

Male friendships and drinking: an explorative study in one low-income, semi-rural, Western Cape community

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Declaration

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Abstract

Problem drinking is a particularly pertinent issue amongst Coloured men in farmworker communities and is associated with adverse effects such as trauma, violence, various crimes, and unsafe sexual practices. This study was motivated by a number of studies conducted in a specific low-income semi-rural, Coloured community in the Cape Winelands district of the Western Cape which found that men's problematic drinking mostly occurred in the company of male friends. The main aim of this study was therefore to focus on this context and to explore midlife men's constructions of their male friendships and drinking. The study was situated in a feminist social constructionist theoretical framework. Thirteen midlife men participated in the study. A total of 12 individual interviews and eight focus group interviews were conducted and produced approximately 19 hours of interview material. Data collection, transcription and analysis took place simultaneously. Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis method was used to analyse the interviews. The analysis produced three overarching themes: (i) structuring and lubricating social lives with alcohol; (ii) drinking in the company of male friends has a therapeutic effect; and (iii) respectable drinking. These three themes present several important implications for alcohol policy and future interventions in South Africa which include: the need to move beyond the view of alcohol as a 'dangerous instrument of intoxication' in order to recognize the facilitative role of alcohol in friendship fun and pleasure as well as its therapeutic potential. Secondly, the importance of being cognisant of the distress and lack of healthy coping skills that may underlie problematic drinking practices, especially amongst men. Finally, notions of respectability, and specifically respectable drinking, are important in this community and should be incorporated into interventions which aim to combat problem drinking in the community of study.

Opsomming

Problematiese alkoholgebruik is 'n pertinente kwessie onder Kleurlingmans in plaaswerkersgemeenskappe en hierdie gedrag word geassosieer met nadelige uitvloeisels soos trauma, geweld, misdaad onveilige seksuele gedrag. Hierdie studie was gemotiveer deur verskeie studies in lae inkomste semi-landelike Kleurling gemeenskappe in die Kaapse Wynland-distrik wat gevind het dat mans se problematiese drankgedrag dikwels plaasvind in die geselskap van mansvriende. Die hoofdoel van hierdie studie was dus om te fokus op hierdie konteks en hoe middeljarige mans sin en betekenis maak van hulle manlike vriendskappe en alkoholgebruik. Die studie is benader vanuit 'n feministies sosiale konstruksionistiese teoretiese raamwerk. Dertien middeljarige mans het deelgeneem in die navorsing. In totaal is 12 individuele onderhoude en 8 fokusgroep onderhoude gevoer wat uiteindelik ongeveer 19 ure se onderhoudsmateriaal opgelewer het. Data insameling, transkripsie en analise het gelyktydig plaasgevind. Braun en Clarke se tematiese analise metode is gebruik om die onderhoude te ontleed. Analise het drie oorkoepelende temas geïdentifiseer: (i) strukturering en vergemakliking van sosiale lewe met alkohol; (ii) die terapeutiese effek van alkoholgebruik in die samesyn met mansvriende; en (iii) ordentlike drinker. Hierdie drie temas het verskeie belangrike implikasies vir alkoholbeleid en toekomstige ingrypings in Suid-Afrika: dit sluit in om die seining van alkohol as slegs 'n 'gevaarlike middel vir dronkenskap' te verbreed sien sodat die fasiliterende rol van alkohol in vriendskaplike pret en plesier en die terapeutiese potensiaal van alkohol in mense se daaglikse lewens behoorlike erkenning kan kry. Tweedens, is dit belangrik om bewus te bly van die moontlikheid dat sielkundige ongemak en 'n tekort aan gesonde hanteringsvaardighede onderliggend aan problematiese alkoholgebruik mag wees, veral onder mans. Laastens, dit blyk dat idees van ordentlikheid, en spesifiek ordentlike drinkgedrag, belangrike konsepte in die spesifieke gemeenskap is wat geïnkorporeer kan/behoort te word in ingrypings wat poog om

problematiese alkoholgebruik te bekamp in die gemeenskap van die studie.

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Chapter one: Introduction

1.1 Introduction and Motivation

The motivation for the proposed study arises out of the findings of an on-going research project on close relationships in one low-income, semi-rural, Coloured¹ community in the Cape Winelands district of the Western Cape, South Africa lead by Dr. Elmien Lesch, Department of Psychology, Stellenbosch University. In a number of studies in this project (e.g. Lesch & Adams, 2016a; Lesch & Scheffler, 2015a; 2015b), female partners and daughters often spoke unprompted in interviews about their male partners and fathers' problem drinking. These drinking practices are often engaged in away from home with friends or at home with friends. Furthermore, many male partners and fathers in these studies narrated it as unproblematic and as part of men's normal social and recreational activities in the specific community. Given the negative impact that men's problematic drinking appears to have on men's relationships with women and children in their lives, it is clear that this is a phenomenon worthy of investigation.

Men's problem drinking is a widespread phenomenon in South Africa and national surveys indicate that problem-drinking is highest particularly amongst Coloured, low-income men (Peltzer, Davids, & Njuho, 2011; Peltzer & Ramlagan, 2009). Furthermore, amongst Coloured men in farmworker communities, rates of problem drinking are found to be alarmingly high (e.g. Kalberg et al., 2013; London, 2000; May et al., 2008; McLoughlin, Little, Mazok, Parry, & London, 2013). Holtman, Shelmerdine, London, and Flisher (2011) also suggest that

¹ "Coloured" is a term that was utilized during Apartheid to describe individuals of mixed racial descent and does not suggest homogeneity. The term appeared in the late nineteenth century and is still used in the present post-apartheid period (Please note that more information on Coloured people and Coloured identity is provided in Chapter 3). Even though the referral to racial groups within South African scholarship may be seen as controversial, the term Coloured is still made use of to this day in order to denote or identify one's self as belonging to a particular racial or ethnic group. Laubscher (2003) also claims that the term should be seen as revealing a particular cultural and social background. It should be stressed that in this thesis the term is not made use of in order to support Apartheid ideology, but rather to recognize a history of economic and political differences between racial groups within South Africa.

problem drinking in rural Cape Winelands communities at large (propelled by the ‘dop’ (tot) system²) was and still is a pertinent issue. Moreover, studies conducted in these communities report the highest rates of Foetal Alcohol Syndrome (FAS) in the world (May et al., 2007; May et al., 2013). Problem drinking practices resulting in acute alcohol intoxication in South Africa have been reported to cause a variety of adverse effects such as trauma, violence, various crimes, and unsafe sexual practices (Peltzer & Ramlagan, 2009). Furthermore, problem drinking in low-income Coloured communities was found to be linked to an increase in aggression and the incidence of interpersonal violence, FAS, and child neglect (Gossage et al., 2014; Parry et al., 2012; Sawyer-Kurian, Wechsberg, & Luseno, 2009). Qualitative research indicates that one of the many reasons why Coloured men drink excessively is because they feel that they need to prove their manhood to other men within their communities (Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009). This is consistent with the way that men in westernized contexts often employ health risk behaviours’ such as drinking excessively to demonstrate a form of hyper masculinity (Courtenay, 2000; Gough, 2013; Robertson, 2006).

In public drinking spaces (such as the English pub) men are encouraged to participate in various masculine acts while enjoying a few alcoholic beverages together. These acts may include: watching or playing sports, participating in drinking games, engaging in aggressive male banter (often at the expense of women) as well as sexual encounters with women (Joseph, 2012; West, 2001). Young Scottish men claimed that they consider urinating in the street, vandalism, talking at a loud volume, and being involved in small fights to be acceptable behaviour when inebriated (Mullen, Watson, Swift, & Black, 2007). Furthermore, in South Africa, problem drinking amongst men of colour was often found to go hand in hand with publically harassing young women passing by (Salo, Ribas, Lopes, & Zamboni, 2010), assuming the role of ‘player’

² The “dop” (tot) system refers to the practice, of farmworkers receiving crude wine as payment several times a day, which originated in colonial and apartheid times. This practice acted as a means of control and enslavement of Coloured farmworkers as cheap labour (London, 1999; 2000).

by engaging in as many risky unprotected sexual pursuits as possible (Morojele, 2006; Ragnarsson, Townsend, Ekström, Chopra, & Thorson, 2010; Townsend et al., 2011; Wechsberg et al., 2013) thereby increasing HIV risk (Wechsberg et al., 2013) as well as engaging in serious criminal behaviour such as intimate partner violence (Dunkle et al., 2006; Jewkes, Levin, & Penn-Kekana, 2002; Townsend et al., 2011), one-on-one rape (Abrahams, Jewkes, Laubscher, & Hoffman, 2006; Sawyer- Kurian et al., 2009), and showing open disdain for the law (Ragnarsson et al., 2009).

International research indicates that the male friendship is a performance of masculinity. This performance is judged against the ideology of hegemonic masculinity³ (Coltrane, 1994). Emotional stoicism is one of many kinds of performances of masculinity that holds to this ideology (Harris, 1995; Kaufman, 1992). Men's friendships that are consistent with the principles of hegemonic masculinity are therefore often found to lack expression of feelings and needs, and the general establishment of intimacy (Kaufman, 1992; Migliaccio, 2009). Performances of intimacy are considered to be feminine and therefore prohibited (Migliaccio, 2009). While there is extensive international literature on male friendship relationships and bonding general (e.g. Dempster, 2011; Mullen et al., 2007; Thurnell-Read, 2012), South African research on the subject is generally limited. The South African literature that could be found on these topics were those looking at the broader topics of group rape (Wood, 2005), men's sexual and social networks (Ragnarsson, Townsend, Thorson, Chopra, & Ekström, 2009), and rhetorical representations of masculinities (Luyt, 2003).

Furthermore, research that focuses specifically on drinking practices in male friendships specifically is largely limited, to my knowledge, to one study looking at this subject matter amongst British university football players (Clayton & Harris, 2008) and one amongst Scottish men in midlife (Emslie, Hunt, & Lyons, 2013). Some studies exploring drinking practices in male

³ Conceptualized in full in theoretical framework Chapter

friendships as part of a broader research topic focused on populations from westernized parts of the world such as England (Thurnell-Read, 2012), Finland (Virtanen & Isotalus, 2014), and the United States (West, 2001). Furthermore, one study by Joseph (2012) where the study population were Afro-Caribbean men living in Canada covered the subject matter. Some local South African studies (e.g. Rich, Nkosi, & Morojele, 2015; Townsend et al., 2011; Wood, 2005; Wood, Lambert, & Jewkes, 2007) have also covered the relationship between drinking practices and male friendships as part of a broader topic. The South African studies mostly focus on this subject matter within the broader topic of group rape, coercion, and transactional sexual practices. Everyday non-pathological practices surrounding male friendships and alcohol have therefore been neglected in current South African research.

In the international studies identified above, alcohol was found to play an important role in the construction and maintenance of male friendships (Clayton & Harris, 2008; Emslie et al., 2013; Thurnell-Read, 2012). Shared alcohol consumption has been found to be one of the few spaces where the expression of emotions and talking about troubles amongst male friends is allowed (Emslie et al., 2013; Rich et al., 2015; Virtanen & Isotalus, 2014; West, 2001). Given (i) that this international literature and some local literature indicate a connection between the practice of male friendships and drinking, (ii) the high rates of problem drinking amongst men in South Africa, (iii) the lack of knowledge about the nature and everyday practices of male friendships in South Africa, (iv) as well as the lack of knowledge about the role that drinking plays in these relationships, this study aimed to generate localized knowledge through exploring the everyday experiences and practices of male friendships and drinking in one low-income, Coloured, semi-rural, Western Cape community.

1.2 Organization of this thesis

Chapter two of this thesis includes a discussion of the theoretical framework that governs

the present study: feminist social constructionism as well as a review of Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity and how these relate to the study in question. In accordance with this framework, chapter three presents a window into the context of the community of study. Chapter four entails a review of the literature on the topics related to the research question such as: the relationship between drinking constructions and masculinity, the nature of male friendships as well as the potential role that alcohol plays in these relationships. The feminist social constructionist method utilized in the present study is then outlined and discussed in chapter five. Furthermore, in chapter six the themes that were identified through the thematic analysis are presented and discussed in reference to relevant local and international literature. In chapter seven, the concluding chapter, the discussion of the themes is raised to a more abstract level, the implications of the findings for policy and intervention and the relevant strengths and limitations of the study are reviewed.

Chapter two: Theoretical framework

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter, I identify the various theoretical frameworks that have been utilized in previous research on men with a particular focus on the Critical Studies on Men (CSM) field. I then provide an introduction to a framework that is often used by CSM scholars and is my theoretical framework of choice: feminist social constructionism. As a comprehensive, detailed review of feminist social constructionism is beyond the scope of this masters' thesis, I curtail my exposition of this framework to an introduction to feminist social constructionism, outlining its main principles, and some criticisms of this particular framework from the perspective of feminists. I also look at the debate regarding the inclusion of men as subjects in feminist studies; briefly outline Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity, the connection between masculinity theory and health; as well as the absence of a conceptualization of coloured masculinities in South African research. Furthermore, I outline how this theory and feminist social constructionism, in general, guided my conceptualization of the research phenomena.

2.2 Theoretical frameworks used in research on men

Research on men can be divided into the fields of: Men's Studies and what Hearn (2004) labels Critical Studies on Men (CSM). Hearn (2004) problematizes Men's Studies, calling it a field of research that is ambiguous; where one cannot be sure if it consists of studies conducted *by* men or *on* men. Furthermore, Hearn (2004) and Lohan (2007) claim that Men's Studies notions of manhood are essentialist and that the field has a fundamentally antifeminist agenda. Conversely, CSM as a field of study includes scholarship that is underpinned by feminist theory but also gay and queer theory. CSM may also contain men's pro-feminist answers to feminism and dialogues concerning power relations (Hearn, 2004; Lohan, 2007). CSM thus refers to a

variety of studies which consider gender to be socially constructed and aim to contest hegemonic masculinity as well as gender power relations (Brod & Kaufman, 1994; Hearn, 2004; Kimmel, Hearn, & Connell, 2005; Lohan, 2007).

While surveying the available, primarily health-related, literature on men and masculinities using a variety of different combinations of keywords (e.g. ‘men’, ‘masculinity’, ‘drinking’ and ‘depression’) on Google Scholar and EBSCOhost, I concluded that most of the studies could be seen as falling under the CSM label as they could all be considered to be working from theoretical points of departure that contain the above-mentioned key features. These theoretical departure points include: Butler’s (1990) theory of gender performativity (e.g. Campbell, 2000; de Visser, Smith, & McDonnell, 2009; Emslie et al., 2013; Migliaccio, 2009); Connell’s (1995) theory of hegemonic masculinity (e.g. Campbell, 2000; Dempster, 2011; Thurnell-Read, 2012); Wetherell and Edley’s (1999) psycho-discursive approach to hegemonic masculinity (e.g. Collier, 1998; Dempster, 2011); a material-discursive approach to investigating men’s experiences (e.g. Kehily, 2001; Luyt, 2003; Mangan, 1999; Messerschmidt, 1999; Roberts, 2002; Sparks & Smith, 2002); and lastly the broader theoretical point of departure: a combination of feminist and social constructionist epistemologies (e.g. Addis & Cohane 2005; Addis & Mahalik, 2003; Shefer, Kruger, & Schepers, 2015; Valkonen & Hanninen, 2013; van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2015a; 2015b). Like these masculinity scholars, I too situate my study within the CSM field and make use of feminist social constructionism as a broad theoretical framework.

2.3 A feminist social constructionist framework

In this section, I will first provide background on the broader social constructionist framework and then bring a more specific focus to a feminist social constructionist framework. Social constructionism encompasses a range of overlapping yet distinctly different theories which signify a particular approach to knowledge, ideology, and worldview (Denzin & Lincoln, 2005;

Durrheim, 1997; Edley, 2001; Gergen, 1985; Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Social constructionism claims that all 'taken-for-granted' understandings of the world and ourselves that are constructed as timeless should be approached with scepticism (Burr, 2003; Stoppard, 2000). Gergen (2000) argues that they impede our ways of knowing the world as well as the ways in which we construct and alter our sense-making of reality. Furthermore, social constructionists challenge the empirical notion that there is one universal truth that is transcendent of culture and history. They do not believe that facts can be collected from unbiased, neutral observation (Gergen, 2000; Gergen & Davis, 1997; Cromby & Nightingale, 1999).

In contrast, social constructionists posit that there are multiple possible experiences and understandings of behaviours, relations and events that are specific to the historical and cultural context of the individual in question. This knowledge is formed in relation to this context; it is a product of culture and history as well as the specific dominant social and economic configurations that exist within this culture (Burr, 2003; Gergen & Davis, 1997; González, Biever, & Gardner, 1994; Sarantakos, 2005; Willig, 2001). The context in which people reside provides instructions and restrictions that outline and place individuals' accounts of their personal worlds and the meanings that they attach to them (Willig, 2001). Furthermore, since the context which people's understanding of phenomena is dependent on is always changing, people's understandings are often fluid and subject to change (González et al., 1994). Stoppard (2000) claims that this contingency of knowledge constructions on different contexts and from different standpoints means that each knowledge construction is always partial. However, she further asserts that knowledge that is constructed from a standpoint that is different to the dominant standpoint is often not acknowledged.

Social constructionists claim that knowledge is created amongst people through daily social interactions (Burr, 2003). Social constructionists therefore focus on a variety of social

interactions in their research (Burr, 2003). Since social interactions are conducted through spoken language, language is also considered to be an important site of analysis for social constructionists (Burr, 2003; Gergen, Lightfoot, & Sydow, 2004). According to social constructionists, discourse and language are considered to form the primary channel through which inter-subjective experience, shared categories of meaning and understandings about our actions can be communicated within human relationships (Cromby & Nightingale, 1999; Gergen, 2000; Rudes & Guterman, 2007). Furthermore, descriptions of the social world that individuals share with one another maintain certain forms of social action and dismiss others. Our constructions of the world are therefore intimately connected with power relations as they can often dictate what people are allowed to do and how they are permitted to treat one another (Burr, 2003).

Social constructionism problematizes the way in which mainstream psychology treats the human as a ‘natural scientific object’ that responds to its environment in a mechanical way. Furthermore, social constructionists claim that the discipline of psychology has largely overlooked a key feature of human beings – “the meaningful nature of our activity” (p.175) that is grounded in “socially shared constructions” (Durrheim, 1997, p.175). They challenge the view of the west where the individual is considered as a knower who is “rational, self-directing, morally centred and, knowledgeable agent of action” (Gergen et al., 2004, p.390). Furthermore, social constructionists contest the conception of the individual as dominating the knowledge-making process, they advocate for the view of relationships between individuals as central to what we know. They consider knowledge, reason, emotion, and morality as constructs that exist within relationships rather than within the individual mind (Gergen et al., 2004).

It should however be noted that social constructionists do not deny that the subject plays an important part in the construction of meaning but rather highlights that cultural, societal, and

historical context also play a role in this construction by providing a frame through which an individual is able to make sense of objects and experiences (Sarantakos, 2005). The concept of reflexivity as one of the principles of social constructionism indicates that social constructionists do believe that the individual has some say in the meaning-making process. “Reflexivity” (p.180) here refers to the process through which individuals think about phenomena within a “frame of reference” (p.180) or a discourse of pre-existing modes of meaning (Durrheim, 1997). I will give a more detailed discussion of the concept of reflexivity and what it means for this study in the method section.

Feminist social constructionism as a sub-paradigm of social constructionism focuses on the way in which gender is socially constructed within a specific context. Please note that at times, reference will also be made to feminist postmodernism in this section, as feminist social constructionism and postmodernism are connected and overlap in many ways (Gergen, 2000; Rutherford, Sheese, & Ruck, 2015). Furthermore, due to their belief that gender is socially constructed, feminist social constructionists and postmodernists take issue with the way in which other feminist epistemological frameworks return to essentialist claims about gendered knowledge with their use of fixed binary categories of ‘men’ and ‘women’ and of ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’ (Butler, 1990; Cosgrove, 2003; Gardiner, 2004; Stoppard, 2000). In particular, they contest feminist empiricists’ use of gender as an independent variable (e.g. a fixed role identity) and standpoint feminist theorists’ conceptualization of gender as an inherent psychological characteristic (Cosgrove, 2003; Hekman, 1999; Pleck, Sonenstein, & Ku, 1994). The feminist social constructionist scholar Janet Stoppard (2000) claims that seeing gender as merely an inherent characteristic often results in a lack of acknowledgement as to how the individual man or woman’s experience may differ. Stoppard (2000) also says that conceptualizing gender in this way tends to obscure the socio-cultural context of individuals’

daily lives.

Feminist social constructionists and postmodernists instead conceptualize gender as socially constructed through the repetition of gendered performances (Butler, 1990) within the context of interactions with other people (West & Zimmerman, 1987) and against a particular fluctuating social, historical, and cultural backdrop (Butler, 1990; Leavy, 2007). Feminist postmodernist Judith Butler (1990) argues that one is placed in a gendered position within a culturally manufactured frame. Furthermore, feminist social constructionists and postmodernists describe gender as something that is accomplished or demonstrated and is best made sense of as a verb instead of a noun (Bohan, 1993; Crawford, 1995; West & Zimmerman, 1987). According to these theorists, gender can therefore be seen as an entity/action that is fluid and flexible, and subject to contestation (Butler, 1990; Gardiner, 2004; Shefer et al., 2008). Feminist social constructionism and postmodernism consequently go beyond the binary frame to envision a variety of possible forms of gender rather than merely two opposing forms (Gardiner, 2004; Gergen, 2000).

Feminist social constructionists and postmodernists are particularly concerned with how cultural and historical constructions of masculinity and femininity came to be constituted and focus on who is served by unquestioned grand narratives of gendered knowledge as well as social norms that serve to control, bind and categorize (Gergen, 2000; Leavy, 2007). Feminist social constructionist and postmodernists therefore are power sensitive; they maintain an awareness of the way in which knowledge is constructed within a field of changing power relations (Leavy, 2007; Shefer et al., 2008). More specifically, feminist social constructionist and postmodern theories highlight the way in which this knowledge derived from men's accounts within a westernized patriarchal society are inclined to represent and perpetuate male power and concerns, and have tended to be the cause of women's oppression (Gavey, 1989; Leavy, 2007).

Feminist social constructionists and postmodernists claim that power relations and processes of oppression can be examined and deconstructed by looking at language (Leavy, 2007; Rutherford et al., 2015); they focus on how “gendered discursive fields” (p.91), in terms of “language, symbols, and ideology” (p.91), communicate patriarchal and male takes on the world (Leavy, 2007). Furthermore, the feminist social constructionist scholar Gergen (2000) advocates for the questioning, and further, resisting of a linguistic category such as that of ‘gender’ that has achieved universal and atemporal status. Feminist social constructionists and postmodernists instead place particular emphasis on the role of language and discourse in the fluid, context-specific construction of symbolic aspects of gendered knowledge as well as gendered subjectivities (Gavey, 1989; Salih, 2007; Stoppard, 2000; Weedon, 1987). These scholars therefore refute the Cartesian view of the subject as the master producer of knowledge. They also deny the essentialist notion of the subject as a fixed entity with an innate gender and instead propose the idea of a subject in process (Kristeva, 1980), this view allows the subject the ability to enact social change and to retain agency (Leavy, 2007).

In accordance with social constructionism, I considered that there were multiple possible understandings or experiences of the phenomena of male friendships and drinking that I could encounter in the interviews that are specific to the context of the participants. The specific contextual factors that were considered to potentially influence their understandings and experiences of these phenomena included their low income status, Coloured identity, dominant notions of respectability and colonialism amongst other factors. These understandings were approached as fluid and subject to change. Furthermore, understandings of male friendships and drinking were considered to be constructed within their daily social interactions with their family, friends, and members of the greater community, the way in which meanings are co-constructed between individuals unfolded clearly within the context of the focus group interviews. In

addition, language was seen as an important site of analysis for the social constructions of male friendships and drinking.

When looking from a feminist social constructionist framework in particular, male friendships can be considered to be important sites in which masculinities can be performed on both the individual and collective level (Felmlee, Sweet, & Sinclair, 2012; Migliaccio, 2009; Thurnell-Read, 2012). Discourse amongst men seems to bear a performative characteristic where men are compelled to act in accordance with a collectively constructed notion of legitimized masculinities. Within a homo-social context, manhood is performed in front of and approved by other men (Kimmel, 1994). Furthermore, dominance of the particular forms of masculinities in question, male privilege, and gender inequalities are thought to be maintained through informal male bonds and homo-social networks (Bird, 1996; Flood, 2008; Messner, 2001). Yet, feminist social constructionism requires that I look beyond the obvious hegemonic displays of male homo-social bonding to see how male friendships allow opportunities for disruptive forms that challenge the bedrock of the relevant form of hegemonic masculinity at play (Kaplan, 2005; Thurnell-Read, 2012). This may allow for a more dynamic view of homo-sociality (Hammarén & Johansson, 2014).

2.4 Critique of feminist social constructionism from the perspective of other feminist epistemologies

Feminist critics claim that the epistemologies of feminist social constructionism and postmodernism are rooted in problematic principles that diverge from or may even hinder the goals of feminism (Brooks & Hesse-biber, 2007; Gannon & Davies, 2012; Leavy, 2007). These critics assert that their adherence to relativism via the deconstruction of the fixed identity categories 'women' and 'men' as well as the fixed notions of 'women's experience' or 'men's experience' may result in women or oppressed men not being able to find their voice, identify

with each other, engage in discussion or assemble themselves as a collective group constituting a strong force for social change. They claim that postmodernism may thereby end up weakening and diffusing feminism's dedication to social change and justice for women or oppressed men (Brooks & Hesse-biber, 2007; Leavy, 2007).

Some feminists claim that just as women were starting to get back their voices within a political setting, the oppressor and the oppressed become deconstructed; the category of gender is eradicated and the contestation of male dominance is no longer possible (Gergen, 2000). Furthermore several feminists condemn feminist social constructionists and postmodernists for 'selling out' to the male leaders of postmodernism by refuting the possibility of uncovering the notion of 'Truth' (Braidotti, 1991; Braidotti, Charkiewicz, Hausler, & Wieringa, 1994; Brodrigg, 1993). In the past, some scholars have even predicted that it could bring a complete end to women's liberation (Acker, Barry, & Esserveld, 1983; Jaggar, 1983). However in reply, some feminist postmodernists argued that adherence to fixed categories like "women's experience" (Gavey, 1989, p. 463) itself may actually result in hindering women's liberation and that feminists who adhere to such terms may end up supporting hegemony and normalizing dominant gender norms by not paying attention to the way in which these dominant gender norms are articulated within the discursive sphere (Cosgrove, 2003; Gavey, 1989). Feminist postmodernists argue that they themselves are actually more consistent with the goals of feminism due to the fact that their deconstruction of dominant oppressive gender norms disrupts the reiteration of these norms as well as the system of hegemony (Cosgrove, 2003). In line with this argument, I was mindful to try to not unthinkingly apply general westernized dominant gender norms that could obscure and therefore silence the unique gendered experiences of the men who participated in my study. In the results and discussion section, therefore, I attempt to interrogate these dominant gender norms in relation to the phenomena of male friendships and drinking in the participants'

specific context and to highlight possible ways in which these norms are contested within the participants' accounts in accordance with the goals of feminism.

2.5 Men as the subject of feminist studies

Ratele (2013) claims that there is a certain gender discourse that is hesitant to have men as subjects within feminist interventions or is at most largely apathetic towards men except for the case where they are studied in relation to violence against women. There is often resistance from women towards the idea of including men in gender and development work. This resistance is propelled by a fear surrounding the weakening of the feminist agenda, reallocation of resources towards men and the general recentering of men (Esplen, 2006; Shefer, Stevens, & Clowes, 2010).

Yet as Harding (as cited by Shefer et al., 2010) claims that while the majority of knowledge production is formulated from within an androcentric framework, men's self-reflexive accounts on their own unique experiences of being boys and men are largely missing, particularly within critical gender and feminist research. Studies that problematize and place masculinity in the foreground, that contest the conception of a normative masculinity and that make use of a critical gender framework have been relatively rare within the field of social science and psychology up until recently (Shefer et al., 2010). In addition, there is much South African research which constructs a blaming and othering discourse surrounding boys and men; and describes South African men as problematic and inherently dangerous (Bhana & Pattman 2009; Ratele, 2014; Ratele, Shefer, & Botha, 2011).

Scholars assert that masculinity studies conducted from within the feminist tradition should instead focus on *how* male privilege and dominance are formed and also take a sympathetic focus on the harms that boys and men endured as a result of the price of this privilege or as a result of men subordinating other men or of the harm perpetrated on boys by

women (Dowd, 2010; Hearn, 2004). Furthermore, Dowd (2010) argues that this type of masculinities work may thereby bolster feminism's dedication to anti-essentialism. She claims that highlighting the complexities and diversity of masculinities leads to making sense of intersectional and multiple types of discrimination with more clarity. Dowd (2010) further asserts that by including masculinities scholarship in feminist research we come to the important conclusion that gender does not present all men with privilege, as race and class can cause subordination for some men.

South African scholars, in particular, argue that it is important to recognize the struggles that some men and boys experience in relation to racial marginalization (Clowes, 2013; Ratele, 2015). In addition, Shefer et al., (2010) argue that if research on the subjectivities of boys and men is conducted within a critical feminist framework that avoids making women's experiences invisible again, a focus on men and masculinities can add to the broader political agenda of empowering women. In the case of the present study, I argue that by researching a group of men who have been marginalized due to income, class, and race, and by focusing on how this marginalization shapes their constructions of masculinity in relation to the phenomena of male friendships and drinking, I have conducted a study that is consistent with the feminist agenda.

2.6 Connell's theory of hegemonic masculinity

When conducting a feminist social constructionist study on marginalized men such as the participants in my study it is necessary to be mindful of hegemonic forms of masculinity and how these men are situated or situate themselves in relation to these hegemonic forms. According to Connell (1995), hegemonic masculinity may be defined as a formation of gender practice that represents the "currently accepted" (Demetriou, 2001, p.340) legitimization of male dominance at a certain time and place which ensures the dominance of men and the subordination of women (Courtenay, 2000; Demetriou, 2001; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Extensively recorded

characteristics of dominant masculinities are cultural consent, centrality within discourse, institutionalization, and marginalization of other forms. This pattern of hegemony has been recorded in multiple settings on an international scale (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Thurnell-Read (2012) argues that it is often within the context of male friendships, in relation to other men, that male dominance is legitimized and that specific forms of masculinity become culturally dominant over other forms. He further argues that Connell's (1995) notion of hegemonic masculinity is therefore inherently relational in nature. In a westernized American context, hegemonic masculinity is said to be embodied by a European-American, White heterosexual man who is of upper-class and high-income status (Courtenay, 2000; Speer, 2001). The ideal man according to this discourse of hegemonic masculinity should act as a "macho" (Wetherell & Edley, 1999, p.336) man who can demonstrate his masculinity through normative beliefs and behaviours that convey strength, competency, rationality, invulnerability, competitiveness, and that exhibit emotional and physical control, and stoicism (Courtenay, 2000; Harris, 1995; Kaufman, 1992; Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Furthermore, research has confirmed that this discourse has historically been constructed and reconstructed as the situations within which it is constructed change over time (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

In the case of the predominant discourse of hegemonic masculinity, men can either act or perform in a way that is complicit with or resistant to the gender norms that it prescribes. When men enact what Connell (1995) calls a "complicit" (p.79) masculinity they do not actively perform or resist this model but they passively maintain it and remain its "complicit beneficiaries" (Jefferson, 2002, p.69). Subscribing to a complicit masculinity may be tempting for the ordinary man as men who are complicit to hegemonic masculinity have access to a privileged position in society, the patriarchal dividend and general power associated with this model (Demetriou, 2001; Dempster, 2011; Jefferson, 2002). However, the majority of ordinary

men cannot fully perform the prescribed practices of the model of hegemonic masculinity in their everyday lives as the model of hegemonic masculinity, as Connell (1995) conceptualizes it, is not a possible “lived reality” (Wetherell & Edley, 1999, p.337) for them, it is more of a fantasy or exemplary (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Demetriou, 2001; Wetherell & Edley, 1999).

As briefly mentioned earlier, there are also men who may resist the dominant westernized discourse of hegemonic masculinity through their gender performances (Dempster, 2011; Jefferson, 2002). Subscribing to behaviours that are resistant to hegemonic masculinity and that are also deemed as feminine by this form of masculinity results in the production of what Connell (1995) calls a “subordinate” (p.78) or “effeminate” masculinity (Demetriou, 2001, p.341). Connell (1995) claims that there are ultimately a variety of different masculinities and femininities that individuals can perform depending on their generation, race, and class as well as the social and cultural context in which individuals enact their gender (Demetriou, 2001).

