A

African Masculinities

Lwando Scott
Centre for Humanities Research, University of the
Western Cape, Bellville, Western Cape,
South Africa

Introduction

Over the past two decades, there has been a steady
development of critical masculinities studies in
Africa. The growing area of study with the focus
on masculinities has been an important turn pre-
ceded by the growth and strength of gender stud-
ies in African universities. The seminal works of
Amadiume (1987) and Oyěwùmí's (1997) signif-
icantly influenced the way we think about gender
in African contexts. These texts critique the impo-
sition of western understandings of gender, and
through close examination display the complexity
of gender and sex systems on the continent. They
critique the western historical idea of gender as
destiny, and demonstrate the intricate and fluid
movements of gender and sex locally. They dem-
onstrate different ontological understandings of
gender and sex in African communities. Gender
is relational, and therefore it has been important
for gender studies to also focus on masculinities.
Examining men as gendered beings has been
important in firstly understanding how men
behave within the gender system. Secondly, it
has been necessary to understand that the category

"men" is porous and unbounded. Thirdly, it has
been useful in developing strategies to engage
men in ending gender inequality. Lastly, under-
standing masculinities enables the creation of sub-
stantive sexuality education that considers the
complex ways that masculinities are formed and
interact with other identities and social positions.
A sexuality education without a considered
masculinities engagement cannot grasp the com-
posite ways that inform men's feelings, decisions,
and thoughts about sexualities. In its development
masculinities studies has been preoccupied with
how masculinities are made, remade, and
sustained over periods of time. What are the his-
torical processes involved in the changing nature
of masculinities? The focus on masculinities has
enabled us to question taken-for-granted assump-
tions of what it means to be an African, and also
inhabit a masculine identity.

Alongside the development of masculinities
studies, over the past 20 years there's been com-
prehensive sexuality education in South African
schools and in other sub-Saharan African states
(Wekesah et al., 2019). Sexuality education dif-
fers in countries around the world, influenced by
national government policy and local cultural
ideas about sex and education. While comprehen-
sive sexuality education has been part of the
school curriculum for more than two decades, it
has had very little impact on the rise of HIV/AIDS
infections among school-goers, teenage preg-
nancy, and gender-based violence in the
South African context. Ngabaza and Shefer

(2019) have argued that part of the problem with sexuality education is how it is framed by heteronormative perspectives that perpetuate the gender binary and are only interested in the regulation of young people's sexuality. Francis (2010) has argued that sexuality education needs to focus on a spectrum of issues, i.e., not just disease, but also the complexity of desire. Furthermore, Francis states that young people should be approached as already knowing something about sex instead of as innocent. A comprehensive sexuality education should include a focus on African masculinities as part of the spectrum of sexuality education. Young people growing up in African contexts need to be equipped with a historical knowledge of the making of their identities in order to make sense of their identities.

How boys and men behave, and how masculinities are created and lived, differs throughout the African continent. Masculinities in Africa are influenced by historical processes that include colonialism, culture and tradition, social and political changes, and the fluctuations of the economic landscape. As a scholar situated in Southern Africa and interested in African masculinities, I am familiar with the multiplicity of African masculinities, influenced by varied yet localized contexts. South Africa, as a state, but also a geographical location, is an example of the impact of social processes on masculinities, and the complexities resulting from those processes. For example, it is undeniable that masculinities in South Africa have been heavily shaped by the changes brought about by the democratic transition that outlawed gender discrimination, and pushed for gender equality. These changes have not only affected the ways in which men and women relate in the post-apartheid moment, but have also created a space for varied gender identifications and expressions.

