

Black Middle-class Masculinities in Postapartheid South Africa: Consumerism, Fashion and the Portrayal of Masculine Identities in Destiny Man Magazine

Bandile Leopeng & Malose Langa

To cite this article: Bandile Leopeng & Malose Langa (2018): Black Middle-class Masculinities in Postapartheid South Africa: Consumerism, Fashion and the Portrayal of Masculine Identities in Destiny Man Magazine, Fashion Theory, DOI: [10.1080/1362704X.2017.1411010](https://doi.org/10.1080/1362704X.2017.1411010)

To link to this article: <https://doi.org/10.1080/1362704X.2017.1411010>



Published online: 15 Feb 2018.



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



Article views: 3



View related articles [↗](#)



View Crossmark data [↗](#)

Black Middle-class Masculinities in Postapartheid South Africa: Consumerism, Fashion and the Portrayal of Masculine Identities in *Destiny Man* Magazine

**Bandile Leopeng
and Malose Langa**

Bandile Bertrand Leopeng is a Counselling Psychologist working within a psychoanalytic framework. His main areas of interest include psychoanalysis, race, decolonization, neuroscience, and physics. He completed his postgraduate training at Wits and is seeking to continue further with a pioneering PhD research project. He believes in a radical upheaval of existing knowledge systems, questioning normative

Abstract

This article examines the state of middle-class black South African masculinity in the postapartheid era as presented in *Destiny Man*, a popular lifestyle magazine targeted at accomplished, stylish, and affluent black men in South Africa. The magazine offers a blend of compelling and relevant business and lifestyle content, including articles on fashion, grooming, sport, technology, and motoring. This article's focus on consumerism, fashion, and masculinity as represented and featured in the magazine offers a vital contribution to fashion studies in general and to the African diaspora's dress sense in particular, as well as to the contemporary intersections of wealth associated with masculine identification. Articles published in the

assumptions, and seeking new ways of interpreting the world. bandile.leopeng@wits.ac.za

Malose Langa is a Senior Lecturer in the School of Community and Human Development, Department of Psychology, at the University of Witwatersrand, South Africa and Associate Researcher at the Centre for the Study of Violence and Reconciliation (CSVR). His research interests include risk-taking behaviors among the youth and their role in politics, substance abuse, and addiction, trauma of collective violence, and the psychology of men (masculinity) in postapartheid South Africa. Malose.Langa@wits.ac.za

2014 issues of the magazine were selected for an in-depth multimodal discourse analysis of how factors such as fashion, access to economic resources, status, and wealth play a significant role in masculine black identity formation. Visuals were also analysed to understand the representation of black middle-class men in the magazine. The findings indicate that *Destiny Man's* characterization of middle-class black South African masculinity is based on the acquisition of material goods, on perceptions of power and on the ability to transition into formerly white-only spheres.

KEYWORDS: black middle-class masculinity, fashion, power, postapartheid South Africa, wealth, consumerism

Emergence of a Black Middle Class in South Africa and Representations in the Media

Destiny Man was first published in 2009, targeting middle-class black South African men. The content of the magazine conceptualizes black masculinity as possessing a specific *character* that emerges in the representations of success, lifestyle, and the espousal of certain types of political and economic ideologies. Poster (1990) argues that the media reveal current trends in social preferences, which in turn reveal the cultural values and norms of the target audience, as well as being a mirror of the times people live in. It is against this backdrop that this study was undertaken to explore the ways in which black middle-class masculinity is represented in *Destiny Man*.

The portrayal of black masculinity in various media is not a recent phenomenon and is by no means exclusive to Western publications. There are various conceptions of masculinity within the South African context. For instance, Clowes (2006) analyzed representations of black men in *Drum* magazine during the 1950s and 1960s. She found that black men were slowly embracing the voices of positive fatherhood despite the challenges of apartheid and the migrant labor system (see, for instance, Leopeng and Langa 2017). In her work, Clowes (2006) shares pictures of black men carrying their children and participating in domestic chores, which were (and largely still are) considered the terrain of females, thus challenging existing gender stereotypes. Post-1994 represented a major shift in terms of the introduction of policies such as Black Economic Empowerment (BEE),¹ which advocated for the economic empowerment of black people through making business opportunities available that had previously been the preserve of white people. This saw the emergence of a wealthy black middle class that was able to buy expensive cars, live in the suburbs, and send their children to private schools (Seekings & Natrass 2002). The majority of BEE beneficiaries were black men who had political connections with the African National Congress (ANC) as the new ruling party (Seekings & Natrass 2002). BEE was heavily criticized for benefiting only these few

political elites while leaving the majority of black people in abject poverty (Kenny & Webster 1998; Seekings & Nattrass 2002). The opulent lifestyle lived by some of these elites reflected classic notions of hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1995), where economic success is regarded as a key marker of being a “real” man (Morrell, Jewkes, & Lindegger 2012). Linked to this was the emergence of a consumerist culture that facilitated access to specific images and brands, both local and global, in terms of fashion and ways of styling the body. This was a major shift and transformation for black men, who had not had access to these material resources under apartheid. The post-1994 consumer culture thus provided South Africans, especially those with financial means, the opportunity to be part of the global village and enjoy the privileges of globalization, including access to media-influenced identities (Nuttall 2004).

Like other popular magazines such as *Men’s Health* and *GQ*, *Destiny Man* emerged out of a particular context to meet the specific needs of this new market of black middle-class men in South Africa. There is no other magazine in South Africa that specifically focuses on black men. The magazine focuses on and promotes certain images, brands, and corporate cultures in features dedicated to highlighting the rise of up-and-comers within the corporate sector.

Like many other magazines (Alexander 2003), stylizing of the body appears to be a main focus of *Destiny Man*. Unraveling the stylized self—fashion consciousness, including clothing and hair styles—is useful in terms of understanding associations with particular kinds of masculine identity. Yarwood (2006) argues that fashion has become universal and without boundaries. This article explores these issues with a specific focus on *Destiny Man* magazine.

Method of Data Analysis

Sources of Data

The 2014² issues of *Destiny Man* magazine were the primary sources of data, with the analysis being done through the lens of theories of masculinity and race, fashion and identity, and their intersections. Articles and visuals that met the following criteria were coded thematically and included in the analysis:

- illustrations of men pertaining to style;
- articles about fashion and masculine identity in contemporary South Africa;
- articles relating to contemporary definitions of masculinity, including elements of wealth and access to resources;
- images of fashion items applicable to self-styling and representative of branded elements of self.

Number of Images

The authors analyzed 17 images using concepts within a psychosocial and psychopolitical framework. All the articles directly or indirectly looked at the subject of fashion. Permission to use these images in the study was granted as part of the ethical clearance process.

Data Analysis

A text analysis similar to that carried out by Wilbraham (1996) and Alexander (2003) was used for the data analysis. The step-by-step process included:

- identifying themes, characteristics and attributes;
- constructing meaning;
- deconstructing and interpreting the meanings using a specified framework.

This method follows a hermeneutic/ethnographic approach to content analysis (Parker 1992). It requires researchers to adopt a fairly flexible methodology, allowing for the discerning of semantic units of analysis (e.g. word, phrase, sentence, and paragraph) based on decisions about themes of “meaning.”

In applying the textual analysis, themes in the adverts and articles were organized using an overarching theoretical perspective that looked at intersections with notions of masculinity and black middle-class identity in postapartheid South Africa. This facilitated an understanding of how black masculinity is represented in *Destiny Man* magazine. This approach allowed the researchers to uncover ideological nuances on two levels—in the visuals used for advertisements and in the accompanying text. The chosen advertisements were analyzed according to a wide range of factors pertinent to the topic. The subtleties contained in each advertisement were identified and the adverts were located within a theoretical context. The subthemes that unfolded during the process were scrutinized for further implications. Pamela Church Gibson and Vicki Karaminas (2014) have rightly asserted that the most viable way to comprehend the complexities of the masculine ideal today is through interdisciplinary lens.