The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been both widely used and criticized (Connell, 2012b). In the paper by Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), some of these criticisms are incorporated into a reformulation of the concept. I will highlight a few aspects of this reformulation. Firstly, in Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) reformulation of hegemonic masculinity, they call for transcending the notion of hegemonic masculinity as a collection of (mostly negative) traits that often leads to the handling of hegemonic masculinity as a fixed character type (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Furthermore, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) highlight that hegemonic masculinities should be studied at three different levels: the local, the regional, and the global. They outline that: the local is constructed in the areas of one on one interaction with families, organizations, and communities, the regional is constructed in the cultural or nation state sphere and global is constructed in transnational areas such as world politics, transnational business, and media (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). They claim that

these levels are all linked and can be useful in the study of gender politics and that taking on this multi-level analytical framework enables us to acknowledge the importance of place in the study of masculinities (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Furthermore, Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) claim that it is important for examination of the relations amongst masculinities to more explicitly acknowledge the agency of subordinated and marginalized groups. They claim that “protest masculinities” (p.847) can be made sense of this way— in other words patterns of masculinities developed in local working-class contexts often amongst marginalized men of colour. Protest masculinities embody the power that is characteristic of hegemonic masculinities in Western countries without the economic resources and institutional authority that bolsters regional and global patterns (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Connell (2016) argues that most research and debate on hegemonic masculinity has taken place in the global North and that the geopolitics of knowledge that results from this is problematic. She further claims that for a more nuanced understanding of the issues brought up in discussions about hegemonic masculinity, we need to start drawing information from areas other than Western Europe and North America. She therefore calls for a decolonization of the studies of masculinities (Connell, 2016). According to Laurie (2005) masculinity research conducted in the global North has assumed an established social epistemology based on a clear gender order. However, this assumption cannot be made in areas of the global South where social and cultural discontinuity and disturbance is present in everyday life. It is, therefore, a canvas for contesting hegemonic projects. It has many levels where different patterns of masculinity function and come into dispute. Up until recently, changes in the world gender order have provided little platform for democratic projects of change in masculinity (Connell, 2016). South Africa is, however, a violent and unequal society and gender inequalities are deeply entrenched in the HIV/AIDS

epidemic (Epstein et al., 2004). However, there are intense discussions about changing masculinities in connection with local projects of change (Ratele, 2014; Shefer et al., 2008; Sideris, 2005).

In these settings, a dominant form of masculinity may not necessarily be hegemonic as little to no form of hegemony is possible (Connell, 2012b; 2014; 2016). Furthermore, Ratele (2014) argues that while he believes that there are hegemonic ideas about masculinity in South Africa, there is currently an on-going battle for hegemony amongst certain forces, such as racial, economic, and cultural inequality, that are pushing against masculinity constructions within post-apartheid South African society. He, therefore, suggests that it is important for scholars outside of the hegemonic high-income Western sphere to approach the dominant form of masculinity as hegemony within the context of marginality. Ratele (2014) also advocates for studies and activism that are tradition-sensitive and culturally intelligent i.e. focusing on the context of men's marginalized worlds. This could perhaps entail creating studies and activist efforts that take local traditions and culture of targeted communities into account when conceptualizing and working to contest dominant masculinity constructions.

In addition, as alluded to earlier on a broad level, there is the possibility of a non-oppressive hegemonic masculinity in South Africa that does not enable the domination of women and other men. The non-government agency, Sonke Gender Justice, for example, set out to achieve this form of masculinity (Greig, Peacock, Jewkes, & Msimang 2008; Peacock, Khumalo, & McNab, 2006). Furthermore, there has been a shift in recent South African research to highlight men's vulnerability in their relationships with women which counterweighs research that equates hegemony with violence and oppression so unequivocally (Morrell, Jewkes, Lindegger, & Hamlall, 2013).

2.7 Masculinities and health

Broadly, masculinity has been cast as a health risk for men in both local and international research. Dominant norms of masculinity have been linked to the enactment of behaviours like alcohol and drug use, smoking cigarettes, and engaging in high-risk sexual behaviour (e.g. Courtenay, 2000; Evans et al., 2011; Ragnarsson et al., 2009; Sawyer- Kurian et al., 2009). In line with feminist social constructionist thought, Gough (2013) claims that so blatantly problematizing masculinity in this manner obscures its complicated and often contradictory nature. Furthermore, some scholars have challenged the traditional men's health discourse's construction of men as a homogenous category by acknowledging that there are socially diverse groups of men experiencing and constructing health in ways that reflect variable and shifting range of masculinities informed by various ideologies and practices (Robertson, 2007; Schofield, Connell, Walker, Wood, & Butland, 2000).

Yet, despite this challenge, men's health is still often conceptualized in cultural and behavioural terms that are cut off from a wider social and economic context (Lohan, 2007). Dolan (2011) therefore argues that there is a need to connect theories of masculinities and health to greater theories concerning social class and health and to focus on the social and economic backdrop of individual's lives in order to create more complex theories concerning the interactions of the factors of social class and gender, and men's health practices. For example, Watkins and Griffith (2013) claim that men of colour and men who live in poverty are mostly invisible in the men's health field, even though the sex difference in global mortality can largely be ascribed to the high mortality rate of these men.

Furthermore, Connell (2012a) argues that it is important to look at the influence of gender orders and the positioning of different masculinities in these orders on the state of health in different groups of men. She claims that these gender orders should be viewed as open to change

and susceptible to break down under unstable conditions in marginalized contexts. In accordance with studies that advocate a more critical approach to men's health, I aimed to highlight the way that different context-specific expressions of masculinity impact on the health constructions of a group that has been largely absent from men's health field research on a global level— i.e. low-income Coloured men.

2.8 The absence of a conceptualization of Coloured masculinities in South African literature

The primary focus of South African critical masculinity literature appears to focus predominantly on black masculinities (e.g. Morrell, 1998; 2001; Ratele, 2013; 2014; 2015; Richter & Morrell, 2006). In an effort to take South Africa's racialized history into account when conceptualizing local notions of masculinities, Morrell (1998; 2001) proposed a model of various hegemonic masculinities – including firstly, a white masculinity- portrayed by the politically and economically dominant white class, an African rurally-based masculinity occurring in indigenous institutions, as well as a Black masculinity that occur within the context of urbanization and separate African townships (Morrell 1998; 2001). Furthermore, South African critical masculinity literature challenges research conducted on specifically young poor South Africa black men in relation to topics such as male violence and hegemonic male sexual practices that are said to paint a portrait of these men as problematic and dangerous, and to be largely ignorant of African traditions (Mfecane, 2013; Ratele, 2014; Shefer, Stevens, & Clowes, 2010).

Absent from this critical literature is a focus on Coloured masculinities. As highlighted in the literature review section, research conducted on young poor South African Coloured men also seems to place these men in a particularly negative light by linking them to psychosocial problems such as intimate partner violence, rape, alcohol, and substance abuse (e.g. Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009; Watt, Kimani, Skinner, & Meade, 2016; Wechsberg et al., 2013).

Furthermore, while there have been studies that have looked at masculinity constructions in urban Coloured male populations (e.g. Cooper & Foster, 2008; Salo, 2003; 2005; 2007; Shefer et al., 2015; van Niekerk & Boonzaaier, 2015a; 2015b), similar research in rural Coloured populations is largely confined to a few studies led by my supervisor and her other students (e.g. Lesch & Engelbrecht, 2011; Lesch & Adams, 2016a). Based on studies conducted in urban Coloured populations, the prevalence of gangs in urban Coloured populations seems to play an important role in urban Coloured masculinities. Showing allegiance to gangs and their violent activities is a means of attaining masculine respect in a context where there is a lack of employment available for men. By extension, it appears that violence in general is associated with bravery and strength and therefore earns respect for men in urban Coloured men (Cooper & Foster, 2008; Salo, 2003; van Niekerk & Boonzaaier, 2015b). Although there are non-violent options to attain masculine respect in these contexts, such as being gentlemanly and chivalrous, research indicates that these are not dominant practices (e.g. Cooper & Foster, 2008; van Niekerk & Boonzaaier, 2015a).

Against the backdrop of the limited knowledge about rural Coloured masculinities, I approached this study with an openness to encounter various forms of hegemonic masculinities, as well as complicity or resistance to these hegemonic masculinities, within the context of marginality of a low-income Western Cape Winelands farmworker community. In this manner, my research addresses the issue of the scarcity of critical research or research in general on the subject of rural Coloured masculinities in the Western Cape.

2.9 Conclusion

Within this chapter, I have discussed the feminist social constructionist framework which I employed in my approach to this study. In accordance with this framework, I conceptualized male friendships and drinking, and associated notions of masculinities as social constructs formulated by the male participants in conjunction with myself as the researcher, the interviewer,

and my supervisor. Furthermore, these constructs were considered to be impacted by the social context of the male participants in question.

Chapter three: Research community in context

3.1 Introduction

In accordance with the feminist social constructionist framework, I will provide information about the participants' living contexts in order to give some background against which the results and discussion may be viewed. This contextual information is not exhaustive and will cover selected focus areas such as a description of Coloured people, Coloured Western Cape farmworkers, the dominance of traditional gender roles and Christianity in farmworker communities, and some background information on the particular farmworker community of study.

3.2 Coloured people in South Africa

Coloured people make up 9% of the total population of South Africa and mainly live in the Western Cape (Statssa, 2013). However, it is crucial to note that the term Coloured does not signify homogeneity. Different authors have highlighted the controversy, instability, and variability of Coloured identity (Adhikari, 2005; Ahluwalia & Zegeye, 2003). The term Coloured has long been employed to refer to people of mixed racial origin and is still employed in South Africa to this day. Coloured people are allegedly the offspring of European settlers, indigenous Khoisan people, Cape Slaves and other Black people who resided in the Cape Colony in South Africa during the 19th century. They share a history of subjugation, subordination, and racial discrimination in the face of the apartheid system as well as continuous marginalization (Adikhari, 2005; Erasmus, 2001). During the colonial period, they were considered to constitute the result of immoral sexual relations between European settlers and the indigenous people or slaves and therefore extensively despised and condemned. Coloured people, in general, were linked with a range of negative stereotypes; they were considered to be promiscuous, criminal, drunken, feeble, and incapable of supporting a family (Erasmus, 2001; Jensen, 2008; Strauss,

2009).

In light of Coloured people's long history of shame (Erasmus, 2001), Elbourne and Ross (1997) claimed that Christian respectability became a vehicle through which Coloured people could re-attain a degree of self-respect and social acceptability. The degradation that Coloured people experienced during the time of the colonial era was continued during apartheid times when the racial categorizations of 'Coloured' for individuals of mixed race, 'Black' for individuals of African ancestry, 'White' for individuals of European ancestry and 'Indian' for individuals of Indian descent were utilized to differentiate among and discriminate against groups of people based on so-called race (Adhikari, 2005; Baldwin-Ragaven, London, & De Gruchy, 1999). Employing the term Coloured suggested that Coloured people were wanting by being neither Black enough nor White enough and therefore relegated to a residual category (Adhikari, 2005). Adhikari (2005) claims that defining Coloured people in terms of what they are 'wanting', adds to the shame that they experience as a group. In order to counteract this shame, they often aimed to capture what they considered to be a "White existence" (Tucker, 2011, p. 78) and show that they could meet the same social norms and take on the same values as white people (Adhikari, 1994; Tucker, 2011).

As referred to previously, in Western Cape Coloured communities problem drinking has been largely propelled by the dop system, dating back to colonial times, where alcohol was utilized as a means to enslave and maintain control of Coloured people as readily available cheap manual labourers (Gossage et al., 2014; London, 1999). Through these mechanisms, meanings of alcohol abuse were linked to racial differences and stereotypes often characterized with Coloured people being seen as typically weak and therefore having a tendency to abuse alcohol and develop an alcohol addiction problem (Adikhari, 2005; Mager, 2004). In addition, low-income Coloured people have been known to buy bulk quantities of cheap wine and display high levels

of intoxication in public (Nugent, 2014). Through this discourse, the men's masculine identities are called into question. Furthermore, the Wilcock commission of 1938 when describing the Coloured group, divided Coloured men into three groups, one of which was the 'skolly boys' who were considered the 'undesirable class' of characteristic drunken convicts or layabouts (Jensen, 2008).

More recently, what it means to be Coloured has been enthusiastically debated and deconstructed and has even come to take on a more positive meaning. For instance, two Cape Town Filmmakers have set about to unpack and question engrained notions of *Colouredness* in a six-part documentary web series entitled 'Coloured Mentality'. This documentary has been made available to the public on various social media platforms and has sparked much debate (Koopman, 2017). Furthermore, when Coloured South African sprinter Wayde van Niekerk beat the 400m world record at the Rio Olympic Games in August 2016, people began celebrating what was called #colouredexcellence on Twitter, and Coloured communities around the country triumphantly stood behind van Niekerk's victory (Bernardo, 2015; Pather, 2016).

3.3 Western Cape Coloured farmworkers

The majority of the main Western Cape farmlands workforces are comprised of Coloured, Afrikaans-speaking people (Kritzinger, 2002; London 1999; Visser & Ferrer, 2015). Approximately half of all farmworkers in the Western Cape have permanent positions and many of these workers and their families have lived on farms in the area for generations (Andrews, 2013; Visser & Ferrer, 2015). The majority of the permanent farmworkers found on these farms are men (Andrews, 2013; Du Toit & Ally, 2003; Moseley, 2006; Visser & Ferrer, 2015) and the majority of seasonal farmworkers are women who are most often the wives or family members of these men (Andrews, 2013; Du Toit & Ally, 2003; Moseley, 2006; Wilderman, 2015). Some of these women work throughout the year and yet are still not considered to be permanent workers

(Andrews, 2013). Furthermore, some farmworkers reside in housing located on the farm which is provided by the farmer. The farmworkers may or may not have to pay rent for living in these housing areas (Moseley, 2006).

Many of these farmworkers have been marginalised by the apartheid system (London, 1999). They often reside in dire living conditions on farms with poor housing (Andrews, 2013; Jara, 2006; London, 1999). Some farmworkers do not have access to water and basic sanitation or if they do have access to these services, the quality is poor (Kleinbooi, 2013; Human Rights Watch Report, 2011). Some farmers have been found to exploit their farmworkers (Jara, 2006; London, 1999). They are often compelled to work long hours in bad conditions – exposed to pesticides and the possibility of bodily injury– and paid minimal wages that are often unreliable (Andrews, 2013; Du Toit & Ally, 2003; Jara, 2006; London, 1999). Yet Visser and Ferrer (2015) argue that the farms in the Western Cape now have better working conditions for their farmworkers than in other provinces. In addition, Western Cape farms have been exposed to ethical trade audits for an extensive period and tend to be more amenable to labour, health, and safety legislation (Visser & Ferrer, 2015). The minimum wage of farmworkers is, however, still one of the lowest in South Africa’s formal employment sector (Andrews, 2013; Prince, 2004; Human Rights Watch Report, 2011). Until recently many farmworkers were only earning a minimum wage of R69 a day (Human Rights Watch Report, 2011).

The nature of the Western Cape farm workforces and their living arrangements is in a state of transition since the three month period of striking and campaigning that began on farms in the Western Cape in November 2012. Visser and Ferrer (2015) claim that in the wake of these protests, Western Cape farms are found to offer longer seasonal employment with higher wages (with a 52% increase) and more benefits than other parts of South Africa. They further assert that many employers give cash bonuses to their workers and provide paid vacation leave for their

farmworkers. However, there have also been detrimental consequences for the farmworkers since the strikes and the introduction of the new minimum wage for farmworkers in December 2012. There has been an increase in the number of reports of severe backlash against farmworkers and their organizations, including a wave of dismissals, retrenchments, farm evictions, and lockouts (Andrews, 2013; Visser & Ferrer, 2015). The employment of farmworkers has decreased overall from 2008 to 2014 in the Western Cape (Visser & Ferrer, 2015). Recently, Western Cape farms decreased their number of permanent contracts and increased their seasonal employment overall; which has resulted in a decrease in income security. This shift can be said to create a more vulnerable and temporary workforce (Wilderman, 2015).

Farmworker communities often face unfavourable social conditions such as unemployment, poverty, low educational levels, lack of access to transport, overcrowding, and absent welfare and health, and recreational facilities (BFAP Report 2012; Human Rights Watch Report, 2011; Kruger et al., 2006; London, 1999). In addition, overall poor living and social conditions often render farmworkers' susceptible to economic, social, and emotional distress (London, 1999). Psychosocial problems such as interpersonal violence, substance abuse, crumbling family structures, and non-existent family support prevail in farmworker communities (Dunkle et al., 2004; London 1999; Mathews et al., 2008). Despite generally low education levels and opportunities for advancement, two farm worker equity schemes in the Western Cape reported that management on some farms had started up general life skills courses such as family planning, budgeting, coping with alcoholism, and surmounting domestic violence (Knight, Lyne, & Roth, 2003).

Alcohol consumption has been an intrinsic part of farm life in South Africa since Dutch settlers colonized the country during the 17th century. Farmworkers were given crude wine in the place of wages as part of the payment for their labour (Falletisch, 2008). As mentioned in the

introductory chapter, this practice was named the dop system (London, 1999; 2000). Providing wine as payment became illegal in 1961, but a certain ‘loophole’ in the law enabled the provision of alcohol to continue as payment (Falletisch, 2008). The legacy of the dop system can be argued to be reflected in current problem drinking practices of Western Cape farmworkers (Gossage et al., 2014). Weekend binge-drinking, for example, is the norm for them (De Kock, 2002; Falletisch, 2008). Furthermore, relationship problems are particularly widespread in such communities. These problems are manifest in the physical, psychological and emotional abuse, and rape of women by their partners (London, 1999; Mathews et al., 2008).

3.4 Traditional gender roles

Research indicates that traditional gender roles still prevail within Coloured farmworker communities. Men take on the role of the provider, decision maker, and the head of household; and women, the role of caretaker of homes and children. Many women were found to remain largely subservient to men (Engelbrecht, 2009; Lesch & Scheffler, 2015a; 2015b; Rabie & Lesch, 2009). Furthermore, women in these communities often occupy a largely subordinated position on farms due to the conditions of their employment (Ewert & Hamman, 1999; Orton, Barrientos, & Mcclenaghan, 2001; White, 2010). These conditions have been said to have worsened since the strikes and shift in minimum wage on farms (Kleinbooi, 2013; Visser & Ferrer, 2015). For instance, on these farms, married female farmworkers often complain that they do not receive independent employment contracts and that their job security and housing are therefore reliant on their spouses’ contracts (Fortuin, 2009; Orton et al., 2001; Schotte, 1996). Furthermore, there also still core gender divisions in farm labour (i.e. heavy physical work being designated for men only and delicate tasks being designated for women only) (Fortuin, 2009; Orton et al., 2001). Farming is primarily seen as men’s work and women’s work is considered to be supplementary to this work (Fortuin, 2009).

The subordination of women is an important aspect of the system of farm paternalism that dates back from times of slavery and colonialism (Du Toit, 2004; Orton et al., 2001; van Onselen, 1992). Under this system, farmers maintained employment relations with farmworkers that were characterized by dependency and control. Furthermore, notions of paternalism were linked with the ideological concept of the farm family where the farmer in the role of father provided his farmworker children with an income, disciplined them and also had considerable involvement their lives (Ewert & Du Toit, 2005; Jackson, 2014). Under the system of farm paternalism, the relationship between the farmer and his farmworkers was severely imbalanced as workers were required to feel indebted towards the farmer and to be reliant on him for most of what they possessed (Jackson, 2014). In addition, van Onselen (1992) argues that the paternalism found on some Western Cape farms may be seen as inherently patriarchal as it is rooted in the power men possessed to wield control over their family. Farmers negotiated with male farmworkers over access to the labour of the wives and children of male farmworkers when the men were hired to work on the farm (Scully, 1997). According to Scully (1997), it is possible that the farmers' employment tactics aided in the construction of a specific type of patriarchal power relations within the farmworker family by heightening the male farmworker's dominance over their wives and children.

However, Andrews (2013) argues that the agricultural system is most recently in a period of transition from paternalistic arrangements between owners and workers to relationships between employers and employees that are controlled by the government. Furthermore, the changing nature of the workforce in terms of having more seasonal rather than permanent contracts for farmworkers and having fewer farmworkers living on farms is considered to undermine the paternalistic relationship between owners and workers (Visser & Ferrer, 2015; Wilderman, 2015). The farmer loses the position of landlord, service provider and in some

instances even permanent employer (Wilderman, 2015). In addition, Visser and Ferrer (2015) claim that employers in agriculture are presently quite diverse, ownership patterns have shifted with farm consolidation, land reform, and interference by agribusiness as well as the increasing dependence on contractors and labour brokers.

3.5 Christianity

In the community of study, Lesch and Engelbrecht (2011) found that the views on traditional gender roles and relations of the farmworker Coloured participants in their study were informed by their Christian beliefs. Many of the members of present-day Coloured communities are affiliated with Christian churches of various denominations and attend church regularly (Furphy, 2012; Lesch & Engelbrecht, 2011). In the 1800s, European missionaries set off to the Cape in order to convert indigenous people and slaves to Christianity (Ross, 1999). These missionaries set up mission stations, the goal of which was to provide the Khoikhoi and slave people with a measure of protection from oppression, the key to salvation and also the opportunity to get a basic education in the form of reading and writing (Fourie, Ross, & Filjoen, 2012). Stations were set up to educate former slaves of all the main towns including Cape Town (Ludlow, 1999) and Stellenbosch (Strassberger, 1969), most of which were Coloured. At the mission stations, missionaries tried to enforce a male headed structure of family life that they were familiar with on the residents of the station (Fourie et al., 2012). Gender hierarchies typical of Europe at the time were also promoted as the norm and as an important requirement of morality (Fourie, Ross, & Filjoen, 2012).

Traditional gender constructions described earlier are advocated by the different Christian denominations that are a fundamental component of social life in these communities (Engelbrecht, 2009; Kaufman, Shefer, Crawford, Simbayi, & Kalichman, 2008; van der Watt, 2007). Furthermore, in Cape Winelands farmworker communities, respectability appears to be a

core value that is often demonstrated through commitment to the Church and sustaining an upstanding Christian lifestyle (e.g. van der Heijden, 2009; Adams, 2014; Lesch & Scheffler, 2015b). Elbourne and Ross (1997) argue that Christian respectability is seen as a means for coloured people to attain a level of self-respect and also to re-establish a sense of honour that they had lost through a history of slavery and oppression.

3.6 The farmworker community of study

The particular farmworker community of study is located several kilometres outside of a large town in the Cape Winelands area within the Western Cape region. The community consists of a small centralised semi-formal settlement which includes a single small shop, a primary school (with around 500 children), and several surrounding wine and fruit farms. The majority of people living in the community are working-class, Afrikaans-speaking Coloured people who either live and work on farms or work in farm-related industries in the area. Many of their families have been residing and working in the community for generations and their roots run deep within in the community (Engelbrecht, 2009). They have therefore directly or indirectly been impacted by the apartheid-related alcohol practices in the area. Furthermore, illegal alcohol vendors are widespread in the community. They are uncontrolled and operate outside the restrictions of the law and, therefore, play an important part in sustaining problem drinking in this community by allowing easy access to alcohol. These vendors are said to worsen the issue of problematic drinking by enabling customers to buy on credit (Lesch & Adams, 2016a).

The community of study is plagued by poverty and it is often referred to by its inhabitants as the ‘forgotten place’ as they feel neglected in terms of receiving funds and resources. For people who live in this community, unemployment and housing, in particular, are often pressing concerns (Lesch & Adams, 2016a; Vision Afrika, 2017). Moreover, there are increasing instances of TB, HIV, unplanned teenage pregnancies and substance abuse and virtually non-existent

health care to address these issues (Lesch & Adams, 2016b; Vision Afrika, 2017). The only health facility in the area is a monthly mobile clinic. Hardly any families possess a motor vehicle and must, therefore, depend on lifts from farm owners, taxis, or friends who have vehicles in order to do their shopping and visit health clinics for example (Vision Afrika, 2017). As mentioned earlier, there is a single primary school in the community but no secondary school; the children, therefore, have to commute by bus to secondary schools in other neighbouring areas. While many community members enjoy playing sports like soccer, rugby, and netball, there are limited sports facilities available (Vision Afrika, 2017).

3.7 Conclusion

In conclusion, the participants are part of a community that has been subject to various structural inequalities that have made them susceptible to poverty and detrimental health conditions. However, in contrast to similar marginalized communities, farmworker communities such as the present community of study have been neglected in South African research and in terms of receiving funds and resources.

Chapter four: Literature review

4.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief overview of the available literature or discourse on the research topic at hand in order to show where this study fits in within the current discourse. It is, however, not an exhaustive literature review as further literature has been consulted during the process of the data analysis and write-up to shed light on my findings and to allow for a critical discussion of the findings. The latter literature is therefore included in the findings and discussion section of the thesis. This literature review will focus on the following: (i) exploring the different terminology that is used to categorize drinking patterns; (ii) public health data regarding men and problem drinking globally and locally; (iii) the relationship between drinking alcohol and the construction of masculinity; (iv) men's drinking constructions during the midlife phase; (v) the nature of men's friendships; as well as (vi) the possible role that alcohol has to play within these relationships.

4.2 Terminology used to categorize drinking patterns

“Problem drinking”, as a broad term, describes drinking that causes (or has the potential to cause) individual, collective, health, and social problems (WHO, 2013). Problem drinking may develop into alcohol abuse in the case where the individual continues to drink despite experiencing social or health problems when drinking (Enoch & Goldman, 2002). The broad notion of problem drinking encompasses hazardous, harmful, and binge drinking patterns (Peltzer, et al., 2011). “Hazardous drinking” may be conceptualized as a drinking pattern that causes an individual to be at risk for “adverse health events”, while “harmful drinking” may be conceptualized as a drinking pattern that results in these “adverse events”— in terms of psychological or physical damage (Reid, Fiellin, & O'Connor, 1999, p.1682). A “binge drinking”

(p.31) pattern may be defined as consuming five or more alcoholic beverages in one sitting on at least 1 day in the past week or month (Peltzer et al., 2011).

Furthermore, the World Health Organization (WHO, 2014) more recently makes reference to “Heavy Episodic Drinking” (p.4) which is defined as a minimum intake of 60 or more grams of pure alcohol or six or more standard sized drinks on a minimum of one single occasion at least once a month. It is often associated with harmful consequences such as violence, injury, and alcohol poisoning (WHO, 2014). Many of these terms will be referred to at some point in the literature review, but for the purposes of this qualitative study the broader umbrella term of ‘problem drinking’ that encompasses most of the above drinking patterns that are a potential threat to ones well-being, will be utilized. I also additionally make use of the terms ‘drinking’ or ‘consuming/ the consumption of alcohol’ to refer to either non-problematic drinking or both problematic and non-problematic drinking, when it is not clear which type the author in question is referring to.

4.3 The global and local burden of problem drinking in men

According to the WHO, alcohol consumption is the third largest global risk factor that often leads to death and disability (WHO, 2011). In the year 2012, South Africa was found to have the highest level of alcohol consumption in Africa at 11.01 adult per capita (Ferreira-Borges, Rehm, Dias, Babor, & Parry, 2016). Furthermore, along with Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation, Mexico, and the Ukraine; South Africa has been rated as one of the countries with the riskiest drinking patterns (WHO, 2011). In South Africa, a significant percentage of those who drink often engage in risky or binge drinking over the weekends (Gossage et al., 2014; Parry et al., 2005). Furthermore, there is said to be evidence of a “culture of problem drinking”(p.451) in South Africa (Peer, Lombard, Steyn, & Levitt, 2014) and problem drinking (particularly among men) has become largely accepted and unquestioned amongst South Africans (Pithey &

Morojele, 2002).

In sub-Saharan Africa and South Africa in particular, widespread alcohol use is found to be related to increased HIV risk in low-income population groups (Fritz, Morojele, & Kalichman, 2010; Gibbs, Sikweyiya, & Jewkes, 2014; Hahn, Woolf-King, & Muyindike, 2011; Kalichman, Simbayi, Vermaak, Jooste, & Cain, 2008). Furthermore, engaging in harmful drinking patterns was found to pose a particular threat to men on a global scale as it was found to be the leading cause of death amongst men aged 15 to 59. This is mainly due to injuries, violence, and cardiovascular diseases that are often induced under an intoxicated state (WHO, 2011; 2014). In addition, men were also found to have a larger rate of the total burden of disease that is accredited to alcohol than women (WHO, 2014). The explanation for the general added burden of disease is that on a universal level, men are less likely to be abstainers; they drink more often and in greater quantities than women (Goddard, 2006; WHO, 2014; Wilsnack, Wilsnack, Kristjanson, Vogeltanz-Holm, & Gmel, 2009). Furthermore, in South Africa, the rate of current alcohol consumption amongst men is also found to be far higher than amongst women (South African Demographic and Health Survey, 1998; 2003; Peer et al., 2014; Peltzer et al., 2011). One in four adult men as opposed to one in 10 adult women display symptoms of alcohol-related problems (Parry, 2005).

Furthermore, problem drinking was found to be a risk factor for rape perpetration (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Dunkle, & Morrell, 2015; Sawyer- Kurian et al., 2009) and violence (Gibbs et al., 2014) amongst South African men. In two national surveys conducted in 2005 and 2008 in South Africa, it was found that risky drinking amongst men was linked to the Coloured population group, particularly those dwelling in urban areas and those with lower education and income status (Peltzer & Ramlagan, 2009; Peltzer et al., 2011). There are additionally several studies which highlight the high rates of problem drinking particularly amongst Coloured men

from rural farmworker communities (e.g. Kalberg et al., 2013; London, 2000; May et al., 2008; McLoughlin et al., 2013).

4.4 Drinking alcohol and the construction of masculinity

Drinking alcohol has been accepted as an integral part of what it means to be a western man for centuries (Willott & Lyons, 2012). It is generally still expected on a universal level, that men drink alcohol to demonstrate that they are true men and failing to do so is considered to detract from their masculinity (Clayton & Harris, 2008; de Visser & McDonnell 2012; Dumbili, 2015). Furthermore, holding excessive quantities of alcohol is thought to be an adequate display of physical strength and to be able to compensate for a lack of competence in other masculine domains such as playing sports (Campbell, 2000; de Visser et al., 2009). In South Africa, men of colour and of low-income status in particular often engage in this type of hyper-masculine risky behaviour (Brown, Sorrell, & Raffaelli, 2005; Jewkes & Morrell, 2010; Morojele et al., 2006; Morris, Levine, Goodridge, Luo, & Ashley, 2006; Townsend et al., 2011; Wolff, Busza, Bufumbo, & Whitworth, 2006).

Men across a range of social contexts have reported experiencing a greater degree of societal pressure than women to adhere to prescribed cultural norms for their gender such as problem drinking (Courtenay, 2000; Cunningham, 2012; Dumbili, 2015; Holmila & Raitasalo, 2005). Furthermore, Keenan et al. (2015) found that Russian men in midlife communicated that engaging in routine problem drinking within the context of exclusively male groups is an expected behaviour. Bobrova, West, Malyutina, Malyutina, and Bobak (2010) concluded that midlife and older Russian women were expected to drink much less than men. In addition, Ratele, Shefer, Strebel, and Fouten (2010) found that South African Black and Coloured adolescents from a variety of schools in the Western Cape described drinking alcohol as an exclusively 'male activity' and contrastingly constructed drinking as bad for women.

The particular drinking behaviour that men reported using in order to demonstrate high masculine status include holding or tolerating as much alcohol as possible within public drinking spaces as well as trying to keep up with the fastest drinker (e.g. Bobrova et al., 2010; Dempster, 2011; Emslie et al., 2013; Holmila & Raitasalo, 2005; Inhorn & Wentzell, 2011). Peralta (2007) argues that these activities form the foundation upon which a man's performance of masculinity is witnessed and judged by other men. Men reported experiencing great gender-based shame on occasions where they found that they failed to hold their liquor (Cunningham, 2012; Lu & Wong, 2013). Scottish men in mid-life indicated that they find it difficult to refuse an alcoholic beverage that was bought for them as a part of the round of drinks (Emslie et al., 2013). Furthermore, drinking either non-alcoholic beverages or particular 'feminine' drinks such as cocktails amongst male friends of various population groups are actions that are often reported to be deemed unmanly and therefore openly ridiculed (de Visser & Mc Donnell, 2012; Emslie, Hunt, & Lyons, 2012; Emslie et al., 2013; Ramirez, 2011).

In public drinking spaces (such as the British pub) men are encouraged to participate in various masculine acts while enjoying a drink or two with their friends. These acts include watching or playing sports, participating in drinking games, engaging in aggressive male banter (often at the expense of women) as well as sexual encounters with women (Joseph, 2012; West, 2001). Furthermore, in South Africa, problem drinking amongst poor men of colour found to go hand in hand with engaging in public harassment of young women passing by (Salo et al., 2010), risky unprotected sexual pursuits (Morojele, 2006; Ragnarrson et al., 2011; Townsend et al., 2011; Wechsberg et al., 2012); intimate partner violence (Dunkle et al., 2006; Jewkes et al., 2002; Townsend et al., 2011) as well as one-on-one rape (Abrahams et al., 2006; Sawyer- Kurian et al., 2009). South African men of colour in low-income contexts often engage in problem drinking and the above-listed behaviours within the context of public spaces like the streets or shebeens

(Ragnarrson et al., 2011; Salo et al., 2010; van der Heijden, 2009). Shebeens are unlicensed informal drinking establishments that people in low-income communities often use to buy and consume alcohol (Eaton et al., 2012; Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009). Furthermore, van der Heijden (2009) found that the shebeen is largely designated a masculine space within the public sphere of low-income farmworker residential areas of Kylemore and Lanquedoc in the Cape Winelands.

