. I can call them as boys or women because their thinking level does not keep them in the range of being a man (OSGMYT)

The phenomenon of absentee fathers was given in some communities as the reason for which they looked up to men outside of their homes. These men in the community thus served as father figures and sources of discourse on how men are supposed to behave. To identify a person as leading an exemplary life, these young one's measured men by descriptors such as fidelity, non-alcoholism. An unfaithful male from the responses was considered man because his actions meant he was irresponsible which is contrary to his social expectation of leading an exemplary life for the youth to emulate. To these respondents therefore, a responsible man is someone who is faithful to one girl when in a relationship and if married, faithful to just his wife.

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Unfortunately, for some of these respondents they did not have much to look up in terms of fidelity in older men. In all the students and community young participants group interviews, study participants complained bitterly about the older men's infidelity and how they are using this lifestyle to destroy the life of the youth in the community. Sharing their experiences and observation on assumed the male participants complained about how the older men in the community were using their wealth to entice and take advantage of the girls in the community. The activities of the older men filled these younger ones with frustrations and insecurities about their future expectations as men especially in the area of marriage. Narrated in a Junior High School group interview:

> These men in these community, they are not setting any good example for us to follow. They are irresponsible. They take advantage of the girls in the community because of their monies. Some even rape the girls. There are some who are drunkards and smoke...me there is one in my area when he comes to send me to go and call a girl for him or buy alcohol, I don't go. Madam they are using their money to take and destroy our future wives(HBGI).

Violence Against Women

Conflicting to literature on gender based violence in Ghana, most importantly physical abuse, which are founded on the argument that discourse on masculinity contributes men to hit women, every participant of this study, mentioned that there is no discourse in Ghana that asks men to beat women. On the contrary, they [men] are rather told not to beat women. Accordingly, men who beat their wives were not considered enlightened or gentlemen but boys because they lacked the self-control required of men. The use of physical violence such as fights in men was, however, not frowned upon. This was accepted since that was interpreted as a test of strength. The following are

responses obtained from three different responses to the question of whether men who use violence considered men.

> **Interviewer**: what about men who beat women are they men?
> **EDG:** *why should you beat your wife? Is she a slave? The woman is she a slave? Why did you go to buy her such that you will come and beat her?* [**Interviewer:** so it's not part of the training we give to our men?] *No. it's not part any man who beats his wife is not enlightened*
>
> **MHOTBs:** *No, me an Ewe, what I know is that in my ethnic group. A man is not to beat a woman but to rather protect her so if you are a man and you beat a woman, you lose your respect. You become like a child 'a boy'*
>
> **MBKG:** *Gyeee nu ni[He is not a man], gyee nu ni [He is not a man]. The thing is if you are a man, then fight your fellow man. That is where we see who the man is. But as a man you don't have to hit a woman. That is what they teach us.*

Participants, however, acknowledged the presence of domestic violence in their communities where they gave several examples of cases of abuse, personally observed, heard about or in two instances a personal cases of violence perpetuation which resulted in the death of the woman and one pouring hot water on the wife. Respondents blamed men's use of violence on the person's character mainly from self-control, peer influence and the women themselves. Others also associated men's use of violence against women to drug use, and alcoholism.

Discourses on Spirituality

One key response to who a man is that came up in the study is also about the issue of spirituality. First, participants describe as someone created by God and second the fact that he is one who fears and worships God, and adheres to his religious duties and expectations. It is within this discussion that other concepts such as men as head of household emerged. Biblical and Islamic teachings on man as head of his house was very much cited in support of this

discourse. A man's devoutness to religious activity as a marker of masculinity was also praised for the benefits its serves his family

A man is someone who fears God. When a man fears

God he is disciplined and doesn't live his life anyhow

and you get everything going well as a family (EDG)

Sanctions for Failing to Live up to Masculinity Discourses or Expectations

This section explored whether there were any sanctions men faced in times of their inability to meet these masculinity markers. When the researcher inquired of the possible sanctions associated with not being able to meet or adhere to the masculinity discourses, the study participants recognized a number of sanctions that men face. These came in two forms; direct or indirect rewards and punishments. They itemized issues such as loss of respect, mockery, neglect by children, difficulty in securing curses and punishments.

> *….ok talking about the sanction aspect I think we will have direct sanction and indirect sanction and the direct one is you become abusive and that one diɛɛ I think it's not nice. That one diɛɛ it's clear. I will give a scenario whereby in our setting you see when maybe a chief or king dies it's been expected to be inherited by the first son. So, let's say for instance if he had two son's and the first son is not acting maturely, he is not portraying the character to be a king or to be elected or to be chosen as a king. You see that they will appoint the second one, that is the second son because they see that potential or the qualities of a king in that person…. because they cannot give a community or a society to someone who cannot lead his people. And a good leader is someone who can lead people both physically, spiritually over their lives or somebody who can take authority so if that person doesn't have that qualities, then indirectly the person will be dealt with. That thing will be given to the other party as in the second one. So indirectly he has been sanctioned from his position* (OSPB2G).

The rewards men got from adhering to their expectation were love and respect.

Benny an individual male respondent noted:

> *You won't get the respect because if you live in the society and we don't know the role you play in your finances they won't recognise*

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you well. Your friends will also mock you because it's your responsibility it's something you have to do so if you are not able to do they will laugh at you.

Some participants gave examples of how fathers are cursed and or overlooked on fathers' day due to their unviability in the lives of their children. Naana a 27-year-old individual respondent stated:

That is why nowadays, curse is like toffee that we lick; you may do something not knowing that it offends someone then you may have been cursed. You will do all the hardworking jobs on earth but you will never prosper. There are some men who will have children with women and run away even the bible says that curses be unto the one who bore forth a child and refuses to take care of the child.

Hakeem an individual respondent also identifying effects of living a haphazard life styles (such as unfaithfulness and loose talking) to be, inability to marry and consequently not being able to bear children of your own

When he lives haphazardly; such people can't get a wife to marry and to bear kids. They are useless, cowards to the community even if they have all the physical characteristics they are not referred to as men.

Other sanctions identified were arrest for men who are violent and also physical abuse of persons found to be gay. Identified in the responses of most of the respondents, the introduction of WAJU (now Domestic Violence and Victim Support Unit) and the Domestic Violence Act (207) has curbed a lot of delinquency in men. Sharing how homosexual are treated in his community when caught. Paa an individual respondent commenting on how homosexuals are sanction in the community:

I think one thing here is that when they see you as a gay, you will not enjoy the day because they will beat you up. They will mess you up. You understand, it's not because they are wicked or they are punishing you but you are behaving abnormally and it shouldn't be that way so they will make sure you… I think through that they are sharping you also.

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Sources of Information

This section sought to explore where participants heard about the identified discourses on who is a man. To achieve this, participants were asked about the avenues through which the came in contact with the identified discourses. Religion, school, family, media, peers and the general community were the key sources of information identified by respondents. Religious sources most especially, church teachings and readings from the bible was the most prominent source of masculinity discourses in the study areas. The second eminent sources of the masculinity discourses came from the home, parents, grandparents, members of the family. Education came out as the third prominent source of information's followed by the general community and peers. Media sources were the least mentioned. The researcher had to prompt participants before they identified with media information as possible sources of discourses on masculinity.

It was also observed that participants picked the messages either directly through verbal instructions or counsel and also through observation or indirectly from verbal and non-verbal cues. Nanny a 47-year-old female respondent and a teacher in responding to how she came by the discourses on masculinity remarked

> *'I didn't learn it, what I have heard is what I am*
>
> *saying'.*

In the words of another individual male participant, who identifies with Nanny,

> *oh this it is from…as you grow as you look at your parents, you look at those ahead of you, you can even from even when you start be-friending ladies and you know this is a men's work and you are supposed to be the man, you are supposed to be this, so even from*

there   these will tell you what you are supposed to do and it's natural that even from our African background even when you [referring to the researcher] invite me to a dinner, I am supposed to be the one paying because I am the man. Everything you are the man so you are supposed to show that everywhere (Nii).

Messages from Home

Parents, grandparents and other elders in the family came out as the most influential discourse sources in the home. The dominant of the three mentioned sources, however, were parents and grandparents. These groups served as the primary care givers to respondents resulting in they being their main sources of information. Stories about the importance of men told participants, roles assigned the various gender in the home and observation on how older men and women went about their lives served as the cues to what constituted masculinity and femininity. Commented in a Junior High School group interview,

So, I will say social duty. We see that it is the men that do

most of the things (HAFG).

A female individual respondent who picked her cue from living

with her grandmother mentioned:

Oh, some of us we had the chance to live with our grandmothers and the elderly in the family before they passed on so they used to teach us mpanyinsem [cultural norms and tradition]. For instance, my grandmother told me is that the rewards for a man being in the house is that if a man is in the house if even someone comes to the house in an attempt to cause trouble and see a man in the house and how he is going about things in the house, that person panics and tends to calm down. It is said that it is a house without a man that its members, are beaten and the person gets to catwalk away freely ahaaa (Kuukua).

Messages from Religious Institutions

Religious   teachings,   Christian   and   Muslim   strongly   shaped respondents' perception of manhood. Creation story on the one hand among the

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Christian respondents and bible and Qur'an messages on men and husbands' roles among the Christians and Muslims serve as the guiding information for both female and male respondents understanding of who a man is and the expectations of manhood.

Respondents from the Christian background mainly attributed their sources to messages from the Bible and the practices of the specific churches they attend. Noted by Boakye a 37-year-old individual male respondent,

> *'Well all these things I have said the Bible talks about and so if you worship God truthfully you will fulfil all these'.*

A response from a group interview noted that a man being responsible is a creed in their church stated:

> *Actually, where I attend church that is our gospel…eerrrm is something in our religion….is a must for every man or let's say every boy getting into his adulthood… ok so it's a must for everybody. Whether with kids, with wives or without any of the above, it's a must that you take that responsibility [taking care of wife, children, parents etc.] (OSGYMT)*

Affirming these sources Hakeem an individual male respondent and an Imam in responding to his question remarked,

> *'Ehh...hehe I am a Muslim scholar so I learnt these from the Qur'an and the Bible'.*

Messages from Educational Institutions

Participants revealed courses taken at school, instructions from teachers, what is read from texts books gave them in information on who a man is and how they are supposed to behave. Participants in an all-female group interview undertaken with students from a Senior High School, for instance,

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identified that they learn about what is to be a man from a topic taken in a management class.

Respondents further acknowledge informal communication with peers in school also shapes masculinity. In a group discussion, participants responding to this question even generated a debate on which kinds of schools are best to learn about masculinities. Indicated in a group interview

> *I think in my opinion; the mixed school is much better because you also learn from the women. I think here we learn everything there, Adwaman [Womanising (immorality)] o … You understand? For you to become a man, you should also be able to learn from both sides because the women came from you so you should have that little character of a woman. I am not saying be a woman but I am saying, she came out of you so it means that there is something in her that you should also have. For you to know that this thing in a woman is also in me, is when you get close to her. You know when you go to boys' school, you will not have that experience. You won't understand what to do when excuse me to say a woman will come and sit by you and you rub your hands on her thigh small or this is what you do to a woman for her to melt right away like she abutter. In the boys' schools, these things don't exist that is why a lot of the gays are there, they lack this experience* (OSPB2G).

