

**RENEGOTIATING MASCULINITIES IN A TRANSNATIONAL CONTEXT: THE USE
OF SEX-ENHANCING SUBSTANCES (DAWA ZA NGUVU YA MAPENZI) AMONGST
HETEROSEXUAL MEN OF THE DEMOCRATIC REPUBLIC OF CONGO (DRC)
LIVING IN DURBAN**

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Declaration

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters of Arts, in the Graduate

Programme in

Gender Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal,

South Africa.

I declare that this dissertation is my own unaided work. All citations, references and borrowed ideas have been duly acknowledged. I confirm that an external editor was used and that my Supervisor was informed of the identity and details of my editor. It is being submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts (Gender Studies) in the Faculty of Humanities, Development and Social Sciences, University of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. None of the present work has been submitted previously for any degree or examination in any University.

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I would like to give thanks to my Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, for strengthening and carrying through all the dark times and long nights. None of this work would have happened without Him

Zechariah 4: 6-9

It has occurred to me often through the process of completing this degree that something of this magnitude cannot be done by oneself. All of the important people in my life have had some input in some way into this piece of work and I would like to take the opportunity to thank them for walking this road with me.

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to my extended family, to my lovely wife Chilemb Mayond and my eight children for their patience and encouragements during my study.

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Abstract

This study was based on the heterosexual form of sexuality as it is the most dominant form of masculinity amongst the Congolese. The aim of this dissertation was to investigate the type of migrant Congolese heterosexual men living in Durban who mostly use sex-enhancing substances and the reasons behind the practice. It sought to explore the impact of the black African isiZulu cultural environment influence about the use of sex-enhancing substances on the DRC men heterosexual in their negotiation of masculinities within the transnational space

Further, the study critically examined how migrant Congolese heterosexual men are renegotiating their masculinities in a transnational space through sex enhancing substances. The key question in this study was “How are men from the DRC using sex-enhancing substances to re-negotiate their masculinities in the transnational space”? The methodology was qualitative and in-depth interview was utilized as the method of data collection. The results of this study indicated that the migrant Congolese heterosexual men in renegotiating their masculinities within the transnational space through sex-enhancing reinforce existing hegemonic notions of masculinities and also end up creating new forms of hegemonic notions of masculinities.

Keywords: Masculinities, Gender identities, Sex-enhancing substances, Social-constructionism, Migration, Transnational space.

List of acronyms

DRC: Democratic Republic of Congo

GDP: Gross Domestic Product

HSRC: Human Science Research Council

ILO: International Labour Organization

n.d: No date

OECD: Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development

UK: United Kingdom

UN: United States

UNDP: United Nations Development Programme

SADC: Southern African Development Community

SAMP: South African Migration Survey

WHO: World Health Organization

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05 December 2011

Editor's Letter

This letter confirms that I, Megan White, undertook to edit Mulungula Mungela Nicodemus's Masters dissertation.

Due to serious illness, I was unable to complete the edit, however, I did edit roughly two thirds of the paper and I corrected the formatting of the entire paper.

I made use of the track changes system for ease of reference. Mr Nicodemus therefore had the option of accepting or rejecting every change that was made.

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Chapter One

Introduction and Problem Formulation

1.1. Introduction and outline of the research topic

Migration can be defined as the process of going from one country, region or place of residence to settle elsewhere. Throughout the twentieth century as well as during the first decade of the twenty-first century there have been enormous waves of migration occurring all over the world as a result of natural and made disasters such as flooding, wars and economic crises. It is not surprising therefore that from 1960s onward migration studies became an integral component of academic research as has been observed by Demiray and Tuncel (2008:1).

Individuals who migrate experience multiple stresses including the loss of their cultural norms, religious customs, and social support systems having to adjust to a new culture and having to reassess their identity and concept of self (Bhugra and Becher, 2005). All these changes have the potential to negatively impact the migrants' mental wellbeing (Ibid). Migrating people come from diverse cultural backgrounds, with already formed cultural identities. As noted above, cultural identity is influenced by various factors from before, during and after both during and after the migration process (Bhugra and Becher, 2005). This experience of living abroad and experiencing constant socio-cultural negotiations can either change or reinforce an individual's perspectives of gender. The present study interrogates renegotiated masculine identities which have been examined from a cultural and social standpoint that views gender identities as emanating from in the words of Snider (2008), "intersecting historical, cultural and social factors at a particular moment in a transnational life context".

Transnationalism has been defined as what occurs when transnational migrants take on a multiplicity of identities that are a combination of those from their both country of origin as well as their host country (see Basch et al. 1994) and it refers to the conditions in which networks of relationships are forged that transcend pre-existing boundaries of nation-states (Manjusha, 2006:2). Snider (2008) defines transnationalism as "a fluid and complex concept to employ in a study on migrant populations. The complexity of its formulation and use is indicated by the contentious nature and different articulations in academic literature."

Transnationalism is however made complex by way of the renegotiation that inevitably takes place of various social identities at different times and places. Connell's (1987) research in Australia on the social theory of gender relations comments on migrant students and the renegotiation of their identities in a new area. She has revealed that when people move to another country, they are not just immersing themselves in another culture, they are also positing themselves in another gender system or gender regime. This study has investigated the renegotiation of masculinities identities in the transnational context of Durban through the use of sex-enhancing substances.

Situated along the east coast of South Africa, Durban is a multi-cultural vibrant city with a rich history. Situated in KwaZulu-Natal, it is also known as the Zulu Kingdom. Ethnically diverse person populates KwaZulu-Natal. According to the 2007 Community Survey quoted by Ellmore (2007), the city has a population of almost 3.5 million. Apart from Zulus comprising the majority of the population and the most numerous ethnic group in South Africa, there are descendants of many other coming from other African countries. To 24% of South Africans, IsiZulu is considered to be their home language and 50% of the South Africa's inhabitants understand the language (Ellmore, A.J. 2005). The statistics done by the Statistics South Africa Census (2001) show that Black Africans account for 68.30% of the population, followed by Asians or Indians at 19.90%, Whites at 8.98% and Coloureds at 2.89%, 48.9% of the population is under the age of 24, while 4.2% are over the age of 65. The median age in the city is 25 years old, and for every 100 females, there are 92.5 males. 27.9% of city residents are unemployed. 88.6% of the unemployed are black, 18.3% are Coloureds, 8.2% are Asians or Indians, and 4.4% are White. Some of the Zulu do not want other people from other black African countries. They refer to people from other African countries by the derogatory term "*amakwerekwere*". The majority of the xenophobic incidents reported by the media are perpetrated against black migrants and asylum seekers/refugees from other African countries. Studies investigating the experiences of refugees in South Africa have found that they experience racialised prejudice, with black South African men being the most hostile (Cindy and Gillian, 2003). That is why the migrants in your study were renegotiating their masculinities in relation to Zulu men and women.

This study examined how the Congolese¹heterosexual migrant² men in Durban renegotiate their masculine identities in a new cultural context and also how dominant hegemonies impact upon their sexual knowledge and heterosexual experiences. It looked at their use of sex-enhancing substances as one of the ways they renegotiate their masculine identities in the transnational context. Morrell (2001: 3) notes that in light of South Africa's changing political and economic climate "another change in gender relations that has received less attention has been the change in masculinity with men not being as privileged in their gender contrary to popular belief". Nevertheless, whilst the majority of men mostly perpetuate and reproduce dominant gender relations and forms of masculinity, there are some men who either consciously or unconsciously oppose the hegemonic prescriptions of exemplary masculinity (Morrell, 2001: 9). This study therefore has determined that the Congolese heterosexual migrant male living in Durban as represented in my proposed sample group are reconstructing their unconsidered gender identities in a transnational space by using sex-enhancing substances and thereof, they are creating a new form of hegemonic masculinity.

Indeed, since gender identities are fluid in nature, this study also understood that Congolese heterosexual migrant men in Durban are renegotiating their sense of masculine identity in light of the culturally prescribed roles and varying transnational cultural environmental influences. In recognition of the transnational environment of masculinities that are currently in flux, it is hoped that the findings of this study will contribute towards a growing body of knowledge that decries the absenteeism of men from discourses on gender discrimination against women and health. Ghail and Haywood (2003:102) assume that "gender is something to do with women [only]". The present research in fact assumes that the gender systems and

¹There are two countries called "Congo" in Africa, namely the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) and Congo Brazzaville, and this can cause confusion when referring to Congolese people. The term "Congolese" will, in this study, be used in reference to migrant men from the DRC.