There are some recent studies which indicate that the drinking constructions and behaviours of men are not straightforward reflections of the traditional ideology of hegemonic masculinity. For example, Dempster (2011) found that while British undergraduate students did construct undergraduate men who drank as more manly than those who did not, they also constructed male peers who engaged in problem drinking as lacking in their masculinity. They constructed their fellow undergraduate men who adhered to group drinking norms and gave into peer pressure to drink as “lesser” (p.647) men who did not have the strength or willpower to say no to alcohol (Dempster, 2011). Furthermore, Mullen et al. (2007) found that although the young male participants from Scotland indicated that they were uncomfortable with women becoming inebriated in front of them they reported that they preferred to experience drinking in mixed-sex group contrary to the all-male group drinking experience that hegemonic masculinity prescribes. Some participants also indicated that they did not see the primary aim of drinking as becoming inebriated and starting fights, they believed that it served to facilitate enjoyment, meeting new people and starting relationships (Mullen et al., 2007).

In a South African study conducted by Hatcher, Colvin, Ndlovu, and Dworkin, (2014) it was discovered that the change in ideals of masculinity was related to a reduction in alcohol use, rural Black South African men (most between the ages of 31 and 55) from the Eastern Cape reported moderating their alcohol use in order to lead more responsible sex lives and to be more caring fathers and partners. Furthermore, Lindegger, and Maxwell (2007) found that Zulu-

speaking adolescent boys residing in rural KwaZulu Natal constructed a non-traditional desirable masculinity in relation to drinking as they said that they wished to avoid the typically male practice of problem drinking that the older generation of men in their community were reported to engage in. These findings bring attention to some of the inconsistencies and intricacies that are involved in the flexible constructions of masculine discourses and identities (e.g. Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2002; Mullen et al., 2007; Reay, 2002). This provides evidence that masculinity in relation to the practice of drinking in general is being redefined in some contexts and age groups, and that there are currently a variety of different drinking masculinities that are emerging in current research (Mullen et al., 2007).

4.5 Drinking constructions of men in midlife

Many scholars argue that the midlife phase has not been extensively researched as the boundaries of this age range are vague and ill-defined when compared to life phases such as childhood and old age (Lachman, 2002; 2004; Staudinger & Bluck, 2001). I chose to adhere to the broad definition of midlife being between the ages of 35 and 65 in accordance with Martin and Willis (2005). This section makes reference to studies where the participants were specifically indicated to fall within this age range.

Up until recently, significant global attention has mostly been paid to the drinking habits of young college-aged binge drinkers (e.g. Conroy & de Visser, 2012; Dempster, 2011; Peralta, 2007; 2008) Research in western contexts has only recently started to bring the drinking habits of people in the midlife phase into focus. The studies that could be found on drinking amongst men in midlife specifically were those of Emslie, et al. (2013) who looked at Scottish men's experiences of drinking in early midlife in the DrAM (Drinking Attitudes in Midlife) study; Keenan et al., (2015) looking at social factors influencing the alcohol consumption of Russian men in midlife over their life course; Tilki (2006) who conducted a similar study with Irish men

in midlife as participants, as well as Joseph (2012) who looked at alcohol-based leisure practices in the lives of older Caribbean-Canadian men in their 50s and 60s. Finally, Quintero (2000) focuses on the ‘aging out’ of problem drinking amongst Navajo men in the US. There were several other studies that engaged with the issue of men in midlife and drinking as part of a broader research focus (e.g. Bobrova et al., 2010; Cunningham et al., 2012; French, Sargent-Cox, Kim, & Anstey, 2014).

However, in terms of local research, studies that focus on men and alcohol consumption gather participants from quite a wide age range, covering several different life stages indiscriminately (e.g. Hatcher et al., 2014; Morojele, 2006; Rich et al., 2015; Townsend et al., 2011). While these studies do technically include men in midlife, it is only when these men are studied in isolation that we can begin to explore the possible ways in which being in the midlife phase shapes South African men’s drinking constructions.

I argue that the midlife age group should become a focus of a greater quantity of studies on alcohol use and abuse in all countries. As I mentioned previously, problem drinking is one of the leading causes of death amongst men ages 15 to 59 (WHO, 2011; 2014). This, therefore, includes men in midlife as part of the problem group. In addition, French et al. (2014) found that problem drinking amongst midlife and older American, Korean, and Australian men, in particular, is cause for concern and should be the focus of health promotion strategies.

Furthermore, a study by Emslie, Lewars, Batty, and Hunt (2009) report that surveys conducted in 1990 and 2000 indicate that a significant percentage of Scottish men in a midlife cohort were found to display problem drinking patterns. A national South African survey conducted by Peltzer, et al. (2011), indicates that although hazardous and harmful drinking were highest amongst the young adult (20 to 24 years) age group, rates of hazardous and harmful drinking in the more midlife (35 to 44 and 45 to 54 years) age groups were not far behind.

Research identified a dominant narrative amongst men in midlife in western contexts that they were going through a process of 'aging out' by giving up problem drinking in favour of a more restrained and responsible drinking style that they believe is more suited to their current life phase. In the DrAM study (Emslie et al., 2012; 2013; Lyons, Emslie, & Hunt, 2014) for example, both Scottish male and female participants in midlife described themselves as 'experienced' drinkers who knew how to reach an ideal degree of intoxication and how to maintain it by avoiding drinking any further.

Men from a variety of contexts also described how they saw the constraints of their aging bodies and health concerns as cause for restricting their alcohol consumption. Furthermore they also indicated how they considered the call to settle down and attend to the demands of their current life phase such as parenting and work responsibilities to limit their engagement in problem drinking (Keenan et al., 2015; Lyons et al., 2014; Quintero, 2000; Valentine, Holloway, & Jayne, 2010). Working-class Mexican men in their 50s and 60s additionally indicated that they had given up the previously enjoyed and idealized practice of drinking not as a "sad consequence" (p.810) of aging but rather as a "proactive" (p.810) move towards maturing responsibly. They saw embodying this form of age-appropriate masculinity as something to be proud of (Inhorn & Wentzell, 2011).

Yet interestingly, in the study by Joseph (2012), Caribbean–Canadian men in later midlife and later life (in their 50s and 60s) reported that they went out drinking to escape their childcare and domestic work responsibilities as well as their wives. Similarly, Emslie, Hunt, and Lyons (2015) propose that the consumption of alcohol may allow individuals in midlife a means of escaping everyday domestic roles and spaces for a short time period. They further suggest that whereas consuming alcohol may allow young people to experiment with different identities (Hartley, Wight, & Hunt, 2014), drinking in early midlife may provide a means through which

individuals can connect with their prior, more authentic selves.

In the DrAM study, the Scottish male participants' claims of being 'older and wiser drinkers' with their mid-life responsibilities at the fore of their minds during drinking did not hold throughout the interviews. The participants told stories of drunkenness, narratives of pressure to drink from their friends and consuming alcohol as both a means to cope with stress and also as a form of reward for carrying out both paid and unpaid work (Emslie et al., 2012; 2013; Lyons et al., 2014). This finding of increased pressure to drink from friends is in contrast to the finding amongst the Russian male participants in the study by Keenan et al. (2015) who described peer pressure to drink as decreasing as they reached their later years.

4.6 Men, friendship, and alcohol

4.6.1 The nature of male friendships

This section in the literature review on male friendship will make reference to male homosocial relationships interchangeably with male friendships as is done so in several other studies (e.g. Flood, 2008; Hammarén & Johansson, 2014; Thurnell-Read, 2012). According to Kaplan (2006), "male homosociality" (p.9) is defined as the social interactions between men which emerge in same-sex cultures and institutions. It acts as a key concept through which one is able to explore the "emotional ideological spaces" (p.9) within male friendship.

From a social constructionist perspective, men's friendships are more than merely a result of being a man. Instead of this linear relationship that some researchers advocate, Migliaccio (2009) argues that male friendship is also a performance of masculinity that reinforces gendered stereotypes. Furthermore, as mentioned in the theoretical framework chapter, Connell (1995) claims that male friendships serve as an important domain where performances of masculinity enable male dominance to be legitimized and specific forms of masculinity (i.e. hegemonic masculinity) to be culturally dominant over other forms in relation to other men. In addition,

Kimmel (1994; 2006) asserts that these homosocial performances are then approved or condemned by other men. While men often look for the approval of other men they also seek to compete against them (Kimmel, 1994). On the whole, men's lives and their individual senses of manhood are often structured by their relations with other men (Kimmel, 2006).

Male homosocial networks and informal male bonds play a key role in perpetuating gender inequalities and also defending the patriarchy (Bird, 1996; Flood, 2008). Kiesling (2005) argues that homosociality is technically not masculine by definition as affiliation with other men is often seen as tantamount to dependence and the ideology of hegemonic masculinity conversely promotes absolute autonomy. Furthermore, several scholars claim that homo-social interaction does not only facilitate the formation of hegemonic masculinity but also the marginalization of femininity and alternative masculine processes (Bird, 1996; Lipman-Blumen, 1976; Sedgwick, 1985). Kiesling (2005) further claims that in order to generate a masculine identity that adheres to dominant cultural discourses of masculinity, men are faced with the challenge of generating a sense of solidarity with other men and yet avoiding coming to love, depend on or sexually desire one another. Unsurprisingly, male homosociality and friendship have been connected to the fear and panic surrounding homosexuality as well as those characteristics associated with femininity (Britton, 1990; Garlick, 2002; Sedgwick, 1985).

Connell (1992) argues that masculinities that are considered to be effeminate are altogether repressed by men within a homosocial context in order to gain access to the much coveted 'men's club' as well as to attain higher social ranking than other men. According to Bird (1996), key characteristics of homosocial interaction such as emotional detachment, competitiveness, as well as the sexual objectification of women promote patriarchy and reinforce hegemonic masculinity.

Hammarén and Johansson (2014) claim that there is more than one form of homosociality

to be considered. Firstly, there is a vertical/ hierarchical form which I have outlined above – i.e. a way of strengthening power and of creating strong homosocial bonds which are able to sustain and defend hegemony and the patriarchy. Secondly, there is the ‘horizontal form which is used to highlight relations between men that are based on emotional closeness, intimacy and a non-profitable type of friendship.

Yet, an overwhelming amount of literature characterizes western men’s friendships as devoid of emotion and closeness (Bird, 1996; Levy, 2005; Whitehead, 2002), as well as by a hesitancy to engage in any form of intimate talk or behaviour, for fear of being questioned about their sexuality (Garfield, 2010; Patrick & Beckenbach, 2009). However, Caroline (1993) argues that such intimacies often described as an integral component of quality close friendships. Furthermore, the necessity of quality friendships is highlighted by research which indicates that there is an inverse relationship between the quality and quantity of an individual’s social relationships (such as friendships) and morbidity and mortality (Holt-Lunstad, Smith, & Layton, 2010; Perissinotto, Cenzer, & Covinsky, 2012). When using the feminine definition of emotional intimacy against which to judge western male friendships, these relationships have been found to be impoverished in that they are seen as lacking in intimacy in comparison to female friendships (Bank & Hansford, 2000; Wright, 2006).

Contrastingly, there is an alternative argument which claims that men are able to achieve a sense of intimacy outside the boundaries of the inherently feminine conception of emotional intimacy. Researchers contend that men are able to achieve a sense of closeness through doing activities together (Migliaccio, 2009; Patrick & Beckenbach 2009). Kiesling (2005) argues that men use linguistic and social indirectness to construct and express homosocial desire for other men within the predominantly heterosexist atmosphere which preserves male power. Young men from western contexts such as the US and Israel were found to depend on socially indirect speech

forms, acts and stances including insults, boasting, joking as well as other types of linguistic forms in order to create a sense of homosociality (Kaplan, 2005; Kiesling, 2005). Kaplan (2005) argues that the markers of humour and aggression found in the joking relationship between his Israeli military male participants could serve to create or validate a sense of closeness and affection. The joking language is able to both hide and enable socially ‘suspect’ expressions of intimacy and desire in the male friendship group.

Despite this alternative argument, however, men often do vocalize a desire for the kind of overt intimacy—consistent with the feminine definition—within their male friendships. They specifically describe wanting to voice their affectionate feelings and personal concerns to their close friends (Cordova, Gee, & Warren, 2005; Garfield, 2010; Patrick & Beckenbach, 2009). It is noted in the literature that while men are capable of intimate communication, they often choose not to engage in this form of communication amongst friends for fear of being ridiculed (Fehr, 2004; Garfield, 2010).

There is, however, a wealth of western literature which indicates that men are constructing and performing novel forms of homosocial relations and friendships characterized by emotional intimacy and support. In western popular culture, for example, the ‘bromance’ relationship, a close relationship between heterosexual men characterized by love, intimacy, and exclusive friendship is widely celebrated (Chen, 2012). In addition, Arxer (2011) found in his study that some American male college students openly reported engaging in sharing of feelings as well as co-operative rather than competitive group interactions in order to heighten their sexual endeavours and to promote group camaraderie. Similarly, in the study by Virtanen and Isotalus (2014) Finnish men ranging in age from 21 to 67 were found to engage in talk about their troubles which they described as providing a source of connection and support between these men. Furthermore, Shaw, Gullifer, and Shaw (2014) found that older Australian men reported

that their friends were important to them because they provided both tangible and intangible support for them. In addition, Houston (2012) found that male homosociality in the North American indie music scene allowed men to freely construct alternative masculinities through interactions that showed affection through intimacy and through erotic gestures like kissing other men. Hammarén and Johansson (2014) argue that the theorization and empirical evidence of bromances and horizontal homosociality indicate changing relations between men as well as to a restructuring of hegemony and leanings towards the eventual revolution of intimacy, gender, and power relations.

Several studies show that homosocial networks and friendship groups in South African low-income contexts are close-knit, strongly bonded, and provide many benefits in men's lives. In the study by Ragnarsson et al. (2009), the researchers found that low-income, mostly unmarried male participants (median age: 28.7 years) from the Western Cape identified themselves primarily as part of a small core group of men who they described as brothers or family. These groups were found to be characterized by strong emotional connection, trust, respect, equality, and common values and they emphasized that there was no group hierarchy present. In addition, Wood et al., (2007) claim that young working-class South African men who struggle to get employment are able to soothe their frustrations and anxiety through hanging out with their friends and looking for fun with them at local pubs.

However, the way that these friendships and homosocial networks are bound together and function, in general, is cast in a pathological light in South African research. The first studies that come up in search engines such as EBSCOHOST and Google Scholar when searching male friendships in South Africa in low-income communities of colour are predominantly to do with sexual violence, HIV contraction, and crime. In particular, Townsend et al., (2011) found that friendship groups were reported to go to shebeens and clubs in order to drink excessively and to

attain new sexual conquests. Furthermore, it has been documented that bonding amongst male friends in low-income contexts is often facilitated through gang rape (Niehaus, 2005; Wood, 2005).

South African researchers have found that many people of colour from low-income communities reported that the need for peer acceptance plays a massive role in the extent to which men in these communities became involved in risky and violent behaviours, such as having multiple sexual partners (e.g. Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Wood & Jewkes, 1997), non-partner rape (e.g. Jewkes et al., 2006), gang rape (e.g. Niehaus, 2005), and also in excessive alcohol and drug use (e.g. Gibbs et al., 2014; Zweben et al., 2004). These behaviours are regarded to be markers of status (Wood & Jewkes, 2001), to demonstrate social and sexual value to one another (Barker & Ricardo, 2005; Niehaus, 2005), and to constitute a means of competing with each other. Gibbs et al. (2014) found that friends and peer networks were seen as holding young, low-income South African men of colour back from making changes in terms of creating a better livelihood for themselves as well as relationships with their partners that were gender-equal and more intimate. It was said that a change of friends was what was needed in order for these men to truly be able to make a change in their lives.

4.6.2 The role of alcohol in male friendships

A number of international (e.g. Joseph, 2012; Thurnell-Read, 2012; Virtanen & Isotalus, 2014) and local studies (e.g. Townsend et al., 2010; Wood et al., 2007) have covered the relationship between male friendships and alcohol amongst men as part of a broader topic. Emslie et al. (2013) and Clayton and Harris (2008) are the only researchers (to my knowledge) that have explicitly focused on how alcohol features within male friendships.

Drinking alcohol is found to serve as just one of the intermediate activities through which men are able to engage in social bonding, some of the other activities include: watching and

playing sports, as well as discussing common interests (Grazian, 2007; Quinn 2002; Thurnell-Read, 2012; Virtanen & Isotalus, 2014). Clayton and Harris (2008) additionally argue that drinking alcohol offers a “localized sphere” (p.320) where men may come together in an environment that is non-threatening and build an intimate relationship with each other via acts of male hegemony. Furthermore, Thurnell-Read (2012) claims that for British men in their twenties and thirties at a stag party, ‘bar-hopping’ and performing drunkenness were found to be particular manifestations of connectedness. Amongst men of colour in a low-income context in South Africa, drinking alcohol in local shebeens and taverns formed an important part of how they socialize (Townsend et al., 2011; Weir, Morroni, Coetzee, Spencer, & Boerma, 2002; Weir et al., 2003).

The shared consumption of alcohol and its associated drunken behaviour amongst men has been found to be key to the creation and maintenance of male friendships in several different population groups (e.g. Clayton & Harris, 2008; Emslie et al., 2013; Joseph, 2012; Thurnell-Read, 2012). In the DrAM study by Emslie et al., (2013), one participant described how going out and getting drunk with their friends plays an important role in deciding whether they want to be friends with someone. In addition, an important act within male friendships is buying rounds of drinks for one's friends within the pub setting. This act is described as “pub etiquette” (p.37) and to be the male version of a friendship bracelet (Emslie et al., 2013). Furthermore, Thurnell-Read (2012) found that young British men would buy their male friends drinks in order to show affection and kindness.

In the study by Clayton and Harris (2008), male friendships amongst British male university football players were found to form under the “protective umbrella” (p.320) of the collective act of drinking alcohol. The authors argue that within male friendships, this act serves as the “glue” (p.320) that binds men together (Clayton & Harris, 2008). Furthermore, the study

by Conroy and de Visser (2012) it was found that British undergraduates' saw non-drinking as threatening to the preservation of their friendship bonds.

The Scottish male participants in midlife that took part in the DrAM study by Emslie et al., (2013) described drinking with friends as enabling men to communicate with each other, give each other social support as well as lift their moods. Men in the focus groups spoke of how they first met their male friends in the pub and continued to socialize within this context. The Scottish male participants indicate that it is their shared drinking history specifically that allowed them to connect (Emslie et al., 2013). They describe having restricted opportunities to socialize without alcohol. The participants in DrAM study, as well as Irish men in midlife, also indicated that if they never went to the pub they would never see any of their friends (Emslie et al., 2012; 2013; Tilki, 2006). Furthermore, Hispanic men in mid and later life claimed that when they decided to abstain from drinking, it affected their social lives to the point where they had to end several of their friendships (Chan & Corvin, 2015). Furthermore, Scottish men in midlife described meeting for a cup of coffee and conversation to be associated with women or gay men; they claim that such a suggestion would therefore be met with laughter and ridicule (Emslie et al., 2012; 2013).

In the drinking space, men in western contexts are found to be able to talk freely about their emotional and mental health (Emslie et al., 2013). As described in the previous section, in the study by Virtanen and Isotalus (2014), it was discovered that talk about troubles was often accompanied by consumption of alcohol for Finnish men. Furthermore, men described how the consumption of alcohol at the right time and place (e.g. at night, in the pub) with their male friends facilitates a particular relaxed state of being which creates an optimal context for them opening up to each other and deep emotional expression (Emslie et al., 2013; Virtanen & Isotalus, 2014; West, 2001). The Scottish male participants in the DrAM study described 'opening up' under the influence of alcohol as the only way that they felt they were permitted to

express genuine emotion amongst friends (Emslie et al., 2013). Furthermore, West (2001) found that young American men reported that when they shared emotional content with their male friends under the influence, this created a sense of homosocial love and brotherhood for them (West, 2001).

Similar to the findings from studies in westernized contexts, Rich et al., (2015) found that men of colour from rural villages in the North-West province in South Africa claimed that consuming alcohol and being in drinking spaces guided the processes of sharing personal problems, and also of giving and receiving social support. These men said that they only felt relaxed enough to share with their friends when they had had something to drink. Furthermore, one participant in the study by Sawyer-Kurian et al., (2009) claimed that it is easier to communicate with others when drinking alcohol as one is able to be more open when intoxicated.

Emslie et al. (2013) theorize that these findings are examples of incidences where drinking with male friends creates a space to enable the enactment of non-hegemonic practices like sharing and open emotional expression. They further argue that the space which drinking with male friends creates briefly relaxes the constraints surrounding 'appropriate' gender performances. Peralta (2008) also claims that the use of alcohol in itself is used by men to excuse 'inappropriate' gender practices.

4.7 Conclusion

In sum, South Africa is one of the countries with the riskiest drinking patterns. In South Africa, problem drinking is linked to low-income Coloured men and Coloured men in farmworking communities have been identified as a subgroup with particularly high rates of problematic drinking. In addition, drinking alcohol in excess has been shown to be a successful display of masculinity for men in both local and global contexts. Drinking habits of men in midlife are under-studied even though the WHO (2011) and a South African survey show that

drinking rates are relatively high amongst this age group.

South African literature on male friendships seems to mostly focus on these relationships in a largely pathological light. The literature often connects male friendships to phenomena such as sexual violence, HIV contraction, and crime, particularly when alcohol comes into play. However, as one local study by Rich et al. (2015) and several international studies indicate, alcohol does more in the realm of male friendships than just facilitate such hyper-masculine displays, it also allows men to engage in subversive practices such as showing care, and generating a sense of intimacy and closeness with their male friends.

Chapter five: Methodology

5.1 Introduction

This chapter provides a detailed description of the feminist social constructionist research method used to generate and analyse the participants' constructions of male friendships and drinking, including sampling protocols, data generation, and analysis.

5.2 Research question

Informed by the feminist social constructionist approach that advocates the critical exploration of socio-politically situated and gendered understandings and meanings that are co-constructed by all involved in the research process (Aranda, 2006; Cosgrove, 2003), my research objective was to investigate how Coloured men in the mid-life phase construct their friendships with other men and how alcohol features within these relationships, within a low-income Cape Winelands context.

5.3 Qualitative Research Design

Although there is no one set of methods that have been prescribed as inherently 'feminist' or 'social constructionist', feminist social constructionist research generally tends to be strongly linked to qualitative methods (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; Letherby, 2002; Ramazanoglu & Holland 2002; Stanley & Wise 1983). Furthermore, other research conducted on the topic of male friendships and drinking made use of qualitative approaches (e.g. Clayton & Harris, 2008; Emslie et al., 2013). Accordingly, I employed a qualitative research design using in-depth semi-structured focus group and individual interviews as data generation tools and thematic analysis as a data analysis tool.

Qualitative research is characterized by an interest in the properties or qualities of a phenomenon rather than its quantity or measurement and involves gathering data in the form of

every-day language (often in the participants own words) rather than numbers (Polkinghorne, 2005; Smith, 2007; Taylor & Bogdan, 1998). Furthermore, qualitative researchers focus on the quality and texture of experience rather than causal relationships and do not make use variables as they believe that using preconceived variables will impose the researchers' understandings of phenomena onto the participants. In addition, qualitative research endeavours to describe and explain phenomena from the viewpoint of a small sample but never to formulate preconceived hypotheses about these phenomena from a large sample (Smith, 2007; Willig, 2001). Qualitative research also aims to offer rich, in-depth descriptive accounts of phenomena under study in their context-specific setting (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Smith, 2008). It is a situated activity concerned with looking at what these subjective accounts tell us about how people perceive, interpret or understand their personal worlds and how they experience certain events (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000; Eatough, 2012; Willig, 2001).

5.4 Participants

The sampling process for this study was both purposive and theoretically driven. It was purposive in the sense that the participants that made up the sample were deliberately chosen because they had particular features or qualities which allowed for an exploration and understanding of the key themes that I wanted to study (Ritchie, Lewis, & Elam, 2003). These features included that the participants should be male, Coloured, in the midlife phase (between the ages of 35 to 65), from the farmworker community of interest, and Afrikaans or English speaking (Ritchie et al., 2003; Tongco, 2007). The interviewer, who was well-acquainted with the majority of the members of the community of study, drove to the homes of the men who he knew would fit these criteria and who he thought would most likely be regular drinkers. All of the men that he visited were willing to participate. It should be noted that I did not include 'regular alcohol consumption' as a fixed inclusion criteria as I thought that if I happened to recruited any

teetotallers, it would be of value to explore how these participants perceived and experienced their teetotalism within the community context and how it may affect their male friendships (if at all). All of the men in the community who he approached were willing to participate in the study.

By using a sample that is homogenous in terms of these demographic characteristics this enabled me to do an in-depth investigation of social processes related to the phenomenon of male friendships and drinking within a specific context (Ritchie et al., 2003). Furthermore, once the initial group of participants was selected via the process of purposive sampling, the sample was then constantly modified and further cases were added in relation to the continuous analysis of data and the on-going theoretical development. After the first three participants were interviewed, key concepts and features (i.e. potential themes) in the data were identified. This gave me a theoretical foundation to work from, early on in the interview process. These potential developing themes were included in the interview schedule drafted for the first focus group interview that followed; this process was then repeated with the next focus group and all the following phases of interviewing. Theoretically driven sampling continued until the themes were fully fleshed out and no new features emerged from the interviews (Charmaz, 2006; Edwards & Holland, 2013).

A summary of the demographic information that forms a backdrop against which the interview data can be viewed is included in Table 1:

Table 1:

Select Demographic Data

Participant	Age	Education (Highest level)	Current Occupation	Monthly income (R)
Dirk	45	Gr 7	Company driver	4000
Dirk	36	Gr 7	Farmworker	2200

Lukas	35	Gr 5	Farmworker	3245
Servaas	39	None	Farmworker	2160
Francois	42	Gr 10	Farmworker	3200
Hannes	38	Gr 12	Farmworker	2940
Jan	37	Gr 6	Farmworker	2280
Frederik	50	Gr 10	Farmworker	2520
Pieter	58	Gr 6	Farmworker	2440
Ryno	44	Certificate with less than Gr 12	Forklift operator	8600
Wian	43	Gr 6	Plumber	5000
Arno	38	Gr 12	Petrol assistant	3400
Christiaan	54	Gr 7	Farmworker	1660

The final sample selected consisted of 13 Afrikaans-speaking Coloured men ranging in ages from 35 to 58 from the research community took part in my study. One participant, Pieter, withdrew his participation during the interview process. He did not provide a reason for his withdrawal. All the participants reported that they resided in brick houses on farms within the specific community of study. The majority of the participants had bathrooms in their houses and access to electricity and running water.

In addition, most of the participants reported that they worked more than 30 hours in a week and the reported average monthly income amongst them was approximately R3 357. Only one of the participants reported completing secondary school education, while one participant had no education at all. All participants said that they currently drink alcohol at that time and the majority of participants reported that they consumed alcohol, mostly beer or wine, on a weekly

basis. The reported number of units of alcohol consumed in one sitting and over the course of a week indicated that most of the participants drinking habits fit the WHO (2014) definition of heavy episodic drinking that was discussed in the literature review chapter.

However, in response to the demographic questionnaire (see Addendum A) that the interviewer read to them, some participants reported drinking quantities of alcohol that sounded quite impossible, such as 50 units of alcohol in one sitting and 150 units in one week. I am not sure how to understand this apparent over-reporting. One possibility is that they simply overestimated their alcohol consumption and another is that they misunderstood the question. In line with the section of my literature review looking at the relationship between masculinity and alcohol, it is also possible that the over-reporting could be interpreted as the assertion of a type of hyper-masculinity by indicating that they consumed such ‘dangerously’ high quantities of alcohol.

5.5 The interviewer

I am a White, English-speaking, middle-class woman in my mid-twenties, and thus elected to make use of the services of an interviewer who was more congruent with the participants than myself in terms of gender, race, cultural background, socioeconomic status, and home language. I thought that incompatibilities on these levels may hinder the interviewing process and negatively affect the quality (in terms of substance and richness) of the data to be generated. Some scholars argue that if the interviewer presents as an insider to the group of participants, the interviewer may be able to generate a better rapport with the participants. This may be due to the participants feeling more reassured conversing to the insider interviewer. They may feel that the interviewer as an insider will understand where they are coming from, be less critical of their words or actions, and, lastly, have their best interests at heart (Rubin & Rubin, 2011; Shope, 2006).

Furthermore, Bassett et al. (2008) and Shope (2006) argue that sharing similar cultural subtleties may enhance the interview process. Having to constantly explain cultural constructs to the interviewer may result in an interview that is too disrupted and unnatural instead of an ideally flowing conversation form. However, I am aware that most feminist literature operates from the assumption that the researcher herself will conduct the interviews in her study (e.g. Aranda, 2006; Begen, 1996; Cosgrove, 2003; England, 1994). This literature emphasises the inherent problematic nature of hierarchical research relationships and the need to invest part of one's personal identity in the research relationship and to share knowledge in the interview space, (Campbell & Wasco, 2000; England, 1994; Oakley, 1988; Seibold, 2000). My supervisor and I decided, though, that my unfamiliarity with the participants' language and the class divide between us would not aid the dismantling of the hierarchical relationship between myself as a White, English-speaking, young, middle-class woman and the Coloured, Afrikaans-speaking, midlife, low-income participants.

I, therefore, employed a young Coloured male in his twenties who works for a Non-Profit Organization within the community of interest. He was interested in learning about social research and was willing to take on the job of interviewer for pay. He grew up in the community of study and was invested in the development of the people in his community. He viewed himself as fortunate to have transcended his working class background by pursuing tertiary education, working in a white-collar context, and being a committed Christian. He was well-acquainted with most of the people in the community and was, therefore, able to recruit men who fitted the inclusion criteria of this study with ease. He had a warm conversational style, came across as non-judgemental and seemed to have good people skills. He, unfortunately, had no research or interviewing experience and he, therefore, had to receive training before he commenced with the interviewing process, as well as throughout the data collection process in order to refine these

skills. He quickly became comfortable in the interviewer role, developed an engaging interviewing style and was eventually able to generate in-depth interview material.

As a feminist social constructionist researcher, it is important for me to think about what role the personal standpoint and position of power and authority of the interviewer may play in the interviewing process (Hesse-Biber, 2007). As Foucault (1978) argues, knowledge is always produced within a field of changing power relations. During the interviewing process, the results of the power dynamic were clearly illustrated when the knowledge constructions of the interviewer— as an educated man of higher income who had occupied a prominent position in a New Apostolic church in the past— seemed at times to become privileged over the participants' knowledge constructions during the interview process. Examples of this privileging were seen in the way that the interviewer in the initial interviews added to or 'corrected' the participants' constructions that he did not agree with, and the participants acquiescing verbally or with their silence. For example, when Jan spoke about God handing a person over to the Devil when that person is not willing to listen to him and change his ways, the interviewer felt compelled to set him right in terms of biblical teachings and said:

Not handed over [referring here to God handing a person over to the devil], okay no sorry, I want to add my meaning again (laughing), we all have a free will man, so God won't give you over, he is always merciful and there is always a chance. So, that's why he makes use of murderers, that's why he says murderers will get into the kingdom first, and prostitutes. I don't know if you have come across that in the bible?

Furthermore, it is also possible that the participants' often highlighting in their responses that they knew the respectable and acceptable way to think and behave in their lives (presented and discussed in the findings and discussion chapters) was an attempt to appease the authoritative gaze of the interviewer. This supports what Foucault (1979) asserts – that when people articulate their thoughts to those in positions of power, these thoughts become subject to monitoring and

control. It is therefore likely difficult for the participants to become acquainted with their inner ‘authentic’, experiences and thoughts in such a space. When I became aware of the interviewer’s effect on some of the participants and the selves that they presented during the interviews, I encouraged the interviewer be more curious about how the participants thought and felt and to create a space where the participants’ constructions could take the foreground (the implications of the power dynamic between the interviewer and the participants are discussed in more detail in the discussion section). It was important that the participants as a marginalized group should not have their voices silenced in this research process which essentially commenced with the aim to give these men a platform from which to articulate their own experiences in their own words.

5.6 Data generation and procedure for interviews

The interviewer began recruiting men in the community who met inclusion criteria as soon as ethical approval was attained from the Human Research Ethics Committee at Stellenbosch University in August 2013. The interviewer conducted the interviews in the homes of the participants as he felt that the participants would feel more comfortable opening up in their own environment. However, some of the homes were too noisy and chaotic and I often could not hear what the participants were saying because of the presence of background noise in the recording. I, therefore, decided that the interviewer should rather try interviewing those that lived in noisy environments in a venue on the campus of Stellenbosch University. Once the interviewer and participant/s were in the interview venue, the interviewer explained the research objective and purpose. Furthermore, after the informed consent form was signed (see Addendum B), the participants were asked to fill out the demographic questionnaire used to obtain the demographic information presented in a previous section. The interviewer read and completed these questionnaires for the two participants who could not read. The interviews then commenced.

The interviewer was provided with an interview schedule (see Addendum C for a working

example of an interview schedule that was used during the interview process) which was set out to ensure that the topic of study was adequately covered during the interviews. These questions, however, were tentative and were not followed rigidly. The interviewer was trained and encouraged to cultivate a conversational tone when conducting the interviews. In order to allow the participants to get comfortable with the interviewing process, and of course to adhere to the exploratory nature of this study, they were first asked a very broad open-ended question. In the first four individual interviews, they were asked to describe a typical day in their lives – i.e. what they do from when they get up in the morning till the time they go to sleep. After this introductory question, the interviewer went on to specific questions from the interview schedule. Keeping to the exploratory nature of the interviews and the study in general, the interview schedule comprised of general introductory questions which were succeeded by probing follow-up questions (Ritchie et al., 2003).