In response, a member of the group who had attended a single sex school for most part of his life shared his experience:

> *Hmm I think my brother has raised a very important point. Eeer I found myself to attend boys school. So, me too my life is different koraa and it has affected me in a way, negatively and positively because I found myself to be in a boys school from primary to JHS so I spent like 9 years being in boys school so sincerely speaking I didn't enjoy my SHS schooling, I didn't enjoy it at all because when I found myself in the mixed school I wasn't feeling comfortable. I wasn't feeling comfortable at all because sometimes if I look at how the girls behave in class, I don't like it. So always when I am sitting in the class, I used to you know miss those times in JHS with my guys you know in the class we will be fooling around but when you come to the mixed school, there are certain things you might not be permitted to do. You see, you cannot bring your all. Yes! you cannot bring your all because ladies are there so sometimes you have to play gentle small or some kind of style bi* (OSPB2G)

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Messages from the Media

Images and performance of roles in movies and advertisement were mentioned as avenues where people also learn about masculinity roles and expectations. Two individual respondents recounting how a movie and advertisement shaped their perspectives noted

> *Yes, movies a lot because movies portray what is happening in the world. For example, a film I watched ...a man was struggling, the man was not having money. He patient until one day he got his breakthrough. From then I learnt one thing that in such an instance you've got to be patient and know that definitely one day God will come through (Shatta).*

> *I remember once I was watching an advertisement on TV it was on this abuse of women and they were mocking the man who had abused the woman saying he is not a man. Also, they took the man to WAJU (DOVVSU) and he was disgraced. Since then I have been cautious. I don't want to hit a woman to end up in the police station or be mocked by women. So, I think the media is helpful. The setting of WAJU now is also keeping men in check because the women know their rights now and will send you there if you misbehave(PADM).*

Messages from Peers

Peers were keenly underscored to be the legitimating bodies for men's behaviour. Apart from the learning from peers in school, participants also identified discussions with friends outside of this space also shaped their understanding on who is a man. Through their discussions on the accepted and prohibited behaviours in their fraternity, they shape each other into becoming men and the kind of men that are ideal in their perspectives. The desire to be mature men, responsible, wealthy, hardworking and striving to be good in bed all stemmed from the issues discussed in their groups. Remarked by Ntumi a 20-year-old individual respondent and a trader

> *sometimes like I said the way you act, the way you talk will determine whether you are matured or not because sometimes they will say that the boys must be separated from the men. It means that you are lacking somewhere, ehherr you are lacking.*

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From peers, it was identified men learn both positive and negative expectations of manhood. This was indicated by both male and female respondents. The reliance on peers in shaping masculinities was, however, a big worry for the elderly and female respondents, both young and old, married and unmarried and parents. Accordingly, the discourses with the most effect on men's masculine behavior were frequently associated with those of their peers. I got the impression from the responses that their frustrations were emanating from the fact that they are losing control over their sons as parents and the feeling that their hard work towards the upbringing of their children go in vain when these children leave home. Manuel and individual respondent recounting his experience as parent and a head teacher stated:

> Some people they will be brought up with the same attitude but because now there is civilization, so you will see that from the training that they get from home as soon as they go to school and enter into some friendships you see that some behaviors of his might have changed.

Naa Oyo a food vendor affirming how moving from the home to school

> It is not what they hear from that they use. Sometimes you will do everything to bring them up well then when they get to the boarding house [senior high school] and universities then they go and make friends who sometimes lead them astray

Reliance on peers was not only a challenge for parents but wives. Men's reliance on the advice of their friends to the neglect of their wives' counsel served as a source of worry for the married female respondents. Remarked by Ewuraa a female respondent in her 30s,

> Sister, they depend on their friends. There are some men it is their friends' words that they take he doesn't take that of his wife and what his friends will say is what he will use to take decisions. Such a man you make life with him and you will suffer

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Affirming this response, Nii an individual male respondent, narrated that men mainly learnt toxic masculinity ideologies from their peers:

> Oh, we learn good and bad things all together with men for instance if your wife is worrying you and you go to tell your friends, you will have those will advise you well on how to handle the situation so it doesn't bring any problem and those one's that will say, why are you worrying your friends just go for some sweet sixteen and stop worrying about this devil in your home.

This is not to say that the younger participants did not identify anything wrong with the enormous influence peers had on shaping masculinities. Both female and male respondents pointed out various ways in which males on campus are influenced by their peers to live certain kind of life. The young males, however, seemed to focus more on the positive of learning to be a man from your peers

> There are the positive and negative effects. With the negative effects if you associate yourself with friends who smoke wee the probability of you doing same is high and if you take a good friend he can encourage to prevent yourself from all these social vices (Rasta)

One intriguing encounter that came in answering this question was when one individual male respondent mentioned that females could better answer the question on how peers shaped understating of masculinity than men as they are more likely to talk about boys when they are together than males the way the men talk about themselves

> This question might be able difficult to answer because when we gather, the thing is when men gather, the one priority they talk about is women and women talk about men. It is difficult for us to sit and say oo we are talking about men because we ourselves, we see ourselves to be men so we don't take much time to talk about men. The only thing we talk about is maybe football and women. when we see some ladies passing. We don't get time to talk about ourselves but rather we get time to talk about the ladies (Rasta)

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Preferred Avenue for Receiving Masculinity Information

In all, messages on masculinity from fathers and other male figures were the most preferred. This desire was so entrenched such that where the respondents lived with one parent, the mother they looked outside to know more about men and being a man. In responses from participants who identified as having learnt about masculinities from the general community, the phenomena of absentee fathers, single parenthood from broken homes or divorce and teenaged pregnancy was keenly associated with respondents learning about masculinity discourses from men in the general community.

A gentleman giving his experience of how he used rebellion and learning from outside as a means of learning about masculinity and preventing his mother form turning him into a girl noted:

> *For me I learnt from responsible men in the community and the fathers of my friends in school. My father was not there. He had divorced my mother and went to marry another woman so it was just me and my mother. If I didn't act smart, my mother would have turned me into a girl. She was desperate to get a girl and I came as a boy so she wanted to bring me up like a girl. She wanted me to be around her to cook in the kitchen every time. When I go to play football, she will come for me from the park to come and fan the fire for her while she is cooking or beat me but I will keep going back again until she realised I will not change and also some men told her to leave me alone so I can do boys things(GIOB).*

Approval from these men in the absence of fathers gave them hope and sense of belonging

> *.... if you conduct yourself well these old men or those ahead of you too they would love to be with you and most of the time share ideas with you, because I have not given birth to be called fully a man yet but I see myself to be a man. Eeerm nowadays if my mother wants to take a decision she will call me to discuss with me(Adjei).*

This occurrence also created the situation of self-teaching by respondents on gender identity and order in society. Commented by Micky a 35-year-old individual respondent:

> *Ok there is a saying that experience is the best teacher. I learnt it from eerrm observance and also by reading. So, this one is not form anybody but my personal observation.*

It was recognised, however, that whether raised by a man or woman, these significant members of society are aware they are training a man and do so accordingly. The challenge with participants is that they felt women could not raise males as competently as men. To a participant who attributed homosexuality to women's incompetence in raising male children,

> *.... the mother can raise a man because the woman also knows that this is a man so, she should be able to act or train him as a man but they don't do so… I think one of the reasons why we have these gays around is because the mothers couldn't train them as a man. They always…you know see them as their friend and so they get too close to them, talk to them and tell them their secrets so these young men hearing all these think that maybe they can also act as a woman or can also be influenced by the words of the mother…. So, I think as the mother you shouldn't open up too much for the son you understand? You should also allow him to be the man because a man will always behave like that and when you see him behaving like a woman, you should be able to direct him. Let him know that no! this is for men and this is for women so that he will grow up doing the things of men and not things of women (OSPB2G)*

Although majority of the responses reflected that fact masculinity is shaped by what they have heard, observed, read and studied, there are a few that believed that one is born a man and rather it is what they learn from the society that changes them from men to behave contrary to the expectations and the ideologies of being a man. The finding reflected the biological determinism and the social constructing debate in the literature on what is considered masculinity.

> *I think he has said it all but one thing that I would like to also say is that. You know God created us as a man. So, you are a man whether you hear something or you didn't hear anything. You were born a man. You understand? So, it's natural. It's very, very natural that you can behave as a man without hearing or seeing or learning because this is who you were made to be. God created you to be a man. It is only when you are changing that is when it becomes what*

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you are hearing, what you seeing that is affecting you as a man. You were born a man so you grow up with the characteristics of a man inside of you not from outside. It's what is inside of you that comes out...your voice sounds like a man. Everything about you is a man (OSPB2G)

Summary and Discussion of Chapter Findings

This chapter presented the discourses of masculinity gathered for the study. The noun 'man' was used as a proxy for masculinity. The word was used to make up for the difficulty in conceptualizing in the local languages. Although this study had conceptualised masculinity, it was difficult capturing this in the local languages. This was, however, done bearing in mind that women can also occupy masculinity status. Three broad themes were addressed in this chapter, Discourses of masculinity: Learning to be men, Sanctions for failing to live up to the expected discourses and the Sources of information on masculinity discourses.

The findings from the discussions show the existence of diverse forms of masculinity discourses existing in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA). Despite the difference in the socio-economic, age, religious and ethnic background of respondents, the discourses were similar across all respondents. The most important discourse acknowledged by respondents was adherence to gender roles. The discourses identified from the discussion, symbolized the hegemonic masculinity notion of masculinity. Discourses such as meeting responsibilities (the male provider), the wage earner or employment, marriage, phallic competence (biological fatherhood), virility and leadership resonated with the hegemonic masculinity ideologies which stress men's role as providers and the breadwinners of the home (Ataborah & Adomako Ampofo, 2016; Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Connell, 2005;

Peralta & Tuttle, 2013). The findings also ascertained Miescher (2005) findings of the obrempong and adult masculinities.

Additionally, the discourses or markers identified in the study demonstrates the presence of the biological and social construction debate founded in masculinity literature. A key discussion in masculinity literature is whether it is biologically determined or a social construct (Connell, 2005; Greig, Kimmel & Lang, 2000; Mohammad, 2004; Rheddock, 2004). For the biological determinism argument masculinity is inherently male and characterized by features such as aggression, virility and testosterone (Connell, 2005; Greig et al., 2000). Similarly, by defining masculinity in relation to physical appearance, biological make up of men (such as having penis, broad chest) and also characteristics such as strength the study participants engaged the biological definition of masculinity. This definition also limited masculinity to being inherently male.

Masculinity in this work was, however, mainly defined within the social constructionism arguments. The social expectation discourses or markers outstripped the responses on biological determinism. Situating masculinities in the social construction argument, the study also affirmed certain debates within the constructionist argument, female masculinity, fluidity in conceptualising masculinity and masculinity being inherently relational (Connell, 2005; Flecha, Rios & Puigvert, 2013; Ituala-Abumere, 2013). Characterised in masculinity scholarship is the point that it is a slippery concept thereby making it difficult to capture (Cassey et al, 2016; Connell, 2005; Connell & Messerchmidt, 2005). Features such as geographical specificity in what constitutes masculinity makes it difficult to have a single or

general word to capture what one means by masculinity (Connell, 2005; Lwambo, 2011; Rheddock, 2004). To Connell (2005), not all societies have the concept of masculinity. Similarly, the participants acknowledged the fluidity even when the noun 'man' was used as an approximation for masculinity.

The discourses were fluid also along the lines of age, marital status and biological fatherhood. The age of the person informed the ability to occupy certain discourses such as biological fatherhood, the tasks to undertake and marriage. This occurrence also corroborated the idea that masculinity is relational even within men as a group (Connell, 2005; Esplen et al., 2012; Sciences and Reproductive Health Research Network, 2001). The existence of female masculinities was also confirmed. Participants noted that women could take up certain social roles deemed a man's role which offers her the place to be considered masculine. This finding corroborated Akyeampong and Obeng (1995); Lwambo, (2011) and Miescher (2007) assertion that the concept of masculinity can be applied to women if they take the position of workers, providers of the home or assume other male responsibilities.

This study also affirmed that men who fail to live up to masculinity expectation lose respect, are perceived genderless and called names that are derogatory. Adomako Ampofo (2002) and Owusu & Bosiwah (2015) for example identify that among the Akans of Ghana, a lack of bravery or any other masculine characteristic could earn a man the dishonourable categorisation of being genderless or gender neutral (ɔbaa barima or Kodwo basia) and instructively possessing more female genes than male. Similarly,

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men who failed to live up to the expectation of the masculinity markers lost their status as men.