² The United Nations on HIV/AIDS (UNAIDS, 2001) defines a migrant as 'any person who lives temporarily or permanently in a country where he or she was not born, and has acquired some significant social ties to this country. Migrant is usually restricted to those who move for voluntary reasons (internally or internationally), while refugees and internally displaced persons (IDPs) are those who move involuntarily (usually because of wars or other violent conflicts, but also because of human rights abuse). A Refugee is then a migrant person who because of a well-founded fear of persecution for reasons of race, religion, nationality, membership of a particular social group, or political opinion resides outside the country of his or her nationality (UNAIDS 2001). The concept 'migrant' in this dissertation is applied to both refugee and migrants as refugees in this context of the research are considered as forced/involuntary migrants.

gender regimes of Congolese migrant men in Durban is a consequence of the traditional cultural values learned back in the sending country and that continue to rule their sexual lives within the transnational area.

Studies of sexuality in the transnational space are important for understanding how masculine identities are socially renegotiated (Andreas and Katherine, 2001). It is imperative to keep in mind that the process of creating and constructing masculine identities (as with feminine identities) is a polarised debate due to the 'nature versus nurture' debate. As with essentialism (which denotes nature), behaviours and mannerisms have been put down as being innate or natural. A person's behaviour is thus seen as being a product of that individual's nature or biological make-up, and is thus not considered to be the result of nurturing (Evans, 2003). Transnational sexuality discourse contains within it the expectation of a new subjectivity and a new self-consciousness or awareness of sexual identity. Blackwood (2005:223) says that: "Transnational sexualities have come into use to move beyond the limited and simplistic dichotomy of local/global. It is based on the cultural location that draws somewhat on the notion of ethnos capes, signifying the disjunctive flow of meanings. What constitute a cultural location are the global, regional, and historical flows that have created specific discourses, knowledge, and ways of understanding the world in a specific area". Kaplan (1993) argues that: "The term 'local/global' in relation to sexualities suggests the difference between traditional or oppressed sexualities and a Western-defined liberated gayness. 'Transnational' in contrast, points to the lines that crosscut the binary; it suggests that the 'global' and 'local' thoroughly infiltrate each other". Blackwood (2005:221) states: "Transnational sexualities insist on the recognition that particular genders and sexualities are shaped by a large number of processes implicated in globalization, including capitalism, diasporic movements, political economies of state, and the disjunctive flow of meanings produced across these sites".

As the study was, to a large extent, based on renegotiated gender identities in general, this concept has been therefore examined from a cultural and social standpoint; it viewed masculinity identity as emanating from intersecting historical, cultural and social factors at a particular moment in a transnational life context that consider different interpretations given to contemporary perceptions of masculinities from a fraction of male heterosexual. Inevitably, a man's identity is constantly judged and assessed by other men and women and judged against prevailing dominant cultural dictates (Donaldson, 1993). Hooks (2004) has found that there is a definitive link between masculinity and sexuality in every society and that children

are socialised according to gender in different ways. She argues that the emphasis placed on sexuality by society makes both boys and girls to draw the inference that manhood and masculinity are inherently sexual matters and that for one to fully become a man, one needs only engage in sexual intercourse (Hooks, 2004).

It was realised during this study that, during the process of socialisation within the traditional culture of the Congolese, boys are taught that they must be aggressive, dominant and sometimes violent in order to become true men. However, the messages given to boys about gender roles are problematic because of their links to the objectifying of women. Inherent in the connection to objectification is the emphasis placed on sex for men. According to traditional Congolese culture, a boy becomes a man upon the completion of his first sexual act. 'Real men', it is thought, are those males who are virile, sexually active, and sexually experienced. The idea that the ability to engage in sex emphasises conquest serves to reinforce the lack of control and power that men have in society at large and functions as an arena in which they can seek fulfillment, power and affirmation. The present study discovered that the above cultural understanding of masculinity being linked to sexuality is the motivating factor for Congolese migrants living in Durban to engage in the use of sex-enhancing substances within the transnational context.

By relating sexuality to the use of sex-enhancing substances, Letitia's (2003) findings confirm that many lines of research demonstrate that men show more interest than do women in penetrative sex; men are more interested in visual sexual stimuli and are thus more likely to spend money on sex-enhancing substances (Letitia, 2003:37). By 'sex-enhancing substances' Mcetywa (2001:151) is clearly alluding to the notion of becoming sexually 'active' by using aphrodisiacal products so as to increase libido, boost stamina, and make the body strong for sex.

This study was based on the heterosexual form of sexuality as this is the most dominant form of masculinity amongst the Congolese migrants currently living in Durban. The key question in this study was this: How are men from the DRC using sex-enhancing substances to renegotiate their masculinities in transnational space in Durban. The central hypothesis of this study is that, renegotiating their masculinities identities³ through sex-enhancing substances,

³ Masculinities in my title is a plural because, according to sociologist Connell (1998). "Masculinity in its singular form is simultaneously a place in gender relations; the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture" (Connell, 1998: 71). According to sociologist Krienert and Fleisher (2005), instead of seeing masculinity as something

Congolese heterosexual migrants men in Durban reinforce existing hegemonic notions of masculinities and also end up creating new hegemonic notions of masculinity.

1.2. Problem statement and significance of the study

Transnational migrants are individuals who live aspects of their social, economic and political lives across two or more countries. They establish themselves in their host countries while they continue being influenced by the realities and lifestyle that they have experienced in their countries of origin. They are also influenced by a wide range of cultural, economic, social and political transnational contexts which have some power on their daily lives in the host country (Levitt and De la Dehesa, 2003). The life experiences of migrants in transnational spaces impact to a certain degree on their human identities. Lim (2004) argues that communities in such transnational migrant contexts often adopt self-conscious strategies of resistance and self-empowerment as a way of avoiding permanent marginalisation and ever-increasing levels of exploitation. Looking at the transformation of masculinities within the gender discourse, this study discovered that and asks whether or not Congolese heterosexual migrants male in Durban are indeed reconstructing their gendered identities in transnational times. The problem started by the socio-economic difficulties faced in South Africa as well as the problematic of the recognition of their masculine identities by the host population

The migration of Congolese people into Durban has been as a result of the war in the DRC, which is a war that has involved the armies of five other countries and has led to tens of thousands of refugees fleeing their homes in order to seek asylum elsewhere. Steinberg (2005) observes that the migration from the DRC is primarily a movement of young, well-educated, urban, middle-class people. Nearly one in two of the refugees have some form of

that just happens to men or is done to men, masculinity is seen as something that men do. In an iterative process called *Doing Gender*. Specific patterns are learned through the socialization process that appropriately represents masculinity and the underlying goal of this performance is the assertion of power and dominance (Krienert and Fleisher, 2005). Masculinity as a singular must be performed and presented recurrently in any situation. Since the aim of *Doing Gender* is the creation of a stable heterosexual hegemonic masculinity, it follows that there are other, conflicting and competing concepts of masculinities within the same society (Connell, 1998). The plural form of masculinities in this dissertation emerges from men's practices in their daily lives, the plurality brought about by transformations in the proper codification of hegemonic masculinities. The pluralisation of masculinities in this research also has transforming effects on the equilibrium of dominations; not only of men over women but also of some men over other men.

tertiary education, whilst fewer than one in twenty were unemployed when still living in the DRC (Steinberg, 2005)

Unemployment is a worldwide problem, and South Africa is no exception. South Africa is a country of many inequalities; the gap between the rich and the poor and the employed and the unemployed is considerable (Mubangizi, 2005). The Congolese migrants living in Durban are one of the victims of this situation. There is a vast number of unemployed people within the migrant Congolese community of Durban, and the majority of them are women, many of whom still depend upon men for their survival. In Durban, some of the migrants are students, some are working in different companies and factories, others are car-guards, and many work as security guards. Most of the Congolese migrant women are neither studying nor working. The majority of the Congolese population lives in even deeper poverty, as they are unemployed. Their lived experiences and living conditions as well as their social status are deteriorating due to their unemployment and the hard and unproductive jobs in which they are engaged (Muzumbukilwa, 2007).

The present study on this sample of Durban's population is relevant within a South African context as the migrant Congolese population constitutes a part of the present population of South Africa. Having to live within the cultural influence of their host country, it was necessary to assess how these foreign individuals react to South African culture and renegotiate their masculinities once they are interacting with the host culture. As leader in a Church-based organization called Durban Mission Church (DMC); it would be both interesting and worthwhile to investigate the sexuality of the Durban based Congolese community and consider their use of sex-enhancing substances.