Findings and Discussion

The research findings indicate that the portrayal of black middle-class masculinity in *Destiny Man* is broadly based on the themes of neoliberal capitalism, attainment, and accumulation, access to material resources and wealth, and the ability to provide for one’s family. The overall theme emerging from the data is the establishment of a new type of African identity in postapartheid South Africa. The following section discusses the findings in more depth.

Figure 1

Octavius Phukubye.
Reproduced with permission.
© *Destiny Man* magazine.



If the Suit Fits ...: Men, Power and Fashion in Destiny Man

Post-1994, the South African government adopted neoliberal policies which included free market trade and privatization of certain sections of the economy. This was accompanied by the adoption of Broad Based Black Economic Empowerment (BBBEE) to facilitate access of economic opportunities by the majority of black people who were previously excluded from economic activities under apartheid. This has led to the emergence of the black middle class men. This section analyzes the portrayal of black middle-class masculinity in the form of suit-wearing. This fashion item connotes a close relationship to power and identity formation in the neoliberal capitalist era.

Figure 1 above is of Octavius Phukubye. Octavius is a 29-year-old black entrepreneur. He leads a consulting firm, Brillianaire, which specializes in designing enterprise and supplier development strategies, and programs using a leading socioeconomic shared value methodology. His pose suggests that the expression of enjoyment and joviality is the basis of his success. The stylized

Figure 2

Zethu Mashika. Reproduced with permission. © *Destiny Man* magazine.



self presented displays the vigorous youthfulness associated with creative individuals, yet Octavius still maintains the traditional business poise with the classic white shirt and tie associated with businessmen. His hair is also striking in that he has dreadlocks, which are traditionally associated with Rastafarians (Tulloch & Cole 2001). However, unlike in the Rastafarian culture where the symbolism of dreadlocks is significant as a form of protest and revolution, his hair may be a representation of his self-defined identity as a black male working within a predominantly white capitalist space. In this sense, resistance is more about self-expression than political statements, yet the overture of political implications is always present in contemporary South Africa, particularly in the economic system. He may wish to present himself as different compared to other men in that space, who are likely to have their hair shaved, an image associated with corporate boardrooms.

Zethu Mashika is an award-winning film score composer shown in figure 2 above. He specializes in film scores, commercial music, title sequences, and

advert. In contrast to Octavius, Zethu is depicted with a stoic expression on his face and attention is subtly drawn to his brown shoes and red socks. In an apparent display of ruggedness, he has cultivated a beard, which is associated with male virility (Figlio 2001). Thus, it is a display of masculinity as traditionally depicted. However, it is open to interpretation whether facial and bodily hair contributes to masculine identity.

It seems evident that the contrast in the two stylistic representations (Octavius and Zethu) matches the complexities involved in the formation of post-1994 black middle-class masculinities, highlighting that *character* also determines style. The theme of character is explored in-depth in the sections below.

What is striking about the above two images is the association *Destiny Man* has set up with their success, and the display of “Power Principles” created by *Bisquit Cognac*, an alcoholic drink company. The issue of alcohol being a significant risk factor for abuse, and sexual violence, is never discussed in the magazine, and this is especially surprising considering the prevalence of alcohol abuse among African men in South Africa (Rich, Nkosi, & Morojele, 2015). Much of the research relating to alcohol use among black men in South Africa has taken place in townships and lower-income households, perhaps signalling that alcoholism is precipitated by socio-economic factors. Yet, in relation to the above two figures presented, it is seen as an object of empowerment that distinguishes class; particularly the brand of alcohol. Once again, this has ties with *how* the black middle class operates in consumerism, and displays of wealth and material resources.

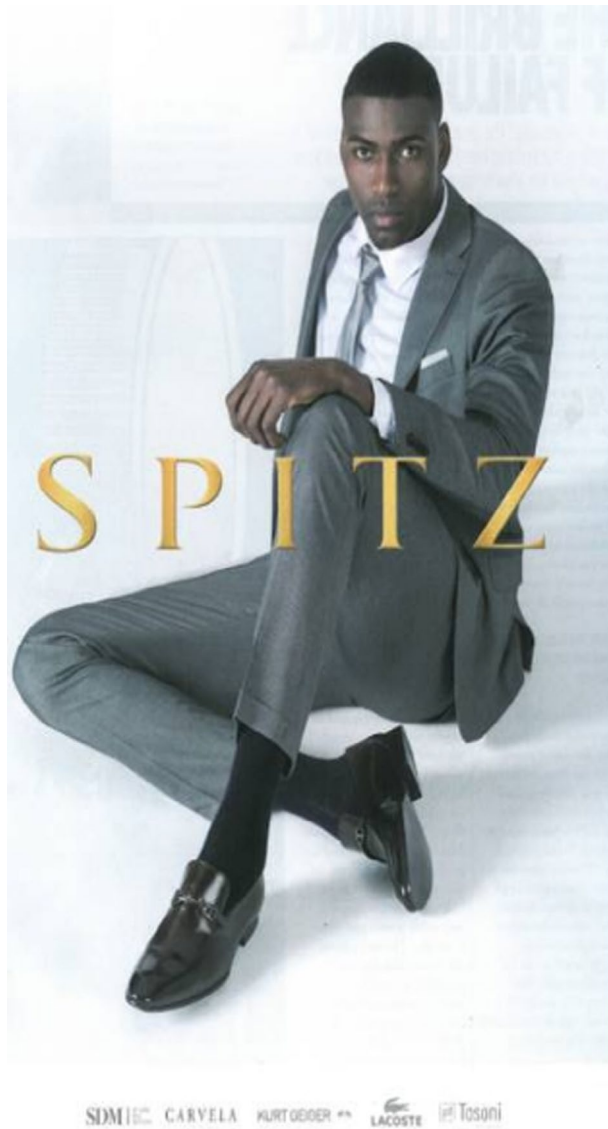
The advert in Figure 3 depicts a black male wearing a Spitz-designed suit, black socks, and black shoes. The man stares at the camera with a neutral expression while seated on the floor against a plain white backdrop. The advertisement is simple in execution with the bold word “Spitz” across the page and nothing more. Essentially, the advertisement is letting the suit “say it all”; nothing needs to be overtly said about the man. He is presumably wealthy, humble enough to sit on the floor yet still maintain a position of power. At the bottom of the image other branded items—Carvellas, Kurt-Geiger, Tosoni, and Lacoste—are advertised. Spitz is a well-known boutique in South Africa and sells these branded items.

A survey conducted by the Bureau of Market Research (BMR 1999) looked at the measures of success of Africans in the middle class—success defined as having moved to a better dwelling, or an improvement in occupation in the past five years. It was found that most of those considered successful according to these criteria were young, and many had moved into formerly white middle-class residential areas. The characterization of this class is underpinned by an accompanying lifestyle (BMR 1999) that includes purchasing items such as luxury cars (discussed later). These up-and-coming young men also prefer to wear Pierre Cardin suits and expensive shoes bought at Spitz, Fabiano, and so forth.