These questions honed in on participants own definitions of terms, situations, and events. For example, they asked questions like *'What is a male friend to you and how would you describe him?'* and *'Do you think there are different types of male friends, if yes— could you please describe them?'* In order to make it easier for participants to answer questions related to the nature of male friendships and the role of alcohol in these friendships, participants were invited to give particular examples of experiences related to this topic. The topics covered were: the nature of their male friendships, what they do and talk about when they hang out together and, the potential role that alcohol plays in their get-togethers and their friendships at large. It seemed that some of the participants found it difficult to answer the questions from the interview schedule even with the broad introductory question about their daily lives. This was evident from participants' silences after questions and asking the interviewer to repeat the questions several times.

The first four initial individual interviews were lacking in detail and depth perhaps due to the interviewer's inexperience combined with the participants' unfamiliarity with and apparent discomfort during the interviewing process. My supervisor and I, therefore, decided to try out a focus group format which is more similar to their usual friendship/ social interactions and could help the participants feel more comfortable and relaxed (Jowett & O' Toole, 2006; Liamputtong, 2011). Research also suggests that focus-group discussions may be ideal for people, such as some of the male participants, who struggle to articulate their thoughts comfortably or confidently (Liamputtong, 2011). This format may yield more data with greater ease as it allows the participants to build on each other's ideas or constructions via "piggybacking" (Leung & Savithiri, 2009, p. 218).

Furthermore, feminist scholars claim that focus group interviews may provide an empowering space for the participants where they are able to question, challenge and learn from one another. They also argue that this interview-format centred on group interaction can diffuse the power inherent in the interviewer-participant relationship (Montell, 1999; Pini, 2002; Wilkinson, 1998; 1999). Perhaps for these very reasons, the focus group format did generate somewhat richer, detailed data and the majority of the male participants seemed to feel more comfortable opening up and sharing their experiences within this format.

Each individual or focus group interview was between 60 to 90 minutes in duration. A total of 12 individual interviews and 8 focus group interviews were conducted and the recorded time added up to 1144.5 minutes. A set of four individual interviews were conducted with three participants (the first participant had to be interviewed twice because his first interview was only 28 minutes long (this was likely due to the interviewer's inexperience and the difficulty he had with keeping the interview going). Thereafter a focus group interview with four new participants was conducted, as well as a follow-up interview with the same group to pursue ideas that were

missing from the first interview. Furthermore, a new group of six participants was interviewed.

Eight of the ten participants (the other two were, unfortunately, unavailable for interviewing) were then invited to participate in further individual interviews in order to follow up on key areas that were identified in the focus group interviews. Thereafter, in order to further hone these ideas in the most cost-effective manner, three focus group interviews were conducted with the first original group of four participants and then two focus group interviews were conducted with the second original group of six participants. After the completion of every individual interview, each participant was given R100 food vouchers for their participation in every individual interview and R50 food vouchers for their participation in every focus group interview, as a token of appreciation for their willingness to participate. All interviews were audio-recorded and transcribed verbatim by postgraduate Psychology students. Interview and demographic data were collected from August 2013 until April 2015 when it was decided that saturation had been achieved.

5.7 Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis

Thematic analysis (TA) is a method, often described as a useful tool for critical health psychology (Braun & Clarke, 2013), that is used systematically to identify, analyse, and report patterns of meaning within a qualitative data set (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2012; Opperman, Braun, Clarke, & Rogers, 2014). Braun and Clarke (2006) claim that their specific brand of TA addresses common criticisms of this mode of analysis. They assert that their method clearly delineates TA in order to make sure that researchers who utilize TA can make good decisions about the specific type of analysis they wish to use and can carry out TA in a theoretically and methodologically rigorous manner. Braun and Clarke (2013) argue that TA is best suited for a novice critical researcher such as myself as it is a far more accessible method than other methods that critical researchers use – e.g. discourse analysis. It provides a clearly defined outline of

procedures and does not rely on vague analytic processes. Furthermore, although it recognizes the constitutive nature of language, it does not rely on the complicated microanalysis of language that discourse analysis requires.

I used TA governed by the critical framework – feminist social constructionism. This means that I focused on identifying and analysing patterns of socially constructed meanings and human experience through a gendered lens. This form of TA does not consider such meanings and experiences that are generated from the interviews as authentic or true. It sees the patterns of meanings and experiences identified and analysed as partial and situated understandings actively constructed and co-constructed between participants and the researcher (Aranda, 2006; Cosgrove, 2003; Denzin & Lincoln 2000; Holstein & Gubrium 2003; Letherby, 2002). Furthermore, feminist social constructionist TA is interested in looking at the particular conditions under which participants construct themselves as gendered beings (Burman, 1998) and whose interests are served by these constructions (Wilkinson & Kitzinger, 1995).

Furthermore, I utilized an inductive form of TA; meaning that the the themes identified are strongly connected to the raw data.and that data is coded in a manner which avoids fitting it into a pre-existing coding frame or the researchers' analytic biases. This form of TA can, therefore, be seen as data-driven (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Joffe, 2012) and as enabling the male participants' voices to be foregrounded, as is consistent with a feminist agenda (Chrisler & Mchugh, 2011).Braun and Clarke's TA comprises of six different phases (Braun & Clarke, 2006; 2013). These are not rules but rather guidelines that should be applied flexibly so that they fit with the research question, framework, and data. Furthermore, analysis takes a recursive form, in other words, it is required that the researcher moves back and forth through the phases as is necessary (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2014; Opperman et al., 2014).

Phase one: Familiarizing yourself with the data

The first phase of thematic includes the transcription of interviews. Braun and Clarke (2006) claim that the process of transcription helps the researcher familiarize him or herself with the data. However, I thought that my limited understanding of the participants colloquial Afrikaans would hinder me from accurately transcribing all that the participants said. I, therefore, asked two Afrikaans-speaking postgraduate Psychology students to transcribe all of my interviews. I listened to the audio-recordings while reading these transcriptions and was satisfied that the transcribers accurately and comprehensively captured the interview material. This process also allowed me to immerse myself in the data by repeatedly listening to the audio recordings, reading, rereading, and correcting transcripts where necessary. I was also able to make notes on fragments of data that caught my interest and highlighting subject matters that could be further explored (Braun & Clarke, 2013; Clarke & Braun, 2014; Opperman, et al., 2014).

In this phase, I also followed Braun and Clarke's (2006) guideline to actively, analytically and critically reread the data by searching for meanings and patterns within the data, and by starting to ask critical questions consistent with a feminist social constructionist framework like: How do the participants construct their experiences of male friendships and drinking? What kinds of masculinities manifest in their accounts? Are they hegemonic? What contextual factors influence these constructions? What are the power relations in which the male participants' constructions are embedded, how do they influence these constructions (Braun & Clarke, 2013)?

Phase two: Generating initial codes

As explained earlier, to fit with a feminist social constructionist framework, I made use of an inductive coding approach grounded in the content of the data. Through this bottom-up process, data is coded without attempting to slot into a pre-established coding frame or the researchers preconceptions. Furthermore, I made use of a latent level of analysis, where I went

beyond the semantic content of the data to identify or analyse implicit ideas, assumptions, conceptualizations, and ideologies informed by social context and power relations that were thought to mould or inform the semantic content of the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Joffe, 2012).

Codes refer to basic fragments or elements of raw data or information that can be evaluated in a meaningful manner with regards to a particular phenomenon (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2014). A code can comprise of any word, phrase or sentence which sums up the essence of the reason why the researcher may think a particular portion of data is important (Braun & Clarke, 2013). The goal of complete coding was to identify everything that could be important, relevant and interesting in relation to the research question (Braun & Clarke, 2013): How do male farmworkers make sense of male friendships and drinking in their lives?

Coding can be carried out manually or with a computerized software program (Braun & Clarke, 2006). I carried out coding manually by writing notes on the side of the transcribed text as I believed that this allowed me to get closer and more familiar with the transcribed text. Braun and Clarke (2006) consider coding of important phrases and meanings an important process which provides the basis or building blocks for the remaining part of the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) assert that it is important to work systematically through the entire data set while giving one's complete attention to each data item in order to find interesting and meaningful components in the data items that may form the foundation of repeated patterns or themes across the entire data set. Braun and Clarke (2006) claim that there will always be contradictory information in data sets and that it is important to keep accounts that veer off from the dominant narrative in the analysis and to not ignore them in one's coding. After I had finished my first round of coding, my supervisor closely reviewed and assessed my coding. Subsequent to her feedback, I reread and recoded the data and a few codes were added or changed in order to make sure that the whole data set was coded consistently (Opperman et al.,

2014).

An example of initial coding with the codes in brackets and highlighted in bold:

Interviewer: Do you think you are responsible and respectful men? How do you ensure that you are respected and that you are responsible?

Servaas: Respect it means...we must be respectful of the wine and the wine should be respectful of us and the wine can't drink us. He must drink himself.

(Code 1: Implying a resistance to the influences of wine)

(Code 2: Implying that wine is the cause for their disreputable behaviour)

Interviewer: Does that make you a man?

Servaas: Ja, and he must say to himself 'I have had enough of you' ...you must take your money back to the bank'.

(Code 3: A man must be able to have self-control and know when to stop drinking- dominant masculine discourse)

Interviewer: Okay, I hear what you say. Wine must not drink you. You must take your money back to the bank.

Dirk: If you have respect for anyone else then you must just remember one thing, it's manly, (Code 4: Having respect for people is equated with being manly) because the reason why I say this, you must show respect towards anyone else— woman, man, child, and everyone. (Code 5: Everyone deserves respect) Don't let wine cause you to lose your respect. It will lead to a problem and that's the easiest way that the picture will collapse, that picture will tear.

(Code 6: Losing respect due to wine causes problems in your life) *Because you don't have respect for...if you don't have respect for yourself, you won't have respect for me. (Code 7: Respecting oneself is linked to respecting others)*

Phase three: Searching for themes

This phase reframes the analysis from codes to the broader level of candidate themes. As soon as all data have been coded and assembled into lists, the process of searching for, identifying and choosing potential themes from the codes began by considering how these codes may be grouped together into potential overarching themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006). More

complex codes were also raised to themes (Clarke & Braun, 2014). When it came to deciding what constituted a theme in my analysis, I took into consideration its potential theoretical relevance and its interpretative quality and less importantly – how much space it took up in the data. I wanted to ensure that the themes were on a sufficiently critical or abstract level that is compatible with my feminist social constructionist approach to this study (Braun & Clarke, 2006, 2013, 2014; Joffe, 2012).

I then began to deliberate upon the potential relationship between codes and themes and between different levels of themes (for example, main overarching themes and sub-themes) (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2014). Some codes became overarching themes, some became subthemes and others were discarded. This phase ended with a group of candidate themes and sub-themes as well as all the data that was coded in connection with them. I then began to get an idea of the significance of each theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The themes were identified and analysed with the aim of constituting an accurate depiction of the content of the data set in its entirety. As this was an exploratory study, the entire data set yielded from the interviews was coded and analysed in order to generate a rich thematic description of different facets of the phenomena of study.

Furthermore, searching for themes involved interpretation as is consistent with latent TA (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In accordance with a feminist social constructionist framework, Clarke and Braun (2014) emphasize that themes do not simply emerge from the data; they recognize that the researcher plays an active role in searching for, identifying within the data and interpretatively choosing which themes are of interest. This process involved a close and extensive interaction between myself and the interview transcripts; involving total immersion in the data (Braun & Clarke, 2006). This is, therefore, part of my contribution to the construction of the phenomena of male friendships and drinking as it appears in this thesis.

Phase 4: reviewing themes

Phase four involves the refinement of candidate themes (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Braun et al., 2013). After considering a long list of candidate themes and as descriptive and interpretative ideas developed, an important collection of themes was organized into a shorter list of common themes, I thought about how the themes were related and which themes needed to be collapsed or broken into separate smaller sub-themes. I also ensured the data fitted together in a meaningful way within themes and sub-themes and that there were clear distinctions between themes.

After I was sure that the grouped extracts for each theme formed a coherent pattern and I had an adequate candidate thematic map, I then began the refinement process in relation to the entire data set. At this stage, I considered whether the individual themes were truly congruent with the content of dataset and whether the candidate thematic map produced as complete as possible a picture of participants' meaning-makings, in relation to the research question and accompanying theoretical framework (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2014; Opperman et al., 2014). At the end of this phase, I had a good idea of what the nature of my themes was, how they were linked, as well as the overall account these themes gave about the data.

Phase five: Defining and naming themes

According to Braun and Clarke (2006), phase five begins when the researcher has a sufficient thematic map of the data. At this stage I defined and refined the themes; I identified the central point of each theme and what aspect of the data each theme communicated and why it was of interest (Clarke & Braun, 2014). I also thought about how each theme slotted into the broader overall account that I was communicating in relation to the research question in order to make sure that there was not too much overlap between themes. Each theme was also considered in connection to others. As a part of the refining process, I identified whether any of the theme comprised of sub-themes. The sub-themes are useful for lending structure to a particularly

complicated theme and also for outlining a hierarchy of meaning within the data. During this process, it is important to begin to think about how to name one's themes and sub-themes in the final analysis in order to instantly give the reader a feeling of the subject matter of the theme (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Clarke and Braun (2014) claim that the theme names should narrate a story of each theme; capture its central concept and scope, and how it relates to others themes and the research question.

Phase six: Producing the report

This final phase involves the final analysis and write-up of the report, based on a full set of well-formulated themes developed in the previous phase (Braun & Clarke, 2006). In accordance with latent TA, the analytic process should involve moving from description (where the data has been organized and summarized to reveal patterns in semantic content) to interpretation (where the research endeavours to theorize the consequences of the patterns as well as their meanings and implications, against the backdrop of relevant literature in the field (Braun & Clarke, 2006). The researcher should ask the following questions: “What does this mean? What are the assumptions underpinning it? What are the implications of this? What conditions give rise to it? Why do people talk about this thing in this particular way (as opposed to other ways)” as well as “What is the overall story the different themes reveal about the topic?” (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.94).

Before the write-up, each stage of the analysis was looked over and discussed with my supervisor who provided suggestions for possible directions for the following analyses and write-up. The final model was created in collaboration with my supervisor in order to make sure that the final analysis reflected the most significant themes and that the analysis in the write up was well-reasoned. The goal was to provide a rich description of the data with reference to the participants situated knowledge constructions and to convince the reader of the credibility and

value of the analysis in a concise and coherent manner. I aimed to provide a comprehensive account of the story the data told within and across themes. I also strived to produce a document that offered distinct, compelling and detailed evidence of the themes within the data through the use of striking examples or extracts of the participants' narratives (Braun & Clarke, 2006; Clarke & Braun, 2014).

5.8 Evaluating feminist social constructionist research

Many early strategies for ensuring trustworthiness of research such as member checking, audit trail and triangulation are deemed unsuitable for research studies informed by a critical paradigm like feminist social constructionism. Scholars have come to this conclusion based on the notion that they are formulaic and restrictive strategies grounded in the positivist idea that there is an external foundational reality, uncontaminated by the researcher's subjectivity, against which research findings can be evaluated for their truth value (Angen, 2000; Koro-Ljungberg, 2010; Lather, 1994).

I made use of some of Patton's (2002) social constructionist criteria of quality and credibility which are better suited to the research aim and the feminist social constructionist and postmodern paradigm underpinning this research study. Patton's (2002) criteria include *dependability* which means that all components of the research process such as sampling, data collection, and analysis were adhered to in a methodical fashion. The dependability of this process was ensured by checking in with my supervisor so that she could review my coding and theme construction regularly throughout the analysis process. When I utilized TA I also made sure that I worked closely with Braun and Clarke's (2006) original document which outlines all the phases of the process. Patton's (2002) criteria also include *triangulation* which was implemented by ensuring that both myself and my supervisor's concurring and differing perspectives were encapsulated and utilized. My supervisor read through the interview transcripts

and my coding, and we met several times to discuss codes and my suggestions for candidate themes. She proposed alternative ideas and delivered critique where necessary.

In accordance with the criterion *researcher reflexivity*, I had the opportunity to make sense of how my own experiences and understandings impact on the research process (this criterion will be discussed in more detail in the following section). Patton (2002) additionally highlights political *praxis* as an important criterion where research is carried out with the aim of revising stereotypes or peoples' firmly engrained beliefs that shape their thoughts about social and political problems and to carry out actions that enact these changes in theories or perceptions for the purposes of social justice and change (Finley, 2008). I applied this criterion by offering recommendations for further research and future interventions in the community of study based on revisions on dominant theories and perceptions that would hopefully be integrated into public health policy and interventions that address problematic alcohol use.

By adhering to the criterion of *verstehen*, heightened and in-depth understandings are facilitated. Verstehen was increased by asking the participants as many questions about their contextual background as possible, by gathering detailed socio-demographic information and by consulting with the interviewer about the nuanced meanings behind different colloquial expressions found in the interview transcripts. Lastly, *particularity* entailed that I honoured the different cases by including accounts that diverted from the main narrative in the write-up where space allowed.

Furthermore, I used Lather (1994)'s idea of *transgressive validity* where trustworthiness is equated with the ability of the research to stimulate discourse and add to a more critical field of social science. Lather (1994) advocates for a form of validity that is more open-ended and sensitive to context. I adhered to the criterion of transgressive validity by not merely reporting grand narratives that are already prevalent in the literature concerning the topic of male friendships and drinking. I aimed to highlight knowledge that challenges these narratives and to

co-construct knowledge with the participants in a way that is context-sensitive.

5.9 Researcher reflexivity

Feminist social constructionist proponents argue that researchers are people with their own values, beliefs, and prejudices and that their research reflects this. They claim that what researchers see, hear, read and interpret is conditioned by these factors and the associated specific subject positions made available to them (Jaggar, 2012; Letherby, 2002). Feminist social constructionist research asserts that exploring this reality or in other words engaging in reflexivity should involve a process of “self-critical sympathetic introspection” (p.244) and the “self-conscious analytical scrutiny” (p.244) in order to make the research relationship explicitly clear (England, 1994). Embracing the position of the reflexive researcher in this way refutes the neo-positivist idea of the researcher as a disembodied and dislocated observer or as an impersonal machine (England, 1994; Jaggar, 2012).

England (1994) asserts that researchers are differently positioned subjects with various different biographies, personal histories and lived experiences. Letherby (2002) argues that the addition of this information is important as it allows the participants and readers of the researcher’s work to compare the researcher’s positioning, motivations, experiences, and views with those of the participants or other researchers. This may enable readers to make their own judgements about researcher’s approach to his or her research and also about his or her findings (Letherby, 2002).

Feminist social constructionist research also advocates that the researcher recognizes the powerful and privileged position inherent in being a researcher that often results in the researched becoming colonized and oppressed (England, 1994; Gill, 1995; Letherby, 2002; Sanjek, 1993). Furthermore, Jaggar (2012) argues that researchers often come from privileged social classes and “study down” (p.346) to less privileged classes. They make interpretations of the lives of those

who are less privileged than them. England (1994) claims that by aiming to be more inclusive and theorize difference and diversity by studying less privileged and marginalized groups, researchers may be appropriating the voices of the participants and thereby perpetuate hierarchies of power. It is the researcher who selects the quotes to represent the participants which emerged in response to questions that disrupted the participants' lives. Being more cognisant of the inevitable reality of some form of hierarchical research relationship and using strategies to negotiate this relationship dynamic should be employed, but it should also be recognized that reflexivity cannot get rid of this tension (England, 1994; Merriam et al., 2001). In sum, through the social practice of reflexivity, social constructionist feminists aim to generate politically and morally responsible and accountable feminist epistemologies and research practices (Gill 1995; Letherby, 2002; Mauthner & Doucet 2003; Stanley & Wise 1983; Wise & Stanley 2003).

Due to my privileged position as a researcher, I acknowledge that my work is not a representation of the participants' realities but rather my own construction (Aranda, 2006). Below, I highlight some pertinent aspects of my personhood and personal circumstances that may have influenced the research process.

I am a White and middle-class researcher studying the constructions and experiences of Coloured lower class participants. The participants' constructions of male friendship and drinking were therefore filtered through my White middle-class understanding of the phenomena. With this in mind, I made an effort to try to avoid imposing my preconceived westernized views of male friendships and drinking onto the participants' constructions as much as possible. Furthermore, due to my familiarity with Fanon (1970)'s notion of black men being rendered objects under the white gaze, I became quite uncomfortable with the idea of myself as a White and very far removed researcher studying the experience of Coloured participants. I believe that despite this disadvantage, there was some advantage in being an outsider to the group of study

during the interviewing process as I could direct the interviewer to ask the participants to explicitly explain cultural constructions during the interviews in order to gain richer contextual data. A researcher who is an insider and too close to the culture of study may take these constructions for granted and may not have interrogated them (Merriam et al., 2001).

Another aspect that I would like to acknowledge is that I am a young woman who has had largely negative experiences with men in my life. These experiences prompted my interest in masculinity studies but also resulted in preconceived notions about men and their motives. I tried to moderate this influence by firstly trying to make a conscious effort to avoid imposing my negative preconceived notions of men onto the participants' accounts when conducting my analysis. Furthermore, my supervisor helped me to identify instances where I unwittingly imposed my preconceived notions on the data.

Despite my initial interest in marginalized masculinities, I found myself feeling more and more reluctant to be studying men at all during the course of the study. I questioned why I should be telling men's stories rather than women's stories and asked myself if I am in fact unwillingly perpetuating male privilege. I managed to reconcile this tension by reminding myself that although the participants were men they were an oppressed and marginalized group of men who, like women, have been disadvantaged by a patriarchal system. This, therefore, allowed me to have more empathy for the male participants and to feel inspired to provide a platform for their experiences and constructions.

5.10 Ethical Considerations

The principles of ethical social research outlined by Babbie and Mouton (2001) were adhered to within this study. In order to uphold the principle of autonomy, all participants were required to be volunteers. Participants received a basic explanation of the research's objective, procedure, and possible consequences. We addressed the possibility that potential participants

may have been offended by the use of the term ‘Coloured’ by explaining our motivation for the use of this term (as highlighted in the first footnote in the introductory chapter). When potential participants agreed to take part in interviews after being fully informed, their consent was obtained (See Addendum B).

Participants were allowed to withdraw from the study or stop any interview at any time without fear of experiencing any negative consequences. Participants were also allowed to refuse to answer questions during the interviews and still remain part of the study. The principle of confidentiality was also upheld during the research process by ensuring that only myself as the researcher, my supervisor, the transcriber, and interviewer were allowed to view transcripts and recordings of the interviews. The recordings were deleted once the interview recordings were transcribed. Electronic transcripts were protected by a login password and physical copies were locked away in a safe location. Furthermore, care was taken to ensure that participants’ interview data could not be linked to their identity. This was ensured by asking participants to select pseudonyms for themselves that were not in any way related to their own identity. Only the researcher and the interviewer, therefore, knew the identity of the participant and all these parties are duty-bound to protect the confidentiality of the participant’s information.

It should, however, be noted that in the interviews, participants described engaging in illegal substance use or possession, as well as drug and alcohol related offenses (Drugs and Drug Trafficking Act, no 140 of 1992). They also indicated that they had purchased liquor from an individual or establishment while knowing that that establishment is not permitted to sell liquor according to the Western Cape Liquor Act (no 4 of 2008). It is not, however, my duty to disclose any information concerning any of these crimes unless they had admitted to being involved in drug or alcohol related offenses of a physically or sexually abusive nature that are aimed at children and other vulnerable individuals. The participants did not mention any such offenses.

Due to the high incidence of problem drinking in the demographic group of interest and evidence that has been uncovered (in on-going research endeavours) on the effect that this drinking has on relationships, I had to consider that interviews surrounding my topic of interest may touch on some sensitive issues for many of the participants and participants may, therefore, experience some psychological discomfort. I also had to consider that the participants may also require assistance with regards to overcoming substance abuse or dependency. All participants were therefore provided with the contact number for the Unit for Psychology, Stellenbosch for free counselling for any psychological distress or problem that may be encountered. They were also provided with the contact details for the non-profit NGO: DOPSTOP. One of the main areas of focus for this initiative is facilitating the provision of clinical and counselling services for individuals in farm-working communities who are addicted to alcohol. DOPSTOP also provides referrals for detoxification and in and outpatient treatment if necessary (London, 1999b). These contact numbers were provided as a precaution. Although some of the participants uncovered that they had experienced considerable emotional distress during the interviews, to my knowledge, none of the participants made use of these contact numbers after being interviewed. This is perhaps indicative that these men did not consider the possibility of seeking help for these feelings of distress.

It should be noted that despite the possibility of this study causing adverse outcomes to participants this may be balanced by possible direct and indirect benefits to participants. Feminist researchers advocate that there should always be benefits for one's research participants', or else the researcher may be guilty of exploiting his or her participants (Fontana, 2003). A direct benefit of this study is that participants received food vouchers for their participation. Another possible direct benefit of this study is that participants had the opportunity to better understand the pertinent phenomenon of male friendships and drinking within their community. Participants

were additionally allowed the direct benefit of having the opportunity to talk and reflect on issues which they reported seldom receiving. In the following quotes from a focus group interview, the positive effect of being able to talk and reflect in the interview space is clear:

Interviewer: For the conversation that we are carrying out here, hey? How does it influence you? What do you think of this and what are you going to do with it?

Servaas: This that you prescribe for us, can help us get our acts together. The questions that come out of the interview will bring me to the 'right' side. Leave everything that you must not use, you will see which side you go over to.

Lukas: You must get your life together, no actually, change your life.

Francois: The whole story here is actually a 'help' story...as I can see it, namely, the alcohol business.

Furthermore, an indirect benefit to participants is that the research will add to contextual knowledge about problem drinking in Cape Winelands communities. This knowledge will hopefully be incorporated into future interventions that aim to target problem drinking in this particular community of study or similar communities.

Chapter six: Findings

6.1 Introduction

This chapter presents each of the three themes that were generated from a feminist social constructionist-informed thematic analysis. The first theme relates to the structuring and lubricating function of alcohol for social life, the second theme concerns the therapeutic effect of male friendships and drinking, and the third theme pertains to the tension or conflict between alcohol-infused male friendships and respectability. Each of the themes will be represented below and will be discussed in relation to relevant international and local literature. Please note— in portions of the excerpts where it is not explicitly clear, the participants' talk of alcohol use in general can be assumed to denote problem drinking practices; this is due to the finding that the participants reported levels of alcohol consumption on the demographic questionnaire fitted with the WHO's (2014) definition of heavy episodic drinking.

In the quotes that I present here to support my analysis, I use the pseudonyms of the participants in order to protect the confidentiality of the participants. In addition, I provide English translations of excerpts from the interviews to substantiate my analysis of the data. The original Afrikaans excerpts were translated to English with minimal editing to preserve as much colloquial meaning as possible, rather than to provide grammatically correct translations. (See Addendum D for both the original Afrikaans excerpts and the English translation of these excerpts).

6.2 Theme 1: Structuring and lubricating social life with alcohol

6.2.1 Using alcohol as a social lubricant

Many of the participants indicated that they find it easier to socialize when they use alcohol. Implicit in some of their accounts, is the notion that a heightened state of sociability characterized by jovial and confident social interactions is highly valued in the community of

study, or at least amongst the men of the community in particular. The participants' accounts suggest that this heightened state is mostly only attainable through the use of alcohol.

Pieter: I am not a guy who talks a lot, if I have had drink then I am talkative.

Dirk: So it's very nice to chat, but to be honest, I don't chat to people a lot. I chat nicely over a nice drink but you won't just find me standing there talking to a bunch of people.

Hannes: You feel that maybe you might say something wrong, see? You almost have, I don't have anything to say to you, there isn't any conversation that I can have. But if I've had a drink, then the words just come by themselves, you can say whatever is on your tongue.

Hannes:..then I'm actually the person I'm supposed to be. Like, how can I say, then I'm Johnny boy so to speak. But if I'm not drinking, then I'm Johnathan, I'm a bit shy, if I'm with people, then I will just listen to what they say most of the time...its always about what kind of person you are, how you talk to people, sometimes there are people who ask why you talk so softly?

Francois: Let me tell you, if I don't have alcohol, I am a speechless person.

Dirk: I talk nicely over a nice drink like I said, I can make jokes.

Francois: Alcohol allows you to make jokes, everything.

Furthermore, Lukas and Dirk described how those who are quieter in conversation are exposed and/or pressured by other men to be more sociable. As can be seen below, Lukas described Francois requesting a beer in response to the inquiry about his silence. This request for a beer could be viewed as Francois's symbolic signalling of his continued sociability and engagement and thus functions to deflect the perception of unsociability.

Lukas: There is one thing that I actually want to say, you can become quiet when you have company. They will ask you “why are you so quiet now Francois? Why are you so quiet?” All that he will say is “I’m thinking a bit quickly” then the man will say “pour me a beer”, then you pour him a beer...

Dirk: I also really want to try drink a bit less, but there is always someone who says “Ag, have another drink Dirkie man; I want to hear you sing and I want to hear you cry.”

Scottish men and women in midlife in the DrAM study, similarly described experiencing a “friendly pressure” (p.490) to drink from their friends which they explained as having to do with everyone being “in the same boat” (p.490) — i.e. being intoxicated, relaxed, and sociable together (Emslie et al., 2012). Furthermore, Frederik suggested that his inherent unsociability in a sober state and reliance on alcohol to facilitate conversation may prevent him from ever giving up alcohol: *“To stop drinking isn’t a problem, but to stop at this age, I don’t really have friends...especially if you are a person who doesn’t like to talk.”*

Similar to these participants, Scottish men and women in midlife, described alcohol as a social lubricant. They further said that they found it challenging to initiate conversation and felt like outsiders when they were socializing without alcohol (Emslie et al., 2012; 2013). Some claimed that alcohol enabled them to lose their inhibitions and to display exaggerated reactions in social interaction (Lyons et al., 2014). In addition, Irish men in midlife recollected drinking alcohol to cope with social anxiety and shyness in their youth and needing alcohol to have the courage to talk and to joke around at that time (Cunningham, 2012). Furthermore, young adults and adolescents from several different studies (e.g. Chainey & Stephens, 2014; Frederiksen, 2012; MacArthur, Jacob, Pound, Hickman, & Campbell, 2017; Valentine et al., 2010) reported that alcohol helped them feel confident and skilful in social situations.

Overall, it appears that in research conducted in the Western world, it is predominantly the young adult and adolescent populations who reported needing alcohol to put them at ease in social situations. While the lack of confidence in these populations may be related to the uncertainty and confusion surrounding one's identity during these life phases (Vander Ven, 2011), the lack of social confidence of the male participants in this study may be related to the lack of opportunities for these men to derive social confidence from other roles. It may also be linked to struggling to fulfil the dominant masculinity ideals of the financial provider of the household (expanded on in Theme 2).

In addition, it is possible that the implicit presentation of a heightened sociability as valuable and desirable may be due to their and perhaps other community members' internalisation of the stereotype associated with Coloured people: that of being constantly merry, musical, and happy (Martin, 1998; Van Den Berghe, 1962). This stereotype may be considered to be perpetually reinforced particularly for Coloured working-class men who gather to dress up in colourful costumes and paint their faces black and white and bring in the New Year with song, music, and dance in an assemblage during the Coon Carnival (Martin, 1998; 1999). This stereotype may go as far back as colonial times, where Coloured slaves entertained not only the rich whites that hired them but also themselves with their musical talents (Martin, 1999). Perhaps for this reason, for Coloured people in other communities, it also seems that talking in a lively and entertaining manner is an important part of socializing. For instance, Ross (2010) claims that Coloured people in the Cape Flats enjoy telling stories to each other in magical and whimsical manner. In addition, she reports that their forms of talking which involve hard talk, skel (scolding), gossip, and fantasies do not merely function to share information but also keeps relationships together. Liveliness in talk helps provide acceptance and facilitates social interactions. Furthermore, it seems that for people living in an informal settlement on the

outskirts of Cape Town, engaging in such a sociability; i.e. being friendly, charming, dancing, and singing merits one with a degree of respectability (Ross, 2010).

6.2.2 Drinking and socializing go hand in hand

Given that the overwhelming majority of my participants described being reliant on alcohol in order to be able to socialize effectively, it makes sense that alcohol goes hand in hand with every social occasion with male friends that the participants attend. The participants' related that these occasions revolve around drinking and easy talking, and that they experienced this kind of social event as convivial and pleasurable:

Ryno: When we get together, and if we perhaps have a braai on or watch sports, then, then you chat with that guy and then you chat throughout the duration of the drinking.

Jan: ...then you just start drinking as well and then it just so happens that they talk quite nicely with him.

Pieter: ...but the friends that I have at the moment, like they now, it's like have a drink here and have a drink there and chat together.

Arno: ...then I can have a beer and Ill know that we are chatting nicely now.

Francois: If you are drunk, yes you can, check here— you talk about nice things.

Wian: We don't worry, we just chat and I mean, we just keep ourselves happy and we just carry on. We just fucking carry on and we drink and then I see again that the people jump up and then they go and dance again.