The significance of this study is based on the fact that almost of the studies in South Africa has focused on traditional medicines in the treatment of physical disorders (Ngubane, 1977). Others have focused only on women by exploring the range of vaginal practices used by women (Attwood, 2005; Comella, 2003; Posel, 2005). Certain scholars have been interested in researching erectile dysfunction and have therefore looked at the ways that people try to increase their sexual desire, increase their libido, delay ejaculation, and increase their vitality and stamina for sex in order to deal with biological and psychological problems such as anxiety, depression, and the humiliation that can be caused as a result of sexual dysfunction (Frank, 1978; Leonore, 2001; Joe, 2002). Others, such as Parle and Scorgie (2001), have

found that within the context of the Zulu culture the traditional practice of *umhayizo* is often used by men to bewitch girls or young women so as to make the latter fall in love with them.

Another reason for the relevance of this study was the fact that the bulk of the current research into the use of sex-enhancing substances has been conducted within the global and local contexts (Kunene, 2010; Mcetywa, 2001) whilst there is limited research on migrants' sexuality within the transnational context. To the best of my knowledge, there has not been a single study that has focused on the use of traditional and manufactured sex-enhancing substances in a transnational space by Durban-based heterosexual male migrants with regard to this particular aspect of the renegotiation of masculinity identity

This particular research, therefore, took into consideration the broader political, economic, social and cultural contexts within which the use of these products is practised. It has been approached from a gender identity perspective and has established how the use of sex-enhancing substances may contribute towards the enforcing of new forms of hegemonic masculinity. The study's findings, while focusing on the gender perspective of the practice, may also encourage healthcare practitioners to take into consideration the social context of the community in which they work and where the awareness programmes are being implemented. This research therefore filled the gaps in the current literature and has investigated the use of sex-enhancing substances and the experiences of those within in the selected areas who make use of them, with the aim of developing an intervention that is relevant and specific to them.

1.3. Aim of the study

This study aimed to explore the use of sex-enhancing substances among Durban-based Congolese heterosexual migrants male so as to understand firstly how they are using sex-enhancing substances to renegotiate their masculine identities in the transnational context. Secondly, to establish whether the use of sex-enhancing substances contributes towards the reinforcement of the existing hegemonic notions of masculinity or ends up creating new forms of hegemonic notions of masculinity.

1.4. Key questions asked

In an attempt to answer the key question – How are men from the DRC using sex-enhancing substances to renegotiate their masculine identities in the transnational space? – This study seeks to answer the following questions:

- Who among Durban's Congolese heterosexual men is using sex-enhancing substances?
- What are the different reasons behind the use of sex-enhancing substances amongst Congolese heterosexual men in Durban?
- How is their use of sex-enhancing substances influenced by the local South African context?
- How does the use of sex-enhancing substances impact on the renegotiation of their masculinities?

1.5. Broad issues investigated

This study was concerned with discourses of sexuality and the renegotiation of masculinities through the use of sex-enhancing substances in a transnational context and ways in which these substances contribute towards the reinforcement of hegemonic notions of masculinity. As a part of this focus, the study has investigated two broad issues. Firstly, it has examined sex and sexuality as a site for men to reinforce their masculinities within the transnational space. Secondly, it analysed the extent to which the transnational context within which Congolese heterosexual male migrants are living contributes towards the usage of sex-enhancing substances. Consequently, this study considered the influence of the local environment – in other words, the black African Zulu culture that is prevalent in Durban – on Congolese heterosexual men's sexual practices. In brief, it seeks to investigate the following relevant issues:

- Types of Congolese heterosexual men living in Durban who mostly use sex-enhancing substances and the reasons behind this practice.
- how are men from the DRC using sex-enhancing substances to renegotiate their masculine identities in the transnational context

1.6. Structure of the research

Chapter One: Introduction and Problem Formulation

This chapter gives an introduction to the dissertation, spelling out the rationale for the selected topic by providing a brief overview of it. It goes on to present the problem statement, the hypothesis, and culminates in summing up the objectives of the study. Finally, it explains the structure of the dissertation as a whole.

Chapter two: Literature Review and the Theoretical Framework

This chapter explores similar researches related to the use of sex-enhancing substances in South Africa. It begins by articulating gendered reactions and perceptions of masculinities as used in feminist discourse. It also takes into consideration constructs of masculinity and their concomitant identities as mediated by cultural and contemporary ideologies in South Africa. It pays attention to opposing views of masculinity as held by (some) feminists (Connell, 1985; Connell, 2002; Butler, 1999) that form a debate as to the advantages and viability in bringing about gender parity while at the same time isolating heterogeneous masculinities as a stepping stone to charting out the course of bringing about the required change regarding the perception of masculine identity. It outlines the theoretical framework of the research. This establishes the direction of enquiry the research takes and the models that are utilised in the study.

Chapter Three: Research Methodology

This chapter documents the methodologies employed, and justifies their usage. The data process that was undertaken, the ethical considerations and the study's limitations are detailed. This chapter also outlines how the participants' confidentiality will be maintained.

Chapter Four: Finding of the Study and Discussions

This chapter presents the study's findings and then provides a discussion, in narrative form, of those findings. It assesses the influence of the black African Zulu culture upon Durban's Congolese heterosexual men concerning the use of sex-enhancing substances. It investigates the perceptions as well as the actual usage of sex-enhancing substances by Congolese heterosexual men. It examines different reasons for the use of sex-enhancing substances by the Congolese heterosexual men based in Durban.

In this chapter, the discussion examines the renegotiation of masculine identity in relation to the use of sex-enhancing substances. It demonstrates how Congolese heterosexual men living in Durban renegotiate their masculine identities using these substances within a new cultural context. It also assesses how heterosexual men from the DRC are using sex-enhancing substances to reinforce hegemonic notions of masculinity, and how by so doing, they are creating new forms of masculinity.

Chapter Five: Conclusion and Recommendations

This chapter presents an overview of the research process. A summary of the major findings is also presented and challenges are highlighted. Recommendations and suggestions for future research are made.

Chapter Two

Literature Review and Theoretical Framework

2.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the vast and growing body of literature on migration and it also explains the theoretical framework of the study. It discusses the historical background of international migration, migration within and to South Africa, involuntary migration, and the Congolese migration to South Africa. It comments different concepts related to gender identities – namely masculinities, sexualities and sex-enhancing substances – in order to shed more light on the ways in which Durban-based Congolese heterosexual migrant men construct their masculine identities within the transnational context. This part of the work also discusses the researcher's general theoretical understanding of the main concepts utilised in the research – namely the concept of transnationalism and the socio-constructionist theory – in order to place the knowledge presented in its wider epistemological and ontological fields.

Transnationalism can be viewed as the situation where a person has a variety of identities that are a mixture of those from both their country of origin and their host country and as such it refers to the situation where networks of relationships are forged that transcend pre-existing boundaries of nation-states and that are often made complex as a result of the negotiation of a variety of social identities at different times and places.

The socio-constructionist theory helped to clarify and solidify embraced points-of-view on masculine identities as being socially constructed by the socio-cultural environment of the home country and interpolated by various traditional belief systems that Congolese heterosexual male migrant embrace through social conditioning they may have found within the transnational context with regard to gender where masculinity tends to conjure up images of bravery, strength, power, heterosexuality, competitiveness whilst femininity suggests submission.

2.2. Literature review

2.2.1. International migration

Migration is the movement of people through geographical space. Over generations, people have always migrated in response to demographic, economic and political factors, as well as to other related factors such as population pressure, environmental disasters, poor economic conditions, poor education conditions, conflicts and the effects of macro-economic adjustment (Myers, 1997). Both internal and international migration is, according to Schechter (2009), often studied by looking at its size, the characteristics of the migrants, and the impact migration has on migrants themselves as well as the areas from which they come and the areas to which they migrate. The UN (1998) report, as quoted by Schachter (2009), gives recommendations on statistics of international migration which then serve as the international average for the categorisation of migration statistics. According to these recommendations, an international migrant is defined as “any person who changes his or her country of usual residence”. Long-term migrants are defined as those who move to a country other than their country of usual residence for a period of at least a year, while short-term migrants are people who move to another country for a period of at least three months but less than a year.

The migration of people is a phenomenon that is associated with the modern world and industrial society. Johnston (1998) argues that migration over the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the result of colonisation by families and individuals, and not the mass movement of whole groups of people. It occurred as the result of aggressive and technically superior powers overwhelming inferior ones. From this perspective, it seems that migration was about more than just a change of residence or a movement from one space to another (Jackson, 1969). The available literature has also highlighted that the demographic structure of the population influences migration trends; in other words, the decision to emigrate is more likely to be taken by young individuals, so that countries with a higher share of youths tend to produce more emigrants (Bertocchi, 2007:9).