It is also in this post-apartheid moment that the world has watched in horror an epidemic of gender-based violence, with harrowing statistics of rape and murder (Abrahams et al., 2006). In post-apartheid South Africa men have been engaged in what can only be described as a war-on-women, with daily reports of sexual violence and what feminists are calling femicide

(Gqola, 2015, 2021). The specificities of South African history set up a perfect storm for gendered violence which entails a protracted history of colonialism and apartheid, colluding with a simultaneous de-masculinization and hardening of African men through state violence, and their fight against that violence. Add to this a Eurocentric gender order of "sex as destiny" that then worked in tandem with the new migratory economic order that disrupted African familial systems. African familial systems had their own gender order, a gender order that was not necessarily egalitarian, but was African. The disintegration of traditional life and the haphazard and unequal institutionalization of family law in a rapidly changing African society meant that African women endured the worst of both systems (Simons, 1968). South Africans are yet to fully appreciate the havoc wreaked by the past three centuries in the collective psyche of their society. It is in this environment that it has become imperative for scholars to critically think about African masculinities. It is also in this environment that sexuality education must take seriously the historical processes that have created the particular South African masculinities. Remaining with the South African example, sexuality education must contextualize the history of South Africa, excavate the ways gender is shaped by historical processes, and make links between the socialization of boys and the gender-based violence they inflict on others when they become men.

In the 2000s, there were three important books, *changing men in Southern Africa* edited by Morrell (2001), *men behaving differently: South African Men since 1994* edited by Reid, and Walker (2005), and *from boys to men: constructions of masculinity in contemporary society* edited by Shefer, Ratele, and Strebel, Shabalala, and Buikema (2007) that focused on the lives of men in Southern Africa and post-apartheid South Africa. These books contained a wealth of ethnographic knowledge about boys, men, and masculinities, detailing rich accounts of the complex gendered world of boys and men. These three edited volumes showcased the vastness of African masculinities as an area of inquiry, and opened up ways to think about African masculine genders

expansively. Furthermore, the chapters included in Morgan and Wieringa's (2005) edited book *tommy boys, lesbian women and ancestral wives: female same-sex practices in Africa* contain the lives of masculine women, who in different contexts on the African continent inhabit masculinity and in the process stretch the category to include more than those who were assigned male at birth. Similarly, the autobiography of Nkabinde (2008) *black bull, ancestors and me: my life as a lesbian sangoma* traces the story of a gender non-conforming lesbian sangoma, whose gender fluidity is intricately linked to their spirituality. Their name, their gender identity, their healing practices as a sangoma are all important aspects of their spiritual journey communicated through and facilitated by a masculine embodiment.

The theory contained in these books should, ideally, form the bedrock of sexuality education where they demonstrate the elasticity of the masculine gender category, and caution us from thinking of the category as fixed. The volumes mentioned emphasize the idea of change, a kind of movement in the meanings of manhood and masculinities in South Africa. These changes are particular to the democratic post-apartheid moment crystalized in the adoption of the South African Constitution of 1996. The idea of change contained in these books signals a shift in power, and as emphasized by Reid and Walker (2005), the shift in power created a crisis in masculinities. Here then, we see women gaining more economic and social independence expressed in the general ethos of human rights, experienced by men as their own demise, or a threat to their manhood. In this way Connell's (2007, p. ix) articulations hold true, that "men, as the principal holders of power in modern gender orders, are in an important sense gatekeepers for reform." So, while the new South Africa creates a space for human rights, these expressions have to contend with traditional ways of conceiving manhood and masculinity, which are often at odds with the idea of gender equality as a human right. Therefore, the shifts in power dynamics, the gender equality gains for women, and the contestation over tradition and culture have to inform

and shape how sexuality education is taught. As it stands, "sexuality education in some African communities is viewed as appropriate in marriage ceremonies. Such beliefs have contributed to resistance in schools with sexuality education limited to abstinence, unwanted pregnancies and STIs (sexually transmitted infections) prevention, denying children and young people access to sexual and reproductive health and rights (SRHR) information" (Wangamati, 2020, np).