The three images of Octavius, Zethu, and the Spitz man show black middle-class men wearing suits and ties, making visible the distinction between middle- and working-class identities (Pinto Pinto de Almeida 2015). Suits

Figure 3

Spitz model. Reproduced with permission. © *Destiny Man* magazine.



in these pictures represent a business frame of mind, worn by an individual who is evidently good at business and therefore good enough to afford the suit. This depiction of a successful and powerful black middle class is evidence of a radical change in class structures and hierarchies. In the apartheid era, black men were considered manual workers while white men were owners of businesses. Black men were expected to wear overalls, while suits were associated with white men. However, Tulloch (2010) points out that at the time black men did wear fashionable suits in townships such as Sophiatown, while listening to jazz music and visiting

international musicians. However, black men's wearing of suits was limited to weekends or special occasions.

Things have shifted post-1994. Now, young black men own their own businesses. They wear formal suits daily. Seekings and Natrass (2002) attribute these changes to a combination of factors including improved access to education, the removal of restrictions on upward occupational mobility, and the implementation of affirmative action policies by both the state and private institutions.

Politics of Suits as Colonial Attire

BEE has created economic opportunities for black people who were previously excluded from the mainstream economy under apartheid. However, some writers (e.g. Bond 2000; Southall 2007) argue that BEE has only benefited the few elite, while the majority of black people are still poor. Politically, this created such tensions within the ruling African National Congress that a new political party emerged—the Economic Freedom Fighters (EFF). The EFF was formed by former ANC member Julius Malema and has positioned itself as a working-class party. It claims that economic freedom is the only way to liberate poor black people from the ANC's neoliberal policies. EFF members objected to adhering to the suit-wearing traditions of parliament and instead chose to wear red berets, domestic worker uniforms, and red overalls, as shown in Figure 4.

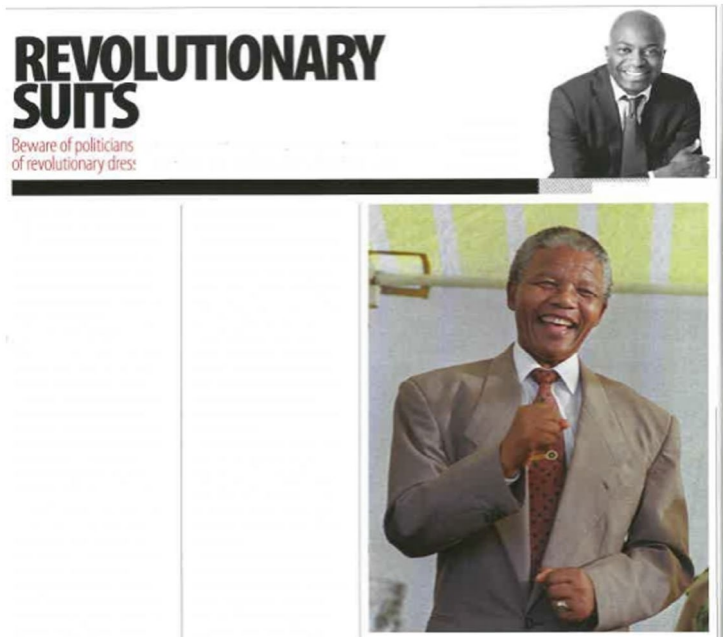
One of the rationales behind the EFF's fashion choice was a revolutionary attempt to disrupt the flow of parliament by representing the dress of the majority of the African working class, but also to defy the notion that suits represent something dignified. However, in the November issue of *Destiny Man*, the importance of the suit as more than just a clothing item is touched on by Justice Malala (himself a suit wearer—see Figure 5). His article, entitled "Revolutionary Suits," warns individuals not to fall into the "nebulous notion of revolutionary dress." Malala argues that there is nothing revolutionary about the EFF wearing overalls as a representation of the working class, claiming that this is just another ploy to assume political power.

Malala asserts that former president Nelson Mandela, in wearing a suit, epitomized the struggle for liberation and equality in South Africa. He compares Mandela the suit wearer with other prominent American-African icons, such as Martin Luther King Jr (American Civil Rights Leader) and Patrice Lumumba, the first democratically elected president of the Republic of the Congo. Both were well known for wearing suits. It appears that, for Malala, successful revolutionary leaders have always worn suits. Therefore, in order for (especially) African liberators to symbolically represent liberation, they must wear a suit. However, this is in conflict with Fanon's (1967) analysis of African leaders and their attempt to mimic their former oppressors, including their clothing style. For the formerly oppressed, liberation is seen as obtaining the lifestyle of the oppressor, and at the same

Figure 4
EFF attire. Reproduced with permission. © *Destiny Man* magazine.



Figure 5
Revolution in a suit—Mandela. Reproduced with permission. © *Destiny Man* magazine.



time unconsciously replicating the behavior that has been a historically dominating factor. Fanon (1967) asserts that there are unconscious forces at play that limit African people’s cultural expression. Instead, they see liberation as synonymous with obtaining the lifestyle of the oppressor, such as wearing suits as a symbol of success and power as opposed to wearing overalls, which represent oppression and backwardness. In terms of the

content of *Destiny Man*, there are no pictures that do not feature a man dressed in a suit or other formal attire. So the dominant discourse is that wearing a suit equates with penetrating the capitalist system in some way, either through being a business owner, having good political connections, or owning capital and assets.

McNeil and Riello (2005) discuss the psychological function of gendered fashion practices as related to, among other things, personality and class. Material culture and the study of spatiality indicate the growing effects of separate spheres, including psychological spheres, where clothing represents more than mere functionality—how a person dresses somehow also reveals their character. Malala appeals to this notion by implicitly stating that “real black men” wear suits, as this shows class and stature, and anything that contradicts this should immediately be disregarded.

Interestingly, the same year the above article was written, an online opinion piece by Suttner (2014) argues for the relevancy of the red EFF overalls. Suttner states that the EFF has made the effects of inequality among the black African population visible in parliament, to the very party [the ANC] which vowed to change this trend. In this way Malala’s defensiveness can be interpreted as a need to maintain the status quo, while the EFF challenges it. Included in the same article is a reference to Mahatma Gandhi, and the psycho-political influence he embodied in South Africa and India by his dress. Gandhi chose to distinguish himself from the British colonial empire and ally with the downtrodden, by shedding the suit he wore as a lawyer in favor of a loincloth. Therefore, to judge solely according to appearance is to *misunderstand the meaning of the appearance*, a fact which Malala (and readers of *Destiny Man* magazine) needs to acknowledge.

Masking Difference

Only one of the fragrance advertisements across all eight 2014 issues featured an African couple (Figure 6). The rest featured only white (male) models, raising questions about the politics of race and how this intersects with the social construction of masculinity. The portrayal of women in these advertisements also suggests that women exist in male spaces merely as a means to desire fulfillment, so repeating familiar patterns and discourses of heteronormativity. The couple in Figure 6 reinforces this presentation, but a deeper examination highlights a number of factors that are perhaps not immediately apparent.

The first is the setting: two black bodies are shown among the plains of the African savannah, once again recycling the theme of emergence from the “jungle” (Fanon 1967). The second relates to the brand name *Aspire*. Placed alongside black bodies in a setting such as this one, the point is reinforced that the African male desires to become more than himself; that he aspires, as it were, to whiter transcendence. The whiteness of his suit may also be a subtle hint at this interpretation, as well as the hairstyle of the female African model, perhaps signaling that the natural state of her own hair is not as aspirational as straight hair (Fanon 1967). The third

Figure 6

Aspiring models. Reproduced with permission. © *Destiny Man* magazine.



observation relates to the black bodies themselves. The couple is clothed and not standing in overtly sexual positions, in contrast to the other fragrance advertisements showing white bodies. Gordon (1997) notes that in the anti-black masculine world, black male practice is both an activity of resistance and accommodation. This bears truth in regard to a black male's positioning in racial and gender intersections, and how these aspects are negotiated with the stylized self. Ratele (2004, 152) remarks that the African male feeds into sexual anxieties generated by a racist history and this produces a "spectacle of difference" within societies. In Figure 6, the appearance of reality is not as natural as one might assume. Rather, it is fashioned from discourses of raced sexualities.