Migration over that period of time was the consequence of religious, political and economic factors. The current evidence shows that since the end of the Second World War, international migration grew in volume and also changed in character. Particularly in the past

two decades the volume, direction, dimension and composition of international migration have become extremely dynamic in nature (Polzer, 2010a). According to Castles and Miller (1998:46), some of the fundamental economic, social and political factors that have facilitated and exacerbated international migrations in the post-Cold War era are: the collapse of the Communist bloc that is defining East-West migration magnitude; the overthrowing of the apartheid regime in South Africa; wars; famines and crises throughout Africa; rapid growth and development in Asia; and the growing economic and political integration of Western Europe.

These causes of migration have been further reinforced by globalisation, which intensified at the dawn of the nineteenth century. A recent International Labour Organization (ILO) report presented by the Trade Union World, (2000:16) estimates that there are more than 120 million international migrants around the World. ILO has also estimated that there are around 10 to 15 million illegal immigrants in the world (see Trade Union World, 2000:16). In 2005, according to Bossard (2008), there were 200 million migrants in the world, representing 3% of the global population and in 2004, there were 7.2 million officially identified African migrants in OECD member countries, representing 13% of the world statistic for immigrants from non-member countries. These 7.2 million African migrants include 3.8 million North Africans and 3.4 million sub-Saharan Africans. Bossard (2008.) statistic showed that In North America, African immigration is quantitatively high (1.2 million people), but low in comparison to other immigrant communities living within North America. For example, in the year 2000, there were 8 million Mexicans and only 900,000 Africans in the United States of America (USA) and in Canada there were 300,000 Africans, 750,000 Chinese, and 150,000 Vietnamese (Bossard, 2008).

Myers (1997:167) reckons that there are at least 25 million environmental refugees today, in comparison to the 22 million refugees of a more traditional nature. These environmental refugees are mainly located in sub-Saharan Africa (notably the Sahel and the Horn of Africa), the Indian sub-continent, China, Mexico and Central America. The United Nations (UN) (1999), cited in IOM (2005), says that in the 1980s at least 100 million people were known to be living outside their countries of birth or citizenship. The figure for the 1990s was thought to be much higher, not least because of the migration caused by the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the break-up of former Yugoslavia. Such figure gives an idea of the world scale of in the 1980s migration, without taking into account the many illegal international

migrants or internal migrants. Castles and Miller (2010:16) have described the latter years of the twentieth century and the beginning of the twenty-first century as the “age of migration”.

Mngonyama (n.d.) explains that the process of migration originated during the Industrial Revolution of the eighteenth century, when large numbers of impoverished people from the African countries districts streamed to the cities to seek a living in the new factory cities. In the twentieth century, many chose to no longer return to their rural homes and made the cities where they worked their permanent home. Such migrants resided in informal settlements and backyard shacks in the informal African townships on the peripheries of the cities. It is noted that for many, migration is not just a once-for-all move, but rather there are numerous moves over a lifetime that make for a migratory career.

2.2.2. Migration to South Africa

In the context of South Africa, the term migrant is defined, according to Mngonyama (n.d.), as a worker who oscillates between his home and his place of work over distances that are greater than can be travelled on a daily basis. It can include workers who live either inside or outside of the borders of the Republic of South Africa, but either way are living in their area of work without their families. Migrants are, according to this perspective, those who seek urban employment with the intention of earning sufficient income so as to support themselves and provide a surplus to send home to their families (ibid).

The history of migration within South Africa has been documented by a number of researchers, all of whom have brought up findings clearly explaining the migration history in this particular land. Many people have migrated from rural areas to cities due to a loss of land, the need to find employment, and rural decline as a result of past state policies (ibid). Turton (2003:7) argues that migration within South Africa was closely associated with the process of economic development and political pressure. As explained by Mngonyama (n.d.), as soon as any economy reaches a certain level of development, people begin to move from the rural areas to the cities. Economic necessity means that rural South Africans migrated to the cities because they were starving and needed money to support their families. Political pressure meant that many migrated to the cities due to the apartheid laws that were imposed by the then government. The apartheid-era government deprived black South Africans of their land and imposed taxes on them, and as such was responsible for the huge level of migration that took place from rural to urban areas by those looking for employment (ibid)

In explaining the issue, Mngonyama (n.d.) argues that it was the starvation that was occurring in South Africa's rural areas, the need to pay taxes, and landlessness that caused so many blacks to migrate in order to work in the mines. There were the stevedores in Durban, the miners in Kimberley who mined diamond, and later the miners of gold the Witwatersrand. People controlled their own migrancy both in terms of the reasons for their migration to urban centres, and the duration of their stay. By the 1920s this situation evolved into the institutionalisation of the labour system, which controlled the movement of African labour into the urban areas (ibid). Although that displacement from the rural to urban areas was also aided by way of forced removals and voluntary resettlement within the city, for example, Indians living in Durban were removed from a number of areas, such as Cato Manor, Sea View, Greyville, Riverside, Springfield, and the city centre among others, and relocated to the massive townships of Chatsworth and Phoenix. Black Africans from areas like Cato Manor, Kings Rest and Happy Valley were removed to the townships of KwaMashu and Umlazi (Vawda, 1997:4). Nevertheless, current research on migration within South Africa has revealed that there are gaps of change in the way researchers understand and interpret migration as well as the manner in which people are practising migration within the country in comparison to the former time.

The comparative study that was conducted by Posel (2003:1) concerning migration in South Africa before the apartheid era and post-apartheid reveals that during the 1970s and 1980s, much of this research on migration in South Africa focused on the particular nature and implications of the migrant labour system in South Africa while in the 1990s, however, attention moved away from migrant labour towards concerns with immigration. According to Posel, an assumption underlying this change in focus seems to be that migrant labour would not be part of a post-apartheid South Africa. The system of circular internal labour migration was associated with legislation that inhibited and controlled the urbanisation of Africans but in the 'new South Africa' (i.e. the post-apartheid period), people would choose not to be labour migrants but would rather migrate to and settle permanently at the places where they work.

Nevertheless, despite the numerous problems that face the majority of blacks in South Africa, for Africans from other parts of the continent, South Africa is perceived as a land of increased economic opportunities and hope, especially in the wake of the 1994 democratic elections (Maharaj, 2004:2). This perception has been the driving mechanism behind most of the legal and illegal migrations into South Africa. Hence, as long as widespread poverty and

high levels of inequality prevail on the continent, South Africa will continue to attract migrants (Maharaj, 2004).

South Africa, with a population of almost 50 million, has enjoyed comparatively strong economic and political stability, making it a leading destination for migrants from neighbouring countries, as well as the African continent as a whole (Schachter, 2009). During the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, migrants or foreigners were, in the context of South Africa, defined as anybody not of British or South African nationality. Dodson and Crush's (2004) argument on the criteria of migration to South Africa show that, until the 1990s, the defining criterion of an official immigrant to South Africa was the individual be able to integrate him/herself into the country's white population. By definition, therefore, black Africans were not considered to be potential immigrants. According to Johnston (1998), at that time immigrants to South Africa had heard generally good reports about the country from other migrants. They had been influenced by their relatives and friends living in South Africa who had prior knowledge of the country, and approved of South Africa's race policies with regard to migrants. These were some of the major reasons why these migrants chose South Africa in preference to other countries.

Since the collapse of the white-dominated apartheid government in the 1990s, the number of migrants to South Africa has increased significantly (Schachter, 2009). The literature stresses that migration from other parts of Africa to South Africa has a long history (Davies and Head, 1995). There is no data indicating the exact number of immigrants who currently reside in South Africa (Crush and Williams, 2005). This is attributed to the continuous flow of undocumented immigrants into the country and the lack of a reliable methodology to verify the number (McDonald et al. 1999). Estimates of the number of immigrants living in South Africa have been made by different sources. The Human Science Research Council (HSRC) cited by Crush and Williams (2005) conducted a research in the 1990s and came up figure of between 8 and 10 million immigrants.

Four years later, another census was conducted by the HSRC, and this indicated that the number of non-Africans living in South Africa at the time was a little over one million (Crush and Williams, 2005). This means the immigrant population of South Africa constitutes about 2.2% of the total population (Landau, 2005). On the other hand, Statistics South Africa estimated the number to be about 500,000 (McDonald et al., 1999). On the contrary,

however, some police estimates suggest that the figure is 12 million, making one in every four residents an immigrant (McDonald et al., 1999).