The contestations, precarity, and variety of masculinities in South Africa are also evident in other parts of the African continent. Indeed, as demonstrated in the epic volume *boy-wives and female-husbands: studies in African homosexualities* edited by Murray, Roscoe, and Epprecht (2021), there is a multiplicity of ways that masculinities are inhabited, performed, and generally lived in Sudan, Kenya, Zanzibar, Senegal, Nigeria, Cameroon, Angola, Namibia, Zimbabwe, and Lesotho. This diversity necessitates that we take seriously the particularity of masculinity formations in local African contexts, and recognize that under the designation "African masculinities" exists a diversity of ways of being. The work of Gaudio (2009) demonstrates both the diversity of masculinities in African contexts and the importance of highlighting the particularity of local contexts. In his work Gaudio (2009) writes about the lives of 'yan daudu men, which he describes as feminine men. Gaudio's (2009) research takes place in the Hausa-speaking region of Northern Nigeria, in and around the city of Kano. In the Hausa language 'yan daudu means "men who act like women," so 'yan daudu are feminine men who do work that is classified as "female," like cooking and selling food at the markets. According to Gaudio (2009, pp. 5–6), "'yan daudu, especially younger ones, do sometimes have sex with (conventionally masculine) men in exchange for money or other gifts." From a global north perspective, it would be tempting to classify 'Yan daudu as "gay," but that would be misleading as the category "gay" doesn't fully capture the complexity of 'yan daudu and how they form part of the Shari'a law-observing Northern Nigeria. Instead, 'yan daudu need to be understood within the particular local context of gender

and sexuality and how 'yan daudu figures in the ecosystem of Northern Nigeria as they navigate the world of work and kinship relations. Reading Gaudio's (2009) research, 'yan daudu unsettle gender norms in their local context, yet they are also simultaneously regarded as part of the social fabric of Northern Nigeria, even as they are judged and despised. It is imperative to pay attention to the complex lives of African men, particularly those who fall outside the dominant idea of African manhood, and ask critical questions about the contexts and cultures that produce African masculinities.

Hegemonic African Masculinities

In the development of masculinities studies, the term "hegemonic masculinity" has served as a central theoretical and analytical tool to think of the ways that men perpetuate gender inequality through attitudes and acts of violence and domination. The term was coined by Connell (1987) speaking to the global north context, but it has been used by many scholars in order to understand masculinities in Africa and elsewhere (Jewkes et al., 2015; Jewkes & Morrell, 2012). Masculinities studies highlights that the domination inflicted by hegemonic masculinities is not just on women, but also masculinities that are seen as "weak" and therefore open for domination. While this term has proven useful, it can be critiqued for the way western-developed epistemes are often plagued by their inability to hold and fully explain local contexts. That is why Morrell, Jewkes, and Lindegger (2012) have emphasized that masculinities studies and activism have to take seriously the specificities of local realities and not speak about universalized ideas of masculinity. Universalized ideas about masculinity often speaks to white Euro-American masculinities that are exposed to different realities and historical trajectories and cannot account for the realities of African masculinities and their histories. Hence, sexuality education in African contexts must be vigilant of universalized global north discourses of masculinities that take white men's masculinities as the standard and see

African masculinities as simultaneously incomplete and hypermasculine.

The theory of intersectionality, developed by black feminist thinkers and popularized by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1991), is helpful in understanding the interconnectedness of social categories and how they impact people's lives. Therefore, masculinities studies and activism must concern itself with local particularities of how factors like race, class, and other intersecting identities and social positions affect the ways that masculinities are constructed and negotiated in different geographical locations. The importance of the specificities of a particular geographical location is demonstrated in the work of Shefer, Ratele, Strebel, Shabalala, and Buikeman (2007) when they refer to "the missing males."' The missing males identifies that there are more men than women in South Africa under the age of 35; over 35 a sizeable number of men disappear and there are thus more women. In other words, many South African men die young. The short lives of men can be linked to cultures of violence in South African communities. This South African phenomenon demands that we pay attention to the context that gives rise to the missing males, and speaks to the importance of understanding the specificities of a local context, in order to come up with concrete and tailored interventions. In this regard, sexuality education can be seen as part of these localized interventions where the social factors that give rise to the issues affecting boys and men are addressed.