Focus group interview:

Dirk: ...we go to parties to drink...we go to chat about things...

Interviewer: And when you are together, then what do you drink?

Lukas: Then we drink, then we just chat.

Like the present study, several international studies conducted on midlife populations show that drinking and socializing with others at social events go hand in hand (e.g. Emslie et al., 2013; Murphy et al., 2015). Furthermore, young adults from New Zealand in particular, communicated that drinking alcohol enhances the pleasure of friends socializing together and also said that it is imperative that everyone shares the high from alcohol in order to have optimum social fun together (Niland, Lyons, Goodwin, & Hutton, 2013). In addition, the phenomenon of socializing over a drink has been around for centuries with Westernized contexts, particularly for men (Room & Mäkelä, 2000). It may be hypothesized that European settlers have modelled this behaviour with their introduction of alcohol to the Cape (Elbourne & Ross, 1997).

Furthermore, as previously highlighted in the literature review, in the studies by Cunningham (2012) and Emslie et al. (2013), the Irish and Scottish participants in midlife claimed that men have limited appropriately ‘masculine’ opportunities to socialize without alcohol. Emslie et al.’s (2012; 2013) participants said that when people suggested other means of male socializing such as going out for dinner or coffee together, these suggestions were laughed at and ridiculed by linking them with women or gay men and also constructed as too alien a concept amongst male friends. Relatedly, the Black South African male participants in both the young adult and midlife age range interviewed in the study by Morojele et al. (2006) claimed that they had no easily accessible recreational facilities where they could meet with friends but had plenty of drinking spots where they could socialize. Similarly, the community of study is also reported to have limited access to recreational facilities (VisionAfrica, 2016).

Furthermore, when the participants were asked whether they ever drink by themselves, similar to young adults from New Zealand (Niland et al., 2013) and England (MacArthur et al., 2017), many were adamant that this was something one would never do; they claimed that one

always needed to have someone to talk to when drinking:

Frederik: You can't drink a beer alone. Never drink a beer alone.

Hannes: I don't like drinking alone.

Pieter: Won't help if you drink, you can't drink alone. You must have a friend to drink with; you must have a friend to chat to.

None of the studies on populations in midlife indicated similar findings, in fact, many of the participants in the DrAM study indicated that they were starting to choose to have a quiet drink at home after a long day's work (e.g. Emslie et al., 2012; Lyons et al., 2014). The emphasis that these men in midlife placed on never drinking alone may be related to the lack of self-confidence described earlier and that they, like young adults from New Zealand claimed, want to avoid being seen as a person who is a 'problem' and who has no friends (Niland et al., 2013).

6.2.2 Buying and sharing alcohol starts and demonstrates male friendships

According to the participants, the buying and sharing of alcohol facilitated the start-up of their current friendships. This construction featured prominently in their accounts. For example, participants described how buying alcohol for another man or bringing alcohol over to his house may prompt the beginning of a friendship.

Servaas: ...then he chose me as a tjommie⁴.

Interviewer: Now how do you know that he chose you as a tjommie? What did you do?

Servaas: Now Saturday evening, he went and bought a kan⁵ man. Right, I walked with him. He bought a kan and paid sixty. He poured out the kan and so we drank. I came from here and he came to my place. The man said 'no, and up here again. The man bought a kan again man.'

⁴ Afrikaans slang for friend or buddy.

⁵ Refers to a glass jug with the capacity to hold 2L of wine.

Arno: Look, Heinrich and myself, that Saturday when I got to the Cape, I got to the Cape that Friday, that Friday evening he came to me with a bottle...then him and I we sat with a bottle and chilled here, I sat right here, we drank a little...and that's how him and I started to become friends.

Interviewer: When you met, how did the whole thing begin?

Francois: The whole thing began...I went over to farm X for many years, on weekends, we have a drink together, we have a drink, and then I sleep by their place.

Dirk: Look, I actually often came over here to farm Y...then I came to look for work here on a Saturday, and then we came to this place next door, went to go buy us a drink and so on, just walked past here and so I befriended him, got to know the guys and so on.

Interviewer: How do you form friendships?

Frederik: We drink together on weekends. If he walks away from here on a Saturday morning and he has a few beers and I see him, you say, this is a friend.

Furthermore, buying or sharing alcohol also seems to function as an important means of displaying and maintaining friendships. The participants indicated that they demonstrate friendship by either buying their friends alcohol when they are out or giving them some of their own stash at home. It is emphasized that an important gesture of friendship is to make sure that no friend has to miss out on the opportunity to drink by buying him alcohol even if he doesn't have the money to pay for it.

Interviewer: Will you approach any friends with a beer or...

Frederik: Not necessarily. It depends on, there it comes down to those classes of friends that you have. Everyone falls into a class of friendship. Not all

friends are the same to be able to say jis, there's a beer...

Kobus: Now Ruan, he is alright towards me, he is my friend. If I don't have any, he will give me some.

Ryno: My boys sit and if you contributed, sometimes if you contributed or if you didn't contribute, you enjoy what all the guys are enjoying, if there is a braai, bring something with, if you don't have money, it's fine. If there is drinking and you don't have money it's fine. So there is nothing about— no, you didn't contribute so you can't join, because the friendship circle that's there, those are the friends. There is no-one who is left out.

Kobus: Ruan, that one treats me alright, Ruan, look if I have a drink then I will go fetch it by the house, or we go sit by his house and have a drink together. He is alright. And if he has some for me then he will come fetch me, if he has money or if he has nothing. He is a friend him, that one that I have now.

Also, Kobus suggested that he and his friend demonstrate their friendship to each other by keeping their alcohol between them and refusing to share with anyone else.

He said to me, right, we are drinking this, and we are putting that away for tomorrow morning, and then we do that. Early in the morning, if we have, then he is by me, or I go wake him up, then we just chill, us two together, if there are other tjommies, if there are other guys who come along and so on. Who don't give us any, then we say to him, right, we don't have anything for you, just go home rather. This is how our things work.

Similar to these findings, various international studies found that for men in midlife, buying and sharing alcohol and its associated drunkenness was an important part of forming, maintaining, and demonstrating male friendship bonds and camaraderie (e.g. Emslie et al., 2013; Joseph, 2012; Keenan et al., 2015). Similar to the present findings, De Kock (2002) found that friendship bonds amongst Cape Winelands farmworker drinking partners were reinforced through

the practice of the reciprocal sharing of alcohol. In the international studies that I have previously cited, these friendship processes mostly took place in outside drinking locations such as the pub (Cunningham, 2012; Emslie et al., 2012; 2013), the workplace (Keenan et al., 2015) or in the cricket grounds (Joseph., 2012), however for the participants in the present study friendship was demonstrated by sharing cheaper alcohol bought in bulk between friends at home.

Thurnell-Read (2012) and Emslie et al. (2013) argue that for men, buying one's male friend's alcohol acts as an indirect means of expressing and experiencing emotion and connection. In addition, Kiesling (2005) claims that most masculine homo-social behaviour is filtered through drinking and purchasing alcohol and other similar types of intermediate activities (e.g. watching sports or discussing similar interests). It may be argued that in low-income contexts such as that of the community of study, spending one's limited money on alcohol for other men and not necessarily expecting anything back may constitute an even more 'potent' yet indirect means of displaying friendship bonding amongst men.

6.2.4 Sobriety or incongruence of intoxication levels as a threat to the integrity of male friendships

Some participants claimed that choosing to abstain from drinking alcohol could mean the end of their friendships. This was abundantly clear from Pieter and Jan's responses in a focus group interview:

Interviewer: If you stop drinking now, right? Guys, will it influence your friendship circles? How will it do this?

Pieter: It will stop

Jan: If you drink, you have many friends, if you stop drinking you won't have them anymore.

Furthermore, Jan said that if he should give up drinking, very few of his friends will be interested in maintaining a friendship with him: *"There will perhaps be one or two who are still interested. But the others will say that that man doesn't drink anymore so he can't be a part of*

our friendship anymore.”

Hannes said of giving up alcohol: *“That's how the friendship breaks up. Ja, you aren't involved with us anymore.”*

Moreover, several male participants said that the friendship bond would change and weaken:

Frederik: Friendship circles, will always be my friends, but that bond that we had, will unravel a bit now...we are still friends overall but that closeness that we had, that we all enjoyed together, it isn't there anymore, we wander off a bit away from each other...the friendship is there, but we are just a bit further apart, the friendship is always there but not the same as when we were all doing something together.

Jan: Your friendship will be a bit different. Because you won't be close anymore, and the longing for each other will be different.

Hannes: ...and so that friendship circle moves wider and wider.

They also believed that one would lose friends if one stops drinking as friends would no longer want to socialize with one or include one in events:

Frederik: I also learned, when I stopped drinking....and if I now decide, look here, I'm going to their place now, then they are gone. There isn't anyone who will wait for me anymore.

Hannes: If someone maybe converts now and he doesn't do it anymore, he doesn't drink anymore then the people don't come over to his place anymore...then we go to someone, we go to another tjommie, where we know we can drink, but we find you next to the road tomorrow then it's yes! And then we go on...but we can't take you with because you don't drink anymore. You don't walk with us, you don't go around with us. We go on, but we aren't going to wait for you on a Friday evening anymore because you don't drink with us

anymore. We also won't go over to your place because what will we do there, we will rather go to another tjommie's place where there is alcohol.

Frederik claimed that he won't be able to talk to a friend who has given up drinking as they won't have much in common.

Interviewer: And if you stop drinking now, will they still show you the same love?

Frederik: The friends that are there will, but, the conversation will be less because we won't be on the same life path...there isn't another type of conversation that we can have together a lot, we just go past. one another. If I see you I will greet you, it's not the same as that conversation that we always had.

Similarly, several international studies also show that abstaining from alcohol could lead to the deterioration of friendships. In these studies, men across different age groups reported that choosing to be a non-drinker meant missing out on social events which lead to the weakening of social bonds and exclusion from social and friendship groups (e.g. Chan & Corvin, 2015; Conroy & de Visser, 2012; Frederiksen, 2012; Keenan et al., 2015; Murphy et al., 2015). Locally, Falletisch (2008) found that Cape Winelands farm dwellers also reported that those who abstained from drinking lost several friendships, whilst Mfecane (2011) found that Black South African men with HIV who decided to abstain from alcohol had to sever ties and create distance from their drinking friends as they found that these friends pressured them to drink.

Some male participants indicated that matching levels of alcohol consumption are needed to keep their friendships harmonious. Their accounts indicated that the disruption of the common will or general mood in the friendship maintained by drinking at the same pace (e.g. Törrönen & Maunu, 2011) could lead to fighting between friends and to threaten the integrity of male friendships, as seen in the quotes below:

Arno: Man, if he, look, if he maybe, comes over to my place...then he has perhaps already had a beer. You can see, no Hanru is on that level. Then I say to Hanru, leave it, come enjoy it here with me. And if he begins, let me tell you the truth, then he and I are at each other. That's the only time him and I clash.

Frederik: ...because the friends that I have, they won't look after me, because I don't drink the same as...I can talk but they won't worry. I don't drink what they drink. I drink 'kan' and they drink beer. I don't drink that anymore.

Dirk: Alcohol becomes a problem when you wanted to drink more...understand, want to use more of that thing...ja. That's the quickest way that you will begin to fight, old friend. You can't be more drunk than me.

6.2.5 Conclusion

In sum, it appears from the male participants' accounts that alcohol is an integral part of the way in which they do their male friendships and the way in which they conduct themselves in their social lives in general. They were adamant in their accounts that without the use of alcohol their male friendships would disintegrate and they would be unable to socialize in what they suggest the community constructs as a desired manner. In sum, it seems that for the participants, it is the act of drinking in itself that keeps male friendships together and also largely structures social life. Similar to what Clayton and Harris (2008) found amongst college-aged men in the UK, the shared practice of drinking alcohol in male friendships appears to act as “protective umbrella” (p.320) under which these relationships can develop. This shared practice can be said to be the “glue” (p.320) that binds these men together.

6.3 Theme 2: The therapeutic effect of male friendships and drinking on daily stressors

While it may be argued that the participants are able to attain a degree of masculine respectability in the form of the alcohol-enhanced sociability described in the previous theme,

achieving masculine respectability through traditional means is more difficult for them; i.e. achieving the status of financial provider, head, leader and protector of the household due to their limited incomes. In this theme, the focus is on the participants' representations of alcohol-infused friendship practices as having a therapeutic effect and alleviating the pressures associated with having to attain masculine respectability in this form.

6.3.1 The pressure of being a man

The participants were unequivocal about men's proper roles as head, leader, and protector of the household:

Jan: ...according to me, it's that, to be a man...you must be the head of your household.

Frederik: A man is a man, sometimes, everyone who is a parent, it's almost to say, the woman will just, here, like I say, you must be, and that is the one thing that I can't agree with in life. I always say you can have equality in life but somewhere someone must...he must be the head, both can't be the head.

Hannes: You must be the father of the house in order to be a man.

Francois:...look after your house, look after your place. You are a man, if you drink, look after your place.

The male participants also claimed that the role of being an adequate provider for the household and being responsible for their wives and children of great importance when living the life of a proper man.

Christiaan: Now you must make sure that there is something on the table, that is your responsibility, you married your wife, you must look after her.

Servaas: A man means...you are at your house, your garden is beautiful, full of

flowers, you have money and you have transport.

Francois: I must think ok, I must work really hard over these two days for the children, ja.

Kobus: You have a wife and children, you must be responsible for your house and you must be responsible for your wife and children

Jan: ...and by my house, I must act like a man...I must be a man for my wife and I must be a father for my children

Participants in other studies conducted in the community of study and one low-income urban coloured community indicated that it was also a cultural expectation that men adhere to the prescribed gender roles of provider, decision maker, and the head of household (e.g. Engelbrecht, 2009; Lesch & Sheffler, 2015a; 2015b; Salo, 2007). Furthermore, the participants said that they experienced ‘heaviness’ and ‘pressure’ related to these roles.

Frederik: For a man, it almost feels that you don't want to get smothered at home. You must be free. I will take care of you and everything.

Servaas: I have a lot of stress if I don't have money in my pocket.

Interviewer: If you talk about work, what specifically do you say about work?

Hannes: Maybe, like the boss made him tired, my other friend, he says, they will just again, have a rubbish day again, he just worked a kak⁶ week.

Interviewer: Is there something that lies heavy on your mind which makes you stress?

Frederik: How it is with me— you actually feel heavy because you are taking responsibility now, you must look after your house.

⁶ Afrikaans slang, the closest English equivalent is ‘shit.’

Focus group interview:

Interviewer: Do you have frustrations?

Pieter: Arguing in the house from doing something wrong, work, let me go chop wood.

Christiaan: I have forty thousand rand debt at bank X, that's actually what makes me feel heavy.

They further claimed that they constantly feel the need to escape from what they experienced as heavy, pressing and inclosing burdens:

Jan: ...there are problems, it's sometimes so heavy that you try to shake it off, but you also can't shake it off...

Francois: ...so my responsibility goes along with me till I'm in the shower, then I am rid of my responsibility.

Christiaan: I don't think there's actually a solution for this, you're trying to get out of this.

Participants' admission that they experience stress and feel burdened may be considered to be a display of vulnerability but appears to be covered up with performances of tough and self-reliant masculinity where the participants said that they need to be strong and deal with their problems by themselves:

Lukas: No I've got immense stress but I built it up. Look, if my child asks for a two rand, by me, I must give it, not the mother, because I am the father, it's a father's duty, not mother's duty.

Christiaan: I'm now sitting with a problem to try handle my stuff like this to get money to solve my problems. Every day when I go to work, focus on that, it's not pleasant man, it's a heaviness on you, no man, but that is no one's problem,

it's my problem, I have it... I am alone, I must go through it alone.

Francois: It's just like whether you just have work or...I still have responsibilities, I must accept them every day, I must be strong.

Some of the men explicitly spoke about the detrimental effect that the pressure to be a provider had on their mental health:

Jan: If you walk with a stress hey, you actually have pain, because of that bunch of stuff that can't solve your problems. That stress makes you so sick, you're not in the mood for anyone, you aren't in the mood for work, that's how it is.

Interviewer: ...and what can, what can it imply, to what it can bring out if you sit the whole time with the pressure?

Hannes: Depression. I can maybe just once decide, look here enough is enough, man, fuck, I just do what I want to.

Servaas: Then I think, hey, then I'll take a knife and cut my neck off. Because I know I have money every day, why don't I have money today?

Several studies conducted in international (Aronson, Whitehead, & Baber, 2003; Chant, 2000; Threlfall, Seay, & Kohl, 2013) and local (e.g. Lesch & Ismail, 2014; Salo, 2007; van der Heijden, 2009) low-income communities indicated that being a provider is a hegemonic masculine ideal that men are expected to live up to but is often unreachable. As found in other low-income non-western contexts (e.g. Chant, 2000; Silberschmidt, 2001), the failure, or the looming possibility thereof, to live up to the role of provider may be the cause of the male participants' experience of stress and pressure as such a failure may call their constructed sense of manhood into question. These types of marginalized men have to find alternative means of re-

attaining a measure of hegemonic masculinity, it is argued that most of these alternatives consist of ‘unhealthy’ and hyper-masculine risk behaviours e.g. becoming involved in criminal and violent activities (e.g. Cooper & Foster, 2008; Salo, 2007; van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2015a; 2015b).

6.3.2 Talking about problems to male friends and receiving advice and support under the influence

Similar to various international studies (e.g. Emslie et al., 2013; Robertson, 2007; Virtanen & Isotalus, 2014) and local studies conducted in low-income populations of colour (e.g. Sawyer Kurian et al., 2009; Rich et al., 2015), the men in this study claimed that when they drink with their male friends, they are able to offload by talking about their life problems and stresses to their male friends. They described this process of opening up as facilitated by alcohol. Furthermore, the participants reported that while intoxicated they experience an almost involuntary, unfiltered outpouring of information that they would be more inclined to keep to themselves when sober.

Ryno: Especially if you have a drink in because then everything comes out.

Now you’re talking because you don’t worry, there is no one here that can stop you.

Frederik: ...because you’re now ‘vuurwarm’⁷ drunk, where you maybe share with the person, that you previously didn’t have time for. Then you feel it outside.

Jan: ...because you’re a guy— if you’re drunk... then you just blurt out.

Frederik: You will always hear, by anything, fuck I’m tired from working, or, then someone comes and talks about you, and you say a thing, fuck I couldn’t even talk, and that’s, basically what you did during the week, that everyone’s

⁷ Intensive form for hot in Afrikaans— used to indicate that one is highly intoxicated.

maybe braaiing or so, everything will come out there.

Furthermore, in the participants' accounts many implied that by sharing secrets with their male friends, they make themselves more vulnerable and open to getting hurt. Some, therefore, emphasized that it is important that they know that they can trust their friends to keep secrets before they share them.

Frederik: So why won't you want to share it with your friends? Sometimes these things are very private, things that you don't want to get out of your system, that people mustn't know about, but at some point it gets too much then you need to get rid of it, those are the hours that a person knows about, you did this and you did that, but the person closest to you doesn't know.

Interviewer: So, what must he do so that you can trust him?

Jan: It's like, secrets that I wanted to say, or, things that we do together, like meeting women and if he doesn't give the secret away, then I'm like ok, alright.

Francois: You know a male best friend is like I told you now, he slept with that girl, he tells me about it.

Jan: I will always, when I talk about my personal stuff, I'll tell a trustworthy friend; I'll share it with him.

Interviewer: So we move over to your male friend, has there been a situation, a personal situation, that you shared with him?

Francois: I went to go tell him and then he told it over again, that's what I spoke about now, but I said now that this is my best friend, he keeps my secrets, but he didn't keep it. The guy, the best friend of mine, he went to go tell it, hurt me, I wanted the thing to fizzle out.

Interviewer: So what enables you to be able to trust them?

Hannes: With them, going to share secrets, they will now be able to share

secrets with me... you must win trust from a friend.

The participants related that they experience talking to their friends under the influence of alcohol as therapeutic or cathartic. They described the process as making them feel happier and lighter, and recounted that they feel less burdened by their problems after this kind of sharing.

Ryno: It's almost like, you share your thoughts. We unburden, yes. The stress is removed now.

Hannes: ...and like that, you can gain courage and that makes you feel happy, if you could share with them. You're a better person after that, you feel better. So I think that's the value in your life. You feel relieved.

Frederik: ... because the weight is a little bit too heavy that you don't want to think about it, but it sits there, so you must talk about it... Then it almost feels like it gets lighter on your shoulders.

Jan: You feel comfortable if you finish talking about that frustration that you have.

In particular, Hannes stated that communicating with and receiving support from his friends when drinking also has the benefit of helping him feel accepted and that he belongs – in contrast to how he suggested that he feels at home.

Hannes: ... and your friends are there for you. That's how you feel, like what their mother at the house say to them, what person shows you the finger, like a person will always say fuck you. They can say what they want because you know you have friends now, that spoke with you, who is also maybe going through a similar problem, and so fuck the rest and join the army. So you feel very easy, comfortable, and free.

Furthermore, from Jan's account it appears that he is highly dependent on his male friends support to help him through day-to-day problems:

Jan: If I already pick up a problem, and I can't get to a friend, then I already feel sick.

Interviewer: And if you can't get to him, what do you do then?

Jan: Then I send him a message, if he doesn't reply then, then that's it, you know how one who stresses feels? Then I'm on the stress level because I don't get a reply, the problem that I have, begins to get agitating, without friends, then I don't know whether life will be nice for you if you don't have friends.

The male participants indicated that after unloading their problems they also receive advice when they drink with their friends. This is described as therapeutic in some instances;

Jan: ... when I talk about my personal things, a trustworthy friend, I'll share it with him. Now I'll tell him what's personal like my life and I'm looking for advice. What do I do? I know it's my mess, but what do I do there?

Frederik: The whole week you've been accumulating the frustration, certain small things but it becomes big, it gets heavy, now between your friends, you be more open and maybe you're looking for answers, then you get support and help through that.

Hannes: Just the way he says no my brother, you must do this, he maybe gives you advice, and that takes the pressure off your shoulders, it makes you feel that you're not alone anymore, stuck in that rut and there's another one. Or there's another two, so that makes you three, and now your friend is more encouraging. And it feels easier, it feels light.

Furthermore, Lukas suggested that he valued the advice telling him to go straight to his wife who is seen as the source of the problem and to try to resolve it.

Then when I'm with my friends I can tell them because they tell me their things.

If I am quiet they'll ask me "Lukas, what's going on?" then say "look here, I have this problem." But there's always a man in your group that says "come here man, we are here tonight. Now you have a problem Lukas, but, I think it's for the best, go sort your problem out by your wife, and when that's finished, then come back to us."

It could be argued that doing this kind of emotional talk and showing care and concern for each other in the way that the participants described in their accounts would ordinarily conflict with the form of hegemonic, tough, and self-reliant, masculinity mentioned earlier. Perhaps the men in this study are able to engage in what is often perceived to be a more typically feminine practice of sharing confidential information with their male friends because, as international research on young adults (e.g. Cunningham et al., 2012; Emslie et al., 2013; Fjær, 2012; Griffin, Bengry-Howell, Hackley, Mistral, & Szmigin, 2009; Maclean, 2016) shows, alcohol's disinhibitory effect enables transgression of the rules of social interaction in general. In particular, Scottish men in midlife, described opening up under the influence as the only way that they felt they were permitted to express genuine emotion amongst friends (Emslie et al., 2013). Emslie et al. (2013) theorize that in this case, drinking alcohol may temporarily relax the constraints surrounding appropriate hegemonic masculine performances so that they could safely engage in this alternative, non-complicit practice (Emslie et al., 2013).

It may also be theorized that keeping such emotional expression obscured within the masculine drinking space may be particularly important for marginalized men like the participants in the present study. They have limited means of enacting 'appropriate' masculinities to build their masculine status due to their limited income (as discussed earlier). In other words, their masculine capital that would be generated from the enactment of being a financial provider that could be used to permit non-masculine behaviours such as sharing personal stories and expressing one's emotions is limited (de Visser & McDonnell, 2013). In other studies conducted

on low-income Coloured men in the Western Cape, it appears as if there is also limited space for emotional expression. Lesch and Scheffler (2015a) for example found that in the present community of study, fathers in mid-life came across as emotionally uninvolved and non-expressive in their relationships with their daughters. Furthermore, low-income, urban Coloured men of different life periods described how showing vulnerability and talking about feelings was considered to be non-respectable and showing emotional toughness and stoicism was considered to be worthy of praise within their communities of origin (van Niekerk & Boonzaaier, 2015b)

6.3.3 Laughing and joking around together

Parallel to the relief of catharting about their problems and life stressors in the drinking space, the male participants highlighted how the alcohol-associated interaction of joking around, laughter and light conversation allows them a temporary escape from the stress and pressure in their lives for a while.

Focus group interview:

Interviewer: But how does the jokes and the laughter help you?

Servaas: The jokes and laughter keeps you to one side. And now you make a good joke with your tjommie.

Lukas: Then a line is drawn.

Francois: It's just for that moment.

Servaas: Now you're making such good jokes.

Interviewer: So that just makes you forget, is that all? There isn't healing?

Francois: It's not actually completely gone... if you can imagine a joke, then you forget about it.

Servaas: Everything that I talk about with him, with my friends is what I have now, just things that cool us down or so, making jokes and whatever. There we can't speak out about other things.

Interviewer: Now, why do you then talk like that with your male friends?

Pieter: Because they speak the same sort of language with me.

Interviewer: What is the language that you speak?

Pieter: "You, come here, uhm, or, fuck you man, (laughs) do that bloody thing" (laughs), like that. So I'm basically talking, the same, as what they talk, look when we now play dominoes in the afternoon, here on the stoep.

Interviewer: So every time you're drunk, then you speak like that with your male circle?

Pieter: More or less, yes.

Dirk: I tease a lot, really a lot, like making jokes.

Interviewer: What kind of jokes do you make?

Dirk: I will just go bother those two, or just start with my tjommie "Jissis man, is it your feet that smell like that?" Those kinds of jokes, just to give the evening a jump start.

Interviewer: Will they become angry on some level?

Dirk: No, you must know precisely how to make a joke.

A literature review conducted by Mora-Ripoll (2010) found that laughter has indeed a quantifiable psychological and quality of life benefits. In addition, humour is found to act as a means of releasing anxiety, easing tension, and managing emotions as well as a coping mechanism (Christie & Moor, 2005; Dean & Major, 2008; Oliffe, Ogradniczuk, Bottorff, Hislop, & Halpin, 2009). It may be argued that engaging in displays of humour within the drinking space with friends is so therapeutic for the male participants as it allows them to be their 'unfiltered selves', mostly uninhibited by a code of respectability, for a while. It also may allow them to take risks and engage in behaviours which would otherwise be considered deviant or disreputable by the greater community's standards such as swearing or insulting people in a joking way. Williams (2009) found this to be the case for working class fathers in the UK.

In addition, perhaps joking around with male friends in an antagonistic and insulting manner as particularly Pieter and Dirk described is also therapeutic as it can be used to create a

sense of solidarity and belonging amongst male friends (e.g. Kaplan, 2005; Kiesling, 2005). As Kaplan (2005) explains in reference to ex-military Israeli men of different age groups, displays of affection and closeness are often obscured in insult form. These aggressive displays can be argued to be doubly therapeutic for the low-income marginalised men in this study as they are able to experience a sense of closeness with male friends while still demonstrating a ‘tough’ masculinity which could potentially compensate for the emasculation resulting from struggling to fulfil the provider role.

6.3.4 Minimizing the negative health impact of excessive alcohol use

The general impression that I got from the interview material is that the participants highlighted the above-mentioned therapeutic experiences and minimised the negative health impact related to alcohol use in their accounts. Although they communicated that they were aware of the negative health impact of excessive alcohol use, talk of this subject matter was sparse and was not offered on their own accord. Information on the negative health impact only emerged when they were prompted with a specific question:

Frederik: What alcohol does to you—it’s about how much alcohol you drink on weekends, and during the month, and what sorts of drinks you mix. That’s the only way that it’s going to have a big effect on your life because he will affect your kidneys later.

Focus group interview:

Interviewer: Do you know what alcohol does to your mind, to your brain, and to your body?

Lukas: Like your system. He destroys you a lot.

Servaas: He destroys your brain. He destroys your body.

Lukas: Yes, you become mad.

Francois: He will kill you. He takes some of your brain cells away.

Dirk: According to me, you quickly lose a lot of weight with alcohol.

Lukas: And he takes away your appetite.

Dirk: Now usually they say that if your liver is hard hey... then you're drinking a lot.

Although it appears that for the male participants in the present study knowledge of these negative health effects did not stop them from continuing to drink excessively, working class Russian and Navajo men in midlife described cutting down on drinking due to physical health concerns or the desire to gain control over their health (Keenan et al., 2015; Quintero, 2000). Contrastingly, to the participants in the present study and the previous citations, working class Russian and Caribbean-Canadian men in midlife constructed alcohol as having a positive, almost medicinal effect on their bodies providing protection against harsh working conditions and also making them powerful and strong in the face of old age (Joseph, 2012; Keenan et al., 2015).

In congruence with my findings, Emslie et al. (2013) found that the Scottish men in midlife appeared to minimize the negative effects of excessive alcohol consumption on their physical health in favour of emphasizing its positive effects in terms of mental health. As was extensively discussed in the participants' excerpts highlighted in theme two, the Scottish men in midlife also described alcohol as providing them with an open space to talk about their emotions needs and desires with friends. However, it is the positive effect of pleasure that most clearly produces tension with the master narrative of 'alcohol as harmful and dangerous' as can be seen in Hannes's and Jan's accounts:

Hannes: I drink to enjoy my time. But I know it can kill you at a later stage, like brandy, it's not healthy for your body. But, I still always use it because I feel it's nice for me, I want to enjoy myself on the weekend, but I know it's a disadvantage.

Jan: It doesn't matter what alcohol it is, there is something in the alcohol, that your body can't handle, but the point is I force myself into it, I only drank that time because, it's nice for me, I just want to enjoy my time with my friends.

In international studies conducted over a range of age groups and genders, similar benefits

of alcohol including the experience of pleasure, fun, adventure and bonding were foregrounded over what were perceived as the negative effects (e.g. Emslie et al., 2013; Griffin et al., 2009; Niland et al., 2013; Sheehan & Ridge, 2001). In addition, research indicates that while youth in international studies were cognisant of the negative health effects of excessive alcohol use as the participants are, they saw these effects to be the price to pay for these and other perceived benefits (Cameron, Stritzke, & Durkin, 2003; de Visser & Smith, 2007). Furthermore, in the study by Frederiksen et al. (2012), when young Danish participants were informed of the connection between alcohol and the development of chronic illnesses by the interviewer, they claimed that they did not see it as important and claimed that living in the moment was more important to them.

It is possible that the older, low-income participants of this study, also placed less emphasis on or minimize the negative health effects of alcohol due to ill health being quite common in their socio-economic context. In South Africa, low-income communities experience a high burden of both infectious diseases such as HIV and tuberculosis, as well as non-communicable diseases such as diabetes (Coovadia, Jewkes, Barron, Sanders, & McIntyre, 2009; Mayosi et al., 2009; Peer et al., 2012). Ross (2010) claims that poor people are often well aware of their collective vulnerability to health problems and sicknesses. As one participant in Ross's (2010) study on a poor community located in an informal settlement on the outskirts of Cape Town commented—"We're born sick" (p. 171).

International research shows that low-income people indeed tend to have a shorter lifespan and poorer health than those of high income (Goesling & Firebaugh, 2004; Isaacs & Schroeder, 2004; Mackenbach et al., 2008; Steenland, Hu, & Walker, 2004). It is, therefore, understandable that low-income people in general tend to be more fatalistic about the future (Facione, Miaskowski, Dodd, & Paul, 2002; Parham & Hicks, 1995; Powe & Finnie, 2003;

Straughan & Seow, 1998; Wardle & Steptoe, 2003), are less hopeful that behaviour change will lead to health gains (Clark, Patrick, Grembowski, & Durham, 1995; Niederdeppe, Fiore, Baker, & Smith, 2008), feel a loss of control throughout their life course (Freund, McGuire & Podhurst, 2003) and be less health conscious (Wardle & Steptoe, 2003). Pampel, Krueger and Denney (2010) argue that engaging in pleasurable but unhealthy behaviours makes sense when considering the low-income group's shorter life expectancy and the little that they seem to get out from healthier behaviours.

6.3.5 Conclusion

In conclusion, the participants constructed drinking with male friends as a therapeutic space that is a necessary resource in their lives where the distress associated with struggling to fulfil the masculine role of financial provider is prevalent. The therapeutic activities that they report engaging with male friends in the drinking space include sharing their day to day problems with each other and sometimes receiving helpful advice as well as laughing and joking around. Although the participants appear to be cognisant of the negative effects of problem drinking for their health (especially long-term), the aforementioned narrative of male friendships and drinking as therapeutic appears to be far more prominent and to emerge far more organically (i.e. unprompted). Furthermore, by engaging in this more 'authentic' narrative, the participants actively resisted a mainstream cultural narrative communicated by various public health campaigns in South Africa. The message communicated through this narrative in the participants' accounts is that excessive alcohol use is bad for one's health and should, therefore, be avoided (Bamberg, 2004).