Another surprising view concerns the number of immigrants from non-SADC countries. It is evident that there has been an increase in recent years in the number of immigrants from non-SADC countries (Adepoju, 2006). This occurrence followed the improved inter-regional trade and political relationships together with a more progressive constitution and the introduction of the Bill of Rights as explained in SAMP, (2001). It is believed that immigrants from other impoverished African countries have taken South Africa by storm. Crush and Williams (2005) found that only 4% of the total number of immigrants in South Africa was born outside of non-SADC countries.

Historically, the mining and agriculture sectors in South Africa have been dependent upon migrant labour from Southern African countries. In fact, much of South Africa's mineral and natural wealth has been produced on the backs of migrant mineworkers (Jeeves, 1985; Murray, 1995). Furthermore, the "historical influx of migrants to South Africa has created a high proportion of rightless non-citizens, despite their length of residence which sometimes spans generation" (Reitzes, 1997). Census data from 1911 quoted by Peberdy (1997) reveals that more than 6% of the country's population was comprised of non-South Africans from the Southern African region. In 1961 there were approximately 836,000 regional migrants in South Africa (Peberdy, 1997). Therefore, it is important to note, as has been argued by Hough (1995), that the estimates of the number of undocumented immigrants in South Africa vary widely. This is because the majority of the migrants living and/or working in South Africa entered the country covertly. It is therefore impossible for the government or researchers to give a reasonable estimate of the number of migrants in the country. The South African Yearbook quoted by Minnaar et al. (1995:33) indicated that in 1990 there was about 1.2 million illegal immigrants in the country, in 1991 the estimate was 2 million, in 1992 it was 2.5 million, in 1993 it was 3 million, and in 1994 it was 5 million.

The apartheid government subtly encouraged or turned a blind eye towards clandestine migration in order to ensure an abundant supply of cheap labour, but it was opposed to black migrants applying for citizenship. The Aliens Control Act of 1991 was based on a 1913 act that excluded blacks from citizenship, and was amended in 1930 and 1937 so as to exclude Jews. Between 1913 and 1986 black people could only enter South Africa illegally or as contract workers, as they were not allowed to apply for temporary or permanent resident

permits (Peberdy and Crush, 1998b). Between 1960 and 1980, skilled and semi-skilled white migrants from Zambia, Kenya and Zimbabwe were given citizenship in order to help boost the local population (Peberdy, 1997). Crush (1996) suggests that the Aliens Control Act was implemented in a racially discriminatory manner in the post-apartheid era. In the first quarter of 1996, about 130,000 visitors to South Africa remained within the country after their visas had expired; amongst these were 12,000 from the UK, 11,000 from Germany, 3,000 from the USA, and about 1,000 from Australia, Belgium, Switzerland and Taiwan. A very small proportion of these people was arrested and deported: twenty-three from the UK, thirteen from Germany, eight from the USA, four from Australia, two from Belgium, and one from Switzerland. In 1995, 98% of the country's deportations were to Southern African countries.

However, given that the present study was conducted amongst migrants living in Durban, it has been crucial to consider the history of migration in this province as well. The South African Migration Survey (SAMP) conducted numerous surveys focusing on immigration issues of the 1990s. One of these surveys was conducted in Durban in 1999. The Durban survey revealed that the average age of Durban's migrants was thirty-four years. A national survey revealed that the average age of migrants was thirty-two years (McDonald, Mashike and Golden, 1999). In Durban, most of the migrants (70%) were in their economic prime, in other words between twenty-five and forty-four years old. Only 15% were younger than twenty-four years, and a nominal 4% were older than fifty-five years. The majority (74%) of the migrants were males (Maharaj and Moodley, 1999).

The migrants had a fairly good educational background. This is reflected by the fact that a significant number had secondary (45%) and tertiary (29%) educations. Sixteen percent had some form of primary education, and only a few (10%) had no formal education. Over 50% of the migrants were single (i.e. had never married). A significant proportion (32%) was married. Almost equal proportions of those that were married had left their spouses in the country of origin or had brought them with to South Africa. It is interesting to note that, at the time of the survey, 78% of the spouses/partners of migrants were South African (Maharaj and Moodley, 1999).

The gender imbalance of African immigrants to South Africa in general and in Durban in particular is also an element to consider when addressing migration. Research conducted by several researchers reveals that African immigrants to South Africa are composed of significantly more males than females (Dodson, 1998). This gender-related migration pattern

may be due to the dangers of travel to South Africa, the cost involved, and the fact that numerous obstacles have to be overcome on the long overland journey.

2.2.3. Congolese migration to South Africa

Voluntary migration is usually used synonymously with terms like economic migration. This is contrasted with forced or involuntary migration caused by natural and manmade disasters, such as drought, floods, earthquakes, contamination of the environment by radiation or chemicals, war, religious/ethnic/political persecution, environmental problems such as soil degradation and deforestation, slavery, and forced labour (Brettell and Hollified, 2000). The 1999 report from the UN shows that about 22.3 million of world's migrants are refugees and internally displaced people. In other words, they are all involuntary migrants (UN, 1999 report presented by IOM, 2005). According to Castles, (2003:15) cited by Turton (2003:7), the number of forced migrants in the world today has been estimated at between 100 and 200 million. This phenomenon is a product of broader processes of social and economic change, processes that are normally referred to as the outcomes of globalisation.

Furthermore, it is hard to distinguish and define a class of forced migrants from migrants in general. In searching to do so, Turton (2003) observes that we are faced with a problem that is at once methodological and ethical. The methodological problem is that it proves impossible to apply the term 'forced migration' to the real world in a way that enables us to distinguish a discrete class of migrants. It turns out, on closer inspection, that most migrants make their decision to migrate in response to a complex set of external constraints and predisposing events. In order to deal with the unclear boundaries between forced and unforced migration, Turton (2003) makes clear distinctions between people who are moving for political as opposed to economic reasons but it is still a problem of confusion since political upheavals usually go hand in hand with violent conflict, economic distress and human rights abuses. These constraints and events further vary in their salience, significance and impact, but there are elements of both compulsion and choice, and it therefore belongs to the individual to decide his or her status as a voluntary or involuntary migrant (ibid).

This has been one of the problems I have faced in this study when investigating Congolese migrants living in Durban. It was not easy to distinguish who were voluntary migrants (pushed or pulled by economic reasons) and who had felt forced to migrate to South Africa due to the political instability of the home country (as some have moved seeking for better economic and social conditions because of economic or political circumstances that were

beyond their control). Sudarmo (2007) argues that “forced migration is not just a product of internal wars and local impoverishment, but is also closely linked to the fundamental economic and political structures and processes of the contemporary world. In migration literature, an act of involuntary movement is also known as forced migration. The circumstances that prompted an act of forced migration can be ecological, social, economical and political” as it is for the case of the Congolese migrants all over the world (Tshibambe and Mukohya, n.d.)

The DRC covers an area of 2,345,000 km². According to United Nations Department of Economics and Social Affairs/Population Division, (2006:185), in 2008, it has a population of 66,514,506. The population density is twenty-five persons per km². The growth rate of the population in the country is 2.8% (2005), while it was 3.0% in 1975, 2.9% in 1985, and 3.5% in 1995. Socio-demographic details show that those who are under fifteen years of age account for 47.1% of the population; while those over sixty-four years of age account for 2.5%. The urban population accounts for 32.1% and the percentage of under-nourished people amounts to 74.1%. The growth of the country’s GDP was estimated at 6.2% in 2008 and the rate of inflation was 9% for the same year. The mining sector dominates the economy; copper, cobalt, diamonds, and other minerals such as Germanium and Coltan feature prominently. According to Tshibambe and Mukohya (n.d.), the activities of the informal sector predominate. The DRC is a sovereign country. Political crises and a background of violence is characteristic feature. Civil wars are recurrent. After independence in 1960, the first five years of the first Republic (1960-1965) were dominated by instability

While the strength of the Second Republic’ regime (1965-1997) was based on the obscurantist dictatorship of the former President Mobutu, the regime began to encounter difficulties stemming from discontent linked to poor economic performance. The salaries of state employees were squeezed, study bursaries were cancelled, and public hospitals no longer received state subsidies. The Congolese population found itself left to its own devices. While the governing classes were helping themselves generously to the states resources and wealth under the assumption of some sort of inheritance rationale, the rest of the vast population was witnessing a daily deterioration of its living conditions. In the 1990s, the poor management of the demands from the population that the regime be liberalised plunged the country into an even more complex crisis. In such a context, migratory movements of Congolese populations were accelerating towards bordering African countries, Western Europe and the United States of America. International migration is highly valued and it

creates varied and subtle *modus operandi*. In 1996, war broke out again in the DRC, leading to the end of the Mobutu reign. As a result, the country was shaken by intense internal and external movements of populations (Tshibambe and Mukohya, n.d.).