The advertisement also represents the commodified focus of the (African) body, as explicated by Timothy Burke (1996) in his book *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*. In this collection of essays, the embodied definition of the African is projected through the imperialist impositions of “cleanliness” and “beauty” obtained by using cosmetic products developed in Western societies. Although these cosmetic products are Western in origin, the advertisements are aimed at the southern African (black) consumers of Zimbabwe (Burke 1996). This subtly suggests a presumed lack of agency in African consumers, reproduced by the *Aspire* advertisement. This begs the question: What is it the African couple aspires towards? Is it to smell better, attract a mate, actualize an idealized lifestyle and/or embody a brand? Answering these questions reveals the discourses present in the African body. In her review of McClintock’s (1995) *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*, White (1999) asserts that Western cosmetic product consumption by Africans is an expansion of European biopower. The term “biopower” was first used by Foucault in his lectures at the Collège de France, and refers to the practices of European colonialists in regulating physical bodies through state discipline (Foucault 2007). Foucault explains that

By this I mean a number of phenomena that seem to me to be quite significant, namely, the set of mechanisms through which the basic biological features of the human species became the object of a political strategy, of a general strategy of power, or, in other words, how, starting from the 18th century, modern Western societies took on board the fundamental biological fact that human beings are a species. This is what I have called biopower. (Foucault 2007, 1)

There is scant evidence of anything uniquely African in the advertisement in Figure 6, save for the iconography of the African savannah. White cautions that giving

too much attention to *images* and too little attention to commodities focuses our gaze on the production of those *images*; it takes us back in the metropole, often taking imperialists at their word, and we risk ignoring all the conflict and contestation embedded in any site of colonial production. (1999: 482, emphasis added)

This forces us to examine the almost timid expression of sexuality in the *Aspire* advertisement. It also detracts from the main issue—the usage of the products themselves. Rather than being transformed into cultural hybrids, they are submissions to imperial authority or exports to gross consumerism (White 1999). Acknowledging this has implications for the embodiment of African sexualities as endorsed by European biopower.

Furthermore, the imagery of the advertisement does little in the way of communicating the message of *aspiration* as a subjective experience among black South Africans. Instead, there is a rather diminished connection

between class and race in the dominant social imaginary of neoliberal capitalism (see LaMothe 2014), when it should be the case that it invokes (fittingly so) what Appadurai (2004) has called “the capacity to aspire.” What should also be noted is the appearance of this advertisement in only one issue, signaling to readers that perhaps brands are more important than the social implications of associating with those brands (see below regarding alcohol). Additionally, *Aspire* is a female-targeted perfume yet its cameo in *Destiny Man* magazine seems to be misplaced considering the effort *Destiny Man* exerts in identifying a definite male target market.

The Power of the Black Tiger

All eight 2014 issues of *Destiny Man* magazine showed images of men playing golf. The articles provided information on how to improve certain aspects of a golf player’s game, tips on other features of the sport, and upcoming events on the golf calendar. Golf is of particular interest to the researchers considering the history of exclusion in the sport in the American and European contexts, which has ripple effects for the sport in South Africa. Golf is still an overwhelmingly white sport. Bamberger (2013) reported that in the USA, the country with the highest number of golfers worldwide, around 80% of male golfers are white, with only 4% of African-Americans engaging in the sport. The paucity of black players at both elite and amateur levels is striking.

Destiny Magazine is not a sports magazine but one wonders about the discourse at play when all the issues show golf images, including pictures of Tiger Woods.

In Figure 7, Tiger Woods stares close-range at the camera, his hand placed against his cheek at an angle that displays his luxury watch partly covered by the cuff of his jacket. This image speaks of status and wealth, but also to Tiger Woods’ racial significance in accordance with the make-up of *Destiny Man*. The image is a front cover double-page spread, considered to be a prime advertising space, as it is one of the first images people see when they open the magazine. Apart from luxury watches (Figure 8), *Destiny Man* features no advertisements showing male jewelry items.

In Figure 8, the reader’s gaze is directed to the words at the top of the page: “This Watch Has Seen Records Broken. And The Game Redefined.” The statement is significant in the context of Tiger Woods’ history. Woods won the Masters Golf Championship in 1997, becoming the first person of African heritage to win this award (Dawkins 2004). This was a significant accomplishment for African-Americans, and indeed for Africans in general, in the predominantly white sport of professional golf. Upon winning the Championship, Woods focused on this larger historical struggle and stated that more recognition needed to be given to black professional golfers (Dawkins 2004). The statement in the Rolex advertisement is therefore a definitive comment on the position of black subjects in the sports world. It speaks to the individual accomplishments achieved by Woods in his sporting career as an African-American. The watch itself is aesthetically striking. The

Figure 7

Tiger Woods. Reproduced with permission. © *Destiny Man* magazine.

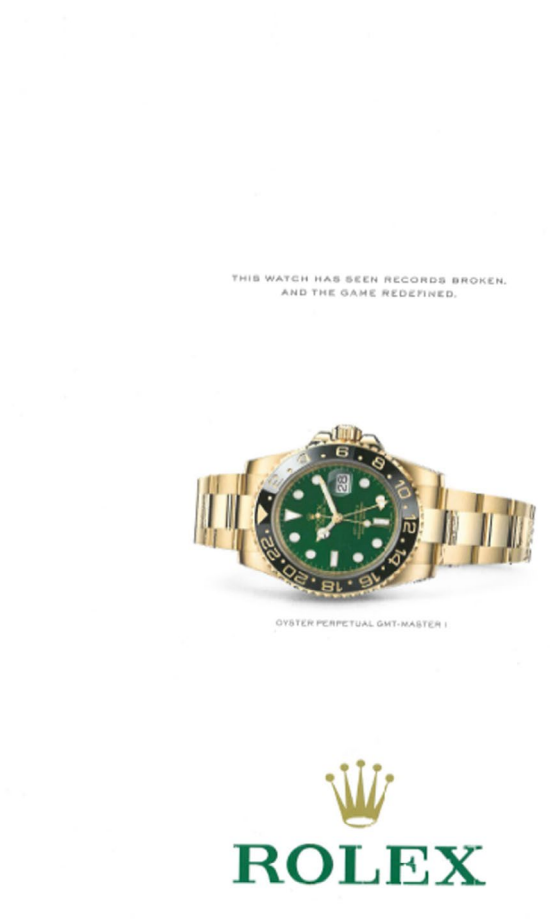


strap and outer face are made of gold, while the inner face is green—most likely representing the green of the golf course that Woods redefined with his sporting exploits. For *Destiny Man*, the advert fits into the framework of neoliberal capitalism, equating golf with luxury and being able to afford to play. The image of Tiger Woods reassures the African middle-class that they too can “redefine the game,” in an economic sense. The luxury of being able to afford a gold Rolex is a display of status and masculine strength (David & Brannon 1976; Goffman 1976). The Tiger Woods advertisement thus speaks less to sporting prowess than it does to the financial prowess of being able to afford to play golf and buy luxury watches.

This is in line with the Black Management Forum’s goal to increase the number of black middle-class golfers in South Africa as a proxy for corporate representation. Thus, golf can be seen as an avenue to giving black businessmen the chance to network during play, further increasing their opportunities for wealth accumulation. The mastery of the African male in historically white-dominated spaces is a feature of *Destiny Man*, exemplified in the Tiger Woods advertisements. While Tiger may not be South African or even identify as an African male, readers may see to it that consumerist luxury can be actualized in spaces that were previously deemed inaccessible.