6.4 Theme 3: Respectable drinking

In the previous themes, I have mentioned respectability in reference to social life and a man's role in the household. In this theme, I will discuss how through repeated listening to and

reading of the interviews, I identified a persistent dissonance or tension between the participants' emphasis on the importance of being respectable men; and their descriptions of their alcohol-infused male friendships as inherently 'disreputable'. I further suggest that the male participants resolved this tension by presenting themselves as respectable drinkers. The subthemes of this theme are presented below.

6.4.1 The importance of behaving with respect

The importance of behaving with respect or respectability was the main thread present throughout the interviews. It is possible that the prominence of this idea may be partly due to the participants' anticipation of surveillance and judgement from the interviewer and the general public. Nevertheless, the participants' indicated that they believe that behaving "respectfully" towards other people was an important and universal life principle and constitutes a measure of a person's value:

Dirk: If you don't have respect for anyone else, then you must just remember one thing. It's not manly... You need to show respect for anyone else. Woman, man, child, and everyone.

Hannes: You must be able to show respect towards your fellow man because if you don't have respect for your fellow man, he won't have respect for you.

Frederik: Respect and discipline is what makes you a big man and a better person. It's not about how you look, that is what you are in your life. Respect and discipline towards people.

This concept of respect/'respek'(see original Afrikaans excerpts in Addendum D) appears to be equivalent to the notion of 'ordentlikheid' (Ross, 2010, p.37), directly translated to respectability, that has been identified in other studies conducted in low-income Coloured communities (Ross, 2010; van der Waal, 2014). This notion of respectability originates from the

colonial era (Pfigu, Gabriel & van der Waal, 2014) and, as mentioned in Chapter Three, has been found to be a core value for both men and women within present-day low-income Coloured communities (e.g. Adams, 2014; Lesch & Scheffler, 2015b; Ross, 2010, Salo 2005; van der Heijden, 2009).

6.4.2 The character of a proper man

For the men in the present study, the notion of respectability seems to be irrevocably linked to being a proper man (which has already been described in the previous section). In their accounts, they made this point by often differentiating it from being an unruly or undisciplined ‘child’ or ‘boy’.

Hannes: I need to be able to prove my manhood, understand? I mustn't act like a child and rude if I'm drunk or things like that.

Kobus: I've decided now, uh, I'm a grown man and I don't do things with children anymore, I just do the things that I must do.

Hannes: ... if you're going to behave like a man or a big boy when you get to someone's place, then you're going with respect.

Furthermore, linking to previous accounts where some participants spoke about dealing with their problems on their own and thereby showing a tough and self-reliant masculinity, here the participants asserted that a proper man must have strength of character and also be brave and independent of others.

Dirk: ... don't be like a coward, you must be like a man and a man becomes so big... a coward, you know this, is a man that's lame. If you're scared, don't be scared to do something, something that's good. Do it with your thoughts.

Servaas: ... I must accept them every day; you must be strong for yourself. It's your responsibility, but just remember that the people around you, they won't make it easy for you with that responsibility, but you need to keep your head on

straight in order to take on that responsibility.

Jan: Yes, to become a man, you need to be independent of everything; house, wife, children, even in the community.

Hannes: ... and if you want to behave like a man, you need to be able to take responsibility for your own deeds as well. You mustn't blame anyone for the things that you do as people, and as a man.

Servaas: ... it depends on your friends if they teach you wrong, but I'm so strong in my heart, I don't listen to those men anymore. To this day, I'm alone, me and my wife, I don't listen to anyone. Buy me a drink and then I'll come here.

Men, in general, are exposed to a great amount of societal pressure to prove that they are tough, strong, and self-reliant in accordance with the typical hegemonic masculine ideal (Golombok & Fivush, 1994; Martin, 1995; Williams & Best, 1990). Furthermore, men who participated in other studies in urban Coloured populations indicated that they feel compelled to demonstrate that they are not weak or fearful in order to earn respect from others (e.g. Cooper & Foster, 2008; Gibson & Lindegaard, 2007; Salo, 2005; van Niekerk & Boonzaaier, 2015a). For older Coloured men in the Cape Town area of Mannenburg in particular, proof of survival and strength in the face of adversity (e.g. dealing with long-term unemployment, surviving prison, and displaying religious self-discipline) was highly esteemed (Salo, 2005; 2007). This emphasis on the importance of acting like a grown up and being brave and strong in the above-cited studies as well as the present study may be intricately related to the history of South African Coloured people in which Coloured men were stereotypically depicted as emasculated, physically weak, unable to stand against an attack from the Whites, the natives and his own “inner demons” (p.27), and as a child in need of protection (Jensen, 2008). It may also be linked to, as mentioned in

theme two, the inability to fulfil hegemonic masculinity ideals.

The participants' descriptions of the activities in their alcohol-infused male friendships were often inconsistent with what they presented as respectable behaviour. For example, many participants portrayed their male friends as enablers of various deviant behaviours such as indicated in the excerpts below:

Jan: ...and we had other friends that also came here out of township X. He was a rasta. He always loved smoking and drinking. We sat there and we also started to drink and got drunk and we also started to smoke.

Kobus: ... and then I'll tell him, Ruan, I picked up a phone one day, here in the block, no one saw I picked that phone up, me and Ruan had no money, on a Sunday morning, I sneaked away and went to tell Ruan. Ruan told me I mustn't tell anyone... we must go sell the phone and go buy us a kan and a cigarette, we did that.

Dirk: Friends are an enemy. He forces you, he teaches you wrong things that you mustn't do or he comes to fetch you "let's do that thing." Then you don't want to go.

Kobus: I had one friend, he wouldn't go without wine that friend. Every night he must drink, he must be able to, he has to drink every night. I'm not used to drinking every night. I usually only drink on Monday evenings to fix my hangover, but then I do not drink for the rest of the week, then I have a drink again Friday nights. He taught me, that I must now drink every night. And go to work again in the mornings, I must drink again. Then I went to go look for another friend.

Many participants spoke about fighting amongst male friends as an almost expected consequence of drinking together:

Lukas: Look at everything we're doing together now, hey. I can tell you, a lot of

things, but, we will tell it. There is smoking. There are fights. There is drinking.

Servaas: But if I see that I'm drunk, and I get offered another glass, then I take my fist and put it in your face.

Kobus also told how he resorted to violence under the influence of alcohol when he came upon his friend with his wife in their sleeping room:

Kobus: Now weekends my wife comes to me, me and those friends drink nicely together, if I'm not there, or if I'm drunk, then he wants my wife. I watched him one night, I caught him in my room, wow, I stabbed him with the knife, I caught him with the woman, he wanted the woman to do other things with the woman, I stabbed him with the knife, almost, uh until in the hospital, just heard that friend is going to make a case against me.

Problem drinking has indeed been linked to high prevalence rates of interpersonal violence in Cape Winelands farmworker communities (Falletisch, 2008; Gossage et al., 2014; Lesch & Adams, 2016a; May et al., 2007) and interpersonal violence has been identified as the third leading cause of death (6.6%) in the Cape Winelands (Western Cape Government Health, 2015). Falletisch (2008) found that Cape Winelands farmworkers constructed habitual drinking and violence as the norm on farms. Furthermore, some described alcohol as an outside force responsible for drinkers' violent behaviour on farms (Falletisch, 2008).

This link between the problem drinking and violence is of course not unique to these communities. Various studies have pointed out the relationship between problem drinking and South African men's perpetration of violence (Abrahams, Jewkes, Hoffman, & Laubsher, 2004; Abrahams et al., 2006; Dunkle et al., 2006; Jewkes et al., 2002). Moreover, men from other low-income areas in South Africa also appear to become involved in criminal and violent activities in the company of friends (Mathews, Jewkes, & Abrahams, 2011; Niehaus, 2005). Niehaus (2005) argues that getting involved in criminal activities together is a form of male bonding. Chipkin and

Ngqulunga (2008) also highlight that there are high rates of violence within South African men's friendships. Engaging in violence against male friends as well as with male friends against other men for these participants may provide a means of demonstrating their masculinity (Migliaccio, 2009).

6.4.3 Resolving the tension/contradiction between presenting themselves as respectable men and the disrespectable aspects of drinking with male friends

It could be argued that the conflict between the declared importance of respectability for the men and the inherent disreputability of the male friendships that are so integral to their lives, challenged the men in the interviews to resolve this conflict in order to maintain the image of a respectable man for the (i) interviewer, (ii) the other focus group participants, (iii) and/or themselves, in their construction of alcohol-infused male friendships. It seemed that they attempted to resolve some of this tension and maintain a make-shift sense of respectability via the implicit presentation of themselves as respectable drinkers. Hannes and Frederik, for example, described desirable ways to drink:

Hannes: If you use him in a good way, like I think Friday evenings, come Saturday mornings by the house, I pass out, from there we drink again, but everything is done with respect and discipline. It isn't used just, "jou ma se kant toe"⁸ and we grab each other and hit each other till we bleed and then the next day we are friends again. That isn't how one uses alcohol. You must always use it in the right way.

Frederik: ...how people can say, he is a drunk or whatever, but when he drinks beer he always has respect to greet you normally, or to say good day, it's almost like one must be a gentleman...haven't heard anything rude from that man, haven't heard him say he has insulted you. It's about being able to look up to someone even if he is a drunk.

Furthermore, several participants indicated, less overtly, notions of respectable drinking

⁸ Afrikaans colloquial expression used to indicate insult

by deeming certain drinking behaviours disrespectful and as worthy of condemnation. They often pinned these disreputable behaviours on to their male friends and spoke of how they will banish male friends who act in this way:

Kobus: Altus, he was my friend, if he has alcohol in his body, he makes a noise by his place, he doesn't sleep the night, he makes a noise, he wakes everyone up. And that isn't allowed to happen.

Lukas: If you plan your drinking before the time with your tjommies then there won't be a problem then you'll receive respect. But as soon as there's one that gets out of hand and becomes involved with... you know it.

Wian: If you see him again, then you say to him, "Sir you must know that if you drink you must at least have respect for other people, man."

Kobus: He came here drunk. Then I said to him, "Altus, what are you doing now?" ...then the man argues and swears me, like a drunk, tells me a bunch of things that I must now hear that he didn't tell me, then I also shook him off.

Wian: He gestures, man! It almost looks like he's hitting you, man! And he wants to talk louder than you. He wants to talk in your face. I don't like the manners, man. The two of us sit right in front of one another, just talk to me. No, when he comes then he wants to push his whole face here by me. That's wrong so... If he has had a drink, then I want to stay far away from him.

Interviewer: What do you think of a male friend, what do you think about a man that can't handle his wine?

Servaas: Take him, that he sits there in the rain because he doesn't want to drink his wine with respect, he knows there are people next to him who aren't drinking, who don't want to hear the noise and don't want to hear his rudeness.

Hannes: We have a policy, if we know you're unruly, or if you're drunk, and if

you begin to lose control later in the evening, then we'll tell you, the time maybe, before that, the day you see, or the morning, no you're not going with us tonight.

Servaas: If one person gets out of control and he walks around drunk. If he drank with us and then he gets out of control then we say to him " go home, go lie there a bit, we are going to go now."

Lukas: ...and I spend a lot of lekker⁹ time with them over the weekends, and we chat together, but then, there is also....if the one said, "you, voetsek!¹⁰", then the other one must come say to him "you don't say that to me!", then the other will say to him "jou moer!"¹¹. It is just then when the problem comes, then I have to get in there, but then the one says, "you are just as big, Lukas, your mother, uh, uh!" It's the drunkenness that causes this.

It may be argued that the way that the participants positioned their friends or other men as behaving disreputably in the drinking space and themselves as being neutral, unreceptive or even disciplinary in relation to that behaviour in the drinking space implicitly conveys that they themselves, in contrast to other men, are respectable drinkers. Similar to the present findings, De Kock (2002) found that farmworkers in the Cape Winelands emphasized the importance of maintaining a sort of respectable and controlled drinking behaviour. In these studies, participants also spoke of confining one's drinking or drunkenness to the home or to the residences of friends and relatives, rather than subjecting the public to one's unruly drunkenness.

In low-income Coloured communities such as the community of study, the aspiration for respectability is found to be distinctly different to the realities of life marked by poverty and social disapproval from those members of society who are considered to have already attained

⁹ Afrikaans slang, the closest English equivalent is 'nice' or 'enjoyable'

¹⁰ Afrikaans slang, a more assertive version of 'get lost' or 'bugger off'

¹¹ Afrikaans expression for 'I'm going to beat you up'

respectability (Ross, 2010; van der Waal, 2014). It is, therefore, unsurprising that make-shift, alternate forms of respectability may be required to appease a surveilling gaze and also to ensure that their 'respectable' sense of selves remain intact. Foucault describes the surveilling gaze as a gaze, a glance or a look which is not located in one body but rather pervades the entire social system. This leads individuals to be cognisant that they can be the object of the gaze at any time and therefore leads them to enact self-management to appease the surveilling gaze and to avoid disapproval (Danaher, Schirato & Webb, 2000). As mentioned in the previous chapter, it is possible that the interview context may have provided a social situation where the participants were compelled to perform a form of social respectability for the benefit of the interviewer of a higher social status.

6.4.4 Conclusion

In the theme above, I highlighted how the participants constructed a narrative about the importance of being respectable which includes the importance of being a proper man and of being a respectable drinker. This narrative appears to be hegemonic and appears to be appropriated for the purpose of preserving a respectable image. On the other hand, the narrative about 'disreputable' drinking with their male friends and the importance of this practice in their lives appear to be a more probable reflection of their lived daily experience. It may be argued that the conflict between these two narratives is 'resolved' in a sense when the participants constructed a makeshift respectability for themselves in the interview space by constructing the notion of respectable drinking which they imply they themselves practice in contrast to their friends who practice disreputable drinking behaviours, and that they banish them when they behave in this way.

Chapter seven: Critical discussion of findings, strengths and limitations

7.1 Introduction

As discussed in the introductory chapter, previous studies conducted in the community of interest found that men in this community described their problem drinking practices with male friends in a normative, unproblematic manner. The present study successfully delves further into this phenomenon. The participants in the current study also cast their drinking practices as unproblematic and normative when they (i) spoke of the way in which alcohol structures and lubricates social life and their male friendships in particular, (ii) highlighted the therapeutic role of their alcohol-infused male friendships in their lives, and (iii) presented themselves as respectable drinkers. The chapter will provide a critical discussion of the three themes described above, with a focus on the implications of these themes for alcohol policy and future interventions in South Africa. I conclude this chapter by discussing the strengths and limitations of the study.

7.2 The embeddedness of alcohol in the fabric of social life

My findings indicate that alcohol is intricately woven into the fabric of the participants day-to-day relaxing and cathartic experiences with male friends, and their social lives in general. Other international studies that have found similar results in adolescent and young adult populations (e.g. Chainey & Stephens, 2014; Frederiksen, 2012; Maclean, 2016; Niland et al., 2013), recommend that alcohol policy and alcohol reduction strategies should avoid reducing alcohol to an “instrument of intoxication” (Frederiksen, 2012, p.590) and to instead recognize the facilitative role of alcohol in social and friendship pleasure, fun, and bonding as a powerful motive behind excessive drinking in these contexts. Niland et al.’s (2013) argument that in New Zealand, traditional harm reduction messages that ask young adults to make decisions to taper their alcohol consumption are inadvertently appealing to them to break highly important

friendship bonds in their lives is therefore also relevant for the community of study.

In addition, It should also be acknowledged that South African advertisements that strongly bind alcohol with masculine sociability and bonding, work against the policy strategies and interventions that construct alcohol as dangerous and destructive (Mager, 2004). It may, therefore, be argued that, as in the UK, South African people are being lured into a culture of normative excessive drinking and yet at the same time are pathologized as badly-behaved excessive drinkers (Measham & Brain, 2005). Herald Live news headline “It’s true, South Africans are the continent’s biggest boozers” (Masweneng, 2017) is a good example of this.

Similar to what Race (2008), Niland et al. (2013) and Maclean (2016) recommend, acknowledging the role of alcohol in social relationships and pleasures does not imply that policy-relevant strategies and interventions need only identify this facilitative role with the aim of controlling it and stamping it out but rather to work to encourage the use of alcohol in the way that facilitates the building and maintaining of meaningful friendships but also maintains safety. Furthermore, it may be argued that education efforts that denounce drinking entirely may inadvertently inspire people to drink even more in order to experience collective transgressive thrill amongst friends (Brown & Gregg, 2012; Maclean, 2016). I recommend that it is rather more pertinent to promote the idea of ‘moderate’ drinking that entails aiming for a degree of intoxication that enhances people’s ability to connect with each other and to sustain an ideal collective affective state thereby maximizing pleasure and lessening the risk to the integrity of friendship (Maclean, 2016).

7.3 The obscuring of low-income men’s life hardships

The male participants in this study appeared to have difficulty talking about their internal experiences of emotional distress in relation to struggling to fulfil the hegemonic masculine ideal of financial provider. They mostly spoke in vague terms about the ‘heaviness’ and ‘pressure’ that

they experienced in relation to their financial problems and the stresses of work. In line with this finding, Danielsson and Johansson (2005) found that within a sample of Swedish individuals of a wide age-range treated for depression, the men lacked the expansive vocabulary that women had to talk about their emotional experiences and articulated their emotional distress less clearly than the women in the study. They even seemed to avoid discussion of emotional distress all together and instead were more likely to express aggression in response to their feelings. Danielsson and Johansson (2005) claim that they thereby avoided showing the vulnerability associated with admitting to experiencing distress.

It is likely that the participants in the current study similarly avoided feeling and showing vulnerability by engaging in tough masculine talk relating to carrying their burdens alone and sorting out their problems themselves, and finding release and escape through problem drinking. Substance abuse in general has been found to help depressed men in several international studies to numb, escape or avoid their distress while still acting in a way that is consistent with the ideals of hegemonic masculinity. In these studies it is reported that these externalizing behaviours are routinely employed until there is an eventual “build-up” (Olfiffe et al., 2010, p.467) of distress and externalization in the form of aggression towards themselves and others and suicide attempts (Brownhill et al., 2005; Danielsson & Johansson, 2005; Emslie, Ridge, Ziebland & Hunt, 2006; Kendrick, Anderson & Moore, 2007; Olfiffe et al., 2010; Watkins et al., 2007). Men like the participants in the current study who possess a form of marginalized masculinity within the context of South Africa due to their race and socio-economic status, may feel even more compelled than men in westernized contexts to self-manage their distress through unhealthy means such as problem drinking in order to reattain a sense of masculine power that they have lost due to marginalization (e.g. Cooper & Foster, 2008).

Substance abuse and aggression, however, may obscure marginalised men’s struggles and

distress— for themselves as well as others. It is, therefore, unsurprising that available research on low-income men in South Africa appears to largely focus on the dangerous and violent practices that they engage in such as excessive alcohol and drug use (Sawyer- Kurian et al., 2009; Gibbs et al., 2014; Zweben et al., 2004), having sex with multiple partners (Morojele, 2006; Ragnarsson et al., 2010; Townsend et al., 2011), intimate partner violence (Dunkle et al. 2006; Jewkes et al., 2002; Townsend et al. 2011), and rape (Abrahams et al., 2006; Sawyer- Kurian et al., 2009). Although low socioeconomic status is linked to increased psychological distress (Myer et al., 2008; Tomlinson, Grimsrud, Stein, Williams, & Myer, 2009), the majority of South African research that has investigated on this link between poverty and mental health has focused on low-income Coloured and Black South African women (e.g. Burgess & Campbell, 2014; Kruger & Lourens, 2016; Kruger, van Straaten, Taylor, Lourens, & Dukas, 2014) as this is the population group most likely to openly report mental health problems like depression (Pillay & Kriel, 2006; Stein et al., 2008; Tomlinson et al., 2009).

These findings bear important implications for future research and interventions. Firstly, future research and interventions should focus on the likelihood of distress and lack of mental health coping skills underlying destructive behaviours like problem drinking. It would also be useful to work on introducing alternative constructions of what it means to be strong and brave man in their community and enable men to recognise and address their distress and stressors in less destructive ways.

7.4 Respectable drinkers

The notion of respectable drinking and respectability, in general, appears to be a dominant narrative that pervades the male participants' accounts. It could be argued that the notion of respectability that the male participants and members of other low-income Coloured construct

echoes what various international scholars (e.g. Gaines, 1996; Harris, 2014; Higginbotham, 1993) describe as ‘respectability politics’ operating within the context of African American communities. They refer to respectability politics as the attempts of these marginalised communities to police, sanitise and hide non-conformist or what some would call ‘deviant’ behaviour or ‘bad’ traits associated with the Black identity of certain members (Gaines, 1996; Harris, 2014; Higginbotham, 1993).

In Ross’ (2010) study, conducted in an informal settlement on the outskirts of Cape Town a similar process of respectability politics was called being “self-respecting” (p.38). Ross (2010) argues that it was practiced to attempt to ensure that one was not judged or evaluated or considered to not measure up to the code of “*ordentlikheid*” (Ross, 2010 p.37). These attempts can be seen in the participants accounts where they sanitised their constructions to include talk of respectability and being a proper man and where they described policing others in the community, i.e. their male friends, ‘deviant’ behaviours. Higginbotham (1993) describes this process of respectability politics as substituting these ‘deviant’ or ‘pathological’ traits or behaviours with white middle-class models of acceptable behaviours and could, therefore, be seen as attempts at “race work” or “racial uplift” (Higginbotham, 1992, p.271).

Furthermore, people of colour in international contexts behaved in respectable ways with the hope that such acts of conformity would confer full citizenship status, bringing with it greater access, opportunities, and mobility (Cohen, 2004; Higginbotham, 1993). Such attempts at racial uplift or instilling a sense of respectability, at least in the conventional sense, in the participants’ lives can be seen as largely unsuccessful in practice. The stark reality of the participants’ daily life practices in terms of problem drinking and getting involved in crime and violence contrasted sharply with the code of respectability that they purported to adhere to. More work needs to be done to explore how the respectability discourse in Cape Winelands farmworker communities

should be incorporated in thinking about interventions that could curb problem drinking in these communities.

7.5 Strengths

The first strength of this study that I wish to highlight is that it provides localized South African understanding on the topic of the relationship between male friendships and drinking. Knowledge generated on this topic thus far, as mentioned previously, is largely limited to knowledge drawn from a Westernized middle-class context. Furthermore, this study highlights positive aspects of the day-to-day practices of male friendships within low-income contexts in South Africa, this is important as most studies on male friendships in low-income contexts focus on male friendships in relation to engagement in risk behaviours and disease. Furthermore, it also promotes a focus on the positive role that alcohol has to play in male friendships in terms of keeping a feeling of common good-will amongst friends and strengthening friendship bonds whereas the dominant narrative in male friendship and alcohol has until recently been largely limited to the concept of ‘peer pressure’.

In addition, the finding that these men continue to drink excessively despite having the knowledge of the negative long-term effects of drinking on one’s health and that excessive drinking seems to be a way to cope with distress and daily stress may be related to psychological distress that these men don’t know how to manage it effectively or to even seek out help, presents important implications for policy and interventions in South Africa that need to be taken into account. Furthermore, the use of different formats of interviewing i.e. individual and group format resulted in rich and textured data. For example, in the case of individual interviews, the interviewer could gain access to information that the participants would perhaps not want to share in front of their friends whereas in the case of focus groups the participants may have been able to build on each other’s constructions. Furthermore, the quality of analysis was ensured by my

supervisor's extensive review of the interviews, transcription and coding of the data. In addition, it can be considered highly likely that this study's findings could be transferable to other rural low-income contexts given that the studies of De Kock (2002) and Falletisch (2008), both conducted in Cape Winelands communities, generated similar findings to those of the present study.

Another strength of this study is that it allows the voices of marginalized, low-income men of colour to be heard. This population of rural low-income men of colour have been particularly absent from South African psychology research. Furthermore, this research shows quite clearly how marginalized men are disadvantaged in the face of patriarchal power relations, in contrast to radical feminists who claim that all men only benefit from the patriarchy. This research study also highlights the complex web of power relations that shape the participants constructions and that perhaps play a role in their drinking habits and their agency, or lack thereof, to be able to 'manage' them. Lastly, this study adds to the limited body of information on (rural) Coloured masculinities in South African research.

7.6 Limitations

The first limitation with regards to the present study that I identified is that the interviewer brought a strong sense of Christian respectability to the interview space and this may have been an important contributing factor to the conflict created between a respectability discourse and the constructions of their 'disreputable', alcohol-infused male friendships, highlighted in theme three. I am not sure however that had the participants spoken to a friend or a different interviewer the respectability discourse would have been less emphasized as the dominance of this discourse has also been noted in other studies on low-income coloured communities (e.g. Salo, 2003; 2007; van Niekerk & Boonzaier, 2015a; 2015b).

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Addendum A: Consent form

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITEIT

INWILLIGING OM AAN ONDERHOUDE DEEL TE NEEM

MANLIKE VRIENDSKAPPE EN ALKOHOLGEBRUIK: 'n VERKENNENDE STUDIE

U word genooi om deel te neem aan 'n navorsingsprojek wat uitgevoer sal word deur Rozanne Casper, onder leiding van Dr. Elmien Lesch van die Sielkunde Departement, Stellenbosch Universiteit. Rozanne is 'n Meestersstudent in Sielkunde en hierdie navorsing sal in haar meesterstesis vervat word. U is vir die studie gekies omdat u uself sien as 'n Kleurling man, tussen die ouderdom van 35 en 65 jaar is, in en om Stellenbosch bly, en alkohol gebruik.

Ons besef dat u moontlik nie daarvan sal hou of saamstem dat ons die term "Kleurling" gebruik nie. Ons wil u egter verseker dat dit nie ons bedoeling is om uitgediende apartheidsidees voort te sit nie. Ons gebruik dit gewoon omdat mense nog steeds die nagevolge van apartheid voel in hul alledaagse lewe. "Kleurling" mense is op spesifieke maniere deur apartheid beïnvloed en in plattelandse areas ondervind hulle byvoorbeeld nog steeds ekonomiese agterstande. 'n Verdere rede waarom ons hierdie term gebruik is dat dit erkenning gee dat mense se lewens op belangrike maniere beïnvloed word deur hulle geskiedenis en agtergrond en dat dit in ag geneem moet word wanneer ons navorsing doen. Ons gebruik dus die term "Kleurling" om te verwys na 'n groep mense wat 'n spesifieke soort geskiedenis en agtergrond deel wat nie dieselfde is as ander groepe in Suid-Afrika nie. Daar is min kennis oor hoe middeljarige mans uit hierdie groep manlike vriendskappe, en alkoholgebruik in hierdie vriendskappe verstaan en beleef. Met hierdie studie wil ons dus 'n bydrae maak om meer kennis beskikbaar te stel

1. DOEL VAN DIE STUDIE

Die doel van die studie is om beter te verstaan hoe middeljarige mans in u gemeenskap manlike

vriendskappe en die gebruik van alkohol in hierdie vriendskappe sien en ervaar. Ons hoop dat 'n minimum van 15 mans aan die studie sal deelneem.

2. PROSEDURE

- Nadat u ingestem het om aan die studie deel te neem, sal u eerstens gevra word om inligting oor uself te verskaf, bv u ouderdom, inkomste, woonplek. Dit sal ongeveer 'n halfuur duur.
- In die individuele of fokus groep onderhoud wat daarna volg, sal u gevra word om te praat oor u manlike vriendskappe en alkoholgebruik in hierdie vriendskappe. In die fokus groepe onderhoude sal u en drie of vier ander manne in u gemeenskap oor die navorsing vraag saam met die onderhoudvoerder gesels. Beide tipe onderhoud sal tussen een en 'n half uur tot twee ure duur.
- Indien nodig, sal u gevra word om aan verdere onderhoude (maksimum drie) deel te neem. Die doel van hierdie opvolgonderhoud/e sal aan u verduidelik word en u sal weer gevra word om 'n ingeligte toestemmingsvorm in te vul en te teken voordat hierdie verdere onderhoude gevoer sal word.
- U sal ook die navorser in kennis moet stel indien u nie 'n bepaalde sessie kan bywoon nie. U kan dit doen deur 'n 'Please call me' aan die navorser te stuur.

3. POTENSIËLE RISIKO EN ONGEMAKLIKHEID

Dit is moontlik dat u deelname aan die navorsing u bewus kan maak van probleme of ongemaklike en pynlike kwessies. Die Eenheid vir Sielkunde by die Stellenbosch Universiteit kan gratis berading aan u

verskaf. Indien u dus hulp nodig, kan u hierdie organisasie kontak (021 8082944). Dit is ook moontlik dat u bewus kan raak dat u drankgebruik 'n negatiewe uitwerking op u het en hulp hiermee nodig. Indien dit die geval is, kan u DOPSTOP (021 883 8780) kontak wat u sal help met die bekoming van berading of rehabilitasie.

4. POTENSIËLE VOORDELE

U sal tydens die onderhoude die geleentheid kry om na te dink en te praat oor u manlike vriende en oor u alkoholgebruik. U mag hierby baat vind, want mans kry nie dikwels die geleentheid om eerlik te praat oor hulle manlike vriendskappe en oor alkoholgebruik met iemand wat die gesprek vertroulik sal hou nie. Verder sal u deelname aan die navorsing ook bydra tot meer kennis oor manlike vriendskappe en alkoholgebruik in Suid-Afrika. Indien u aan die studie deelneem, sal u 'n kos koepbewys ter waarde van R100.00 ontvang as 'n blyk van ons waardering aan die einde van u deelname.

5. BETALING VIR DEELNAME

As 'n blyk van die navorser se waardering, sal u 'n kos koepbewys ter waarde van R100 ontvang nadat u deelname aan die navorsing voltooi is. As u in fokus groep onderhoude deel neem sal u R50 na elke onderhoud kry vir u deelname.

6. VERTROULIKHEID

Enige inligting wat deur die onderhoud verkry word en waaraan u naam moontlik gekoppel kan word, sal vertroulik en privaat bly. Geen inligting sal sonder u toestemming bekend gemaak word nie, mits die wet dit nie vereis nie. In hierdie verband, neem asseblief kennis dat dit die plig van die navorsers is om enige gevalle van fisiese of seksuele aanranding van kinders en weerlose persone wat tydens die onderhoud genoem word, te rapporteer. Die wet vereis ook dat ons inligting oor onwettige aktiwiteite soos dwelmmisbruik en sjebeen kuiers moet rapporteer indien die hof vir hierdie inligting vra. Om hierdie

moontlikheid te vermy, beveel ons aan dat u so ver moonlik nie oor hierdie onwettige aktiwiteite praat nie.

Elektroniese transkripsies sal met 'n wagwoord beskerm word en fisiese kopieë sal in 'n veilige plek bewaar word. Slegs die onderhoudsvoerder, die navorser en studieleier sal toegang tot u inligting hê. Geen identifiseerbare inligting sal in die onderhoude, die geskrewe weergawes van die onderhoude of enige ander rekords of publikasies verskyn nie. U sal self 'n skuilnaam kies wat nie met uself verbind kan word nie en hierdie skuilnaam sal in die plek van u eie naam gebruik word. U kan ook vra om na die bandopname van u onderhoud te luister en veranderings aan te vra. Sodra ons u inligting nie meer benodig nie, sal dit vernietig word.

7. DEELNAME EN ONTTREKING

U kan kies om deel van die studie te wees of nie. As u vrywillig aan die studie deelneem, kan u enige tyd van die studie onttrek sonder enige negatiewe nagevolge. U mag ook weier om enige vrae te antwoord en steeds deel van die studie bly. Indien dit blyk dat u ontstel word deur die onderhoud of indien sensitiewe inligting in die onderhoud opkom, mag die navorser besluit om u ter wille van u eie belang van die studie te onttrek.

8. IDENTIFIKASIE VAN NAVORSERS

Indien u enige navrae in verband met die gesprekke het, is u welkom om dit onder Rozanne Casper by (15490173@sun.ac.za) of Dr Elmien Lesch (el5@sun.ac.za of tel no 021-8083466) se aandag te bring.

9. REG VAN DEELNEMER

U mag enige tyd u deelname aan die gesprekke, sonder enige slegte nagevolge, stop. Indien u enige vrae

in verband met u reg as deelnemer het, kan u Me. Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] by die Afdeling vir Navorsingsontwikkeling kontak.

10. TOESTEMMING

Ek (naam en van) _____ onderteken dat ek die bogenoemde gelees en verstaan het; en dat ek vrywillig aan die onderhoude deelneem.

Datum

Handtekening

Addendum B: Demographic questionnaire

AGTERGROND VRAELYS

Ouderdom: _____

Geboorte Datum (DD/MM/JJ): _____

1) Watter taal praat jy by die huis?

- Afrikaans
- Engels
- Xhosa
- Ander (spesifiseer asseblief) _____

2) Wat is die hoogste vlak van onderrig wat jy voltooi het? (Kies een)

- Geen skool opleiding
- Net tot Graad 1-12 (spesifiseer asseblief) _____
- Sertifikaat met minder as graad 12
- Diploma met minder as graad 12
- Sertifikaat met graad 12
- Diploma met graad 12
- Baccalaureus Graad
- B-Graad en diploma
- Honneurs graad
- Hoër graad (meesters of doktorsgraad)

3) Behoort jy aan n geloof?

- JA
- NEE

4) Indien JA, aan watter geloof behoort jy?

- Christen (spesifiseer watter tipe) _____
- Katoliek
- Joodse
- Moslem
- Ander (spesifiseer) _____

5) Aan watter rassegroep dink jy behoort jy?