It is clear to see therefore that the migration of Congolese people to Durban therefore is a result of the war in the DRC, which involved the armies of five other countries and forced tens of thousands of refugees and migrants to flee their homes to seek asylum elsewhere. Steinberg (2005) observes that the migration from the DRC is primarily a movement of young, well-educated, urban, middle-class people. Nearly one in two has some form of tertiary education whilst fewer than one in twenty was unemployed when still in the DRC. In Durban, some of the immigrants are students, some are working in different companies and factories, some are car-guards, and some are security guards. Most of the women are neither studying nor working.

Research into the reasons behind foreigners moving to South Africa can be often divided into two categories, namely push factors and pull factors (Papastergiadis, 2000). The push factors denote the motivations for leaving home, for moving away from the country of origin. The pull factors explain the choice to move to South Africa in particular, out of a number of possible other destinations. The pull factor also points to the image of the host country (South African in the context of the study) that is developed outside that country by the migrants' experiences prior to their arrival in the host country. This goes together with the projection of South Africa in the early 1990s as a country where there is democracy, equality for all (including migrants and refugees), tolerance, freedom, peace, and opportunity (Castles and Miller, 1998:20).

The Congolese migration to South Africa involves these push and pull factors. Home violence and conflict, such as political conflict, persecution and war, are seen to be common reasons for many Congolese migrants leaving their home country. Many of them are assigned the status of refugees as the concept 'refugee' conveys the notion of having to flee conflict or war and it brings with it a certain identity for the concerned, namely, that of being persecuted and forced to leave one's native country (Muzumbukilwa, 2007:86). Researchers argue that most of the Congolese refugees and migrants entering into South Africa are illegal immigrants as they entered the host country without obtaining the necessary legal documentation due to their fear of being repatriated back home. Many of the refugees managed to obtain the right documentation from the South African Home Affairs at a later

date. Others legally entered the country using the visitor permits. Many of the immigrants married South African women after the expiration of their visas and they thus were automatically given South African identity documents (Muzumbukilwa, 2007:87).

Another primary cause of the Congolese migration to South Africa is the high level of unemployment in the home nation (Muzumbukilwa, 2007). This is very relevant to the refugees and migrants who left their home countries for both economic and political reasons, because once in South Africa the political policies and economic factors continue to exert a strong negative burden on them, shaping their identities and contributing to how they understand themselves in this country (Muzumbukilwa, 2007).

2.2.4. Gender and migration

The problem of gender and migration is somewhat complex. There are two main arguments concerning this issue. Some researchers such as Dodson (1998) argue that there is a predominance of men in the process of migration, while others (Oishi, 2002; Adepoju, 2006) argue that there are more women migrants than there are men. Oishi (2002) is of the view that the percentage of women in the migrant population (both permanent and temporary) has been increasing in the post-war period, and that women now comprise the majority of South Africa's international migrants. Zlotnik's (1998) statistic on gender and migration, as cited in Maharaj (2004), demonstrates that the number of female migrants across the world increased by 63% from 35 million in 1965 to 57 million in 1990. In the USA in 1998, 53.5% of newly admitted immigrants were women. This idea is sustained by Adepoju (2006), who confirms that recent years have witnessed an overall feminisation in migration from Africa, but also on a global scale. Women are, now more than ever, migrating as a means of meeting their own economic needs rather than migrating to join a husband and family. The reason is the facts that in many cases women become trapped in situations where they must work with families and children depending upon their labour. Adepoju (2006) shows that as it now stands, nearly half (49%) of all migrant workers are women.

Dodson (1998), while investigating gender and migration within the South African context, found that a gender imbalance of African immigrants to South Africa is clearly evident and that African immigrants are composed of significantly more males than females. For Dodson, the gender-related migration pattern may be due to the dangers of travel, the cost involved, and the fact that numerous obstacles have to be overcome on the long overland journey. The reasons could be that women, according to Maharaj (2004), are always subjected to greater

levels of trauma and indignity in the migration process. This assertion was emphasised by the then Deputy Minister of Home Affairs, Nosiviwe Mapisa-Nqakula, who was in exile during the apartheid era, thus:

[...] women are affected by the migration cycle. They do not only suffer the emotional trauma of helplessly watching their children die during these long journeys, but they also become victims of abuse and undignified treatment along the way. I have learnt firsthand that women immigrants suffer a great deal more than their male counterparts. The trauma of being separated from their families and the indignity of having someone else taking decisions that affect your life without your involvement is just some of the added frustrations for women refugees. (Maharaj, 2004:5)

Therefore, giving due consideration in my study to the issue of gender as it relates to migration does not mean looking at the number of men or women who migrate to the host country but principally looking at how gender issues are observed through the lifestyles of the male immigrants within the transnational space and their own actions with regard to protecting their gender identities. Gender in this perspective is not viewed only as a set of issues that must be applied separately to migration policy towards male immigrants but as something that takes into account the relations between men and women in the sending and receiving countries.

2.2.5. Gender identities and masculinities

This research focuses on the vast and growing body of literature on masculinities. Most of this literature, however, examines masculinities from cultural, socio-political and economic perspectives within the transnational context. It assesses and examines men as a dominant factor over women and within the male community in the process towards the renegotiation of masculine identities in the transnational space. My chosen focus therefore emerges from the viewpoint of masculine identity being very fluid and never constant. I have also explored men and masculinities from the context of a gendered field, taking cognisance of the socio-cultural approach of alienating men from the gender majority (Ghail and Haywood, 2003:102).

The impetus to situate masculinities within this feminist debate lies rooted in the need to explore gender relations located in hierarchical levels, positions of inequality and a skewed power base (Shikumo, 2008). Nevertheless, masculinities are traced back to the ensuing

gender identities that both men and women play out interactively. Harris (1995:9) notes that “gender identity has been defined as an individual’s own feelings of whether he or she is a woman or a man, a girl or a boy [and] in essence is the self-attribution of gender”. Gender *per se* is nonetheless not a problematic variable. Much of feminist critique lies with how human beings choose to ‘do’ or to enact their gendered roles and identities depending on which ideological beliefs – as mediated by culture, religion, peer/age groups and so forth – they buy into (Harris, 1995:9). This experience of living constant socio-cultural negotiations can either alter or support people’s perspectives of gender.

Therefore, much of the feminist critique lies with how human beings choose to do or enact their gendered roles and identities depending on their ideological beliefs. The feminist approach has therefore taken to questioning errant masculinity types. This is premised on the belief that “over the past three decades, scholars have focused more attention on women, femininity and female sexuality while little attention has been paid to men, masculinity, and male sexuality as constructs and contingent historical fictions” (Robinson, 2002:147). Furthermore, most of the research has focused on how gender and masculine identity are negotiated within the national context but few have focused on the negotiation of gender and masculine identity within the transnational space. A new feminist order, as championed by Shaun de Waal (2006) in an article in the *Mail and Guardian*, asks us to question more than just naturalised gender identities. De Waal’s reasoning is that identities are not formed arbitrarily but stem from interactions with structures such as culture, society itself, and education systems.

However, there has been a slight shift in thought with masculinities gaining prominence within gender equity circles. One reason for this was the “desire to rework gender relations on a more equitable basis contingent upon the belief that gender order oppresses and inhibits men as well as women” (Alsop et al. 2002:131). Identity formation may invariably be gleaned from the close association with a member of the gender with similar attributes or from differences that are pointed out. According to Jarviluoma et al. (2003:17), “we are not born with an identity; rather, it gradually develops in relation to our experiences of social interaction and our cultural surroundings”. It is a relational process. We then become localised into a social and gender reality. It is a matter of becoming, rather than being.

The study further interrogated renegotiated masculinities identities which have been examined from a cultural and social standpoint that views masculine identities as emanating

from intersecting historical, cultural and social factors at a particular moment in a transnational life context. I therefore sought to discover and analyse perspectives concerning interpretations given to contemporary perceptions of masculinities from a fraction of the male heterosexual Congolese migrant population living in Durban. The plural form of the concept 'masculinity' in this study reveals different forms of masculinities that men often tend to negotiate in the society. This, in essence, views masculinities as a varied, dynamic and changing construct and not only as a homogenous group nor as a hegemonic construct. I am thus interrogating a plurality of masculinity and hence the term masculinities.