Figure 8

Rolex Gold. Reproduced with permission. © *Destiny Man* magazine.



The images in Figure 9 display Woods in a range of different situations, in most of which he is wearing a Rolex watch. The advertisement includes the following blurb:

Just being a master scuba diver wasn't enough, so he trained himself to hold his breath for four minutes. Just helping undeserved kids wasn't enough, so he established a foundation of his own. He approaches each new challenge with the same intensity that he brings to his game. And no matter how far he goes, or even how deep, Tiger Woods' Rolex rarely leaves his wrist. To him, it's a reminder. Of everywhere he has been. And the places he's yet to go.

The text describes masculinity as a performance predicated on numerous abilities—in this case an African man (or a man with African heritage) achieving targets at multiple levels and various positions of power. Woods

settings and/or in formal attire. They all appear friendly and are sometimes accompanied by male companions. Overall, these advertisements depict middle-class settings that are presented as a goal for *Destiny Man* readers to aspire to. In Figure 10, for example, *Destiny Man* appears to be attempting to abolish the association of alcohol with townships and subaltern masculinities, instead rebranding alcohol as an element of exclusivity. Yet, the social factors around African men and alcohol consumption in South Africa cannot be easily separated from its daily re-representation in print media. It follows that drinking practices in particular social contexts can serve to elevate or maintain a man's social status; this is the symbol that alcohol represents in *Destiny Man*. The social practice of drinking can thus be viewed as a barometer of social identity within a given social context (Courtenay 2000), determined not by how much a man drinks but, rather, what he drinks.

In the advert, *Destiny Man*, in association with Bisquit, invites young businessmen in their forties to attend an event that will give them a lifetime opportunity to network with other businessmen. It is through this networking that ultimate success will be achieved, enabling them to afford luxurious vehicles such as Mercedes-Benz (Figure 11). Items such as these

Figure 10
"Powerful" stance. Reproduced with permission. © *Destiny Man* magazine.

YOU'RE INVITED

FONDÉE EN 1819
Bisquit
COGNAC

DESTINY MAN EVENT

POWER OF 40

You're invited to enjoy an evening of networking, inspiration and dynamic conversation at the *Destiny MAN Power of 40* cocktail function series, in association with Bisquit Cognac.

Join *DESTINY MAN* Editor Kojo Balfœe and guest speaker Mokena Makeka, one of the extraordinary men featured in 2013's *Power of 40* report, and make time to be inspired by these bold and distinguished men!

EVENT DETAILS
Date: 3 April 2014
Venue: One&Only Hotel, Cape Town
Time: 6.30pm for 7pm

BOOK YOUR TICKET
Price: R250
Contact: Email: events@ndalomeia.com
with "Bisquit Cognac Power of 40" in the subject line, or contact Shaakrah van Rensburg on tel: 011 300 6700.

FONDÉE EN 1819
BISQUIT
COGNAC

Time is what you make it

Figure 11
Mercedes Superior Class.
Reproduced with permission.
© *Destiny Man* magazine.

SUPERIOR CLASS

When presenting the most anticipated vehicle of the year, it's crucial to get every detail right. The team at Mercedes-Benz put together one of the most lavish launches to present what they termed "the best car in the world"

Any machine worth their salt will tell you that when you're willing something like the "best car", you go out of your way to ensure your audience knows you. The guests were treated to a five-star hotel, an exclusive restaurant in the vineyards, a chauffeur service, champagne on tap, an extravagant menu, entertainment by S&P top musicians and a full orchestra.

The real magic was passing down Mercedes-Benz CEO President of Design and Guest Designer to take the media to Cape Town through the concept for the design of the vehicle.

Obviously, it's not enough to impress anyone. However, for the most prestigious occasions, the grand flying is being backed by the wheel of the car and getting four-hand experience.

AMG

The interior design of the S-Class approaches a 1930s automobile, as is when it comes to driving. It's not only the way it looks, but the way it feels. The interior is made of leather and wood, with a focus on craftsmanship and attention to detail. The car is designed to be a masterpiece of engineering and design.

AMG

of to check elegance you get a sense of style as a first glance. Mercedes-Benz has left us impressing car on the market as though to reinforce a sense of authority in the vehicle.

AMG

Suspected in the S-Class, there's no shortage of luxury and functionality to make driving a pleasurable experience, from the detailed leather to soft suede on the roof and bag and climate control. With its myriad of multi-media systems, its virtually fully-featured office on wheels and there are plenty of buttons to play around with and dials to make during each trip.

As if to prove that ordinary wouldn't do for this car, the design team went crazy on the seats, ensuring only maximum comfort for driver and passengers alike. Thanks to 108 electric motors to ensure the seats perform optimally and can be adjusted to individual preferences. One of the top selling points in the magazine which is based on the same message principle. There may or may not be 2017 for 1000.

AMG

Editor Hugo Bello and get into the car, we were eager to put the message to the test. However, it didn't come close to making our stress levels and felt more like being protected by a year-old. There's the rub... not.

AMG

For the car that first introduced the driver's aid, it became a norm for the S-Class to set safety trends. When it comes to safety technology, Mercedes-Benz is looking to the future and a safety technology that's already making its way into cars that drive itself with less accidents. While engineers are still hard at work ensuring that becomes a reality in our lifetime, the S-Class continues to be innovative and comes equipped with more than 20 assistance safety features. There's also the Nightview Assist Plus, which can identify animals and people walking in front of the car, or the 360° view that lets you see on top and required some remaining. It was the best best thing from the S-Class, and will go down well among petrolheads without burning the budget.

AMG

in front of you and limit the speed of your vehicle to avoid or minimize a collision. Those who have to drive on uneven and potholed roads will also love Magic Body Control, a feature which enables the chassis to anticipate the surface condition and absorb the bumps, ensuring that the car's occupants don't feel a thing. During our drive on some of the Western Cape's bumpy roads, we were pleasantly surprised as the car glided smoothly over the bumps.

AMG

On the job of just over 1000km, we were on the lookout for bugs, but were happy to see to find any, given the Mercedes-Benz's advanced insect safety systems and performance. We begin in the S-Class Hybrid model, which has a lot of high-tech take of fuel where most cars are just depend on regular roads. However, the S-Class had engine power on top and required some remaining. It was the best best thing from the S-Class, and will go down well among petrolheads without burning the budget.

E 250	S 400 (AMG)	S 500
Price: R 719 000	Price: R 1 212 000	Price: R 1 312 000
Acceleration from 0-100km/h (0-100km/h): 7.2s	Acceleration from 0-100km/h (0-100km/h): 4.7s	Acceleration from 0-100km/h (0-100km/h): 4.1s
Top speed: 180km/h	Top speed: 250km/h	Top speed: 250km/h
Consumption (l/100km) (Urban/Highway/Combined): 10.5/6.5/7.5	Consumption (l/100km) (Urban/Highway/Combined): 11.5/7.5/9.5	Consumption (l/100km) (Urban/Highway/Combined): 12.5/8.5/10.5
CO2 emissions: 17g/km	CO2 emissions: 19g/km	CO2 emissions: 21g/km

are illustrative of masculinity measured by wealth and status, signified, for example, by the vehicle that one drives.