Finally, discourses that nurture masculinities are conveyed in diverse spaces. Authors identify information or discourses on masculinity emanate from the media (Clowe, 2005) schools (Kholji-Molji, 2012; Pascoe, 2007); religious teachings (Ammah-Konney, 2009; Andersen, 2003; Oduyoye, 2009) among others. The study's findings affirmed these major sources identified in literature. Participants acknowledged their information on the masculinity came from, subjects taken at schools, media, peers in and outside school, family and from religious teachings. The discussion here also revealed discourses from male members of society as the most preferred avenue for learning about masculinity discourses and associated expectations. To get this opportunity, young male participants lacked the presence of adult male figures in the home looked up to other men in the society. This affirms Harris (1995) findings which also identify males especially fathers as the most significant source of masculinity construction.
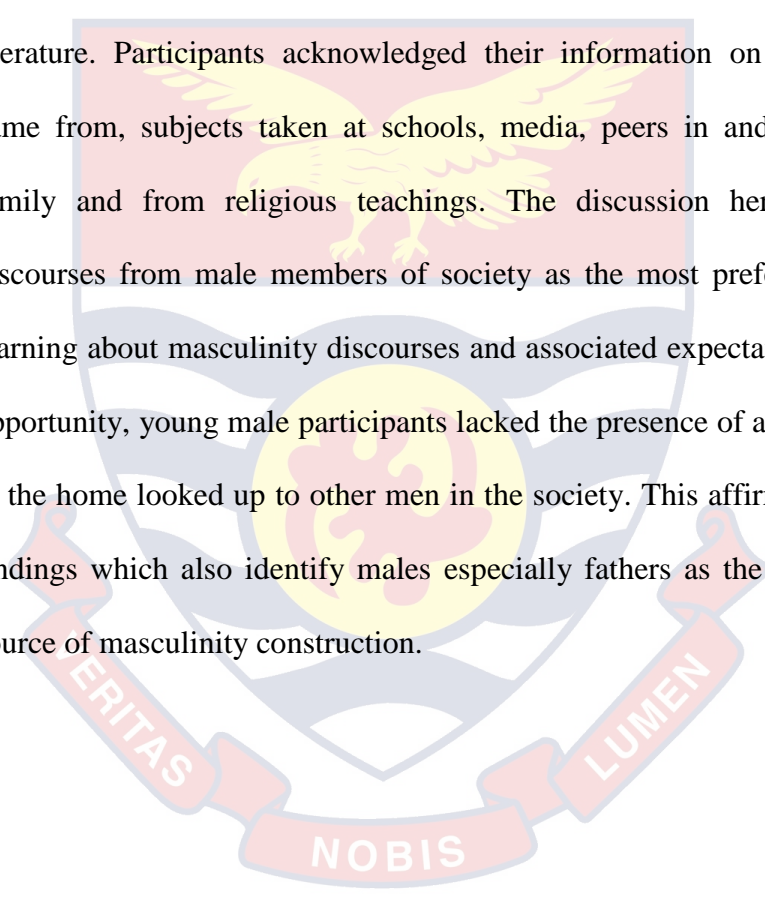
CHAPTER FIVE

INTERPRETATION OF MASCULINITY DISCOURSES AND THEIR

USE IN (RE) CONSTRUCTING PERCEIVED MASCULINE SELVES

> *...being a man is a great task to achieve because there is no short cut to heaven and being a man is like going to heaven. You have to go through a lot and when you go through a lot, there is something big ahead of you(OSGMYT)*

Introduction

The goal of this chapter was to explore how men in this study interpreted the discourses of masculinity and further how they employed these discourses in constructing their masculinities. The analysis in this chapter covers the objectives three and four. The objective three sought to explore how discourses are used to legitimate masculinity in Ghana while the fourth objective aimed at ascertaining how members of the Ghanaian society interpret or make meaning of masculinity discourses explored in chapter four.

The discussion is categorized into five parts. The first section discusses the effect of discourse on men's masculinity construction. The second looks at the discourses employed by participants in defining their masculinities while the third looks at how men construct their masculinities in the face of perceived challenges. The fourth segment explored the legitimating discourses men employ in constructing their masculinities whereas the final part looks at how the differences in discourse use potentially produces differences in men.

The chapter further relied more on responses from the group interviews as interactions within this group created the environment to prompt participants by fellow respondents on their responses. Members of the group challenged each other on their given responses which brought certain undercurrents absent from the individual interviews.

Effect of Discourses of Masculinity on Respondents

In exploring the effect of discourse on masculinity, a question on whether the discourses on masculinities they identified influenced how they lived their lives as men. The aim of this question was to set the foundation for a discussion on the assumed effect of discourses on masculinity. Participants acknowledged that the messages they hear about masculinities have a great impact on how they behave and who they are to become. To the respondents, these discourses are training devices which become a part of a person's life and have long-lasting effect transmitted from generation to generation. It guides their everyday thoughts and actions. Rockson a 42-year-old individual respondent stated:

> oh yeah! yeah! it does. Well in the sense that if I am to be reading pornographic books or graphics, I will live pornographically and if I am to be reading motivational books, I will be leading my life motivationally to motivate others so whatever you read, whatever you see, whatever you hear that is what makes us.

Also remarked from a group interview,

> Yes, because what you hear or where you find yourself determines who you will be. If for instance you want to produce an ice block, the container in which you will pour the water determines how the shape the ice block will be like. So, the behaviour of a man in Africa is different from someone who lives in Europe because of the difference in environment (OSUPB2GR).

Identifying how discourses shape the identity of people, a response from a group interview showed how the discourse of a man having to own a house as a marker of masculinity in their community informed the ideals men lived by:

> When you come to where I come from, it is expected that as a man you build a house. It does not matter whether you are rich or poor. So, every man works towards this. As you see me selling these second-hand shoes, I have a house. I have one in my home town and a land currently somewhere here that I will have to develop before I marry so my wife will be comfortable (ACOGT)

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An individual respondent also recounting how discourses in his family that promotes respect for women shaped his relationship with women remarked:

> *Yes!!! Very much, well because of what I have heard I have a way of dealing with women due to some advice given to me by my parents and friends (Rasta).*

Respondents, however, rejoined that the influence of discourse is not the same across all groups. They observed that even if people were exposed to the same messages it is not all the things that they hear that they use. They choose those which are important to them. Kwamena a 24-year-old individual male respondent corroborating the fact that the effect of discourse is varying and also dependent on the choice of the individual involved narrated:

> *There are some who don't do what is expected of them. They beat their wives, don't take care of their kids, do not stay home and so such a person wouldn't be classified as a man and so not every man follows what they should do.*

From a group interview with an out of school youth, participants attributed the diversity in the ways discourses affect people to the fact that human beings are endowed with the capacity of thought and thus they make the choices that they feel best suits them.

> *…for men … I think that we were all created with brains so you have to think and think well. If it is right, you do it, if it is not right you don't do it (OSGMYT)*

The discussions led to the question of how men construct their perceived masculinities and to further how men interpreted masculinity discourse.

Constructing Perceived Masculinities

The discussion here is categorized into two parts. The first part discusses the masculinity discourses employed by participants in constructing their perceived masculine selves while the second looks at how men construct their perceived masculinities in the face of perceived challenges to their

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masculinity. Acknowledged in the earlier discussion is the fact that the influence of masculinity on men differed. This, participants noted stems from the differences in how men engaged the discourses they hear. In the first part, participants were asked directly the discourses they choose in guiding or identifying themselves as men. In the second part, however, the interpretation of challenges to their masculinities and how men positioned themselves showed how and which discourses men employed. From the conceptual framework, when men entered into a situation to their assumed masculine selves, they interpreted the situation by calling on discourses available to them through role-taking or the looking glass self before acting which is also informed by discourses on what behaviour is permitted.

The questions here were directed only to the male participants bearing in mind the symbolic interactionism argument that people in the interaction process accept interaction differently and also the fact that the meaning people draw from the interaction process is subjective as they modify these messages differently before acting on them (Harrelson, 2013; Stets & Burke, 2000a; Denzin, 1992; Blumer, 1969). Accordingly, relying on the females' perspectives would have been speculative and further just an approximation of what they perceive will be male choices.

Discourses Employed by Men in Constructing their Perceived Masculinities

Affirming the earlier discussions under the effect of masculinity which indicated that people are selective in which discourses they chose, the discourses the respondents selected as the guiding tools for constructing masculinities varied from person to person. Despite the fact that each

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participant identified more than two discourses on who is considered a man when asked which of the discourses they fall on to construct their masculinity, the respondents chose different aspects of the identified markers of masculinity as the guide to achieving their preferred masculinities. In most cases, just one discourse was mentioned. A few, on the other hand chose multiple responses. The responses to this question also had age undertones. While there were instances where these choices were similar across all age groups, there were times where responses could also clearly be associated with age and aspirations of the study participants.

The first and most prominent discourse chosen by participants was 'being responsible' or responsiveness to gender roles. This was one of the discourses that cut across all ages, educational, marital, ethnic background or religious affiliations. For the married and unmarried, the young and old the measure of masculinity pivots on being able to give children and other family members the best in life. Accordingly, all participants were ready to go all out to achieve this marker. While the married or already parents indicated they were ensuring this in their families, for the young and unmarried males this was an aspiration they yearn to fulfill when they become family men. It was, however, observed that the emphasis and enthusiasm for choosing this marker apart from it being a societal expectation stemmed from past experiences with parenting and also poor economic background of families.

The phenomena of absentee and unreliable fathers made a great impact on how young male respondents envisaged their future family and associated responsibilities. To these respondents, growing up to be available and responsible fathers therefore mattered a lot in how they are constructing their

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masculinity. The choice was geared towards correcting the neglect and hardships experienced as children. Sharing an experience on this from a group interview with some youth participants,

> *….oh let me take the family aspect. I know the family I am looking up to [hoping to have in future] and also, I want my children to do very big things. I don't want to have a big family but the things that I went through, they don't also have to go through same. The pains, hardship and worries that I went through, they don't also have to go through. Which means I want my children to be right and because of these I have to strive to be a man. I have to do the things that I must do to reach the top. All that is needed for me to get there eee I have to do* (**OSGMYT)**

Also, observing how absentee fatherhood inspired his desire to send his children to school Okoe a 68-year- old respondent stated:

> *Now times have changed. Gone were the days when our fathers were so irresponsible that they will not do anything for you not even send you to school. Now men are responsible investing in their children's education. As for our fathers, they were wicked towards ooo. After what I went through in life I vowed that my children will not suffer in the same so I sent them to school. If I had gone to school I am sure I would also be somebody big now.*

Although fathers' neglect and absence was mentioned in most instances to be as a result of divorce or the men never marrying the mothers of the study participants, others conceded that financial difficulties and the busy schedule of fathers made the latter unavailable. Harris (1995) also observed that absentee fathers largely influenced how young men constructed on viewed their masculinities.

Discourses of virility and heterosexuality as guides for constructing masculinities were also very paramount to participants of all socio-demographic background. Societal emphasis on heterosexuality was very strong in this response. For the participants who chose this, it was important they endeavoured to be heterosexual. This in their voices is to avoid violating

religious and societal norms on sex and marriage which stipulates that sexual relations must be between females and males and not same sex persons.

Further, the emphasis on virility as a guide was even present in aspiring future husbands (younger and unmarried respondents) too. It was identified as critical for men's image and masculinity in the eyes of women. A man's ability to perform sexually and satisfy his partner, gained him respect in the eyes of the woman and even other men and also security of keeping his relationship intact. Mentioned in an out of school youth group interview,

> *For me I will talk about the satisfaction. You know the way you satisfy your woman, if you don't do well, they will leave and go for another person. If you satisfy her well she is always with you. Sometimes it happens that if the girls- girls are sitting down they talk about it that yea my guy likes this style and through that her friend will even come to know that my[her] guy is not doing it well and will move to you* [the person described as sexually virile] (**OSGMYTR4**).