Connell and James (2005) offer four categories of masculinities, namely dominant, complicit, submissive and oppositional or protest. They do this so as to make sense of the relationships between groups of men. Hegemonic masculinity as a key element of patriarchy is based upon the unequal distribution and exercise of power between groups of men and between men and women (Connell, 2000). The concept 'hegemonic masculinity', representing, for example, the authoritative, warrior-like, man-of-the-house, decision-maker, sexual leader, embodies the currently most honoured way of being a man and it requires all other men to position themselves in relation to it (Connell and James, 2005:832). Socio-cultural identities are attached to male qualities of being pro-active, the head and thus decision-maker of the home, and energetic, while females are viewed as conservative and passive. The former has, however, resulted in the continued stereotyping of an erroneous masculinity type that strengthens culturally mediated roles and identities assigned to the male gender. Such hegemonic masculinity types stem from a gendered discourse that inscribes sexual roles and gender identity as social categories that are pre-defined (Connell, 2000).

Therefore, the continued and erroneous stereotyping of an errant masculinity type that strengthens culturally stereotyped roles and identities assigned to the male gender that has caused the institutionalisation of patriarchy and the shifting changes in social, technical and economic spheres that have occurred over the last decade has seen shifts in masculine identities (Barrett and Whitehead, 2001:9). These changes have meant, at best, an interrogation of men's perceptions of their privileged position within the gender hierarchy or, at worst, a denial of the change in status. Furthermore, it was realised that men, as situated in masculinities, are not a homogeneous group (Connell, 2002) but are rather a heterogeneous one that has socially created divisions amongst men that operate as binary systems of domination and subordination that set up hierarchies of honour/privilege and submissive or powerless amongst men themselves. Due to these factors, some men therefore began

engaging in feminist movements and working side by side with women and other men to address the prevalent issues of inequality. However, there came about a realisation within individual male movements that “classifying men as the gender of oppression did not mean that men are not oppressed along within other dimensions, particularly by those of class and race” (Dominelli, 2002:92). Such gender is more explained by the hegemonic notion of masculinities. The conceptual categories of masculinities that are put forward are hegemonic, subordinated, complicit, and marginalised (Connell 1995).

Hence a study involving masculinities, as stipulated by Snider (2008), has not only widened the conceptions of these diverse forms of masculinities but has added complexity to the ways that those identities influence and are influenced by structures such as the cultural, political, social, and economic contexts. This thesis, which has to do broadly with gender and specifically with masculinities of heterosexual Congolese migrants, looks at the conceptual frameworks of the concept of masculinities alongside identities that are historically connected to Congolese masculinities. These masculinities are both seen to be ‘ideal roles’ as well as roles being performed within constrained gender roles. However, it is the subject who produces his own identity, but it is formed within a dialectical relationship with other identities and communities. Identities in this case of study make sense only in relation to other identities.

Consequently, the concept of masculinities in this study represents not only a certain type of man but rather a way that men position themselves through discursive practices. This concept has been used to investigate research on sexuality and male identity within the transnational space. Furthermore, the concept of masculinities, as applied in this study, as a theory firstly holds a sense that masculinity is, by definition, firstly anything that men think and do, and secondly anything that men think, learn and do to be men. Thirdly, it suggests that some men are inherently or by ascription considered ‘more manly’ than are other men. The final manner of approaching masculinity emphasises the general and central importance of male-female relations, so that masculinity is considered as anything that men have to do over women according to their culture (Matthew, 1997). Masculinity as a concept in this study has been seen as much as a political term as well as a cultural or social grouping. It comes to be defined in relation to a range of powerful forces, such as culture, economics and religion. This is considering that it can simultaneously become a source of self-affirmation and assimilation for men and yet also a sign of potential risk and danger in terms of changing sexualities or identity crisis in men.

This concept helped the researcher to examine male identity not as a fixed entity embedded in the body or personality traits of individuals but as configurations of practices that are accomplished in social action and therefore can differ according to the gender relations in a particular social setting. It is in this way that Congolese heterosexual migrants living in Durban are using sex-enhancing substances as a social action and a construction of practice to determine their male identity.

Masculinities is a term that holds a broad, and perhaps infinite, range of identities (Connell, 1995). Connell defines masculinity as “simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage that place in gender, and the effects of these practices in bodily experience, personality and culture” (Connell, 1995:71). This exhibition of masculinity represents a significant effort to provide a theoretical framework in which the concept of ‘masculine’ can be comprised in a manner opposed to the aims of social justice. However, by viewing masculinity as ‘masculinities’, Connell, as quoted by Howson (2008), contends that “there exists within the multiplicity of types, the ideal type of masculinity that imposes upon all other masculinities (and femininities) coherence and meaning about what their own identities and positions within the gender order should be. This ideal type is hegemonic masculinity. It involves a specific strategy for the subordination of women”. In his view, “hegemonic masculinity concerns the dread of and flight from women. A culturally idealised form, it is both personal and a collective project, and is the common sense about manhood. It is exclusive, anxiety-provoking, internally and hierarchically differentiated, brutal and violent. It is pseudo-natural, tough, contradictory, crisis-prone, and socially sustained. While centrally connected with the institutions of male dominance, not all men practice it, though most benefit from it” (Ibid).

Morrell (2001:9) describes hegemonic masculinity as “a particular form of masculinity which is dominant in society, which exercises its power over other rival masculinities and which regulates male power over women and distributes this power differentially amongst men”. “Masculinities are, however, inconstant, as they are always fluid. As much as it can be described in one breath as a discourse, it is also an experiential variable. This is because it is lived, performed or even acted out” (Ibid). Different cultures, religions and races do, according to Morrell (2001), construct masculine identities very differently. It is for this reason that masculinities as a social category is never neutral, innocent, a-social or a-political. It is always politicised. In other words, it comes to be defined in relation to a powerful range of forces (ibid). Bafana Khumalo, the former Deputy Chairperson of the South African

Commission on Gender Equality, aptly describes the multi-faceted nature of masculinities in these words:

[...] Like femininity, masculinity operates politically at different levels. At one level, it is a form of identity, a means of self-understanding that structures personal attitudes and behaviours. At another distinct but related level, masculinity can be seen as a form of ideology in that it presents a set of cultural ideals that define appropriate roles, values and expectations for and of men. (Shikumo, 2008)

Feminist gender analysis plays an important role in examining masculine identities and power relationship(s) amongst men and between men and women, and their consequences. Foucault (1981:93) notes that “power is not an institution, and not a structure, neither is it a certain strength we are endowed with; it is the name that one attributes to a complex strategical situation in a particular society”. Cranny-Francis et al. (2003:66) echo this thought as viewed by feminists, saying “men have all the power and they maintain it by a systematic and strategic domination over women”. Because power through this gendered lens is localised in men and hence patriarchy, masculinities are thus privileged in the gender hierarchy as women negotiating power is lessened. This is because “under a patriarchal regime, women are, by definition, excluded from positions of power and authority except where that power and authority works to support individual men or the social system as a whole” (ibid: 15).

With regard to gender, there are predominantly two subgroups, namely masculinity and femininity, where the word masculinity tends to conjure up images of bravery, strength, power, heterosexuality, competitiveness (Young, 2001) while femininity suggests to submission (Carole, 1991:879). Masculinities necessitate a deeper introspection as a gendered category. It should, however, be clear that the subject of masculinities on a general note is not an unthinking reaction to male bashing but a theoretical interrogation of the intertwined subjects of femininity and masculinity, which is done in the hope of building lasting solutions to gender imbalances. This change can only be achieved by first of all implicating men in the process of redressing gender inequality and the discrimination that is caused by the patriarchy system. Secondly, this change can be achieved by asking or enabling men to tell their personal experiences, by providing them with a platform to do this, by listening and conceptualising their personal realities, and by trying to understand them and what they say.

Bannon and Correia (2006:245) attest to the above statements saying that: “a dominant form of masculinity across societies and cultures hegemonic masculinity is commonly the basis by

which men are judged and assess themselves”. In this regard, the hegemonic masculinity type plays a vital role in male identity because it is often connected with most men and is usually the foundation upon which they are (rightly or wrongly) judged. It is instructive to also note that it is not only men themselves and a variety of structural models and systems that grant men’s identities, but women are also invariably complicit in shaping out masculine behaviours, discouraging or encouraging other actions and inadvertently shaping the (negative or positive) ways in which men exercise power and dominate over women and other men (Eduards, 2006).