We cannot understand African masculinities without taking seriously colonialism (and also apartheid in South Africa) and how these systems have enabled particular kinds of masculinities (Ratele, 2015). Lugones (2008) reveals that the way we have come to understand gender in colonial territories is constructed by and through colonialism. She argues that "the sense is that the reduction of gender to the private, to control over sex and its resources and products is a matter of ideology, of the cognitive production of modernity that understood race as gendered and gender as raced in particularly differential ways for Europeans/'whites' and colonized/'non-white' peoples. Race is no more mythical and fictional

than gender, both powerful fictions" (2008, p. 12). Subsequently, we have to take seriously how African masculinities are constructed and the complex ways they deal with the history of colonialism in their everyday enactments. Indeed, Mfecane (2020) encourages us to consider the ways which men and masculinities research in South Africa needs to be decolonized in trying to understand indigenous masculinities. We have to ask: are the theories developed in other parts of the world adequate in holding and explaining the gendered lives of men in the Southern African context? What is missing in these theories, and how do we theorize African masculinities in their own context, in their own situatedness?" An example of situated masculinities is contained in Langa's work (2020) where he examines the intricate negotiation of masculinities in post-apartheid South Africa. This ethnographic work looks at the lives of black boys living in the township of Alexander in Johannesburg. In his longitudinal study Langa (2020, p. 61) creates typologies of masculinities into "tsotsi boys (naughty/violent boys), academic boys, sex-jaro boys (popular with girls), Christian boys, cheese boys (rich boys) and gay boys." While scholars like Moshibudi Motimele (2021) have critiqued Langa's categories as not fully realized, they offer a placeholder for making sense of post-apartheid township masculinities.

Taking the decolonization of African masculinities seriously is demonstrated in the work of African psychologist scholar Ratele, who has written extensively about African masculinities in contemporary South Africa. Ratele (2008, 2016, 2017) argues for a situated psychology of masculinities, demanding a critical look at African masculinities and arguing that the western-centered psychological paradigm is inadequate to properly address their complexities. Ratele (2017, p. 11) argues that "situated African psychologies situates Africa and Africans at the centres of their field of vision. Situated psychologies are, perhaps above everything, not alienating. A situated psychology is one that is conscious of African people not as appendages of others but as living meaningful lives complete in and for themselves." The call here is to ensure that African boys, men, and masculinities are not subsumed under western theories of manhood, theories that have historically only really read Africanness through what Achille Mbembe (2001, p. 1) calls a "negative interpretation."

Ratele's situated African psychologies counters the often universalizing theories of western epistemologies that ignore other ways of being in the world. In his work Ratele creates space to consider the complexity of masculinities and rearing children in African contexts. Through psychological theories and his personal experience of fatherhood, Ratele (2019) pursues different ways of rearing children, particularly boys, in order for them to have a different view of their African selves. This is no small matter considering findings reveal school-age young men have already internalized the idea that they are "dangerous" through a societal prism that always already sees African masculinity negatively (Shefer et al., 2015). We need to attend to the systems that discursively and otherwise affect the lives of black boys and men, and why they are seen through what Fanon (1964, p. 17) called "aberration of affect." Indeed, Fanon (1964, p. 17) argues that with regard to black subjecthood, we need to pay attention to "the specific sociosystematic organising process that has induced the 'aberration of affect itself.'" In other words, we have to be cognitive of the pathology of black boys and men, and in the process hold accountable antiblack social systems that make liveability impossible for black boy subjectivities.

The negative interpretation of black subjecthood cannot be divorced from the way anthropologists have wrongly depicted gender and sexuality in colonized societies (Epprecht, 2008). Through colonialism white settlers created the myth of a heterosexual Africa to advance the idea that a "closer to nature' society didn't have same-sex intimacies, unlike the "developed' world of the west. Unfortunately, the "import from the west" myth with regard to same-sex intimacy remains strong in post-colonial contemporary Africa. The idea that homosexuality is imported from the west is a popular narrative in different parts of the African continent. It is a discourse that tries to contain the complexity of

gender and sexuality in post-colonial Africa, in order to simplify and create neat categories that conflate gender and sexuality. As Macharia (2019, p. 57) observes, the majority of Africans, particularly after colonization, ". . .train themselves to be appropriately gendered and socialised." Despite this hegemonic prescription there are communities of gender non-confirming Africans who embody a spirit of refusal. As demonstrated by the work of Amadiume (1987) and Oyěwùmí (1997), there are complicated sex and gender systems in African societies. A careful exploration of these systems is necessary for a better understanding of post-colonial meanings of sex and gender relations. Similarly, the work of Gaudio (2009) on the effeminate 'yan daudu of Northern Nigeria and the work of Kendall (2021) on the nonsexual but sexually intimate women-to-women relationships in Lesotho demonstrate the elaborate sex, gender, and sexuality systems in African societies from different geographical locations. As demonstrated by these authors, these entanglements defy the logic of western gender and sexuality binaries and neat categories of male/female and lesbian/straight, and require a suspension of western understanding to be fully appreciated.