Shefer, Stevens and Clowes (2010) note that masculinities are produced within specific material conditions. These conditions and the lived experiences of black people in the townships (working-class areas) constitute “Destiny Man” in terms of his origin as a working-class person and his middle-class destination. Townships were created during the apartheid era as engineered, separate living spaces for black people. Fanon explains these geographical spaces in *The Wretched of the Earth*:

The zone where the natives live is not complementary to the zone inhabited by the settlers. The two zones are opposed, but not in the service of a higher unity ... The settlers’ town is a strongly built town, all made of stone and steel. It is a brightly lit town; the streets are covered with asphalt, and the garbage cans swallow all the leavings,

unseen, unknown and hardly thought about. The native town is a hungry town, starved of bread, of meat, of shoes, of coal, of light. The native town is a crouching village, a town on its knees, a town wallowing in the mire. (Fanon 1961, 39)

Black middle-class men in postapartheid South Africa are moving out of the townships to live in the suburbs, spaces previously occupied only by white people. This is seen as a marker of success, as is driving an expensive car—both are forms of validation that one has made it.

According to Ratele,

The psychic ache generated in a man by not having a designer label dress item while others around him and with whom he compares himself have the item ... has a fascinating, rich, long ... history in urban South Africa. (2012, 112–113)

Ratele is referring specifically to black African males in this context, and the intersections that materiality has with access to resources, self-esteem, and masculine identity in South Africa. Furthermore, Ratele (2012) notes the role of affective infusing in fashion items related to contemporary South African identity formation. This means that the fashion item in itself is devoid of meaning until the individual or society deems it of value in some regard. Feinberg, Mataro and Borroughs (1992) note that even though well-known labels and products can be meaningful to an individual in and of themselves, the relationship between meaning, label/product, and identity is complex. This means that in a culturally complex country such as South Africa, certain labels and products are representative of only a subset of the previously disadvantaged population rather than the entire group. The vehicle in Figure 12 is a case in point.

The heading in capital letters suggests that the Chrysler vehicle is like a predatory wolf, a dangerous animal that roars its way through the streets. The heading is a pun on the autobiographical book-turned-film, *The Wolf of Wall Street*, where the protagonist recounts his career as a successful, corrupt stockbroker in New York City. In terms of display, the vehicle is large, aggressive, ravenous, and dangerous. Here, the image of a masculine car is presented in terms of predatory survival and the accumulation of wealth within the jungle of neoliberal capitalism. The car is seen as a “vehicle made to compliment the hard earnings of a self-made man ... A wolf in wolf’s clothing, ready to grab any opportunity to stay ahead of the pack.” It suggests that the pursuit of wealth holds no admonishment, but rather reverence for doing whatever it takes to attain it. This places the mode of African marketplace masculinity within a ruthlessly individualistic paradigm, from the jungles of the township to the boardroom whiteness of white-collar crimes. The racialized description of this jungle has a linguistic history, with Africa being “the dark continent” and its people being uncivilized “savages” and kaffirs. “Destiny Man” attempts to reconstitute this by being a man among men, the latter alluding to white marketplace man, and

Figure 12

Chrysler's predator. Reproduced with permission. © *Destiny Man* magazine.

THE WOLF OF ALL STREETS
avenues, back alleys, cities and basins is here.

Allow us to reintroduce the all-new Chrysler 300C. But first, to understand where this beautiful piece of craftsmanship is going to take you, let's unpack how it got here to begin with.

An import from Detroit, designed for Johannesburg, a city that has experienced the same hardship much like our very own. Created by the few that work hard to get to where they need to be, for the few that they aspire to be. Take a glimpse at the 300C and immediately you can feel the dedication and spirit of its makers. They've considered every conceivable comfort including hand-stitched, Nappa leather-trimmed seats and steering wheel, real wood and satin chrome finishes, a light-lifting rear backlight sunshade and a multimedia system delivered through an Alpine surround sound system too. But who are they? They're like you and me. From the very same place we come from and on the same pursuit to overcome their daily struggles. They say that those who are born without luxury are the best at appreciating and recognizing it.

We are all defined by our shared histories and in our city, a car says a lot about who you are. If that is true then the 300C doesn't talk big, it speaks volumes. It's what you get from a vehicle that has been handcrafted and designed to be the centre of attention. A vehicle made to complement the hard earnings of a self-made man. A man who shows the world what he wants them to see, keeping all his good earnings in his sleeve. He shares the habits of a Great White you get to keep running as my ally, and if you won't choose you'll get bitten. He's unapologetic. A wolf in wolf's clothing, ready to grab any opportunity to stay ahead of the pack. The self-made man, much like yourself. Make you. Chrysler has run the race of life and it done, standing tall for his adversaries at the finish line.

The 300C is the advent of go-getters. It hails from the school of hard-knocks. Where intuition isn't an option, because class is not for sale. Class is a luxury, yes a luxury. But not the kind you've come to expect from all those under-the-table-tender-dealers. Hail the blue brigade. Luxury comes as a result of putting in the hours, taking that 3 AM call, because there's no time to sleep when you're in the fast lane. Speaking of fast, try a 6.4 HEMI SRT[®] V8 engine, which performs at 347KM per h. It is earned by those who work the day and live the night. Those who heed the call of those who talk big with no action. And definitely not the ones who claim and never achieve. This car is for the die-hard, not the try-hard. Is that you? Then carry on reading. If not, ignore everything that follows because we aren't talking to you, we are talking about you.

Still here? Obviously you're a man who's made it. A man who knows what it takes to achieve the things he wants. Conviction, determination and a burning desire to never back down on any challenge. You've paid the cost to be the boss. And now when they see you, they see the finish lines of all the races you've run.

A High Bye or better, someone they respect. The 300C knows power is only so big, it just depends on who you know and who they know. Power isn't luxury. Luxury is something you work hard for. That's the difference. Because the streets have a currency of their own, and every turn and every curve the Chrysler 300C takes, it earns credibility, status and most of all, respect.

You want luxury? Earn it.
Because luxury feels better earned.

To experience luxury, visit luxury-earned.chrysler.com

being afforded the opportunity of participating in the market and the so-called corporate jungle characterized by corruption and kickbacks (Sacks 2012; Southall 2007).

The working class in the township can gaze with envy at the city of the urban white, the clothes they wear, the ideal human standard in their appearance, and the luxury of their vehicles. However, white is no longer the gold standard. There is an emergent class, although few in number, of super-rich black men. They know where they are going—toward the concrete streets of suburban existence and away from the dusty streets of the township. This is what is meant by the phenotypic change the African male undergoes in his “becoming.” Having obtained the white standard, he may emerge as the man in Figure 13.

Khumalo symbolizes the wolf in wolf's clothing: a black suit in a white Chrysler. Constituting more than his outward appearance, the process behind becoming this wolf is evident in his history:

My present doesn't determine my future. I was born in 1978 in Umlazi, Durban, and grew up amid the political violence that engulfed Kwazulu-Natal...my teachers would tell me about the limitations of being black in SA. I'm fortunate to be alive, healthy, educated and economically active today. The opportunities are immense and, at times, overwhelming. (*Destiny Man* 2014, 78)

Figure 13

Andile Khumalo. Reproduced with permission. © *Destiny Man* magazine.

PROMOTION

ANDILE KHUMALO
MSG Africa's Chief Investment Officer gives us his top entrepreneurial tips and shares his affinity for the new 300C.

Find your passion. I'm a believer that, if you recognize your passion early and pursue it with single-minded resolve, success will follow. We have 24 hours in a day. Doctors say you should get an average of eight hours' sleep, which leaves you with 16. As an entrepreneur, you are working an average of 10 hours a day. If you hate what you do, you're probably going to hate your life. Don't waste time working on things you're not passionate about.

Dare to dream. My present doesn't determine my future. I was born in 1978 in Umlazi, Durban, and grew up amid the political violence that engulfed KwaZulu-Natal. While I was too young to fully understand what was going on, my teachers would tell me about the limitations of being black in SA. I'm fortunate to be alive, healthy, educated and economically active today. The opportunities are immense just, at times, overwhelming.