This response generated a debate in the group as the other participants in the interview questioned his masculinity. In cohesion, the group members uttered 'then now you are not a man dating someone else's girlfriend'. Upon being questioned or raising his consciousness about the effect of the statement, he (**OSGMYTR4**) quickly backtracked and generalised the situation although he initially did not come across as having any problem with his answer based on the confidence with which he made his submission:

> **OSGMYTR4**: No…. not that she will come to me, she can move to another person. Let's say that OSGMYTR2 is my friend and I satisfy my girlfriend very well but he doesn't and they have a conversation about it and she comes to know that I am good she will start thinking that she also has to get someone who is also good so she can run away and come to me but to me I have someone already so I won't do that.

The discussion that ensued in the group once again pointed to the differences in men and how they engage masculinities. It also showed how different men

interpreted their masculinity and acted in the face of perceived confrontations. The discussion on this topic also offered the room to inquire about some of the practices men undergo in the attempt to enhance their sexual prowess. The responses corroborate advertisements on sexual enhancement drugs in the Ghanaian media.

> **Researcher**: So, if you don't open fire [have sex] well what would you have to do to join the league of men

OSGMYTR2: You will visit the herbal clinic to be given medicine or get shots such as kɛba shɔ, bie gya [alcoholic drinks, aphrodisiacs].

> **OSGMYTR1**: You will read. Reading of books and some other things. You will study. You see it's not the size but the length of period you go. Maybe you go 10 minutes, this one goes 5 minutes so if you read books the book will tell you that if you enter [penetrate]just don't …or don't breathe [hold your breath for a period] in order not to ejaculate.

The fear of losing a partner due to inability to perform sexually expressed by respondents seemed, however, justified as some participants shared personal experiences of how people close to them had lost their partners to other men due to poor performance. Adjei, an individual male respondent sharing his experience divulged how a young man took his cousin away from a comparatively older man she had been cohabiting with for some time:

> *Ok I will give a scenario. I was having a cousin and she was dating somebody but lo and behold another guy also came on to the scene. The one who came to the scene was a small boy. He was younger than the one that she was with. One day, the guy that she was staying with came to tell me his suspicion about my cousin and the guy so I said ok I will see how best I can handle this thing. So, I called my sister and she was plain, plain plain. She said o okoto ee lee jee nu ni [Okoto is not a man]. Okoto ee lee kɛ a tu nɔ keke e dwa [for Okoto as soon as we start the he cracks]…30 seconds nɔ[then] Okoto has finished the thing but she too the small one has been giving good service. The thing is strong, big enough so*

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> *she feels .....then I saw that aah ok then this is the difference. Kpa twaaa is the difference. The way he hits the stick .....[laughter]*

Some participants also identified leading an exemplary life as a guiding discourse for their masculinities. This identified discourse captures expectations such as being well dressed, non-alcoholism, fidelity, being non-abusive and respectful. These choices were more to make them respected members of the community and good influence on children. Being a role model to one's children as a parent and other males in the community was to participants who chose this as guide honourable, as well as rewarding. They, however, acknowledged that living by this marker is difficult as it requires a lot of hard work, constant evaluation of yourself as a person, being vigilant, reputable and cautious in life. The benefits that came with this it was observed outweighed their fears. Stated in one of the adult group interviews,

> *Be a good role model for the children in the society...if you are good role model in society, there is much respect for you. Some people make you like their God and spiritually everywhere you go, blessings for you. When you do such things, you will be blessed by God. It encourages others too in their actions (ACOGT)*

Also remarked from an all-male Senior High School group interview,

> *There is a saying that hard work pays. The way you work hard, you will surely receive the pay. For someone to call you a role model in society is not easy. I want to be like you is not easy so for me, to be a role model in society I will feel great and happy (MHOTB).*

All the discourses discussed were identified by people across all ages. The markers of courage, bravery and confidence as guiding markers for constructing masculinity among study participants were, however, mainly raised among younger respondents. Although it was mentioned as a marker for masculinity, persons who chose these as guiding discourses were all teenagers.

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This was evident in the individual as well as group interviews across all educational levels. Commented by Shatta a 19-year-old individual respondent:

> *For me I choose bravery. Among my peers what we consider to being a man is bravery and as at now I am not married so this is what I guide myself with* [**Researcher**: **So, what's the meaning of bravery?***] …for example, you are confident to talk to people because if I was someone like a shy person, I wouldn't have been able to talk to you[referring to the researcher]. So, like being brave to talk to your colleagues and passionate to talk to them*

Furthermore, while wealth was not an issue of concern to study participants, Ayi an individual male respondent stressed the need to make more money as a man. Embedded in his response, however, was the discourse of hard work to achieve this goal. It was also to endow him with the ability to sustain the woman in his life.

> *For me what I have told myself is that everything is about money and also sex so I have to work hard to get more money so I have to work hard to get more money so that…. because if you don't have money no one will have you… you remember I made mention of two it can be that you are good in sex but you are broke [don't have money] no one will want a man like that if even you have a girlfriend and you do it well she can leave you because of money.*

There are also those who choose more than one discourse as guiding tool for constructing their masculinities. Some of the choices were money and sexual prowess, family and role model

> *…family aspect. Eee I will make sure my children get a bright future by catering for them very well and when it comes to the society, I will make sure that I will help them by …. if I see that let's say there is some shortage of something somewhere I will help them, I will fix that thing for them (ACOGT)*

Finally, while almost every respondent identified with a positive discourse as a guiding tool, there was an individual respondent who mentioned he picks on all discourses both negative and positive. He, however, explained that that was to enable him make right choices. He imitated that knowing the wrong aspects of

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masculinity discourses will make him do the right things while knowing the positives will take him away from interrupting his expectations.

Response to Situations in Times of Challenge to Perceived Masculine Self

This section answers the question, on how study participants would behave in times when their status as men was challenged. The assumed position respondents and or discourse chosen earlier informed how they behaved. For example, men's understanding of themselves as being better than women and the assumed sanctions for engaging in fights with women such as being mocked and or getting arrested by the police were influential in how men constructed their masculinities in times of perceived challenges. The kind of masculinity chosen by respondents and how they positioned themselves in relation to these discourses also informed how participants will or behave in times of challenges to their perceived masculinity.

The discussion here presents the deliberations that ensued in two group interviews within the same community among two different age groups and also other socio-economic characteristics. The first discussion describes the reactions of a group of teenage and unmarried Christian males while the second discussion constituted a group of adults some of which were married. The reason for this is to find out if there are any difference in how men interpret or respond to their challenged status in terms age, marital status among others.

> **Researcher**: So, in times that people challenge your status as a man what do response do you give?

Discussion1:

> **OSGYMTR4**: In terms of how you relate to your girl or your wife hmmm…. There are some people in the community that, they insult. There are some too that their wives will do that and they will leave

her or talk to her normal. There are some too who will insult her or beat her.

Researcher: So, you know there are some people in your communities that beat their wives. In your opinion, what do you think about that

OSGYMTR3: [Laughter] that does not make you a man
OSGYMTR2: But Bukom Banku is a man but he beats his wife
OSGYMTR4: For the fact that you are strong does not mean that you should beat a woman. They say you don't hit a woman. If you raise your hands and they report you to the police they can come and arrest you. Even when you have not done anything the lady raises an alarm they will come and arrest you and when you have hit her…..

Researcher: So how do you in this group deal with a situation of this nature?

OSGYMTR2: Kk (ok) if you and I [referring to a woman] are in public and maybe something small happens and you insult me, I will take it [assume] that maybe you don't have the mentality [mentally unstable] that …or you are not matured enough so if you insult me, I will not also insult you. So, if there is someone standing by the person will say that this person [referring to the speaker] is not matured or is a mad man. So, I will not misbehave.

OSGYMTR1: You will respect yourself and sometimes advise. So that others will see that you are a role model.

Discussion 2:
OSPB2GR2: You know maybe the woman is pushing you to the wall and you know that when you get to the wall something evil will happen. So, I think for this thing to be avoided it's better you sack her. Eeehhh I think so. If not maybe she will… she will push you into killing her because we have heard of people raising machete on their wives you know. So, I think that the best way just like I said 'ha ni eya shia' [let her go home]

A participant who interpreted **OSPB2GR2** response as failure cited

OSPB2GR: The point of view that you said you must sack her I will not agree in a way because if you sack her you have failed. You said earlier on that women are weaker vessels so we are there to straighten her up. So, if she is weak and the best solution is to sack her, which means that you have also failed. You brought her so that you will shape her so that aspect of life is part and parcel of her so you as the man, have the mandate and the power to change that character. That is where you have to endure. That is where the endurance and tolerance must come in so by showing your

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endurance and tolerance also makes you a man. It means that you are able to withstand……

Embedded in these discussions were also responses to interpretation of certain discourses participants had emphasized in their responses. In an all-male group interview with tertiary students, where participants frequently made mentions of failure as emasculation, an inquiry into what failure meant to them revealed some interpretations of failure as a man

> **Researcher**: So, you have been mentioning failure all through what do you mean by failure?
>
> **GIOBR5**: Ok if eerm, the failure is being determined through your children or the entire family. Because if we are not seeing the progress in the family it means that you are failing. But if you see the family moving or you are seeing the family in progress, to be in progress means that the man is doing his obligation as a man. Because if you are the leader of the house and your family feels that they are being led by somebody then it means that you are really a man and not a coward or a woman.

One other discourse that was prominent in responses to questions was discipline in relation to what to do when a woman challenges your masculinity. This came up strongly in group interviews. I present two of the interpretation of the discourse on discipline mean to men. Remarked in a group interview:

> *I think if you want to discipline your wife it is very simple, talking to her if she doesn't change you can go to the pastor or to the counsellor, or to somebody that she respects very well go and talk to the person. If she doesn't change, then you shouldn't even beat her. Take her back. That is very, very simple but I think beating her is very wrong. I am saying this because sometimes you are very.. .. easily tempted (MHOTBS).*

As a recurring theme in most of the group responses I decided to probe further with an individual respondent for his understanding or interpretation of 'discipline' in relation to dealing with women. He recognised his personal difficulty in explaining this as it may mean different things to different people

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> *That one diɛɛ sometimes it baffles my mind because discipline your wife is not easy because if you go into details and you go like you are taking action…you know like to discipline…. But I take it that you advise her. You should respect her views too is not the other way around that you punch her like put it there that you are disciplining. Discipline is not about beating someone (Rasta).*

Legitimating Discourses Guiding Men's Masculinity Construction

This section also sought to explore further, the discourses men engage in their everyday life as a reminder of their masculinity. It was a further step to identify how men confront private mental challenges in times of perceived challenges to performing their masculinity. The question asked was, what are some of the things you tell yourself to re-establish yourselves as men? Participants identified four legitimating discourses they concede to employ continually as reminders namely 'be a man', 'you are a man behave like a man', 'don't behave like a woman' and 'don't be a failure'. Acknowledged from one all-male adult group interview,

> *As I said earlier on, you need to speak to yourself. like I have to take some personal decisions so definitely there might be a conflict in your mind that o what am going to do is it correct? Or it's wrong. Sometimes we think of giving it a try when it is getting tough you say you are a man…then you go ahead and take the risk if it works ok if it doesn't you come back and re-strategise. You have to keep reminding yourself that you're not to fail as a man(OSPB2G)*

In a group interview with Junior High School students, the fear of being regarded as effeminate was so entrenched that they were always under pressure to make sure they do not exhibit any feminine characteristics. It was observed respondents found it very offensive to be associated with feminine stuff.

> *When you walk or stand in a certain way we will laugh at you. Someone can come ask you why are you behaving a 'KB' (Kojo besia, being effeminate) nobody will even want to play with you. So, every time you have to be alert (HBGI).*

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Difference in Men: The Effect of Discourse in Categorizing Men

From the literature and conceptual framework, is the recognition that discourses have a sculpting effect on its recipients. The messages on masculinity and associated expectations created inclusion and exclusion dynamics for men, and further, who can and cannot engage in certain masculinity performance. To inquire about the effect on masculinity in categorising masculinities in the GAMA, participants were asked the question of whether all men are the same.