Here then, considering the totalizing power of colonialism (Lugones, 2008), the situated psychology of African masculinities (Ratele, 2017), the complexity of African sex and gender systems (Amadiume, 1987; Oyěwùmí, 1997), and the myriad ways that African masculinities and sexualities are lived and expressed (Gaudio, 2009), what are the implications for sexuality education in African contexts? In other words, what does a sexuality education that incorporates 'yan daudu of Northern Nigeria look like and what does it do? Well, it is a sexuality education that is extensive, that gets at the multiplex that is African genders and sexualities. It is an education that has the potential to rearrange the ways men relate to each other, but also how men relate to women and others. The destabilizing of gender hierarchies, which is necessary for gender equality, is contained in the fluidity of queer and gender non-conforming Africans. Indeed, as Balogun and Bissell (2018, p. 115) have argued, there are "myriad of ways in which Nigerian men express

their masculinity and sexuality. These forms of masculine and sexual expressions lie in the heterosexuality-homosexuality continuum." Research on Nigerian masculinities demonstrates that same-sex loving men in Nigeria have historically troubled dominant hegemonic masculinity tropes, even as they struggle to exist in a context that discriminates against them. As in many African societies, "in Nigerian society, cultural, religious, political, and legal expectations shape aspects of an individual's life, including how he chooses to express and enact his masculinity and sexuality" (Balogun & Bissell, 2018, p. 123). The studies about non-conforming masculinities in African societies demonstrate their struggles in navigating society, but they also demonstrate the education contained in them for more pluralistic societies with regard to gender and sexuality. A pluralism that is necessary for a comprehensive sexuality education that could possibly move us closer to gender and sexuality egalitarianism.

Queer and Gender Non-Conforming Masculinities

The history of queer and gender non-conforming masculinities existing in a multitude of ways all over the African continent is now well documented (Morgan & Wieringa, 2005; Murray et al., 2021). This history is often omitted in the adaptation and implementation of sexuality education curricula in African contexts. This omission exists alongside other challenges in the implementation of sexuality education such as religious and traditional ideologies, resistance from parents, and a lack of institutional capacity (Wangamati, 2020, np). Nevertheless, a holistic approach that considers history and context is necessary for sexuality education to succeed. Indeed, as Wangamati (2020, np) argues, "the comprehensive sexuality education curriculum adaptation and implementation process in some Sub-Sahara African countries normally fails to acknowledge that sexuality education existed in such societies prior to Westernisation and that integration of indigenous knowledge and practices could enrich these curricula and give them

legitimacy." Considering these challenges, there is little doubt then that sexuality education would be greatly enriched by the inclusion of queer and gender non-conforming masculinities informed by the history of their existence in and alongside indigenous African communities. Indeed, alternative intimacies have much to offer societies. In their study of male same-sex intimacies, Balogun and Bissell (2018, p. 128) concluded that the men they studied "highlighted ambivalence, fluidity, and complexity of masculinities and sexualities in the Nigerian social context." Their work enables us to appreciate the textures of masculinities and sexualities in African societies, and compels us to imagine African societies embracing ambivalence and difference, and even celebrating it. Men who fail to meet the criteria of "real" manhood or dominant masculinity often face violence for their "inadequate" masculinities. Queer men and gender non-conforming men, who disrupt traditional masculine embodiment and norms, often experience violence for what is seen as a "betrayal of manhood." Queer masculinities and gender non-conforming masculinities challenge taken-for-granted African masculinity norms, and Ratele (2013) attributes this challenge to the simultaneous belonging and unbelonging of queer African people. He writes, "perhaps the most disquieting challenge that non-conforming, queer Africans pose for masculine traditionalism is that they represent the fact that 'we' can be 'us' and 'them' at once" (2013, p. 152). Queer and gender non-conforming masculinities demonstrate the fallacy of a singular traditional African masculinity, and provide alternative ways of being masculine. These alternative masculinities question the dominance of the singular traditional heterosexual masculine trope, enabling a space for different ways of articulating African masculinities.