Failure is part of the journey. You will, at some point, fail. It's the nature of the beast. However, if you never try, you will undoubtedly kick yourself when you see someone else realize your dream. To succeed, you should make

Luxury feels better when it has been earned. I know of no other way of achieving my objectives than through hard work. When I look back at my journey so far, I see how I honed my business skills from a young age, even when I had no idea where I would be. I continue to do so today. I carefully consider and take on challenges in sectors and spaces in which I'm not an expert, so that I can challenge myself and learn. I like to think that my work speaks for itself. I enjoy the choices that success allows me.

The Chrysler 300C is more than a car. The 300C made a recent drive to Netiprat for an #WANTREPRENEUR workshop conducted by my platform, MyStartups, partner. I like the fact that the volume on the sound system automatically turns down when reversing and using the Rear Park Assist System. There's a large storage facility for contacts in the Uconnect™ system and it is easy to connect a phone and make calls. I love the Automatic and Smart™ Beam Headlights, which activate when there's oncoming traffic.

To experience luxury, visit: www.chrysler.co.za. You've

In the article, Khumalo expresses the difficulties faced in the intersecting economic and racial realms of apartheid South Africa, where black people faced barriers to acquiring material wealth and risked exclusion as humans because of their blackness. Khumalo's path, however, follows the pattern of having successfully "escaped" the jungle into the concrete streets of suburbia.

Presenting Khumalo as a success story in postapartheid South Africa highlights the apartheid-era injustices of human indignity and the disavowal of human rights. The African population's acquisition of wealth can perhaps then be understood as more than just a perverse commodity fetishism, but also as a signifier of the financial freedom afforded by the democratic constitution. Elsewhere it is argued that a historically constitutive relationship exists between the regulations of race and consumption in South Africa (Posel 2010). From this point of view, Posel analyzes the corruption charges faced by 2007 ANC spokesperson³ Smuts Ngonyama. Smuts' response to the charges was, "I didn't struggle to be poor," thereby juxtaposing the socialist rhetoric of the pre-freedom ANC as a socialist liberation movement and the postapartheid ANC, which is pro-capitalism.

Even the struggle icon Nelson Mandela personified the capitalist endowments of wealth and accumulation by lending his image to the South

African “*Randela*” (a portmanteau of the official name of the South African currency *Rand* and the name of Mandela) notes, in circulation since 2012. Jared Sacks’ online opinion piece (2012) criticizes the exploitation of the struggle icon’s image on the currency: “As if the complex persona of any human being can actually be reduced to something as shallow and commonplace as paper money.” This comment is not linked solely to Madiba’s exploitation in monetary terms, but also to the issue of defining interpersonal relationships primarily in this manner. For the “Destiny Man,” this appears to be an important feature in any type of relationship. As a result, the commodification of interpersonal relationships is awarded elevated status. Furthermore, money is not accumulated and used as a means to achieve a goal, but is rather an end in itself and the means by which life is defined. In fact, the irksome manner in which *Randelas* are distributed could be the culmination of the Mandela legacy in postapartheid South Africa. Sacks (2012) argues that, as far back as the 1950s, Mandela advocated a pro-capitalist stance, and the implementation of BEE in the 1990s was intended to build a loyal black nationalist capitalist class in the era of economic liberalization. It is not surprising, therefore, that *Destiny Man* would adopt this approach as the magazine’s ideology.

Analysis reveals (Seekings & Natrass 2002) that people living in capitalist societies begin to treat commodities as if they have inherent value, rather than taking into account the amount of labor necessary to produce them. Commodities also reflect the social relations between people (Felluga 2002). The effect is that people form relationships with the commodities and see others in relation to them. Posel (2010) states that archaeologists and anthropologists view people’s relationships (in all societies) to things as *symbolically dense*, implying that the meaning afforded to objects is suffused with psychical and emotional investment. This is also relevant in a capitalist-consumerist framework, where consumerism and consumption are almost directly linked to definitions of selfhood. The critical question that Posel asks is how race works in relation to consumption (Posel 2010). In postapartheid South Africa, this question seems to be answered in the obtaining, retention, and display of capital by the black middle class. “Obtaining” and “retention” are linked to historical injustices and barriers to black capital ownership, while “display” is effectively communicated through media portrayals of African wealth, such as in publications like *Destiny Man*.

The political implications of this consumerist fetish have deep consequences for the majority of disillusioned poor working-class men especially in the era of economic challenges, to one of a privileged few who are benefiting out of neoliberal policies in represented in the *Destiny Man*.

Conclusion

This article took an interpretive approach to analyzing content presented in *Destiny Man* magazine, a six-year-old lifestyle publication aimed at middle-class black men in South Africa. It explored how these men are

presented by looking at visual and textual content. A psychosocial approach was adopted to understand how political, socioeconomic, and gender issues interact.

The themes of fashion, power, and consumerism are critical in the identity formation of contemporary South African black middle-class citizens. Particularly elements of fashion and consumerism are key components of how such identities are seen at the manifest level. An understanding of the stylized self, in terms of fashion consciousness, clothing styles, and so on, is useful for interpolating particular kinds of masculine group identity.

The key themes identified in the analysis include neoliberal capitalism and its linked consumerism, identity self-formation, and African middle-class masculinity. The interactions between these factors impact on our understanding of contemporary African middle-class masculinity, affecting the construction and definition of this concept in complex and dynamic ways. *Destiny Man* presents just one example of how these interactions are portrayed in the media. Tulloch (2010) argues that these sociocultural and political intersections are reflective of the sociocultural changes taking place in the African diaspora. For instance, youths are foregrounded and equated with power and potential. This is in congruence with similar findings in studies of aged masculinities (Hurd Clarke, Bennett, & Liu 2014). Younger men are seen as possessing virility and ability, while older men are seen as wiser and more experienced. This is evidenced in the magazine's focus on young African males—and in so doing, perhaps establishing a new order of masculinity in postapartheid South Africa. Portraying young black males as dominating the market enables a reimagining of power that would have been impossible in the apartheid era.

Lastly, an overriding theme in *Destiny Man* is the perpetuation of the seemingly unquestionable logic of neoliberal capitalism in order to justify and solidify the status quo. The magazine does so by serving as a guide to “how to be” as a male in South Africa at this particular time, through written material based on neoliberal capitalist principles, but also through images reflecting a particular status and products that define contemporary masculine identity.

Disclosure Statement

No potential conflict of interest was reported by the authors.

Notes

1. The official affirmative action redistribution policy of postapartheid South Africa.
2. The study was conducted in 2014 and all eight issues of the magazine were used.

3. At the time of writing still South Africa's leading political party, although support is waning due to stronger challenges mounted by opposition parties, as well as the ANC's association with corruption.