The study participants acknowledged discourse as key element in the effect is the difference men. Participants noted the effect of masculinity discourses can be observed in the difference and relationship in men as a group and between women and men. They pointed that men are not the same. These were attributed to the background of the participants and the kinds of discourses men choose as guides for their lives. Garnered from the study, 'There are men and there are men' and 'There are men of men'. Men it was revealed differed in so many ways such as their attitude towards women, performing their gender/ family roles, sexuality, biological roles, and how they approach issues. These difference participants indicate emanates from the character and attitude of the individuals involved, age of the person, marital status and socio-economic background. These are also informed by the choices of discourses men are interested in pursuing. Table 1 presents responses to the difference in men and their causes.

Table 2: Difference in Men and their Causes

Sex of respondent	Discourses creating the difference in men	Cause of difference	Age and discourses of interest
Male	Traits- Age, attitude, courage, laziness, foolishness, weakness, wisdom, cheating, alcoholism, violence, hard work, fear of God	Environment- place of abode, Family background	Adult stress - work
		Education	Teenagers strength, discipline, role models
	Responsiveness to gender roles- ability to provide, marital status, phallic competence	Religion	
		Peer pressure	Common discourses- responsibility, hard work, marriage, fatherhood
	Sexuality- sexual prowess, sexual orientation		Women- god fearing and responsibility
	Religion-God fearing		
Female	Meeting responsibilities at home, alcoholism, fear of God, sexual orientation	Peer pressure	

Source: Field Work (2017)

Granting that the items in table 1 showing the difference in men have been discussed extensively, the discussion focuses on the causes of difference. However, the discussion begins with a key marker by which all the difference in men was identified, responsiveness to gender roles. It is in describing this marker that the difference in men were clearly communicated.

Being responsible: Responsiveness to Gender Roles

This theme has largely been discussed in the earlier chapter. It ranked top most on the list of the participants discussion on masculinity. This is, however, discussed here once more was identified as the measure for which all the differences in masculinity was made evident. Being responsible concerned

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how a person handled his family that is immediate and extended, finances and doing the right things such as not being abusive, a liar and a bad influence. Failure of men to meet these expectations derailed a man to an irresponsible position. Four participants, two from adult male group discussions and two individual respondents, clearly expressing the difference in men along the lines of responsibility stated:

> *Madam, yɛ wɔ obarima [we have] ɛna yɛ wɔ obarima mu barima o [and have men of men]. The man of men is the one that is responsible and takes care of the home (ABSKGM)*

Expressing the same sentiment in Ga from a group interview:

> *'ayɛ nu ni ayɛ mi nu(OSPB2G).*

Two individual respondents, one female and male also articulated:

> *Sister yɛ wo obarima ɛna yɛ wɔ obarima o [We have men and we have men o sister]. A man is someone who takes care of the home and his family (Ewuraa)*

There are men and there are men; some look like men when they are not men

To the individual male respondent,

> *Men are in two types; we have the married ones and the gentlemen but when we say you are a man then it means you are married, have a wife and kids and when we say that this man is not a man then it means he doesn't take care of his wife, kids making his family look miserable, others are married yet can't give birth those are not men. Some are men because they don't hesitate in fulfilling their duties (Kwamena).*

Younger and single males who did not consider themselves as men for example, keenly associated the measurement of themselves as not being men to their status as single or being young and the laxity that this offered them in relation to meeting expectations and performance on responsibilities.

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> *At this point I cannot say I am a man. I am still a boy*
> *because I am not working and I do not really have any*
> *responsibilities*

Socio-Economic Background

The socio-economic background of the individual and his family was mentioned to be a major contributing factor in creating difference in men. The community in which the person resides, the education, economic background of the person or his family to participants was very key in distinguishing men.

Place of Residence

Recognised by participants, one cannot compare the masculinity of a person living in a posh neighbourhood to someone living in a poor neighbourhood or a slum.

> *I think it is also about the environment. It will depend where the*
> *person is coming from, the kind of family that he is coming from you*
> *understand? When you go to the seaside/beach for instance, they*
> *behave differently and when you come to the RE, they behave like*
> *the RE people. The thing is if you grow up in that environment and*
> *you see things in that way, you will behave that way. You will be*
> *convinced that this is the right thing. So, when you go to that other*
> *side you will see different thing and this person will also be*
> *convinced that he is doing the right and that is what brings the*
> *difference. Sometime also it is experience. Maybe his past*
> *experience (OSPB2G).*

To an individual respondent

> *Yes, and the environment. Someone who lives in at Chorkor you*
> *cannot compare yourself to someone at East Legon because of the*
> *environment. If you look at the hood, you cannot neglect your duties.*
> *You are decent so that also counts (Micky)*

A response during a group interview session, however, challenged the notion of the environment shaping one to become a particular kind of man. According the participant, it did not matter so much about the environment but the individual in the interaction process' own choices. Using the biblical story of Cain and Abel, he noted

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I think that my brother has said it all but for I think you can be in the same environment but you will have different characters. If you look at the persons of Cain and Abel they all grew up together, they were nurtured by the same people but all of them have different character. So, I think that one diɛɛ it is personal. It's a matter of decision. How you want to mould your life that one is personal. So, you might be in the area whereby people will beat up their wives but you wouldn't be like that because maybe you read a lot, you learn from school, or there is somebody in the, within that domain that you've been looking up to, to behave or act like the. So that one diɛɛ I think it's a personal decision. How you want to live, how you want to control yourself (OSPB2G).

Education

Educating children and most importantly men was profoundly mentioned in the interviews for the study. this was recognised by participants of all socio-demographic backgrounds. The benefits that associated with formal education such as employment and money to be able to take care of the family was identified as key reasons for educating children. Formal education participants also noted, created differences in men along the lines of privileges, good income, prominence, and power. The study participants also noted the difference education brings in the behaviour of men such as wisdom respect and phallic competence. From observations from two prominent men in Ghana Micky an individual respondent expressed:

…you see for instance Prof. Evans Attah Mills and Kofi Annan took education as their priority so they couldn't give birth to a lot of children and even if they gave birth to a lot, it could be that they wouldn't have achieved what they have now…

Economic Background

Parents wealth offered different opportunities for their children and created a difference in how males are socialized and what they grow up to become. Economic background to participants was thus key to how people

shape their masculinities or how other's see them. Financial difficulty was associated with irresponsible behaviours such as violence.

> There are some people their background, like from poor background. He feels he wants to do something but it limits from him being able to do so. Two it depends on the persons salary yea (Shatta)

Although participants acknowledge ways in which the socio-economic background of a person added value to his masculinity and the diverse ways these characteristics influenced masculinity construction and types, they revealed what mattered most was the ability to take care of the family. To the one's background as rich or poor does not change the expectations that come with masculinity. Thus, if as a man you have all the resources available to you but fail to be responsible and a poorer person met this expectation, the latter was considered more of a man than the former.

Religion

To the participants who identified with this, adherence to religious practices and teachings categorized men. It distinguished men in terms of knowledge and power. Being a Christian male for example in the eyes of some Christian respondents granted them a level of wisdom only they can possess. It created the notion of us and them and the ability to make better decisions and living upright lifestyle because the possess the mind of God. Succinctly remarked in one group interviews:

> That is why we have a Christo ni barima (Christian man) ɛne (and) wiase ni barima (secular man). The Christian man knows that he has to be God fearing and protect that which God has placed in his care(wife). So, he will not go about beating and disrespecting her. In my church, we have singles meetings where they teach us and prepare us for marriage and they teach us all these things (ACOGT)

Another response also from a group study which professed being a Christian and thereby possessing the mind of God moulded one better as a man indicated:

> Ok just like my brother said I think 'we have men and we have men' [Ayɛ nu ni ayɛ mi nu]. Yes! we have men and we have men. We have levels you understand but I think for you to be in that higher level of a man is when you connect yourself to think like God because as he is, so he created us you understand? So for you to be in that higher position of a man you should be able to connect to the maker. Yea that will make sure you are the real man in the society. When people see you they will see that this is a God. This man is more than… you have now raised yourself higher above man. You are now a God, you are now thinking not about yourself but you are thinking of others and how to make impact in the lives of people. That is when you become a man. How to change your environment, how to change your country, how to make more effect in the society (OSPB2G)

One individual respondent who positioned himself as being better at making choices due to his Christian background recounted:

> I used to have friends who used to drink, smoke wee and pray to saints but I knew where I am from so I isolated myself from them since I am a Christian I knew my right from wrong (Micky).

Summary and Discussion of Chapter Findings

The chapter explored how men interpret masculinity discourses and engage them in constructing their perceived masculinities. The data for this discussion focused on responses from only male participants. This approach to analysing the data was informed by the symbolic interactionism argument that persons in the interaction process respond differently to interaction. The theory postulates people choose which discourses are important to them to inform their action and vice-versa (Blumer, 1969; Mead, 1934) and given that this study's focus is on men's interpretation I decided to approach the discussion from an all-male perspective. Five themes were addressed, the effect of

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discourse on men's masculinity construction, the discourses employed by participants in defining their masculinities, how participants respond to situations in times of challenge to perceived masculine self, the legitimating discourses men employ in constructing their masculinities and difference in men.

The findings from the study affirmed the sculpting effect identified in the literature (Baumgarten & Ullrich, 2016; Harris, 1995; Hooks, 2001; Mills, 2001). Discourse is detailed to shape the identity of its beneficiaries all through their lives. What people hear about themselves and how they are supposed to behave largely shapes them into the kind of men they become (Cusack & Manuh, 2009; Kessler, 1990; Macerllino, 2014). The overall finding of this chapter pointed to the fact that discourses on masculinity was key to how the study participants perceived themselves as men. They acknowledged that masculinity discourse informed how they are supposed to behave as men and towards other members of society such as women the members of society.

The effect of discourse on its constituents, however, varied. Scholarship on masculinity and discourse points to the fact that diversity in society and also the inclusion and restriction in what can be spoken or by whom creates these differences in men (Hooks, 2001; Marcerllino, 2014; Robinson, 2013). Further, is also the fact that people may not always act according to the discourses as argued by the third premise of the symbolic interactionism theory (Harrelson, 2013). Similarly, this study identified that the effect of masculinity was not the same across all the participants. Participants differed in which of the discourses they engage in constructing their masculinities. The difference in how men

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selected their discourses and the positions taken by men in constructing their masculinities produced the difference in men and masculinity.

The diversity in how masculinity discourses are engaged by these study participants produced the difference in masculinity identity (or selves). Stryker and Serpe (1994) define the self as a set of identities that can be evoked individually or simultaneously and when evoked the associated actions are directed at having others verify an identity or identities. In constructing their perceived masculinities, men chose different aspects of the discourses itemised. The choices were informed by how they want to be treated in society. Further, the discourses they selected informed how they also respondent to perceived challenges to their constructed masculinities. Participants positioned themselves against the object challenging their masculine status, interpreted their significance to them, how people will interpret their actions and acted towards them accordingly. In this study, the object of challenge to men's masculinity was always in reference to women. This could be attributed to the relational nature of masculinity. Masculinity discourses are evoked in opposition to women. Ituala-Abumere (2013) there cannot be masculinity with femininity. The findings also support the fundamental to the fashioning out of the self is language. That is the attainment of the self, arises out of interaction with members of society, reflexivity, and taking on the roles (Blumer, 1969, Litchtman, 1970).

Also, affirming the importance looking glass self or role play concept in constructing the self, participants judged their responses to challenging situations in relation to society's perception about women and men and how demeaning themselves to the level of women will affect their image. The

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notion of women as weak and unintelligent was mainly mentioned in deciding on how to respond to them when they challenge their authority. Also, the potential consequences the law poses for these men informed how they would want to react. Underscoring this attitude is also the effect of power, inclusion and exclusion that discourse grants men. The looking glass self-argument asserts that in the process of interaction, the individual in responding to a situation perceives reaction of society to how they would behave and act accordingly (Carter & Fuller, 2015; Hochstetler, Copes & Williams, 2010; Ritzer & Stepnisky, 2017; Scheff, 2011). By role taking, individuals incorporate meanings and the expectations associated with this role. A person's construction of self plays a part in how that person evaluates situations and makes discrete choices (Hochstetler, Copes & Williams, 2010).