When we consider the multiple ways that masculinity is often tightly guarded and hegemonic enactments are demanded from people who are men, it is important to think of the ways that queerness in the postcolony intervenes. Queerness has endeavored to create a way to rearticulate African manhood. The unsettling of dominant African masculinity tropes by queerness was evident in South Africa with the furore that followed the release of the film *Inxeba (The Wound)*(Scott, 2021). The film is a story about queer men who have a relationship, and intimate sexual relations, while participating in the traditional Xhosa culture rite-of-passage ritual of *ulwaluko*. The ritual is a process where boys are trained in ways of being men, and the includes circumcision. In this all-male environment, it is often assumed that those who partake in the ritual are heterosexual. Subsequently, the presence of queer men as depicted by the film was met with violent criticism. The movie theaters showing the film were threatened with destruction, and the actors were also threatened with violence. The irony, of course, is that the violence that was directed at the film and its makers was the very subject of the film. Scott (2020) critiqued the limited ways that Xhosa culture was interpreted to speak against the film, and rather demonstrated that Xhosa culture is expansive, and like all cultures has undergone changes over centuries. Furthermore, Xhosa culture differs geographically according to urban and rural divides and is affected by its intersection with other languages and cultures. It is also influenced by social and political changes, like the institutionalization of democracy in South Africa in 1994, which produce a more nuanced articulation of Xhosa masculinities.

Conclusion

The specter of colonialism haunts the discourse and articulations of African masculinities. Therefore, sexuality education for young people must address gender issues that arise from colonialism. How Africans have come to understand and narrate sex, gender, and sexuality in the postcolony needs to be taken seriously in our contemporary understandings of masculinities as affected by historical processes. African masculinities are dynamic, fluid, and subject to change over time, influenced by all kinds of elements. The growing focus on African masculinities studies has created avenues to think seriously about boys, men, and masculinities in Africa. This focus has enabled an

expansive understanding of African genders, and has also enabled a space for policy creation and interventions to bring forth true gender equality. The focus on African masculinities enables us to question the weaponization of the idea of "African authenticity" against those who disrupt western-centric gender and sexuality norms. Those who disrupt western-centric gender and sexuality norms are often accused of mimicking the west in their articulations, and dubbed "un-African." Therefore, their 'authentic' Africanity is often questioned, a questioning that relies on the well-founded distrust of imperialism in the postcolony. However, as demonstrated by Kendall (2021) in research on same-sex intimacies between women in Lesotho, it is homophobia that is a foreign concept: homophobia is a western import in African societies, while same-sex intimacies and alternative ways (i.e., outside of the western-centric gender binary) of understanding gender categories are legitimately African. It becomes clear that the idea of "authenticity" is mobilized to deal with disruptive gender identities and sexuality practices. When the idea of "authenticity" is used, one must always critically ask: "Who are the gatekeepers of what is authentic, and from where do they derive their power to be the arbiters of what is authentic?" In other words, when ideas of authenticity are being contested, at the heart of what is being contested is power. Power to name, power to let in, and power to keep out.

The focus on African masculinities has allowed us to articulate non-heteronormative African sexualities that go beyond the simplistic heterosexual/homosexual dichotomy, a dichotomy itself being an articulation of a western epistemology of sexuality. To account for the specter of colonialism in discourses on sex, gender, and sexualities, we must engage historical processes, including colonialism, that have delivered to us the sex, gender, and sexuality categories of the contemporary moment. This understanding of sex, gender, and sexuality is important for the creation of well-researched and historically aware sexuality education for both school-going and adult populations. Sexuality education curricula have to include analysis that makes obvious that the normative ways in which we have come to think about sex, gender, and sexuality in African societies are a colonial inheritance. A sexuality education that is attentive to the colonial past has consequences for the ways we think, research, and treat boys, men, and masculinities. For example, a comprehensive sexuality education that takes seriously Amadiume's (1987) and Oyěwùmí's (1997) articulations of complex African gender systems and rejects ideas of sex-as-destiny, and calls into question the gender binary, would allow spacious ideas of gender to take root. A sexuality education that pays attention to contemporary local articulations of masculinities, and their complexities and fluidities, will equip us with the necessary tools do deal with and ultimately end gender inequality. Here we can ask, "What does a sexuality education that includes the lives of 'yan daudu look like, and what kind of gender knowledge illuminates from their lives and experiences?" We need a sexuality education that is geared toward understanding the changes that have taken place throughout African societies, and how these changes influence how African masculinities are constructed in the present. It would be a colossal mistake to envision African masculinities and African cultural practices as static, because that is to buy into the colonial idea of African cultures and identities as singular and arrested by and in the past. While the field of masculinities studies has made strides in the development of understanding the complexity of African masculinities, there are more areas of inquiry that need attention. With the development of transgender studies, and the transgender movement, masculinities studies in Africa needs to take seriously trans-masculine lives and realities. African trans-masculine ethnographic knowledge has the power to provide us with yet another layer of texture to masculinities studies, and has much to teach us about the complexities and meaning-making in the construction of the lives of boys, men, and masculinities in Africa.