- Swart
- Indier
- Kleurling
- Wit
- Ander (spesifiseer asseblief)

6) In watter soort huis leef jy?

- Baksteenhuis op n aparte standplaas
- Huis/struktuur in agterplaas
- Informele hut/blyplek in agterplaas
- Informele hut/blyplek nie in agterplaas nie
- Ander (spesifiseer asseblief)

7) Wie se huis is dit?

- Joune
- Huweliksmaat of partner
- Ma of pa
- Ouma of oupa
- Boetie of sussie
- Uitgebreide familie
- Plaaseienaar
- Ander (spesifiseer)

8) Hoeveel vertrekke is daar in die huis? _____

9) Hoeveel slaapkamers is daar in die huis? _____

10) Is daar n badkamer in die huis?

- JA
- NEE

11) Is daar elektrisiteit in die huis?

- JA
- NEE

12) Is daar water in die huis?

- JA
- NEE

INKOMSTE

13) Verdien jy enige geld?

- JA
- NEE

Antwoord die volgende as jy tans werk:

14) Indien JA, omtrent hoeveel uur werk jy per week?

- Minder as 10
- 10 tot 20
- 21 tot 30
- 31 tot 40
- Meer as 41

15) Watter soort werk doen jy? _____

16) Hoe dikwels werk jy?

- Volle dag
- Half dag
- Per uur soos werk beskikbaar is
- Seisoenale werk

- Ander(spesifiseer asseblief) _____

17) Van wanneer af doen jy hierdie werk? _____

18) Hoeveel geld verdien jy per week en per maand? (Vul altwee in)

_____ per week

_____ per maand

19) Is daar enige maande in n jaar wanneer jy nie geld verdien nie?

- JA
- NEE

20) Indien JA, hoeveel maande in n jaar verdien jy nie geld nie? _____

21) Vir hoeveel persone moet jy sorg? (jouself ingesluit) _____

Antwoord die volgende as jy nie tans werk nie:

22) As jy nie werk het nie, van wanneer af het jy nie werk nie? _____

23) Is daar enige maande in n jaar wanneer jy geld verdien?

- JA
- NEE

24) Indien JA, hoeveel maande in n jaar verdien jy geld? _____

25) Wat was die laaste werk wat jy gehad het? _____

26) Het jy of enige ander persoon in jou huishouding enige ander vorm van inkomste soos n toelaag?

- JA
- NEE

27) Ongeveer hoeveel geld verdien die mense in jou huishouding altesaam in n maand?

- Geen
- 1 tot 4 800
- 4 801 tot 9 600
- 9 601 tot 19 200
- 19 201 tot 38 400
- 38 401 tot 76 800
- 76 801 tot 153 600
- 153 601 tot 307 200
- 307 201 tot 614 400
- 614 401 tot 1 228 800
- Meer as 1 228 801

ALKOHOL GEBRUIK

Alkohol gebruik:

28) Gebruik jy alkohol ?

- JA
- NEE

Antwoord die volgende as jy alkohol gebruik

29) Hoe oud was jy toe jy die eerste keer alkohol gebruik het? _____

**30) Watter tipe alkohol was dit wat jy daardie eerste keer gedrink
het? _____**

31) Hoe oud was jy toe jy eerste keer dronk was? _____

32) Indien JA, hoe gereeld drink jy?

- Elke dag
- Elke week
- Elke maand
- Elke jaar
- Ander (spesifiseer) _____

33) Hoeveel glase alkohol drink jy per week? _____

34) Hoeveel glase alkohol drink jy in een aand? _____

35) Watter tipe alkohol gebruik jy?

- Bier
- Wyn
- ‘Spirits’ byvoorbeeld: Whiskey, Brandewyn, Rum etc
- ‘Spirits’ met koeldrank
- Ander (spesifiseer) _____

VERHOUDINGS

36) In watter soort romantiese verhouding/s is jy nou?

(Indien jy huidiglik in meer as een verhouding is, spesifiseer elke verhouding tipe)

- Nie van toepassing nie
- In a verhouding maar bly nie saam nie (sedert _____)
- Getroud (sedert _____)
- Getroud, maar bly nie saam nie (b.v. maat bly ?werk in n ander dorp)
(sedert _____)
- Bly saam met iemand van die selfde geslag (sedert _____)
- Bly saam met iemand van die teenoorgestelde geslag (sedert _____)
- Vervreem (nog getroud, maar bly nie saam nie) (sedert _____)
- Geskei (sedert _____)
- My maat (partner) is oorlede (sedert _____)

37) Hoeveel kinders is daar in die huishouding? _____

38) Wat is hul ouderdomme? _____

39) Het jy enige kinders wat nie by jou in dieselfde huis bly nie?

- JA
- NEE

40) Indien JA, hoeveel? _____

41) Het jy vriende?

- JA
- NEE

Antwoord die volgende as jy vriende het

42) Indien JA, Hoeveel vriende het jy? _____

43) Hoeveel van hulle is manlik? _____

44) Hoe gereeld spandeer jy tyd saam met jou manlike vriende?

- elke dag
- elke week
- elke maand
- Ander (spesifiseer)

45) Wat doen julle as jy en jou manlike vriende saam kuier (bv. braai, drink wyn, kyk sport)? _____

BAIE DANKIE VIR JOU TYD!

Onthou asseblief dat alle inligting in hierdie studie as streng vertroulik beskou word

Addendum C: Example of a Working Interview Schedule

Hoeveel mansvriende het jy? Sien jy hulle in 'n groep of kuier jy met elkeen alleen? Hoe dikwels sien jy hulle?

As jy in 'n groep saam met vriende tyd saam deurbring, wat doen julle dan? Hoe dikwels kuier jy saam met vriende in 'n groep? Waaroor praat julle? Sal jy met jou vriende praat oor hartsake of probleme? Hoe praat jy daaroor? Indien jy wel daaroor praat, vertel my van die onlangste keer wat jy dit gedoen het. Hoe reageer die ander vriende op 'n vriend wat oor hartsake of probleme praat? Hoe is die drink van alkohol deel van hierdie bymekaarwees.

Vra deelnemer om die vriendskap met elke vriend te beskryf: Hoe dikwels sien jy hom? Wat doen julle as julle bymekaar is? Waaroor praat julle as julle bymekaar kom? Sal jy met hierdie vriend praat oor hartsake of probleme? Hoekom of hoekom nie? Hoe praat jy daaroor? Indien wel, vertel my van die onlangste keer wat jy dit gedoen het. Hoe is die drink van alkohol deel van hierdie bymekaarwees met elke vriend?

Beskryf jou naaste manlike vriendskap. Waarom is dit jou beste vriend? Hoe dikwels sien jy hom? Wat doen julle as julle bymekaar is? Waaroor praat julle as julle bymekaar kom? Sal jy met hierdie vriend praat oor hartsake of probleme? Hoekom of hoekom nie? Hoe praat jy daaroor? Indien wel, vertel my van die onlangste keer wat jy dit gedoen het. Hoe is die drink van alkohol deel van hierdie bymekaarwees met elke vriend?

Addendum D: Translated English and original Afrikaans excerpts (as featured in the methodology and findings sections)

Chapter 5: Methodology

The interviewer

Interviewer: Not handed over [referring here to God handing a person over to the devil], okay no sorry, I want to add my meaning again (laughing), we all have a free will man, so God won't give you over, he is always merciful and there is always a chance. So, that's why he makes use of murderers, that's why he says murderers will get into the kingdom first, and prostitutes. I don't know if you have come across that in the bible?

Onderhoudvoerder: Nie oorgegief nie, okay nee sorry, ek wil alweer my mening in sit. (lag), ons almal het 'n vrye wil man, so die Here sal 'ie vir jou oorgief nie, Hy is altyd genaadig en daar is altyd 'n kans. Dis hoekom hy gebruik maak van moordenaars, dis hoekom hy sê moordenaars gaan eerste in die koninkryk, en prostetute. Ek wietie as dji daai teëgekome het in die bybel nie?

Braun and Clarke's thematic analysis

Interviewer: Do you think you are responsible and respectful men? How do you ensure that you are respected and that you are responsible?

Onderhoudvoerder: Dink julle, julle is verantwoordelike en respekvolle manne? Wat doen julle dat julle gerespekter moet word en dat julle verantwoordelik is?

Servaas: Respect it means...we must be respectful of the wine and the wine should be respectful of us and the wine can't drink us. He must drink himself.

Servaas: Respek dit beteken...ons moet respek wees vir die wyn en die wyn moet respek wees vir ons en wyn kan nie vir ons drink nie. Hy moet homself drink.

Interviewer: Does that make you a man?

Onderhoudvoerder: Maak dit jou 'n man?

Servaas: Ja, and he must say to himself 'I have had enough of you' ...you must take your money back to the bank.

Servaas: Ja, en moet vir homself se 'ek het genoeg van jou' ...jy moet jou

geldjies vat..bank-toe.

Interviewer: Okay, I hear what you say. Wine must not drink you. You must take your money back to the bank.

Onderhoudvoerder: Okay, ek hoor wat jy sê. Wyn moenie vir jou drink nie. Jy moet jou geld met jou vat, bank-toe.

Dirk: If you have respect for anyone else then you must just remember one thing, it's manly, because the reason why I say this, you must show respect towards anyone else- woman, man, child and everyone. Don't let wine cause you to lose your respect. It will lead to a problem and that's the easiest way that the picture will collapse, that picture will tear. Because you don't have respect for...if you don't have respect for yourself, you won't have respect for me.

Dirk: As jy nie respek het vir enige iemand anders dan moet djy net een ding onthou, dis manlik, want die rede hoekom ek so sê, respek moet jy betoon aan enige iemand anders - vrou, man, kind en almal. Moenie dat wyn jou respek verloor nie. Dit gaan mos lei tot 'n probleem en daais die maklikste wat jou prentjie gaan laat ineerstort, daai prentjie gaan skeer. Want jy het nie respek vir... as jy het nie respek vir jouself het nie, gaan jy nie respek vir my hê nie.

Ethical considerations

Interviewer: For the conversation that we are carrying out here, hey? How does it influence you? What do you think of this and what are you going to do with it?

Onderhoudvoerder: Vir die gesprek wat ons hier voer né, hoe beïnvloed dit vir julle? Wat dink julle hiervan en wat gaan julle met dit doen?

Servaas: This that you prescribe for us, can help us get our acts together. The questions that come out of the interview will bring me to the 'right' side. Leave everything that you must not use, you will see which side you go over to.

Servaas: Die wat djy vir ons nou voorskryf, kan ons almal regruk. Die vrae wat uit kom bring my na die regte kant toe. Los wat jy nie moet gebruik'ie, djy sal sien na watter kant gan djy.

Lukas: You must get your life together, no actually, change your life.

Lukas: Djy moet jou lewe agtermekaar kry, nee eintlik, jou lewe verander.

Francois: The whole story here is actually a 'help' story...as I can see it,

namely, the alcohol business.

Francois: Die hele storie hieso is eintlik 'n hulpstorie, soes ek dit kan sien, naamlik, die alkohol besigheid.

Chapter 6: Findings

6.2 Theme 1- Structuring and lubricating social life with alcohol

6.2.1 Using alcohol as a social lubricant

Pieter: I am not a guy who talks a lot, if I have had drink then I am talkative.

Pieter: Ek is nie 'n ou wat baie talk nie, as ek dop gedrink is ek talkative.

Dirk: So it's very nice to chat, but to be honest, I don't chat to people a lot. I chat nicely over a nice drink but you won't just find me standing there talking to a bunch of people.

Dirk: So dis baie lekker om te gesels, maar om eerlik te wees, ek gesels baie min met mense. Ek gesels lekker oor 'n lekker dop maar jy sal my nie sommer kom kry daar staan ek tussen 'n klomp mense en gesels nie.

Hannes: You feel that maybe you might say something wrong, see? You almost have, I don't have anything to say to you, there isn't any conversation that I can have. But if I've had a drink, then the words just come by themselves, you can say whatever is on your tongue.

Hannes: Djy voel miskien djy kan iets verkeerd sê, sien? Djy het amper soe, ek het nie iets om vir jou te sê nie, daar is nie 'n gesprek'ie. Dat ek kan saam knop 'ie. Maar as ek nou, 'n dop in het, en dan kom 'it soema vanself die woorde, djy praat enige iets wat op jou tong kom.

Hannes:...then I'm actually the person I'm supposed to be. Like, how can I say, then I'm Johnny boy so to speak. But if I'm not drinking, then I'm Johnathan, I'm a bit shy, if I'm with people, then I will just listen to what they say most of the time...its always about what kind of person you are, how you talk to people, sometimes there are people who ask why you talk so softly?

Hannes: ...dan is ek eintlik die mens wat ek moet wies. Soes ek kan sê, dan's ek

Johnny boy soe te sê. Ma' as ek, nie drink nie, dan is ek Johnathan ek is 'n bietjie skaam, as ek by mense kom, dan gat ek meeste van die tyd net luister wat hulle te sê het. ...dit gaan altyd oor hoe 'n persoon djy is, hoe djy gesels saam mense het, partykeer is da' mense wat sê, hoekom praat jy dan nou soe sag?

Francois: Let me tell you, if I don't have alcohol, I am a speechless person.

Francois: Laat ek vir jou sê, ek, ek is 'n baie spraaklose mens, as ek nie alkohol het nie.

Dirk: I talk nicely over a nice drink like I said, I can make jokes.

Dirk: Ek gesels lekker oor 'n lekker dop soos ek sê, ek kan grappe maak.

Francois: Alcohol allows you to make jokes, everything.

Francois:Alkohol laat jou grappe maak, alles.

Lukas: There is one thing that I actually want to say, you can become quiet when you have company. They will ask you "why are you so quiet now Francois? Why are you so quiet?" All that he will say is "I'm thinking a bit quickly" then the man will say "pour me a beer", then you pour him a beer...

Lukas: Daar's een ding wat ek eintlik wil sê, in die company kan jy stil raak. Hulle gaan later vra "hoekom is jy nou so stil Francois, hoekom is jy nou so stil?" Al wat hy gaan sê is "ek dink gou bietjie, man" dan sê die man "gooi vir my 'n bier", dan gooi jy vir hom n bier...

Dirk: I also really want to try drink a bit less, but there is always someone who says "Ag, have another drink Dirkie man; I want to hear you sing and I want to hear you cry."

Dirk: Ek wil ook graag ook probeer om bietjie minder te drink, maar daar's altyd iemand wat sê "Ag drink nog 'n doppie Dirkie man; ek wil jou hoor sing en ek wil jou hoor huil."

Frederik: To stop drinking isn't a problem, but to stop at this age, I don't really

have friends...especially if you are a person who doesn't like to talk.

Frederik: Om op te hou drink, is nie 'n probleem nie, maar om op te hou nou op hierdie ouderdom, ek het nie eintlik vriende...vir al as jy 'n jy 'n persoon is wat nie baie hou van gesels nie.

6.2.2 Drinking and socializing go hand in hand

Ryno: When we get together, and if we perhaps have a braai on or watch sports, then, then you chat with that guy and then you chat throughout the duration of the drinking.

Ryno: As ons bymekaar kom en ons het miskien nou, 'n braaitjie aan of ons kyk sports, dan, dan gesels jy saam met daai ou, en jy gesels deur die loop van die drinkery.

Jan:...then you just start drinking as well and then it just so happens that they talk quite nicely with him.

Jan: ...wat jy ook sommer begin drink en nou kom dit dat hulle gesels nou sommer baie lekker saam met hom.

Pieter:...but the friends that I have at the moment, like they now, it's like have a drink here and have a drink there and chat together.

Pieter: ...maar die vriende wat ek nou het, soos hulle nou, dis hier 'n dop drink en daar dop drink en saam gesels.

Arno: ...then I can have a beer and Ill know that we are chatting nicely now.

Arno: ...dan kan ek nou 'n biertjie drink en weet ek, ons gesels nou sommer lekker.

Francois: If you are drunk, yes you can, check here— you talk about nice things.

Francois: As jy dronk is, drink, ja jy kan, kyk hier— soos jy praat mos maar lekker goed.

Wian: We don't worry, we just chat and I mean, we just keep ourselves happy

and we just carry on. We just fucking carry on and we drink and then I see again that the people jump up and then they go and dance again.

Wian: Ons worry nie, ons praat net en ek meen, ons hou net vir ons happy en ons gaan net aan. Ons fok net aan en ons drink en sien ek weer die mense spring op en dan gaan dans hulle weer.

Focus group interview:

Dirk: ...we go to parties to drink...we go to chat about things...

Dirk: ...ons gaan mos nou na parties om te drink, ons gaan om te gesels mos 'n ding...

Interviewer: And when you are together, then what do you drink?

Onderhoudvoerder: En as julle bymekaar is, dan wat drink julle?

Lukas: Then we drink, then we just chat.

Lukas: Dan drink ons, dan gesels ons net.

Frederik: You can't drink a beer alone. Never drink a beer alone.

Frederik: Jy kan nie alleen 'n bier drink nie. Nooit alleen 'n bier drink nie.

Hannes: I don't like drinking alone.

Hannes: Ek hou nie van alleen drink nie.

Pieter: Won't help if you drink, you can't drink alone. You must have a friend to drink with; you must have a friend to chat to.

Pieter: Help nie jy gaan drink nie, jy kan nie alleen drink nie. Jy moet 'n vriend hê, om saam te drink; jy moet 'n vriend hê om saam met te gesels.

6.2.3 Buying and sharing alcohol starts and demonstrates male friendships

Servaas:...then he chose me as a tjommie.

Servaas: ...toe kies hy nou vir my as 'n tjommie.

Onderhoudvoerder: Now how do you know that he chose you as a tjommie?

What did you do?

Onderhoudvoerder: Nou hoe weet jy hy het vir jou as 'n tjommie gekies? Wat het hy gedoen?

Servaas: Now Saturday evening, he went and bought a kan man. Right, I walked with him. He bought a kan and paid sixty. He poured out the kan and so we drank. I came from here and he came to my place. The man said ‘No, and up here again. The man bought a kan again man.’

Servaas: Nou Saterdagavond, nou wat hy my koop 'n kan mos man. Right, ek stap saam met hom. Koop hy 'n kan, sestig betaal hy. Gooi daar vir my 'n kan uit, en so drink ons mos maar. Gaan ek hier af, kom hy na my toe. Sê die man, 'Nee, en weer hier op. Koop die man mos weer 'n kan mos man.'

Arno: Look, Heinrich and myself, that Saturday when I got to the Cape, I got to the Cape that Friday, that Friday evening he came to me with a bottle...then him and I we sat with a bottle and chilled here, I sat right here, we drank a little...and thats how him and I started to become friends.

Arno: Kyk ek en Heinrich daai Saterdag toe ek in die Kaap in kom, ek het die Vrydag in die Kaap gekom, die Vrydagaand kom hy met 'n bottel hier na my toe....toe het ek hy 'n botteltjie hier gechill, ek het gesit hierso-drink ons 'n bietjie...en daar wat ek en hy so vriende geword begin het.

Interviewer: When you met, how did the whole thing begin?

Onderhoudvoerder: Toe julle ontmoet het, hoe het dit begin?

Francois: The whole thing began...I went over to farm X for many years, on weekends, we have a drink together, we have a drink, and then I sleep by their place.

Francois: Hele ding het begin... ek, het, baie jaar geloop by plaas X, naweke, dan stick ons 'n dop, drink ons 'n dop, slaap ek sommer daar by hulle.

Dirk: Look, I actually often came over here to farm Y...then I came to look for work here on a Saturday, and then we came to this place next door, went to go buy us a drink and so on, just walked past here and so I befriended him, got to know the guys and so on.

Dirk: Kyk ek het eintlik mos maar baie hierso in plaas Y geloop man...Toe ek hier op 'n Saterdag kom werk soek, het ons mos maar altyd hierlangs geloop.

Vir ons 'n dop gaan koop of so aan, net hier verby geloop and so 't ek bevriend geraak, manne leer ken en so aan.

Interviewer: How do you form friendships?

Onderhoudvoerder: Hoe, hoe vorm julle vriende?

Frederik: We drink together on weekends. If he walks away from here on a Saturday morning and he has a few beers and I see him, you say, this is a friend.

Frederik: Naweke drink ons saam. As hy Saterdagoggend hier weg afstap en hy het 'n paar biere, en ek sien vir hom, sê jy, dis 'n vriend.

Interviewer: Will you approach any friends with a beer or...

Onderhoudvoerder: Sal jy vir enige vriende so nader met 'n bier of...

Frederik: Not necessarily. It depends on, there it comes down to those classes of friends that you have. Everyone falls into a class of friendship. Not all friends are the same to be able to say jis, there's a beer....

Frederik: Nie noodwendig nie. Dit gaan ook, daar kom dit weer daai klasse van vriende wat jy het. Elkeen val in 'n klas van vriendskap. Alle vriende is nie dieselfde om te sê jis, daar's 'n bier...

Kobus: Now Ruan, he is alright towards me, he is my friend. If I don't have any, he will give me some.

Kobus: Nou Ruan, hy's oraait saam met my, hy's my vriend. As ek nie het nie, gee hy vir my.

Ryno: My boys sit and if you contributed, sometimes if you contributed or if you didn't contribute, you enjoy what all the guys are enjoying, if there is a braai, bring something with, if you don't have money, its fine. If there is drinking and you don't have money its fine. So there is nothing about—no, you didnt contribute so you can't join, because the friendship circle that's there, those are the friends. There is no-one who is left out.

Ryno: My boys sit en of jy nou by gegooi het, partykeer of jy nou by gegooi het, of jy nie by gegooi het nie, jy geniet wat die ouens geniet, as daar gebraai

word, ietsie saam, as jy nie geld het nie, dis fine. As daar gedrink word en jy het nie geld, is dit fine. So daar is nie van—nee jy het nie by gegooi nie, jy kan nie join nie, want, die vriende kring wat daar is, daai is die vriende. Daar is nie van iemand, wat uit staan nie.

Kobus: Ruan, that one treats me alright, Ruan, look if I have a drink then I will go fetch it by the house, or we go sit by his house and have a drink together. He is alright and if he has some for me than he will come fetch me, if he has money or if he has nothing. He is a friend him, that one that I have now.

Kobus: Ruan, die een is oraait saam met my, Ruan, kyk as ek 'n dop het, dan gaan haal ek hom by sy huis, of sit by sy huis en drink ons 'n dop saam. Hy's oraait en as hy nou net vir my dan kom haal hy vir my, as hy geld het of hy niks het nie. Hy's 'n vriend hy, daai ene wat ek nou het, man.

Kobus: He said to me, right, we are drinking this, and we are putting that away for tomorrow morning, and then we do that. Early in the morning, if we have, then he is by me, or I go wake him up, then we just chill, us two together, if there are other tjommmies, if there are other guys who come along and so on. Who don't give us any, then we say to him, right, we don't have anything for you, just go home rather. This is how our things work.

Kobus: Hy sê vir my, right, ons drink die uit, daai sit ons weg vir môreoggend, dan maak ons so. Vroeg die oggend, as ons het, dan is hy by my, of ek gaan vir hom wakker, dan koel ons af, ons twee bymekaar, as daar ander tjommmies, as daar ander ouens aankom en so aan. Wat nie vir ons gee nie, dan sê ons sommer vir hom, right ons het niks vir jou nie, gaan maar huis toe. So werk ek en hy se dinge.

6.2.4 Sobriety or incongruence of intoxication levels as a threat to the integrity of male friendships

Focus group:

Interviewer: If you stop drinking now right? Guys, will it influence your friendship circles? How will it do this?

Onderhoudvoerder: As julle nou ophou drink nê? Menere, gaan dit julle

vriendskapskringe beïnvloed? Hoe gaan dit?

Pieter: It will stop.

Pieter: Dit gaan stop.

Jan: If you drink, you have many friends, if you stop drinking you won't have them anymore.

Jan: As jy drink, het jy baie vriende, as jy ophou het jy mos nie meer nie.

Jan: There will perhaps be one or two who are still interested. But the others will say that that man doesn't drink anymore so he can't be a part of our friendship anymore.

Jan: Daar sal miskien een of twee nog belangstel. Maar die ander sal mos sê daai man drink nie meer nie so, hy gaan nie meer ons vriendskap inkom nie

Hannes: That's how the friendship breaks up. Ja, you aren't involved with us anymore.

Hannes: Dis hoe die vriendskap opbreek. Ja dji's 'ie meer betrokke saam met ons 'ie.

Frederik: Friendship circles, will always be my friends, but that bond that we had, will unravel a bit now...we are still friends overall but that closeness that we had, that we all enjoyed together, it isn't there anymore, we wander off a bit away from each other...the friendship is there, but we are just a bit further apart, the friendship is always there but not the same as when we were all doing something together.

Frederik: Vriendekring nog altyd my vriende maar nou daai band wat ons gehet het, gaan nou bietjie uitrafel... Os is nog vrinne, in die geheel, maar daai tightheid wat ons gehet 'it, wat ons als saam geniet 'it is 'ie meer da nie, ons wandel 'n bietjie meer weg van mekaar af... die vrinskap is da, ma ons is net 'n bietjie vere uitmekaar uit... Die vriendskap is daar maar altyd, maar is hy nie soos toe ons almal saam iets gedoen nie.

Jan: Your friendship will be a bit different. Because you won't be close

anymore, and the longing for each other will be different.

Jan: Jou vriendskap gaan 'n bietjie anderste wil wees. Want julle gaan nie meer close wees nie, en, die verlange van mekaar gaan anderste wees.

Hannes:...and so that friendship circle moves wider and wider.

Hannes: ...en soe beweeg daai vriende kring al wyer en wyer.

Frederik: I also learned, when I stopped drinking....and if I now decide, look here, I'm going to their place now, then they are gone. There isn't anyone who will wait for me anymore.

Frederik: Ek het ook geleer, toe ek nou ophou drink, ... En as ek nou besluit, kyk hier, ek gaan nou na hulle toe, dan's hulle weg. Van, daar's nie meer een wat vir my anyway wag nie.

Hannes: If someone maybe converts now and he doesn't do it anymore, he doesn't drink anymore then the people don't come over to his place anymore...then we go to someone, we go to another tjommie, where we know we can drink, but we find you next to the road tomorrow then its yes! And then we go on...but we can't take you with because you don't drink anymore. You don't walk with us, you don't go around with us. We go on, but we aren't going to wait for you on a Friday evening anymore, because you don't drink with us anymore. We also won't go over to your place because what will we do there, we will rather go to another tjommie's place where there is alcohol.

Hannes:As iemand nou miskien bekeer en hy doen nie meer, hy drink nie meer nie dan loop die mense net nie meer by hulle plek nie... Da' gan ons na iemand, na 'n ane tjomie toe, wa ons wiet da' kan ons drink, ma kry ons vir jou more lang'ie pad dan is dit net yes! en da' gat ons... Ma ons kan jou mos nie saam niem'ie want dji drink nie meer nie. Dji loep 'ie saam met ons 'ie, dji beweeg 'ie saam met ons nie. Ons gaan voort, ma' ons gan 'ie meer op 'n Vrydagaand vir jou wag 'ie, want dji drink nie meer saam ons nie. Ons gan oek nie na jou plek toe nie want wat gan ons da maak, ons gan liewers na nie ane tjommie toe, da wa die dop is.

Onderhoudvoerder: And if you stop drinking now, will they still show you the same love?

Onderhoudvoerder: En as jy nou met drank ophou, sal hulle nog met die selfde liefde optree?

Frederik: The friends that are there will, but, the conversation will be less, because we won't be on the same life path...there isn't another type of conversation that we can have together alot, we just go past one another. If I see you I will greet you, it's not the same as that conversation that we always had.

Frederik: Die vriende wat daar is sal, maar, die gesels sal baie minder wees, want ons sal dan nie baie op dieselfde lyn loop nie...da' is 'ie nog 'n gesels wat ons baie aanmekaar, is net met die verby gaan. As ek jou sien sal ek jou groet, is 'ie daai gesels wat ons altyd het, is.

Arno: Man, if he, look, if he maybe, comes over to my place...then he has perhaps already had a beer. You can see, no Hanru is on that level. Then I say to Hanru, leave it, come enjoy it here with me. And if he begins, let me tell you the truth, then he and I are at each other. That's the only time him and I clash.

Arno: Man, as hy so bietjie, kyk, as hy miskien, na my toe kom...Dan het hy miskien alreeds 'n biertjie in. Jy kan sommer sien, nee Hanru is nou op daai level. Dan sê ek vir Hanru, los dit, kom geniet dit saam met my hierso. En as hy begin, laat ek die waarheid praat, dan is ek en hy aan mekaar. Dis al wanneer ek en hy vassit.

Frederik: ...because the friends that I have, they won't look after me, because I don't drink the same as...I can talk but they won't worry. I don't drink what they drink. I drink 'kan' and they drink beer. I don't drink that anymore.

Frederik: ...want die vriende wat ek het, gaan nie omsien na my nie, want ek drink nie dieselfde wat....ek kan maar praat, hulle worry nie. Ek drink nie daai wat hulle drink nie. Ek drink 'kan' en hulle drink bier. Ek drink nie meer daai nie.

Dirk: Alcohol becomes a problem when you wanted to drink more...understand, want to use more of that thing...ja. That's the quickest way that you will begin to fight, old friend. You can't be more drunk than me.

Dirk: Drank raak n probleem wanneer jy meer wil gedrink het...verstaan meer wil gebruik maak van daai ding...ja. Dis die gouste manier hoe julle gaan strei, ou maat. Jy kan nie meer suip as ek nie.

6.3 Theme 2: The therapeutic effect of male friendships and drinking on daily stressors

6.3.1 The pressure of being a man

Jan:...according to me, it's that, to be a man...you must be the head of your household.

Jan: ...volgens my, is dit dat, om 'n man te wees isjy raak hoof van jou huis.

Frederik: A man is a man, sometimes, everyone who is a parent, it's almost to say, the woman will just, here, like I say, you must be, and that is the one thing that I can't agree with in life. I always say, you can have equality in life but somewhere someone must...he must be head, both can't be the head.

Frederik: 'n man is 'n man, partykeer, elkeen wat 'n ouer is, is dit amper sê, die vrou wil net, hier, soos, ek sê, moet jy wees, en daai is die een wat ek kan nie in die lewe saamstem nie. Ek sê altyd, jy kan 'n gelykereg hê in die lewe, maar êrens moet iemand... Hy moet die hoof wees, altwee kan nie hoof wees nie.

Hannes: You must be father of the house in order to be a man.

Hannes: Djy moet huisvader wies vir jou huis, om man te staan.

Francois:...look after your house, look after your place. You are a man, if you drink, look after your place.

Francois: ...kyk na jou huis, kyk na jou plek. Jy's 'n man, as jy drink, kyk na jou plek.

Christiaan: Now you must make sure that there is something on the table, that is

your responsibility, you married your wife, you must look after her.

Christiaan: Nou moet jy sorg dat daar iets op die tafel is, daai is jou verantwoordelikheid, jy het getrou met die vrou, jy moet sorg vir haar.

Servaas: A man means...you are at your house, your garden is beautiful, full of flowers, you have money and you have transport.

Servaas: 'n Man beteken ...jy's by jou huis, jou tuin is mooi vol blomme, jy't geld, jy't rygoed

Francois: I must think ok, I must work really hard over these two days for the children, ja.

Francois: Ek moet dink nou ok ek wil nou heavy die twee dae vir die kinders werk, ja.

Kobus: You have a wife and children, you must be responsible for your house and you must be responsible for your wife and children.

Kobus: Jy het 'n vrou en kinders, jy moet verantwoordelik wees vir jou huis, en verantwoordelik wees vir jou vrou en jou kinders.

Jan:...and by my house I must act like a man...I must be a man for my wife and I must be a father for my children.

Jan:en by my huis moet ek optree soes 'n man... 'n man wies vir my vrou en n pa wies vir my kinders.

Frederik: For a man, it almost feels that you don't want to get smothered at home. You must be free. I will take care of you and everything.

Frederik: Vir 'n man voel dit amper soos jy wil nie versmoor word by die huis nie. Jy moet vry. Ek sal vir jou sorg en als.

Servaas: I have a lot of stress if I don't have money in my pocket.

Servaas: Ek het baie stres as ek nie geld in my sak het nie.

Interviewer: If you talk about work, what specifically do you say about work?

Onderhoudvoerder: As julle praat van die werk, wat spesifiek van die werk praat julle?

Hannes: Maybe, like the boss made him tired, my other friend, he says, they will just again, have a rubbish day again, he just worked a kak week.

Hannes: Miskien, soos die baas het hom moeg gemaak, my ander vriend, hy sê, heer, hulle gaan net weer, 'n stront dag kry, hy het net so kak week gewerk.

Interviewer: Is there something that lies heavy on your mind which makes you stress?

Onderhoudvoerder: Is daar iets wat swaar op jou gemoed lê wat u laat stress?

Frederik: How it is with me— you actually feel heavy because you are taking responsibility now, you must look after your house.

Frederik: Hoe wat dit nou gaan by my— jy kry nou eintlik swaar want jy neem nou verantwoordelikheid, jy moet versorg vir jou huis.

Focus group interview:

Interviewer: Do you have frustrations?

Interviewer: Het jy frustasies?

Pieter: Arguing in the house from doing something wrong, work, let me go chop wood.