The findings in this chapter also affirmed the fluid and malleable nature of masculinity. The model of masculinity is identified to be context specific, fluid, malleable, multiple among many. Connell (2005); Connell (2001); Harris (1995); Miescher (2005) and Ratele (2016) postulate that masculinity is viewed differently by different men based on the context within which they find themselves and also due to the subjectivity in identifying what constitutes masculinity in the minds of these individuals. This study finds that participants also associated context to how masculinities and formed and differed. They exposed how socio-economic background factors such as place of residence, education, religion and economic background of men created a difference in how people behaved and lived their masculinities.

CHAPTER SIX

PROFILE OF MASCULINITY TYPOLOGIES IN THE GREATER

ACCRA METROPOLITAN AREA

Introduction

The goal of this chapter is to profile masculinity typologies existing in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area. The data informing this analysis is extrapolated from the general discussions and findings pertaining to this study. The discussion is also structured around the appraisal of two key works in masculinity studies, 'Masculinities' (Connell, 2005) and the 'Making of men in Ghana' (Miescher, 2005). Connell's work on masculinity has guided most studies in masculinities. The major influence of this work has been on the categorization of masculinities and more specifically her concept of hegemonic masculinity. To authors in the field, the typology is useful in the sense that it gives room to account for diversity and also that the acknowledgment of the existence of differences in men addresses the challenge of gender power and further bring out the relations between men (Wetherell & Edley, 2014,1999). Further, the concept of hegemonic masculinity has become a foundational theory against which almost all studies in this field engage in measuring and accessing men and men's masculinity practices/performance.

Despite the recognized benefits of this work to authors, Connell's work has not been free of criticisms. Masculinity researchers both from the global north (Wetherell & Edley, 2014) and global south (Adomako Ampofo & Boateng, 2007; Miescher, 2005; Ratele, 2008) have criticized the legitimacy of Connell's typology. The basic argument of these authors is that the theory of hegemonic masculinity is not applicable to all contexts. For example, evidence

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on masculinity studies in Africa (Ratele, 2008) and Ghana (Miescher, 2005) specifically suggest that masculinities in Africa vary from that of the West and as such the concept of hegemonic masculinity on the one hand and also all the typologies cannot be applied to masculinities on the continent. Consequently, Ratele (2008) suggest that the concept ruling masculinity could be more applicable.

Miescher's study also arguing against the applicability of Connell's hegemonic masculinity categorised four key masculinities identified in Ghana, adult masculinity, opanyin (senior or elder) masculinity, the Obrempong (big man) masculinity, and the Presbyterian masculinity. Although masculinity literature in Ghana talks about the fact that there are no hegemonic or relational masculinities but rather a continuum of masculinities, the study's argument in this write up is that Connell's hegemonic masculinity theory is applicable to the Ghanaian or African setting when looked at in the context of hegemonic masculinity for instance being the most talked about or the measure with which the community in context measured what is considered a man. Second it also argues for the possibility to profile masculinities in Ghana relationally alongside the continuum typologies of Miescher and thirdly, it uses these works Connell (2005) and Mieshcer (2005) as a guide to profiling the masculinity typologies in the metropolis. The write up begins with the discussion on the application of Connell (2005) and Miescher (2005) to the findings of the data before moving to constructed typologies of masculinity.

Application of Connell and Miescher Masculinity Typologies

The study in chapter four identified two general forms of masculinities or masculinity discourse in the GAMA namely, biological masculinities and the

socially constructed masculinities. However, what is considered masculinity in the GAMA as the study uncovers is that they are founded mainly on the social expectations, thereby masculinity in the GAMA have been highly socially constructed. This section thus discusses the socially constructed masculinities in relation to the two works under study. This is to test the applicability or otherwise of these theories to the GAMA, identify gaps where any set the foundation for profiling masculinities in the GAMA. Table 2 gives a diagrammatic presentation of how the data from the study has been applied to the two works.

Table 3: Application of Miescher (2005) and Connell (2005) Masculinity to the Research Data

Miescher (2005)	Connell (2005)
Adult masculinity	**Hegemonic masculinity**
Getting married, phallic competence, responsiveness to gender roles	Courage, strength, sexuality, leadership, head of household, bread winner, phallic competence, adherence/responsiveness to gender roles
Elder masculinity	**Complicit masculinity**
Leadership, Character	Single men aiming to marry, having children and take up gendered roles
Obrempong masculinity	**Marginalized masculinity**
Giving in church, taking care of family	Age, failure to meeting responsibility, not having children or being married, performing female roles
Presbyterian (mission) masculinity	**Subordinate masculinity**
God fearing, adhering to religious practices	Homosexuality and exhibiting effeminate characteristics

Source: Field Work (2017)

Miescher (2005) Masculinity Typology

This section applies the findings of the data from this to Miescher's identified typology of masculinities in Ghana, the adult, elder, obrempong and Presbyterian masculinities.

Adult Masculinity

Adult masculinity in Miescher's typology of masculinity in Ghana, denotes the age of marriage and the ability to provide for the family. A man attained the adult masculinity status by taking on the role of the material provider and protector of his immediate (nuclear) and extended families (Miescher, 2005). Correspondingly, findings of this study suggest the presence of the adult masculinity typology in the study areas. Marriage and providing for the family as a marker of masculinity was key and critical to all participants in this study. Being responsive to the gendered role of providing for the family in this study was termed being 'responsible' and this responsibility applied to all irrespective of age. Whether old or young, manhood was measured by the ability to provide and cater for the needs of the family. As a married man, you are supposed to provide the needs of your wife and children, pay the bills-electricity, schools fees etc.

Miescher (2005) notes that this stage was mediated by elder females and males in the female. The elderly in the family assisted or took the initiative to choose spouses for young men who were of age to marry. This assertion was also affirmed by the current study. They, however, acknowledged there are changes in how people went about choosing partners for marriage. This they attributed to civilisation. From an all-female Senior High School group interview

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> *At first, we used to study women and marry them. If you see a woman you like, an uncle of yours could go and investigate. If they see they see she is good then they come and tell you. Also, if you don't seem to want to marry and they family thinks you are of age they can go and study a woman. If they realise she is good they will come and say now at this stage we don't want you to be alone you have got to get a wife, what do you think? if you have one then you can tell them even that they will go and do their own investigations to see if the woman is worth accepting. If she's not good they will hint you but now…(HOTFG)*

Opanyin (Senior or Elder) Masculinity

Elder masculinity captures markers broader than the adult masculinity. It looks at three key concepts, age, adult masculinity and mannerisms. In relation to age, the opanyin or (elder or senior) masculinity can be inhabited by women as well. Being elderly in terms of the age offer the person irrespective of sex the senior status and is regarded as such. This study, however, limits the discussion to the males. On another angle, age in terms number of years spent on earth did not matter for the opanyin masculinity. Rather, maturity, belonging to a place of authority ability to meet responsibilities mattered (Miescher, 2005). The findings of the study suggest a similar presence of masculinity in the study setting. Participants identified maturity in terms of attitude portrayed by males as a marker of masculinity. Ability to restrain oneself in times of confrontation, ability to give good counsel, leadership, providing for the wife, paying for children's education and marriage were all mentioned as marker of masculinity.

Miescher further attested to the fluid nature of this masculinity. It is not static and easily negotiable. One can for instance easily drop from the elder masculinity if they behave irresponsibly or are unable to father children biologically. Although men who married adult attained the adult masculinity status, their sustenance of a senior or elder masculinity position depended on

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their phallic competence. Men who could not attain this were thus mocked and called derogatory names (Miescher, 2005). Equally, not having children or getting married reduced the elder status of a man in the study areas. Although by age older males could be considered as elders this was not as significant as attaining phallic competence. Even when married, the inability to produce biological children reduced the necessary respect that came with this status. Men also lost their status as seniors if they neglected their responsibility of caring and providing for the family.

> *I have a friend who is 45 years and has now given birth. His child is now a year old. So, being in your 45 years of age does not mean that you are a responsible man. You are not. A responsible man is a man who takes care of his family so someone who is 45 years he is not necessarily a man. On the surface, he is a man but when it comes to social life he is not a man but you will see that someone who is just 21 years and has children will be more of a man than him because he can ask you, 'you do you take care of a child?' or we are sharing money they can give you GH 2 because you are not taking care of any child so that me that I am taking care of a child I will take the greater portion because I have responsibilities. It is there, they are statements people make(PsK).*

Obrempong Masculinity

Embedded in the obrempong masculinity of Miescher (2005) is the idea of disposable wealth, charity and sharing of wealth. In this form of masculinity, although wealth mattered, it is not so much the wealth of the person but the persons readiness to share the acquired wealth and contributing to the community and family such as erecting buildings. Participants expressed giving, kindness to family members, provision and contributing to the community as key to masculinity. Building personal houses as a marker of masculinity was more prominent among the Asante and Kwahu respondents. What was also realised in one community was the fact that that how a person makes his money does not matter. What was important was that he was sharing

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his wealth with the community. In a group interview participants shared how someone posed as a disabled to beg on the streets for money. He made enough wealth to set his business and also built his family a huge storey building. They praised this man and criticised others who were equally wealthy but have not helped their families and the community in any way.

Presbyterian or Mission Masculinity

The introduction of mission or Presbyterian masculinity acknowledged by Miescher (2005) is marked by features such as education, employment, residence, forms of worship, fatherhood, marriage, ways of dressing, goods to consume, discipline among others which contested the established ideas of masculinity. Presbyterian masculinities altered marriage styles from polygamous to monogamous and family styles from extended to nuclear where husbands' primary allegiance was to their wives and children before the extended family. Education ushered men into jobs outside of agriculture which also enhanced their status while religion shifted religious practices to Christianity.

Participants of this study affirmed the Presbyterian practices for marriage. Emphasis on providing for the family was first to the wife and children before the family. Further, participants associated masculinity to religion, the fear of God and adhering to the teachings of the bible and Qu'ran.

> *In Islam, a man is someone who is supposed to abide by all the rules of Islam. That is as a man you are to conform to the duties of your family like providing for your children's needs and your wife (Shatta)*

A man's adherence to his religious beliefs and practices placed on a higher pedestal than assumed worldly men and religious men.

Connell (2005) Masculinity Typology

Hegemonic Masculinity

Connell (2005) defines hegemonic masculinity as the traditionally ideal ways of being male. This masculinity typology is what every society measures its men. Ratele (2008) refers to this form of masculinity as the ruling masculinity. The findings of this study suggest the presence of a ruling masculinity. There were certain measures of masculinity against which if a person failed to meet cannot be considered as a man. These included items such being responsible. Responsibility to participants in the study referred to providing for the family whether married or not. Being married as a man, being heterosexual, behaving manly, phallic competence, being sexually virile, being the head of the household and bread winner, exhibiting traits such as courage, strength, leadership among others. These markers put men on a higher pedestal. Males who failed to live up to these expectations were not considered men. It did not matter the level of the person's wealth or age.

Complicit Masculinity

Complicit and hegemonic masculinity are noted in literature to be the two sides of the same coin (Flecha et al., 2013). The only difference between complicit and hegemonic is that it does not enact a strong version of masculine dominance. Complicit masculinity also referred to as patriarchal dividend (Connell, 2005) lends support to dominant masculinity norms in hopes of receiving acceptance and rewards for being like that (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Khan, 2009).

The study identified the presence of compliance with hegemonic masculinity in respondents and their perspective on what is considered

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masculinity. Every man aimed to attain the status of being able to have a family (phallic competence) and being able to provide for the family, immediate and extended. Even when participants acknowledged that the expectations of men are the same, they (both female and male respondents) still were of the man, everyone should strive to meet the identified markers of hegemonic masculinities.