Cross-References

References

Abrahams, N., Jewkes, R., Laubscher, R., & Hoffman, M. (2006). Intimate partner violence: Prevalence and risk factors for men in Cape Town, South Africa. *Violence and Victims, 21*(2), 247–264.

Amadiume, I. (1987). *Male daughters, female husbands: Gender and sex in an African society*. Zed Books.

Balogun, A., & Bissell, P. (2018). Practices of non-heterosexual masculinities among MSM in Nigeria. In Z. Matebeni, M. Surya, & V. Reddy (Eds.), *Queer in Africa: LGBTI identities, citizenship, and activism* (pp. 114–131). Taylor and Francis.

Connell, R. (1987). *Gender and power: Society, the person and sexual politics*. University of California Press.

Connell, R. (2007). Foreword. In T. Shefer, K. Ratele, & A. Strebel (Eds.), *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society*. UCT Press.

Crenshaw, K. (1991). Mapping the margins: Intersectionality, identity politics, and violence against women of color. *Stanford Law Review, 43*(6), 1241–1299.

Epprecht, M. (2008). *Heterosexual Africa?: The history of an idea from the age of exploration to the age of Aids*. University of Ohio Press.

Fanon, F. (1964). *Black skin, white masks*. Praeger.

Francis, D. (2010). Sexuality education in South Africa: Three essential questions. *International Journal of Educational Development, 30*(3), 314–319. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.ijedudev.2009.12.003

Gaudio, R. P. (2009). *Allah made us: Sexual outlaws in an Islamic African city*. Wiley-Blackwell.

Gqola, D. P. (2015). *Rape: A South African nightmare*. MF Books.

Gqola, D. P. (2021). *Female fear factory*. MF Books.

Jewkes, R., & Morrell, R. (2012). Sexuality and the limits of agency among south African teenage women: Theorising femininities and their connections to HIV risk practices. *Social Science & Medicine, 74*(11), 1729–1737. https://doi.org/10.1016/j.socscimed.2011.05.020

Jewkes, R., Morrell, R., Hearn, J., Lundqvist, E., Blackbeard, D., Lindegger, G., Quayle, M., Sikweyiya, Y., & Gottzén, L. (2015). Hegemonic masculinity: Combining theory and practice in gender interventions. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 17*(2), S112–S127. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2015.1085094

Kendall. (2021). "When a woman loves a woman" in Lesotho: Love, sex, and the (Western) construction of homophobia. In S. O. Murray, W. Roscoe, & M. Epprecht (Eds.), *Boy-wives and female husbands: Studies in African homosexualities*. State University of New York Press. https://doi.org/10.1353/book.83859

Langa, M. (2020). *Becoming men: Black masculinities in a South African township*. Wits University Press.

Lugones, M. (2008). The coloniality of gender. *World's & Knowledges Otherwise, 2*, 1–17.

Macharia, K. (2019). *Frottage: Frictions of intimacy across the Black diaspora*. New York University Press.

Mbembe, A. (2001). *On the postcolony*. University of California Press.