Pieter: Skel in die huis van iets verkeerd, werk, lat my houd kap.

Christiaan: I have forty thousand rand debt at bank X, that's actually what makes me feel heavy.

Christiaan: Ek het n viertigduisand rand skuld by bank X dit is eintlik wat vir my swaar maak.

Jan: ...there are problems, its sometimes so heavy that you try to shake it off, but you also can't shake it off...

Jan... daar is probleme, dis partykeer soe swaar dji skud hom af, maar dji kan dit ook nie af skud nie.

Francois: ...so my responsibility goes along with me till I'm in the shower, then I am rid of my responsibility.

Francois: ...so my verantwoordelikheid gaan saam met my tot en met ek bietjie toe gegooi het met in die stort, dan is ek weg van my verantwoordelikheid.

Christiaan: I don't think there's actually a solution for this, you're trying to get out of this.

Christiaan: Ek dink nie daar is eintlik 'n oplossing nie daai nie, jy probeer hier uitkom.

Lukas: No I've got immense stress but I built it up. Look, if my child asks for a two rand, by me, I must give it, not the mother, because I am the father, its father's duty, not mother's duty.

Lukas: Nee ek het geweldig stres maar ek het dit afgebou. Kyk as my kind 'n twee rand vra, by my, moet ek dit gee, nie die ma nie, want ek is die pa, dis pa se plig, nie ma se plig nie

Christiaan: I'm now sitting with a problem to try handle my stuff like this to get money to solve my problems. Every day when I go to work, focus on that, it's not pleasant man, it's a heaviness on you, no man but that is no one's problem, it's my problem, I have it... I am alone, I must go through it alone.

Christiaan: Ek sit nou met 'n probleem om nou my dinge so te kan hanteer. Geld te kan kry om my probleem te kom oplos. Elke dag as ek werk toe gaan, fokus op daai, dit is nie lekker nie man, dit is n swaarheid op jou, nie man maar dit is niemand se probleem, dis my probleem ek het hom...Ek is alleen, ek moet alleen daar deur

Francois: It's just like whether you just have work or...I still have responsibilities, I must accept them every day, I must be strong.

Francois: Dis net soos as ek werk het of... ek het nog steeds verantwoordelikhede, ek moet elke dag hulle aanvaar, ek moet sterk wees.

Jan: If you walk with a stress hey, you actually have pain, because of that bunch of stuff that can't solve your problems. That stress makes you so sick, you're not in the mood for anyone, you aren't in the mood for work, that's how it is.

Jan: As jy loop met 'n stres nê, jy het eintlik pyn, van daai klomp goed wat jou probleme nie kan oplos nie. Daai stres maak jou so siek, jy het lus vir niemand, jy het nie lus vir werk nie, so is dit.

Interviewer: ...and what can, what can it imply, to what it can bring out, if you sit the whole time with the pressure?

Onderhoudvoerder: ...en wat kan, wat kan dit impliseer, tot wat kan dit lei, as jy nou heeltyd met die pressure gaan sit?

Hannes: Depression. I can maybe just once decide, look here enough is enough, man, fuck I just do what I want to.

Hannes: Depressie. Ek gan nou miskien net een keer besluit kyk hier genoeg is genoeg, man, fok ek maak nou net wat ek wil.

Servaas: Then I think, hey, then I'll take a knife and cut my neck off. Because I know I have money every day, why don't I have money today?

Servaas: Dan dink ek hei dan vat ek sommer 'n mes en sny sommer my nek af. Want ek weet elke dag ek het geld, hoekom het ek nie vandag geld nie?

6.3.2 Talking about problems to male friends and receiving advice and support under the influence

Ryno: Especially if you have a drink in, because then everything comes out.

Now you're talking because you don't worry, there is no one here that can stop you.

Ryno: Veral as jy 'n drankie in het, want dan kom alles uit. Nou praat jy want jy worry nie, hier is niemand wat vir jou kan stop nie.

Frederik: ...because you're now 'vuurwarm' drunk, where you maybe share with the person, that you previously didn't have time for. Then you feel it

outside.

Frederik: ...want jy is nou vuurwarm gedrink, waar jy nou miskien met die persoon wou gedeel het, wat jy voor kans gesien het nie. Dan voel jy dit maar buitekant uit.

Jan: ...because you're a guy— if you're drunk... then you just blurt out.

Jan: ...want jy's 'n ou — as jy gesuip is dan...dan blaker jy sommer uit.

Frederik: You will always hear, by anything, jisis I'm tired from working, or, then someone comes and talks about you, and you say a thing, jisis, I couldn't even talk, and that's, basically what you did during the week, that everyone's maybe braai'ing or so, everything will come out there.

Frederik: Jy sal altyd hoor, by enige iets, jisis ek is moeg gewerk, of, dan kom daai een hier praat van jou, en jy praat 'n ding, jisis, ek kon nie eers praat nie, en dis, basically dit wat jy, deur die week gemaak het, dat almal miskien braai of so, alles gaan daar uit kom.

Frederik: So why won't you want to share it with your friends? Sometimes these things are very secretive, things that you don't want to get out of your system, that people mustn't know about, but at some point it gets too much then you need to get rid of it, those are the hours that a person knows about, you did this and you did that, but the person closest to you doesn't know.

Frederik: So hoekom sal jy dit nie saam jou vriende wil deel nie? Partykeer is dit baie geheimsinnig die goeters, goeters wat jy nie uit jou sisteem wil, dat mense nie daarvan moet weet nie, maar op 'n tyd raak dit te veel dan moet jy ontslae raak, dis die ure wat die mens van weet, jy het dit gedoen en daai gedoen, maar die persone naaste aan jou weet nie.

Interviewer: So, what must he do so that you can trust him?

Onderhoudvoerder: So, wat moet hy doen sodat jy vir hom vertrou?

Jan: It's like, secrets that I wanted to say, or, things that we do together, like meeting women and if he doesn't give the secret away, then I'm like ok, alright.

Jan: Is soos, geheime wat ek wou sê, of, goed wat ons saam doen, soos vroumense meet en dan, as hy nie bos los nie, dan is ek okay alright.

Francois: You know a male best friend is like I told you now, he slept with that girl, he tells me about it.

Francois: Weet 'n manlike beste vriend is soos ek nou vir jou gesê het, hy het nou met daai meisie geslaap, hy noem dit vir my.

Jan: I will always, when I talk about my personal stuff, I'll tell a trustworthy friend, I'll share it with him.

Jan: Ek sal altyd wanneer ek van my persoonlike goed praat, sal ek 'n vertroubare vriend, sal ek saam met hom deel.

Interviewer: So we move over to your male friend, has there been a situation, a personal situation, that you shared with him?

Onderhoudvoerder: So ons beweeg oor na jou manlike vriend toe, was daar al 'n situasie, 'n persoonlike situasie, wat jy saam hom gedeel het?

Francois: I went to go tell him and then he told it over again, that's what I spoke about now, but I said now that this is my best friend, he keeps my secrets, but he didn't keep it. The guy, the best friend of mine, he went to go tell it, hurt me, I wanted the thing to fizzle out.

Francois: Ek het vir hom gaan sê en toe vertel hy dit ook oor, dis wat ek nou van gepraat het, maar ek het nou gesê dis my beste vriend, hy hou mos my geheime, maar hy het dit nie gehou nie. Die ou, die beste vriend van my, hy het dit gaan oor vertel, vir my seer gemaak het, ek wil mos nou die ding laat doodloop het.

Interviewer: So what enables you to be able to trust them?

Onderhoudvoerder: So wat maak dat jy vir hulle kan vertrou?

Hannes: With them, going to share secrets, they will now be able to share secrets with me... You must win trust from a friend.

Hannes: Met hulle gaan nou geheime met my kan deel, hulle gaan nou met my geheime kan deel...jy moet mos jou vertrouwe wen in 'n vriend in.

Ryno: It's almost like, you share your thoughts. We unburden, yes. The stress is removed now.

Ryno: Dis amper so, jy ruil jou gedagtes uit. Ons laai af, ja. Die stress word uit gehaal nou.

Hannes: ...and like that, you can gain courage and that makes you feel happy. If you could share with them, you're a better person after that, you feel better. So I think that's the value in your life. You feel relieved.

Hannes: en so, manier, kan jy moed skep en dit laat jou gelukkig voel. As jy saam met hulle kon gedeel het, jy is 'n beter mens daarna, jy voel beter. So ek dink dit is die waarde in jou lewe. Jy voel verlig.

Frederik: ... because the weight is a little bit too heavy that you don't want to think about it, but it sits there, so you must talk about it... then it almost feels like it gets lighter on your shoulders.

Frederik: ...want die gewig is 'n bietjie soe swaar dat djy wil 'ie da an dink 'ie maar hy sit da 'so, so jy moet praat da' oor, ...dan voel dit amper soes dit raak ligter op jou skouers.

Jan: You feel comfortable if you finish talking about that frustration that you have.

Jan: Djy voel gemaklik as djy kla gepraat is oor hoe djy daai frustasie wat djy op jou het.

Hannes: ...and your friends are there for you. That's how you feel, like what their mother at the house say to them, what person shows you the finger, like a person will always say fuck you. They can say what they want, because you know you have friends now, that spoke with you, who is also maybe going through a similar problem, and so fuck the rest and join the army. So you feel very easy, comfortable, and free.

Hannes: ...en jou vriende is daar vir jou. Soe voel djy, soe wat hulle ma da' by

die huis se of wat hulle wie vinger gooi na jou, soes 'n mens altyd sal se fuck you. Hulle kan sê wat hulle wil, want dji wiet dji het nou vriende, wat saam met jou gepraat 'it, wat oek miskien deur soe 'n probleem gegaan 'it, en soe fok the rest en join the army. Soe dji voel baie maklik, gemaklik, en free.

Jan: If I already pick up a problem, and I can't get to a friend, then I already feel sick.

Jan: As ek kan klaar 'n probleem optel, en ek kan nie by 'n vriend uitkom nie, dan voel ek al klaar siek.

Interviewer: And if you can't get to him, what do you do then?

Onderhoudvoerder: En as jy nie by hom kan uitkom nie, wat doen jy dan?

Jan: Then I send him a message, if he doesn't reply then, then that's it, you know how one who stresses feels? Then I'm on the stress level because I don't get a reply, the problem that I have, begins to get agitating, without friends, then I don't know whether life will be nice for you, if you don't have friends.

Jan: Dan stier ek vir hom 'n boodskap, as hy dan nie reply nie, dan is dit, jy weet hoe voel een wat stres? Dan is ek op 'n stres vlak want ek kry nie 'n reply terug nie, die probleem wat ek het, begin krapperig raak, sonder vriende is, dan weet ek nie dan lewe sal vir jou lekker wees nie as jy het nie vriende nie.

Jan: ... when I talk about my personal things, a trustworthy friend, I'll share it with him. Now I'll tell him what's personal like my life and I'm looking for advice. What do I do? I know it's my mess, but what do I do there?

Jan: ...wanneer ek van my persoonlike goed praat, 'n vertroubare vriend, sal ek saam met hom deel. Nou sal ek nou vir hom sê wat is persoonlik soos my lewe en ek soek advies. Hoe maak ek? Ek weet dis my gemors, maar hoe maak ek daar?

Frederik: The whole week you've been accumulating the frustration, certain small things but it becomes big, it gets heavy, now between your friends, you be more open and maybe you're looking for answers, then you get support and help through that.

Frederik: Djy eet nou al kla die hele week die frustasie op, siekere kleinrige goedjies maar dit raak groot, dit raak swaar, nou tussen jou vrinne kan jy dit meer openlik maak en soek djy miskien antwoorde, dan kry jy opbringing en help daar deur.

Hannes: Just the way he says no my brother, you must do this, he maybe gives you advice, and that takes the pressure off your shoulders, it makes you feel that you're not alone anymore, stuck in that rut and there's another one. Or there's another two, so that makes you three, and now your friend is more encouraging. And it feels easier, it feels light.

Hannes: Net die manier wat hy vir jou se nai my broe, djy moet soe maak, hy gie vir jou advice miskien, en dai haal van jou skouers af, dit lat vir jou voel dat djy is 'ie meer alien nie, vasgevang in daai struk 'ie, da is nog een. Of da is nog twie, so dit maak vir julle drie, en nou jou vrind is vir jou meer aanmoeding. En dit voel makliker, dit voel lig.

Lukas: Then when I'm with my friends I can tell them, because they tell me their things. If I am quiet they'll ask me, "Lukas, what's going on?" then say, "look here, I have this problem." But there's always a man in your group that says "come here man, we are here tonight. Now you have a problem Lukas, but, I think it's for the best, go sort your problem out by your wife, and when that's finished, then come back to us."

Lukas: Dan as ek met my tjommies djy kan maar vertel vir hulle, want hulle vertel hulle goed vir my. As ek moet stil bly gaan hulle vir my vra, Lukas, wat gaan aan, dan sê kyk hier, ek het so probleem. Maar daar is altyd 'n man, wat in jou groep in wat sê 'kom hier man, ons is vanaand hier sien' Nou jy het 'n probleem Lukas maar, ek dink dis die beste man, gaan sort jou probleem by jou vrou uit, en as daai klaar is, dan kom jy weer terug na ons toe, maar.

6.3.3 Laughing and joking around together

Focus group interview:

Interviewer: But how does the jokes and the laughter help you?

Onderhoudvoerder: Maar hoe help die grappe en die gelagery vir julle?

Servaas: The jokes and laughter keeps you to one side. And now you make a good joke with your tjommie.

Servaas: Die grappe en lagery hou jou na 'n kant toe man. En nou maak jy so lekker joke saam met jou tjommie.

Lukas: Then a line is drawn.

Lukas: Dan is daar 'n lyn getrek.

Francois: It's just for that moment.

Francois: Dis net vir daai oomblik.

Servaas: Now you're making such good jokes.

Servaas: Nou maak djy soe leka jokes.

Interviewer: So that just makes you forget, is that all? There isn't healing?

Onderhoudvoerder: So dit laat jou net vergeet, dis al? Daar is nie genesing nie?

Francois: It's not actually completely gone... if you can imagine a joke, then you forget about it.

Francois: Dis nie eintlik die heeltemaal weg nie...om in 'n grap te gan verbeel jou dan vergeet jy daarvan.

Servaas: Everything that I talk about with him, with my friends is what I have now, just things that cool us down or so, making jokes and whatever. There we can't speak out about other things.

Servaas: Alles wat ek nou praat saam met hom, saam my vriende wat ek nou het is net goeters wat ons nou afkoel en so, jokes maak en whatever. Daar kan ons mos nou nie iets anders uitpraat nie.

Interviewer: Now, why do you then talk like that with your male friends?

Onderhoudvoerder: Nou, hoekom praat jy dan so saam met jou mansvriende?

Pieter: Because they speak the same sort of language with me.

Pieter: Omdat hulle die selfde soort taal praat saam met my.

Interviewer: What is the language that you speak?

Onderhoudvoerder: Wat is die taal wat julle praat?

Pieter: "You, come here, uhm, or, fuck you man, (laughs) do that bloody thing"

(laughs), like that. So I'm basically talking, the same, as what they talk, look when we now play dominoes in the afternoon, here on the stoep.

Pieter: "Jy, kom hierso, uhm, of, fok jou man, (lag) doen daai donnerse ding" (lag), of so. So ek, praat basies, die selfde, wat hulle praat, kyk as ons nou in die middag, dominoes speel hierso op die stoep.

Interviewer: So everytime you're drunk, then you speak like that with your male circle?

Onderhoudvoerder: So elke keer dan as jy dronk is, dan gesels jy so saam die manne kring?

Pieter: More or less, yes.

Pieter: Rowweg, ja.

Dirk: I tease a lot, really a lot, like making jokes.

Dirk: Ek terg baie, regtig baie, soos in grappe maak.

Interviewer: What kind of jokes do you make?

Onderhoudvoerder: Watse tipe grappe sou jy maak?

Dirk: I will just go bother those two, or just start with my tjommie "Jissis man, is it your feet that smell like that?" Those kinds of jokes, just to give the evening a jump start.

Dirk: Ek gaan hinder hulle twee sommer of begin sommer so met my tjommie ? "Jissis jong, is dit jou voete wat so ruik of wat?" Sulke tipe van grappe, net om die aand weer 'n hupstoot te gee.

Interviewer: Will they become angry on some level?

Onderhoudvoerder: Sal hulle kwaad word op sommige vlakke?

Dirk: No, you must know precisely how to make a joke.

Dirk: Nee, jy moet net presies weet hoe om die grap te maak.

6.3.4 Minimizing the negative health impact of excessive alcohol use

Frederik: What alcohol does to you— it's about how much alcohol you drink on weekends, and during the month, and what sorts of drinks you mix. That's the only way that it's going to have a big effect on your life, because he will affect your kidneys later.

Frederik: Wat drank aan jou maak— dit gaan oor die hoeveelheid drank wat jy

naweke, en maand drink, en watse soorte jy als deurmekaar drink. Dis die enigste manier hoe dit jou lewe groot gaan effect want hy gaan jou later aan jou niere begin te vat

Focus group interview:

Interviewer: Do you know what alcohol does to your mind, to your brain, and to your body?

Onderhoudvoerder: Weet julle wat drank doen aan jou mind, aan jou brein, en aan jou liggaam?

Lukas: Like your system. He destroys you a lot.

Lukas: Soos jou system. Hy verniel jou baie.

Servaas: He destroys your brain. He destroys your body.

Servaas: Hy verniel jou brein. Hy verniel jou liggaam.

Lukas: Yes, you become mad.

Lukas: Ja, dji raak mal.

Francois: He will kill you. He takes some of your brain cells away.

Francois: Hy sal dat jy doodgaan. Hy vat van jou breinselletjies weg.

Dirk: According to me, you quickly lose a lot of weight with alcohol.

Dirk: Volgens my, verloor jy baie vinnig gewig met drank.

Lukas: And he takes away your appetite.

Lukas: En hy gee jou min eetlus.

Dirk: Now usually they say that if your liver is hard hey... then you're drinking a lot.

Dirk: Nou gewoonlik sê hulle as jou milt hard is nê...dan drink jy baie.

Hannes: I drink to enjoy my time. But I know it can kill you at a later stage, like brandy, it's not healthy for your body. But, I still always use it because I feel it's nice for me, I want to enjoy myself on the weekend, but I know it's a disadvantage.

Hannes: Ek drink om my tyd te geniet. Maar ek wiet dit kan jou dood maak op 'n later stadium, soes in branewyn, is nie gesond vir jou liggaam nie. Maar, ek gebruik dit nog altyd omdat ek voel dis vir my lekker, is naweek ek wil vir my

geniet, maar ek weet dis 'n nadeel.

Jan: It doesn't matter what alcohol it is, there is something in the alcohol, that your body can't handle, but the point is I force myself into it, I only drank that time because, it's nice for me, I just want to enjoy my time with my friends.

Jan: Maak 'ie saak watse drank 'it is 'ie, da' is iets in die drank, wat jou liggaam nie kan vat 'ie, maar soe die punt is ek force myself daarin, ek het daai tyd net gedrink omdat, dat dit vir my lekker is, ek wil net my tyd geniet saam met my maatjies.

6.4 Theme 3: Respectable drinking

6.4.1 The importance of behaving with respect

Dirk: If you don't have respect for anyone else, then you must just remember one thing. It's not manly... you need to show respect for anyone else. Woman, man, child and everyone.

Dirk: As jy nie respek het vir enige iemand anders dan moet djy net een ding onthou dis nie manlik nie...respek moet jy betoon tot enige iemand anders-vrou, man, kind en almal.

Hannes: You must be able to show respect towards your fellow man, because if you don't have respect for your fellow man, he won't have respect for you.

Hannes: Djy moet kan respek toon teenoor jou mede mens, want as djy nie vir jou mede mense respek het nie, gaan hy nie respek het vir jou nie.

Frederik: Respect and discipline is what makes you a big man and a better person. It's not about how you look, that is what you are in your life. Respect and discipline towards people.

Frederik: Respek en dissipline is wat vir jou 'n groot man maak en 'n beter persoon. Jy kan hoe lyk, daai is wat jy is in jou lewe. Respek en dissipline teenoor mense.

6.4.2 The character of a proper man

Hannes: I need to be able to prove my manhood, understand? I musn't act like a child and rude if I'm drunk or things like that.

Hannes: Ek moet soos 'n, my manlikheid kan bewys, verstaan? Ek moenie soos vir my gedra soos 'n kind nie. En ombeskof as ek dronk is of so nie.

Kobus: I've decided now, uh, I'm a grown man and I don't do things with children anymore, I just do the things that I must do.

Kobus: Ek besluit nou, uh, ek is 'n groot man ek doen nie meer saam kinders dinge nie, ek doen net die dinge wat ek moet doen

Hannes: ...if you're going to behave like a man or a big boy when you get to someone's place, then you're going with respect.

Hannes: ...as dji vir jou soes 'n man, of dji gaan jou soos 'n groot seun gedra, wanne dji da- na iemand se plek kom, dan gan dji mos met respek.

Dirk: ... don't be like a coward, you must be like a man and a man becomes so big... a coward, you know this, is a man that's lame. If you're scared, don't be scared to do something, something that's good. Do it with your thoughts.

Dirk: ...moenie soos 'n papbroek wees nie, jy moet soos 'n man wees en 'n man raak so groot... 'n Papbroek is, jy weet mos, is 'n ou wat lam is. Dis as jy bang is jy moenie bang wees om iets te doen, iets wat goed is. Doen dit met jou gedagte.

Servaas: ... I must accept them every day; you must be strong for yourself. It's your responsibility, but just remember that the people around you, they won't make it easy for you with that responsibility, but you need to keep your head on straight in order to take on that responsibility.

Servaas: ...Ek moet elke dag hulle aanvaar; jy moet sterk wees vir jou self...jy neem die verantwoordelikheid toe maar jy moet net onthou dat die persoon wat rondom jou hulle ganie dit sommer vir jou maklik maak van daai verantwoordelikheid, maar jy jousef moet kop hou om daai verantwoordelikheid te kan neem.

Jan: Yes, to become a man, you need to be independent from everything; house,

wife, children, even in the community.

Jan: Ja om 'n man te word moet djy onafhanklik wies van alles; huis, vrou kinder, selfs in die gemeenskap.

Hannes: ... and if you want to behave like a man, you need to be able to take responsibility for your own deeds as well. You mustn't blame anyone for the things that you do as people, and as a man.

Hannes: ...en as djy soes 'n man wil optree, moet djy verantwoordelikheid kan vat, vir jou eie daade oek. Djy moenie die een of die anders blameer, vir die dinge wat djy as mense of as man doen nie.

Servaas: ... it depends on your friends, if they teach you wrong, but I'm so strong in my heart, I don't listen to those men anymore. To this day, I'm alone, me and my wife, I don't listen to anyone. Buy me a drink and then I'll come here.

Servaas: ...hang af van jou tjommies af as hulle jou verkeerdes leer, maar ek is so sterk in my hart, ek luister nie na daai manne nie, ...tot vandag toe, is ek alleen ek en my vroumens, ek luister nie na enige een nie. Koop my dop dan kom ek hier.

Jan: ...and we had other friends that also came here out of township X. He was a rasta. He always loved smoking and drinking. We sat there. And we also started to drink and got drunk and we also started to smoke.

Jan: ...en ons het ander vriende gehad wat ook hier uit dorp X uitkom. Hy was 'n rasta gewees. Hy was altyd lief vir rook en drink gewees. Ons het daar gesit. En ons het begin te drink en dronk geraak en ons het begin te rook.

Kobus: ... and then I'll tell him, Ruan, I picked up a phone one day, here in the block, no one saw I picked that phone up, me and Ruan had no money, on a Sunday morning, I sneaked away and went to tell Ruan. Ruan told me I mustn't tell anyone... we must go sell the phone and go buy us a kan and a cigarette, we did that.

Kobus: ...dan gaan ek hom sê, Ruan, ek het eendag 'n phone opgetel, hierso in die blok, niemand het gesien ek tel daai phone op nie, ek en Ruan het niks geld gehad nie, op 'n Sondagoggend, ek het skelmpies gegaan en vir Ruan gaan sê, Ruan het vir my gesê ek moet vir niemand sê nie...ons moet die phone gaan verkoop en vir ons 'n kan en 'n skuif gaan koop, ons het so gemaak.

Dirk: Friends are an enemy. He forces you, he teaches you wrong things that you mustn't do or he comes to fetch you "let's do that thing." Then you don't want to go.

Dirk: Vriende is 'n vyand. Hy dwing jou, hy leer jou verkeerde dinge wat jy nie moet doen nie of hy kom haal jou "kom ons doen daai ding." Dan wil jy nie gaan nie.

Kobus: I had one friend; he wouldn't go without wine that friend. Every night he must drink, he must be able to; he has to drink every night. I'm not used to drinking every night. I usually only drink on Monday evenings to fix my hangover, but then I do not drink for the rest of the week, then I have a drink again Friday nights. He taught me, that I must now drink every night. And go to work again in the mornings, I must drink again. Then I went to go look for another friend.

Kobus: Ek het een vriend gehad, hy kan nie sonder wyn daai vriend nie. Elke aand mag hy drink, moet hy kan, elke aand moet hy drink. Ek is nie gewoon elke aand drink nie. Ek is gewoon Maandagaande net my kopskiet, dan bly ek heel week so, dan vat ek weer Vrydagaande 'n doppie. Hy't my al so geleer al, dat ek nou elke aand moet drink al. En soggens weer werk toe gaan, moet ek weer drink. Toe het ek nou vir my 'n ander vriend gesoek.

Lukas: Look at everything we're doing together now, hey. I can tell you, a lot of things, but, we will tell it. There is smoking. There are fights. There is drinking.

Lukas: Kyk wat ons nou alles saam doen, nê. Ek kan vir jou sê, baie dinge, maar, ons sal dit vertel. Daar word gerook. Daar word baklei. Daar word

gedrink.

Servaas: But if I see that I'm drunk, and I get offered another glass, then I take my fist and put it in your face.

Servaas: Maar as ek sien ek is dronk, en daar word nog n glas aangebied, dan vat ek my vuus en sit ek dit in jou gesig.

Kobus: Now weekends my wife comes to me, me and those friends drink nicely together, if I'm not there, or if I'm drunk, then he wants my wife. I watched him one night, I caught him in my room, wow, I stabbed him with the knife, I caught him with the woman, he wanted the woman do other things with the woman, I stabbed him with the knife, almost, uh until in the hospital, just heard that friend is going to make a case against me.

Kobus: Nou naweke kom die vrou na my toe, ek en daai vriend drink lekker saam, as ek nie daar is nie, of ek is dronk, dan sien hy kans vir my vrou. Ek het hom een aand dop gehou, ek het hom gevang in my kamer, joh, daai vriend van my ek het hom, ek het hom met die mes gesteek, ek het hom gevang met die vrou, hy wil die vrou ander dinge doen met die vrou, ek het hom met die mes gesteek, amper, uh tot in die hospitaal, nou het gehoor daai vriend gaan 'n saak maak teen my.

6.4.3 Resolving the tension/contradiction between presenting themselves as respectable men and the disrespectful aspects of drinking with male friends

Hannes: If you use him in a good way, like I think Friday evenings, come Saturday mornings by the house, I pass out, from there we drink again, but everything is done with respect and discipline. It isn't used just, "jou ma se kant toe" and we grab each other and hit each other till we bleed and then the next day we are friends again. That isn't how one uses alcohol. You must always use it in the right way.

Hannes: As djy vir hom op 'n goeie mannier gebruik, soes ek dink Vrydagaande, kom Saterdag oggene by die huis, ek tiep, daarvan af drink ons weer, maar alles word met respek en disipline gedoen. Dit word nie net, "jou

ma se die kant toe” en os gryp soema nou mekaar slat mekaar onder bloed en more is ons weer vriende nie, daai’s ’ie hoe ’n mese alkohol gebruik ’ie. Djy moet dit altyd op ’n regte mannier oek gebruik.

Frederik: ...how people can say, he is a drunk or whatever, but when he drinks beer he always has respect to greet you normally, or to say good day, it’s almost like one must be a gentleman...haven’t heard anything rude from that man , haven’t heard him say he has insulted you. It’s about being able to look up to someone even if he is a drunk.

Frederik:hoe mense nou kan sê hy is ’n dronkgat of wat, as hy nou sy bier drink het hy nog altyd daai repek om vir jou normaal te groet of, dag te sê, amper soes ’n gentleman moet wies...nog ’ie verkeerde iets van dai man se kant af gekry om te sê hy het vir jou soe beledig. Soe dis, baie na iemand kan opkyk of hy nou ’n dronkie is

Kobus: Altus, he was my friend, if he has alcohol in his body, he makes a noise by his place, he doesn’t sleep the night, he makes a noise, he wakes everyone up. And that isn’t allowed to happen

Kobus: Altus, hy was my vriend, as hy drank in sy liggaam het, kom raas hy by sy plek, hy slaap nie die nag nie, hy raas, ander mense raas hy wakker. En dit mag nie gebeur nie

Lukas: If you plan your drinking before the time with your tjommies then there won’t be a problem then you’ll receive respect. But as soon as there’s one that gets out of hand and becomes involved with... you know it.

Lukas: As jy jou drink voor die tyd beplan met jou tjommies dan sal daar mos nie ’n probleem wees nie dan sal jy respek vertoonig ja. Maar sodra as daar een wat uitkap en betrokke raak met...you know it.

Wian: If you see him again, then you say to him, “Sir you must know that if you drink you must at least have respect for other people, man.”

Wian: As jy hom weer kry, dan sê jy vir hom, “Meneer jy moet darem weet jong

as jy drink moet jy darem respek het vir ander mense jong.”

Kobus: He came here drunk. Then I said to him “Altus what are you doing now?” then the man argues and swears me, like a drunk, tells me a bunch of things that I must now hear that he didn’t tell me, then I also shook him off.

Kobus: Kom hy dronk af. Toe ek vir hom sê ‘Altus hoe maak jy nou?’ Dan skel en vloek die man my, soos ’n dronk, vertel my ’n klomp goed wat ek nou moet hoor wat hy nou nie vir my gesê het nie, toe het ek ook vir hom afgeskut

Wian: He gestures, man! It almost looks like he’s hitting you man! And he wants to talk louder than you. He wants to talk in your face. I don’t like the manners man. The two of us sit right in front of one another, just talk to me. No, when he comes then he wants to push his whole face here by me. That’s wrong so... if he has had a drink, then I want to stay far away from him.

Wian: Hy beduie, jong! Dit lyk amper of hy jou slaan man! En hy wil harder as jy praat. Hy wil binne jou gesig gesels so. Ek hou mos nie van die maniere mos nie man. Ons twee sit mos reg oor mekaar, praat net met my. Nee, as hy kom dan wil hy jou hele gesig hier by my indruk. Dis mos verkeerd mos daai so...as hy ’n dop in het, wil ek maar ver wegbly van hom af man.

Interviewer: What do you think of a male friend, what do you think about a man that can’t handle his wine?

Onderhoudvoerder: Wat dink jy van ’n manlike vriend, wat dink jy van ’n man wat nie sy wyn kan beheer nie?

Servaas: Take him, that he sits there in the rain, because he doesn’t want to drink his wine with respect, he knows there are people next to him who aren’t drinking, who don’t want to hear the noise, and don’t want to hear his rudeness.

Servaas: Vat hom, dat hy daar sit in die reën. want hy wil nie sy wyn drink met respek nie, hy weet hier’s mense langsaan hom wat nie drink nie, wat nie die geraas wil hoor nie, en sy onbeskoftheid hoor nie.

Hannes: We have a policy, if we know you’re unruly, or if you’re drunk, and if

you begin to lose control later in the evening, then we'll tell you, the time maybe, before that, the day you see, or the morning, no you're not going with us tonight.

Hannes: Ons, het 'n beleid, as ons weet jy soos oproerig, of as jy dronk is, en jy begin uithak so later in die aand, dan sê ons vir jou, miskien die tyd, voor daai, die dag kyk jy, of, oggend, nee jy gaan nie vanaand saam met ons nie.

Servaas: If one person gets out of control and he walks around drunk. If he drank with us and then he gets out of control. Then we say to him, go home, go lie there a bit, we are going to go now.

Servaas: As een persoon se kop uithak en hy loep dronk. As hy nou saam gedrink 'it en dan hak sy kop uit. Dan sê ons vir hom, gaan huis toe, gaan lê 'n bietjie daar, ons gaan nou gaan

Lukas: ...and I spend a lot of lekker time with them over the weekends, and we chat together, but then, there is, also....if the one said, "you, voetsek!", then the other one must come say to him "you don't say that to me", then the other will say to him "jou moer!" It is just then when the problem comes, then I have to get in there, but then the one says "you are just as big, Lukas, your mother, uh, uh!" It's the drunkenness that causes this.

Lukas: ...en ek spandeer, baie tyd lekker saam met hulle naweke, en ons gesels onder mekaar, maar, dan, is daar, ook...as die een gesê het "jy voetsek!", dan moet die ander een vir hom ook maar sê "jy sê nie vir my nie", dan sê die een vir hom 'jou moer!' Dan is dit net daar waar die kwaal kom, dan moet ek daar inkom, maar dan sê die een vir "jy is net so groot Lukas, jou ma, uh, uh!" Dis nou die dronkenskap wat so maak.