Marginalized Masculinity

Marginalised masculinity refers to a group of men outskirt of hegemonic masculinities as a function of identifying with social groups that are not dominant (Connell, 2001). The men are marginalised in the sense that their views are not largely, recognised by the dominant culture (Connell, 2001; Phillips, 2005). Men in the study setting were marginalized in relation to their age, marital status, and phallic competence. A man loses his status as a man and respect if he fails to marry by a certain age (30) in the words of men. Conversely a young man or boy attains the status of a man with marriage. It did not matter to respondents how old one is, what mattered was that the person has met certain societal expectations such as marriage. According to the respondents in one group interview, a male fails to be referred to as a man when he is not married.

Child birth also refuted the age or opanyin masculinity noted in literature. A man is a man to respondents when he has proven his virility in terms of being able to father a child. Similar to the status of marriage, it did not matter to respondents how old the person is. So far as he has been able to father a child, he seizes to be a child and moves to the status of a man and avoids being marginalized.

Subordinate Masculinity

Connell (2005) and Pascoe (2007) identified that being effeminate and homosexuality in men moves men from being considered men. Accordingly, men in this category are subordinated and considered the least of men in her relational concept. Subordinated masculinities define men who are, oppressed by virtue of hegemonic masculinity. Equally, participants identified these two arguments as being responsible for males losing their status as men in the GAMA. Participants considered men who had feminine features, 'kwadwo besia (KB)', behaved like women and engaging in homosexuality as not being men. Female and male respondents accordingly, associated with this.

Profile of Masculinities in the GAMA

This section presents the typology of masculinity fashioned from the study. The profiling of masculinities specific to this study setting is founded first on the arguments in literature that suggest masculinity is context specific. Accordingly, this study found it necessary to explore the possible masculinity types existing in the GAMA based on the discourses available in the community and how the study participants engaged these discourses. The findings from the data revealed the existence of multiple masculinities in the study area. The diversity in how men in the study interpreted the masculinity discourses and positioned themselves accordingly produced varied understanding of masculinity.

Further, while the preceding discussion on applying the existing masculinity to the research data suggested that there are overlaps of discourses in this study and that these discourses can be situated in the already existing masculinity typologies, revealing in this study is the fact that dominant or

ruling masculinities among others differed. For example, while hegemonic masculinity by Connell, lumps markers such as courage, risk taking, virility and meeting gender roles responsibilities such as head of household and bread winner into her hegemonic masculinity, pertaining to the discourses in the GAMA markers such as courage and risk taking were not quite significant in defining what is masculinity. The most dominant measure of masculinity in the GAMA was just one item amongst the lot in Connell's hegemonic masculinity, being responsible. This also encapsulated Miescher's categorisation of the elder and obrempong masculinities. Figure 3 present the profile of existing masculinity forms in the GAMA from the study.

The figure also shows that contrary to Miescher's finding that masculinities in Ghana could not be hierarchical, findings as narrated by both female and male respondents suggested a relational form of masculinity where a particular discourse and practice of masculinity became the measure for which all others are considered masculine.
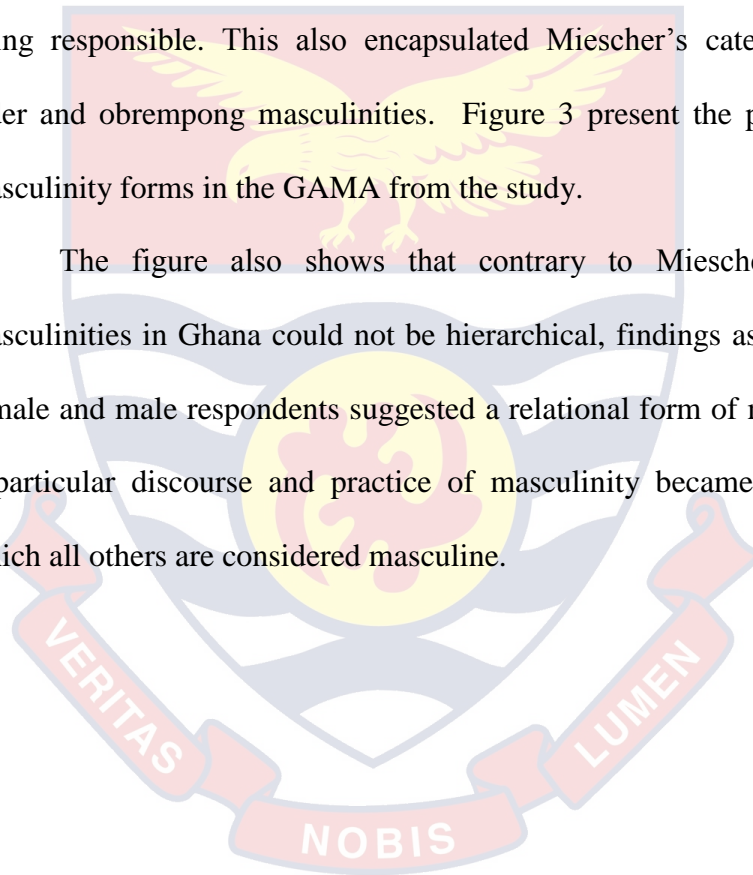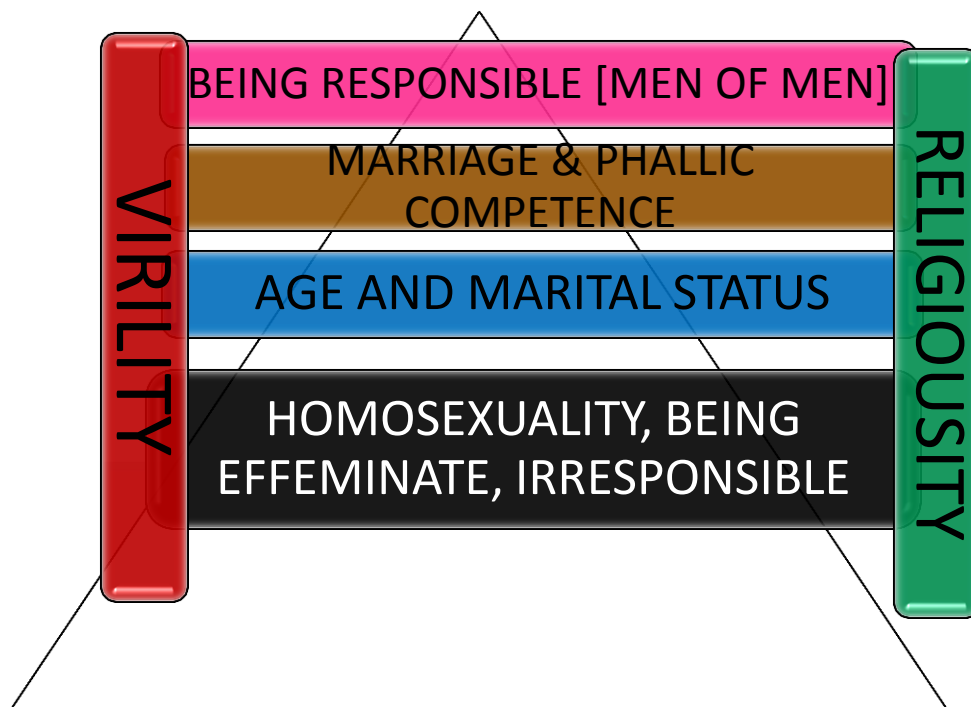
Figure 3: Masculinity typologies in GAMA

Source: Field Work (2017)

Being Responsible: The Men of Men

Although the earlier discussion on hegemonic masculinity on p.177 addressed a number of markers identified in this study as being synonymous with Connell's hegemonic masculinity typology, the hegemonic masculinity in the GAMA was measured by a man's ability to be responsible. That is meet his gendered role of a provider and also how the person comported himself. This discourse and practice thus became the measure by which all other forms of masculinity were appraised (see p. 168). The attainment of this typology of masculinity unlike Connell (2005) hegemonic masculinity did not command wealth, higher educational attainment among others. What is an important requirement in being able to meet the expectations associated with this marker whether rich or poor, married or unmarried and young or old. Correspondingly,

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as is evident in all the typologies of masculinities discussed earlier (Connell, 2005; Miescher, 2005), this form of masculinity is fluid. One can easily fall out when they fail to provide the conditions associated with it.

Marriage and Phallic Competence

Marriage and biological fatherhood can be considered the second most prominent measure of masculinity in the GAMA. It marked the transition into adulthood and a step towards achieving the 'men of men' status. Getting married or having a child even out of wedlock automatically moved a male from childhood status to manhood. A male is at this point considered to be an adult ready to take up roles of a family man.

Age and Marital Status

The age and marital status of men also categorized in different levels of manhood. Being a young, and a man of an unmarried age positioned persons in this bracket lower than the first two typologies. Categorized as boys by respondents, these group of persons are treated as children. They, however, aspired to be fathers one day and reach the status of responsible men.

Homosexuality, Effeminism and Irresponsible

The bottommost of the categories of manhood in the GAMA are men who exhibit characteristics associated with femininity. Effeminate men and homosexuals as a group on one hand and homosexuals who behave like females were not considered masculine thereby placing them at the bottom of the structure. The emphasis on 'homosexuals who behave as females' emanates from the fact that some participants in the study did not find who exhibited males' characteristics although were homosexuals as less of men. This categorization is akin to Connell's (2005) subordinate masculinity typology.

Another item that placed men in this category is irresponsibility. Irresponsibility in this regard refers to living immoral lifestyle such as alcoholism, being abusive, sleeping with young girls in the community and not taking care of one's responsibility.

Virility and Spirituality

Virility and spirituality are markers that cut across all participants. These two were set aside due to the fact irrespective of a person's position in this profile sexual prowess and adherence to religious teachings and practices were a key phenomenon. The sexualised nature of masculinity in the GAMA can be akin to Groess-Green (2009) assertion of sexualised masculinity while the emphasis on spirituality fits into Miescher's (2005) Presbyterian masculinities. Further it is within the discussion of spirituality that the marker of the obrempong masculinity was much articulated.

Summary and Discussion of the Chapter Findings

This chapter tested the applicability of two key masculinity literature to the study Connell (2005) *Masculinities* and Miescher's (2005) *Making of men in Ghana*. It further profiled the forms of masculinity available in the GAMA. The discussions reveal exist relational forms of masculinities in the GAMA. This hierarchical relationship can be observed in both the application of the study data to Connell's masculinity typologies and also from the masculinity typologies profiled in the GAMA. This study identified six forms of masculinities available in the GAMA four of which are relational and two that cut across all the types.

I acknowledge that it is early times yet to develop a conclusive typology for masculinities in the GAMA. Nonetheless, this sets the foundation

for exploring the changes occurring in masculinity typing in Ghana. The only evidence of masculinity classification available in Ghana is that of Miescher (2005). Within this classification is, however, the assertion that masculinity in Ghana is not hierarchical this study was, however, carried out on men who lived in a particular context. Masculinity studies in Ghana can thus explore new information to either build on Miescher's work or to develop new models for discussion.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

Introduction

The chapter summarizes the study, presents the principal findings coming from the study, draws conclusions. It also presents recommendation based on the study findings and offers direction for future research. Engaging literature from the symbolic interactionist theory and masculinity scholarship, this study sought to explore how men in Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA) engage masculinity discourses in the process of constructing their perceived masculinities. Employing the qualitative research methodology, the study gathered data from females and males living in the GAMA. A total of 29 individual and 15 group interviews were undertaken using the unstructured and semi-structured interview guides. The Data collected covered the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents and other themes such as discourses of masculinity in the GAMA, how masculinity is performed in the GAMA and how men interpret masculinity discourses to guide their actions. The findings of the study pointed to the fact that there are diverse discourses on masculinity in Ghana. Men on the other hand chose those discourses that are imported to them in the process of constructing their masculinities. Three main themes emerged from the study:

1. Learning to be men: Discourses of masculinity and their sources

2. Interpretation of masculinity discourses and their use in constructing perceived masculine selves; and

3. Profile of masculinity typologies in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area.

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Summary of Principal Findings

The findings here revealed that there are several discourses on masculinities existing in the Greater Accra Metropolitan Area (GAMA). The most important discourse acknowledged by respondents, however, was adherence to gender roles. Notwithstanding the disparity in the socio-demographic characteristics of the respondents, the discourses that were identified were the same across all respondents. It was also observed that the most preferred avenue for learning about masculinity and masculinity discourses was male members of society.