Mfecane, S. (2020). Decolonising men and masculinities research in South Africa. *South African Review of Sociology, 51*(2), 1–15. https://doi.org/10.1080/21528586.2020.1803763

Morgan, R., & Wieringa, S. (2005). *Tommy boys, lesbian men, and ancestral wives: Female same-sex practices in Africa*. Jacana Media.

Morrell, R. (2001). *Changing men in southern Africa*. Zed Books.

Morrell, R., Jewkes, R., & Lindegger, G. (2012). Hegemonic masculinity/masculinities in South Africa: Culture, power, and gender politics. *Men and Masculinities, 15*(1), 11–30. https://doi.org/10.1177/1097184X12438001

Motimele, M. (2021). Unbecoming men: Towards a discursive emancipation of black boys. *Agenda, 35*(4), 60–70. https://doi.org/10.1080/10130950.2021.2046391

Murray, S. O., Roscoe, W., & Epprecht, M. (2021). *Boy-wives and female husbands: Studies in African homosexualities*. State University of New York Press. https://doi.org/10.1353/book.83859

Ngabaza, S., & Shefer, T. (2019). Sexuality education in South African schools: Deconstructing the dominant response to young people's sexualities in contemporary schooling contexts. *Sex Education, 19*(4), 422–435. https://doi.org/10.1080/14681811.2019.1602033

Nkabinde, N. Z. (2008). *Black bull, ancestors, and me: My life as a lesbian sangoma*. Jacana Media.

Oyěwùmí, O. (1997). *The invention of women: Making an African sense of western gender discourses*. University of Minnesota Press.

Ratele, K. (2008). Analysing Males in Africa: Certain Useful Elements in Considering Ruling Masculinities. *African and Asian Studies, 7*(4), 515–536. https://doi.org/10.1163/156921008X359641

Ratele, K. (2013). Masculinities without tradition. *Politikon, 40*(1), 133–156.

Ratele, K. (2015). Working through resistance in engaging boys and men towards gender equality and progressive masculinities. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 17*(2), 144–158. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2015.1048527

Ratele, K. (2016). *Liberating masculinities*. HSRC Press.

Ratele, K. (2017). African (situated) psychologies of boys, men and masculinities. *PINS, 54*, 10–28. https://doi.org/10.17159/2309-8708/2017/n54a2

Ratele, K. (2019). *The world looks like from here: Thoughts on African psychology.* Wits University Press.

Reid, G., & Walker, L. (2005). *Men behaving differently: South African men since 1994*. Double Storey Books.

Scott, L. (2020). Queering the postcolony: Same-sex desire and Xhosa culture in postcolonial South Africa. In Z. Davy, A. C. Santos, C. Bertone, R. Thoreson, & S. E. Wieringa (Eds.), *The SAGE handbook of global sexualities* (pp. 422–441). SAGE.

Scott, L. (2021). Inxeba (the wound), queerness, and Xhosa culture. *Journal of African Cultural Studies, 33*(1), 26–39. https://doi.org/10.1080/13696815.2020.1792278

Shefer, T., Ratele, K., & Strebel, A. (2007). *From boys to men: Social constructions of masculinity in contemporary society.* UCT Press.

Shefer, T., Kruger, L., & Schepers, Y. (2015). Masculinity, sexuality and vulnerability in 'working' with young men in South African contexts: 'You feel like a fool and an idiot … a loser'. *Culture, Health & Sexuality, 17*(2), 96–111. https://doi.org/10.1080/13691058.2015.1075253

Simons, H. (1968). *African women: Their legal status in South Africa*. C Hurst and Company.

Wangamati, C. K. (2020). Comprehensive sexuality education in sub-Saharan Africa: Adaptation and implementation challenges in universal access for children and adolescents. *Sex Reprod Health Matters, 28*(2), 1851346. https://doi.org/10.1080/26410397.2020.1851346. PMID: 33295853; PMCID: PMC7887764.

Wekesah, F. M., Nyakangi, V., Onguss, M., Njagi, J., & Bangha, M. (2019). *Comprehensive sexuality education in Sub-Saharan Africa*. African Population and Health Research Center (APHRC). Retrieved at https://aphrc.org/wp-content/uploads/2020/01/CSE-in-SSA-FINAL-2019.pdf. Accessed 5 Sept 2023.