References

- Alexander, S. M. 2003. "Stylish Hard Bodies: Branded Masculinity in *Men's Health Magazine*." *Sociological Perspectives* 46 (4): 535–554.
- Appadurai, Arjun. 2004. "The Capacity to Aspire: Culture and the Terms of Recognition." In *Culture and Public Action*, edited by Vijayendra Rao and Michael Walton, 59–84. Redwood: Stanford University Press.
- Bamberger, M. 2013. "Where Are All the Black Golfers? Nearly Two Decades after Tiger Woods' Arrival, Golf Still Struggles to Attract Minorities." *Golf.com*, July 3. <http://www.golf.com/tour-and-news/where-are-all-black-golfers-nearly-two-decades-after-tiger-woods-arrival-golf-still-st>
- BMR. 1999. "Activities, Lifestyles and Status Products of the Newly-Emerging Middle Class in Gauteng." *Research Report* 262. Pretoria: Bureau for Market Research, UNISA.
- Bond, P. 2000. *Elite Transition: From Apartheid to Neoliberalism in South Africa*. London: Pluto Press.
- Burke, T. 1996. *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press.
- Clowes, L. 2006. "Men and Children: Changing Constructions of Fatherhood in *Drum Magazine*, 1951–1965." In *BABA: Men and Fatherhood in South Africa*, edited by L. Richter and R. Morrell, 108–117. Cape Town: HSRC Press.
- Connell, R. 1995. *Masculinities*. Berkeley, CA: University of California Press.
- Courtenay, Will H. 2000. "Constructions of Masculinity and Their Influence on Men's Well-Being: A Theory of Gender and Health." *Social Science & Medicine* 50 (10): 1385–1401.
- David, Deborah Sarah, and Robert Brannon, eds. *The Forty-Nine Percent Majority: The Male Sex Role*. Random House, 1976.
- Dawkins, M. P. 2004. "Race Relations and the Sport of Golf: The African American Golf Legacy." *Western Journal of Black Studies* 28 (1): 327–331.
- Fanon, F. 1961. *The Wretched of the Earth*. London: Penguin.
- Fanon, F. 1967. *Black Skin, White Masks*. New York, NY: Grove Press.
- Feinberg, Richard A., Lisa Mataro, and W. Burroughs. (1992). "Clothing and Social Identity." *Clothing and Textiles Research Journal* 11 (1): 18–23.
- Felluga, Dino. 2002. "Terms Used by Psychoanalysis." *Introductory Guide to Critical Theory*. Retrieved January 27: 242–243. 2003.

- Figlio, Karl. 2001. *Psychoanalysis, Science and Masculinity*. Philadelphia, PA: Psychology Press.
- Foucault, Michel. 2007. *Security, Territory, Population: Lectures at the Collège De France, 1977–78*. Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.
- Gibson, P. C., and V. Karaminas. 2014. *Fashion and Porn: Special Issue*. London: Bloomsbury Academic.
- Goffman, E. 1976. "Replies and Responses." *Language in Society* 5 (03): 257–313.
- Gordon, E. T. 1997. "Cultural Politics of Black Masculinity." *Transforming Anthropology* 6 (1-2): 36–53 (1997).
- Hurd Clarke, Laura Hurd, Erica V. Bennett, and Chris Liu. "Aging and Masculinity: Portrayals in Men's Magazines." *Journal of Aging Studies* 31 (2014): 26–33.
- Kenny, B., and E. Webster. 1998. "Eroding the Core: Flexibility and the Re-Segmentation of the South African Labour Market." *Critical Sociology* 24 (3): 216–243.
- LaMothe, Ryan. 2014. "Psychoanalysis and the Inverted Totalitarianism of Neoliberal Capitalism: Challenges of Couch and Culture." *Journal of Communications Research* 6 (3): 23–40.
- Leopeng, Bertrand, and Malose Langa. 2017. "The Fathers of Destiny: Representations of Fatherhood in a Popular South African Magazine." *Journal of Psychology in Africa* 27 (5): 438–442.
- McClintock, A. 1995. *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Colonial Contest*. New York: Routledge.
- McNeil, P., and G. Riello. 2005. "The Art and Science of Walking: Gender, Space, and the Fashionable Body in the Long Eighteenth Century." *Fashion Theory* 9 (2): 175–204.
- Mercer, K. 1994. *Welcome to the Jungle: Identity and Diversity in Post-modern Politics*. London: Lawrence & Wilshart.
- Morrell, R., R. Jewkes, and G. Lindegger. 2012. "Hegemonic Masculinity/Masculinities in South Africa: Culture, Power, and Gender Politics." *Men and Masculinities* 15 (1): 11–30.
- Nuttall, Sarah. 2004. "Stylizing the Self: The Y Generation in Rosebank, Johannesburg." *Public Culture* 16 (3): 430–452.
- Parker, Ian. 1992. *Discourse Dynamics (Psychology Revivals): Critical Analysis for Social and Individual Psychology*. London: Routledge.
- Pinto de Almeida, F. 2015. "Framing Interior: Race, Mobility and the Image of Home in South African Modernity." *Social Dynamics* 41 (3): 461–481.
- Posel, Deborah. 2010. "Races to Consume: Revisiting South Africa's History of Race, Consumption and the Struggle for Freedom." *Ethnic and Racial Studies* 33 (2): 157–175.
- Poster, M. 1990. "Foucault and Data Bases." *Discourse* 12 (2): 110–127.
- Ratele, K. 2004. "Kinky Politics." In *Re-Thinking Sexualities in Africa*, edited by S. Arnfred. (Nordiska Afrikainstitutet) Accessed November

- 2, 2017. <https://www.diva-portal.org/smash/get/diva2:240493/FULL-TEXT03.pdf>.
- Ratele, Kopano. 2012. "‘Ayashisa’mateki’: Converse All Stars and the Making of African Masculinities." In *Was It Something I Wore? Dress, Identity, Materiality*, edited by Relebohile Moletsane, Claudia Mitchell and Ann Smith, 112–131. Cape Town: HRSC Publishing.
- Rich, Eileen P., Sebenzile Nkosi, and Neo K. Morojele. 2015. "Masculinities, Alcohol Consumption, and Sexual Risk Behavior Among Male Tavern Attendees: A Qualitative Study in North West Province, South Africa." *Psychology of Men & Masculinity* 16 (4): 382.
- Sacks, J. 2012. "Randela: The Icon, Re-Imaged." Daily Maverick, November 14. <http://www.dailymaverick.co.za/opinionista/2012-11-14-randela-the-icon-re-imaged/#.Vmfb03YrL4Y>.
- Seekings, J., and N. Nattrass. 2002. "Class, Distribution and Redistribution in Post-Apartheid South Africa." *Transformation: Critical Perspectives on Southern Africa* 50 (1): 1–30.
- Shefer, T., G. Stevens, and L. Clowes. 2010. "Men in Africa: Masculinities, Materiality and Meaning." *Journal of Psychology in Africa* 20 (4): 511–517.
- Southall, R. Ten. 2007. "Ten Propositions about Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa." *Review of African Political Economy* 34 (111): 67–84.
- Suttner, R. 2014. "The Economic Freedom Fighters’ Politics of Dress." <http://www.polity.org.za/article/the-economic-freedom-fighters-politics-of-dress-2014-07-23>.
- Tulloch, C., ed. 2010. "Letter from the Editor." *Fashion Theory: The Journal of Dress, Body and Culture, Special Issue: African Diaspora* 14(3): 269–272.
- Tulloch, Carol, and Shaun Cole. 2001. "Day of Record, Nails, Weaves and Naturals: Black British Hairstyle and Nail Art."
- White, Luise. 1999. "Sex, Soap, and Colonial Studies-Ethnic Pride and Racial Prejudice in Victorian Cape Town: Group Identity and Social Practice, 1875–1902." by Bickford-Smith Vivian. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995. Pp. Xxiii+ 281. \$64.00. *Lifebuoy Men, Lux Women: Commodification, Consumption, and Cleanliness in Modern Zimbabwe*. by Burke Timothy. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1996. Pp. Ix+ 298. \$45.00 (Cloth); \$17.95 (Paper). *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender, and Sexuality in the Imperial Contest*. by" *Journal of British Studies* 38 (04): 478–486.
- Wilbraham, L. 1996. "Dear Doctor Delve-in: A Feminist Analysis of a Sex Advice Column for Women." *Agenda* 30 (30): 51–65.
- Yarwood, J. 2006. "Deterritorialised Blackness: (Re) Making Coloured Identities in South Africa." *Postamble* 2 (1): 46–58.