Participants in the study acknowledge the effect of discourses of masculinity in shaping men's identity. There was also the recognition that men in the interaction process do not take all the aspects of the conversations on masculinity but rather choose which one is significant to them. This selectiveness in masculinity discourse chosen and various points among participants consequently produced differences in men and what they considered masculine.

Six types of masculinities were identified, in profiling the masculinities in the GAMA, 'Being responsible' which is the hegemonic forms of masculinity in the GAMA, Marriage and Phallic competence, Age and Marital status, Being effeminate, homosexuality and irresponsibility, virility and spirituality. The first four can be classified as being relational while the last two were markers identifiable in all the forms of masculinities.

Theoretical Implication

The symbolic interactionism theory posits that human beings are conscious agents in choosing which meaning they attach to information

received during the interaction process. Symbolic interactionism argues that individuals are selective in the use of the discourses obtained through interaction. People may not necessarily act or behave according to what they always hear from others in times of interaction but rather, choose what they prefer from these interactions based on how they perceive others to think or expect from them (Blumer, 1969; Harrelson, 2013; Mead, 1934; Serpe & Stryker, 2011). The finding from this study attested to this argument.

The findings from the study affirmed the symbolic interactionism assertion that the individual in the interaction process does not necessarily pick the interaction directly but rather are subjective in their interpretation and the meaning they attach to them. Participants pointed out these succinctly in answering the questions on the effect of discourses and also in identifying which of the discourses they employ in constructing their masculinities. Study participants also demonstrated the fact that role play was significant in how men interpreted their constructed selves.

Conclusions

Based on the findings in this study, the study draws the following conclusions:

1. There are similarities in the discourses on masculinities in Ghana. Irrespective of the ethnic background of the study participants, the discourses and expectations on masculinities identified were much the same.

2. Discourses are really influential in shaping masculinities and how people perceive or construct their masculine selves.

3. Interpretation is key to men's construction of their masculinity and the way they act towards other members of the society.

4. The difference in how men engage the masculinity discourses available to them shapes differently and produces multiplicity of masculinity types.

5. Even if not recognized in the literature, masculinities in Ghana can be classified relationally. There is the existence of hegemonic or ruling masculinity in Ghana. There is a certain marker by which all men strive to achieve and measure masculinities existing in Ghana;

6. That the symbolic interactionism theory and discourse analysis is useful in studying men and how they live their perceived masculinities.

Recommendations

In view of the above findings, the study that recommends:

1. That gender studies researchers pay attention to discourses of masculinity and men's interpretation of masculinity discourses in every aspect of their research.

2. That policy makers, Civil Society Organizations, developments agencies, academics and all persons interested in gender equality pay attention to masculinity studies as a tool in achieving sustainable gender equality.

3. The study identifies that discourses from educational and religious institutions play a critical role in shaping people's understanding of masculinity. Attention should therefore be given to discourses on masculinity in texts books. Further, religious leaders should be engaged

on as a measure of shaping these institutions in reconstructing masculinity

Suggestions for Further Studies

The study suggests the following as possible areas of further research to equip stakeholders in gender studies with the tools to engage men in the gender and development discourse

1. Large scale studies to gain comprehensive insight into Ghanaian masculinity discourses

2. As indicated in the findings, religious and educational institutions are key to shaping masculinity. Studies on masculinity construction in schools and religions institutions

3. The study's target group were persons aged 13 and above. Studies can also be carried out with boys below the ages of 13 to understand their perspectives on masculinity discourses and how it shapes their identity.

4. Participants attributed gender based violence to individual men's own attitude and not discourse. Further studies should be done on men's understanding of gender based violence and its impact on them.

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APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

INSTITUTE FOR DEVELOPMENT STUDIES

FACULTY OF SOCIAL SCIENCES

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES AND LEGAL STUDIES

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE COAST

SEMI STRUCTURED INTERVIEW GUIDE

Time of interview………………..

Date of Interview…………………

Location of interview ……………

SECTION A: SOCIO-DEMOGRAPHIC INFORMATION

1. Sex………

 2.Age……

3. Marital status ……….

 4. Level of education………

5. Religious affiliation…………

6. Ethnicity ………

7. Occupation………………….

SECTION B: DISCOURSE OF MASCULINITY AND THEIR SOURCES

8. When we say a man, who is a man [Results give me characteristics of men]

9. Which human being do we call a man

10. What shows that this person is a man

11. What are the messages about who a man is in this community?

12. Where did you hear these from?

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Section C: PERFORMANCE OF MASCULINTIES IN THE GAMA

13. When we say someone is a man, what is he supposed to do? What are his duties? what are the things he is supposed to do to show that he is a man?

14. What are men supposed to do that shows they?

15. What are the things they that it won't make them?

16. Are these expectations the same for all males? Are they any difference in masculinity messages for men of all ages? /Does the social and demographic [age, marital, educational, religious, financial etc.] status of men interacts with discourses in the varying actions of men?

17. Do men behave the way they do because of what they heard about how men are supposed to behave

18. Is there any sanction for men? so if a man is not able to show his manliness is there any sanction/punishment for him?

SECTION D: DISCOURSES USED TO LEGITIMISE MASCULINITY IN THE GAMA

19. Which of these messages do you guide (do you stand to live your lives as men) your actions with and behaviour as men

20. Why do you choose these specific messages to guide your behaviour?

SECTION E: HOW MEN IN THE GAMA INTERPRET OR MAKE MEANING OF MASCULINITY DISCOURSES

21. The answers you have given me what does it say to you? How do you see it? What it is your understanding about it?

22. How do you (personally) make meaning of the messages about who a man is and how they are supposed to behave?

23. Do these answers have any implication for how you behave towards other people?

24. The messages men hear do they bring a difference in men's behaviour? How? In which way?

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APPEDNDIX B

Table 4: Observation Checklist: Discourses on Masculinity

| No.	Description of man/masculinity
1	Man, as head of family
2	Bravery
3	Courage
4	Fearlessness
5	Rebellion
6	Unemotional
7	Leadership
8	Wisdom /intelligent
9	Power
10	Authority
11	Dominance
12	Strength/physique
13	Sexual prowess
14	Polygyny
15	Multiple girlfriends
16	Having a penis
17	Wealth
18	Access to resources
19	Providing for family
20	Head of household
21	Protector
22	Aggressive
23	Abusive
24	Muscular
25	Old in age
26	Married
27	Having a child, especially male child
28	Bold
29	Ownership of business
30	Disciplines

Source: Field Work (2017)

APPENDIX C

Table 5: Demographic Characteristics of Individual Interview Respondents

Name	Age	Educational background	Religion	Marital status	Ethnicity	Occupation
Female respondents						
Naana	27	Junior High School	Christian	Single	Akan	Hairstylist
Nanny		Training college	Christian	Married	Ga	Teacher
Ewuraa	30s	Polytechnic	Christian	Married	Akan	Food vendor
Naa oyo	40	Junior High School	Christian	Married	Ga	Food vendor
Kuukua	58	Middle School Standard 7	Christian	Married	Akan	Farmer
Ndirah	19	Senior High School	Christian	Single	Northerner	Unemployed
Adjo	47	Middle school Form 4	Christian	Married	Akan	Trader
Mawusi	42	Middle School Form 4	Christian	Married	Akan	Trader
Adele	49	Polytechnic	Christian	Married	Akan	Caterer
Oye	57	Middle School Form 3	Christian	Widowed	Akan	Sanitation worker
Maame	70	Never been to school	Christian	Divorced	Akan	Trader
Male respondents						
Kwamena	24	Undergraduate student	Christian	Single	Akan	Student
Boakye	37	Polytechnic graduate	Christian	Married	Akan	Pastor/trader
Nkrumah	70	Middle School Form 4	Christian	Married	Akan	Retired evangelist
Okoe	68	Middle School Standard 7	Christian	Married	Akan	Farmer
Rasta	24	Undergraduate student	Christian	Single	Akan	Student

Micky	35	Polytechnic graduate	Christian	Married	Akan	Trader
Nkunim	70	Middle School Standard 7	Christian	Married	Ewe	Security
Shatta	19	Senior High School	Muslim	Single	Mole-Dagbani	Security
Benny	36	Masters' degree holder	Christian	Married	Akan	Government worker
Ntumi	20	Senior High School	Christian	Single	Akan	Trader
Ayi	30s	Senior High School	Christian	Married	Ga	Spare parts dealer
Hakeem	50s	Degree holder	Muslim	Married	Mole-Dagbani	Imam
Rockson	42	PhD candidate	Christian	Married	Gruni	Student/ Lecturer
Paapa	29	Undergraduate student	Christian	Single	Akan	Student/ farmer
Nii	30s	Master degree holder	Christian	Married	Ga	Administrator
Manuel	50s	PhD candidate	Christian	Married	Mole-Dagbani	Student/Head of school
Paa	50s	Technical School	Christian	Married	Akan	Spare parts dealer/ Inventor
Adjei	30s	Senior High school	Christian	Single	Ga	Taxi driver

Source: Field Work (2017)
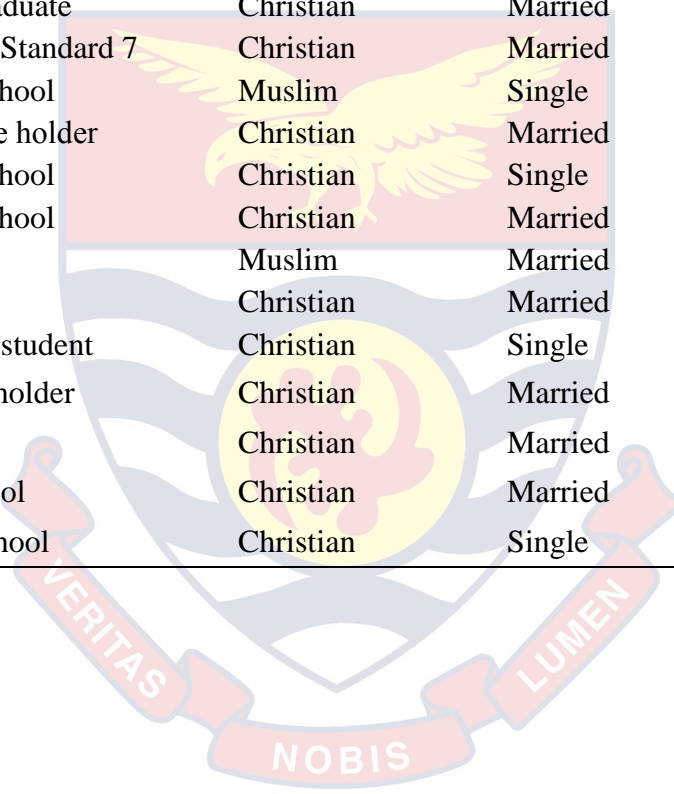
APPENDIX D

Table 6: Characteristics of Group Interview Participants

Interviews	Code
All-male Group Interviews	
All-male adult group interview, 1	MBKG
All-male adult group interview, 2	ABSKGM
All-male adult group interview, 3	OSPB2G
All-male adult group interview, 4	MGOC
All-male adult group interview, 5	ACOGT
All-male adult group interview, 6	PsK
All-male out of school Youth	OSGMYT
All-male Junior High School group interview	HBGI
All-male Senior High School group interview	MHOTBS
All-male Tertiary students group interview 2,	GIOB
All-female Group Interviews	
All-female adult group interview, 1	BKMF
All-female Junior High School group interview	HAMLEF
All-female Senior High School	FHGI
All-female Tertiary students group interview	NAMG
Mixed Group	
Elderly group interview	EDG

Source: Field Work (2017)