Geertz, as quoted by Kastoryano (n.d.), writes: “Believing with Max Weber, that man is an animal suspended in a web of significance he himself has spun, he takes culture to be those webs, and the analysis of it to be therefore not an experimental science of law but an interpretative one in search of meaning.” This statement stands as an interpretation of culture. Culture takes on the connotations that are given to it. It is therefore subjective. Culture is also a dynamic concept that changes over time and space and through interactions. Culture and identity are redefined and affirmed in action and interaction, and change with the cultural, social and political environment (Kastoryano, n.d.). According to Hall (1989), as well as Barot et al. (1999), culture deals with meanings, values, identities, symbols, ideas, knowledge, language and ideology. Culture makes up the world in which we live and we in turn recreate or refashion it. There are many approaches to culture and even more definitions (Richard, 2000). Harrison (1992), as cited in Richard (2000), found that one of the best known definitions is that which is characterised by power, role, achievement or support.

This manner of viewing culture sustains what has been argued by Eduards (1971:1), as cited in Herve (2010), who has defined culture as that complex whole that includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by a human being as a member of society. Stephen and Phillips (2005), while explaining the relationship between culture and sexuality, argue that culture regulates sexuality, especially within a patriarchal society where men benefit from sexual relationships with females. In a gendered context, culture regulates human sexuality in a cultural environment where women are expected to be sexually passive and where sex within marriage is legally defined as a man’s right (Penny, 2006:8).

Ortner (1974), who is cited in Brettell and Sargent (2001:157), defines culture as “the notion of human consciousness, or [...] the products of human consciousness (i.e., systems of

thought and technology), by means of which humanity attempts to assert control over nature”. For Ortner, culture also includes beliefs, traditions and/or rituals that come to define individuals and/or communal values and people’s ways of life. What needs to be understood, however, is that cultural beliefs *per se* may not be inherently bad but it is the symbolic construction by which we evaluate and apportion gender identities that may be problematic. Women, for example, are linked with nurturing roles because of their reproductive capacities, whilst men are linked with authoritative functions such as being the head of the house and the decision maker. The social construction of masculine identities through cultural prescription works through a variety of mechanisms using rituals and taboos. These identities are enforced through a system of rewards and punishments. Most taboos lay down what punishment is given to those who disobey (Brettell and Sargent, 2001).

Emphasising the tenacity and persistence of the gendered cultural dimension of African traditions and customs, Morrell (1998) argues that “colonialism may have destroyed the material base of African economies, but it did not destroy the history which was woven into a myriad of gendered rituals which served to legitimate the sexual division of labour and male power”. It is interesting to note that in traditional systems one’s masculinity did, to a degree, give back to black men the power that was taken from them by the state authorities. Morrell (1998) proffers that “the only way to explain these [masculinities] is not by returning to biological formations of masculinity, but by referring constantly to the experience of colonialism, apartheid and racial capitalism”. Within cultural areas, according to Morrell, black men whose masculinities had been demoralised under colonialism and the apartheid regime found traditional, sexist and macho styles of masculinity under patriarchal legacies invested in culture and tradition as a way of constructing their identity (Morrell, 1998). Walby (1994) views patriarchy as a system of social structures and practices in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women.

In Kunene’s (2010) study on love medicines, it was found that for men – even the majority of urban, modern or contemporary men – cultural ceremonies like initiation/circumcision still hold sway. The study’s participants acknowledged that there are even other indicators by which men, on their own and amongst themselves in peer groups, measure themselves as being ‘real men’. I nevertheless acknowledge that it was discovered during the interviews that there are various subjective definitions given to what constitutes a ‘real man’ according to the different points of view of my interviewees. Such identities are usually gleaned from hegemonic constructs, which “refers to a particular idealised image of masculinity in relation

to which images of femininity and other masculinities are marginalised and subordinated” (Barrett, 2001:79). I will further discuss the responses collected from my participants in this respect in Chapter Four.

In an African context, moreover, cultural (in addition to social) constructs were used to define the place of men and women. Borrowing from Mazrui (1986:239), culture as a “system of interrelated values [is] active enough to influence and condition perception, judgment, communication and behaviour in a given society”. This has been seen as a reason that has justified the persistent value given to the use of sex-enhancing substances by heterosexual Congolese men within their migrant community as well as their perceptions of the practice. Masculine identity is for them constituted within the cultural prescriptions that circulate throughout the community. Connell (1998) attests to this when he argues that “a most important characteristic of masculine identities that are reliant upon hegemonic constructs is that they are mutually constitutive of cultural prescriptions”. Alsop et al. (2002:140) say: “Hegemony is a question of relations of cultural domination”. In this way, black, white or Indian men can construct their identities from dominant and prominent streaks within their different cultures.

Whilst we have noted that power relations in a gendered context arise from mutually constitutive cultural prescriptions, another salient category of course that informs masculine identity within black African culture is that which defines one’s sexuality. This has strong ties, according to Connell (1995), to a cultural construct of what it is/was to be defined as a ‘real man’. This idea underscores popular notions of honoured and accepted masculine identity forms, in other words macho, virile and heterosexual against dishonoured hierarchies like sexual dysfunction, sexual weaknesses and homosexuality. Connell categorises such a masculinity type as being subordinate. Sexual identity on the whole has and is playing a critical role in shaping contemporary masculine identity, especially when one takes into account the precarious position of cultural heterosexuality as a whole. Sexuality and heterosexuality in men, as advanced by Alsop et al. (2002:147), denote a visible virility that signifies power, authority, honour, and reproduction, in some instances as physical proof of one’s manhood or maleness. The anti-thesis of this maleness is bound up in the opposite ‘other’, which in this case is femininity. They reiterate this assumption, saying: “If you are not straight, then the discourse suggests you are lacking in masculinity, and if one is lacking in masculinity then one is feminine” (Alsop et al. 2002:147).

Consequently, heterosexuality gets played out as a dominant masculinity because of its interconnectedness between gender and sexuality. Popular constructs of what it is to be a 'real man', as suggested by Alsop et al. (2002), are learnt from dominant discourses of being a heterosexual man. The identities contained therein in various performances are tied down to recognised societal/cultural constructs. Therefore, men are under constant watch from other men so as to judge the veracity of each one's manhood. Kimmel (2001:33) acquiesces to this, saying: "other men watch us, rank us, and grant our acceptance into the realm of manhood. Manhood is demonstrated for other men's approval". Butler (1999:22) asserts that "persons only become intelligible through or become gendered in conformity with recognizable standards of gender intelligibility". Subordinate masculinities are thus named because "they fail to conform to those norms of cultural intelligibility and appear only as developmental failures or logical impossibilities" (Butler, 1999:24). The relationship born out of gender, power and class is what Connell (1995) terms as "marginalised masculinities". The act or verb attachment to the word marginal conjures up images of being left out or being treated as less than another person.

2.2.6. Masculine identity and sexuality

More current works recognise that, like race, class and other dimensions of socio-political relations, gender and sexuality cannot be productively discussed independently of one another (Bucholtz and Hall, 2004:471).

The dynamics of human sexuality during the centuries has moved throughout many dimensions. They include human reproduction, marriage, relationships, love, pleasure, identity and disease (Volkmar, 1998). For the purposes of my study, I have focused on the masculinity identities aspect of sexualities in a transnational context by examining how it informs the renegotiation of masculinities as a cultural value amongst Congolese heterosexual men living in Durban. Sexuality in this perspective has been viewed as a general idea that is defined, delineated and circumscribed by a number of factors and events that represent it as a changing construct of ideas, ideologies and beliefs (Reddy 2004:3).

According to Butler (1990), as quoted in Snider (2008), gender is not a noun, but neither is it a set of free-floating attributes. The substantive effect of gender is performativity produced and compelled by the regulatory practice of gender coherence. In saying that, Butler found that there is no gender identity behind the expression of gender, but that identity is performativity constituted by the very 'expression' that is said to be its results. Butler also

approaches gender and its complexities through issues of social constructivism and psycho-analytical dimensions, hence the complexities of “doing” gender (Butler, 1990). Social construction theory in studies on sexuality posits at its most extreme that there is no essential quality to human sexuality based on physiological or sensational functions (Berger et al., 1996). So, if we take gender to be constructed, it is done so through “specific corporeal acts”, but also can be transformed through such acts (Butler, 1999).

According to Shikumo (2008), although sexuality seems ‘natural’, in spite of people obvious social construction, far more works have examined how notions of sexuality cement the gender power relation. The black feminist intersectionality scholarship in Shikumo’s (2008) view links sexuality to the formation and transformation of national identities but only a small number of scholars have begun to look at how sexual meanings, processes and identities have been shaped in response to transnational institutions and globalised flows of people, capital and information. Altman et al. (2002) argue that understandings of attitudes about sexuality are both affected by and reflect global political-economic phenomena such as commercialisation.

The emphasis placed on sexuality in this study of gender (masculine) identity helped to draw the inference for men and women that manhood and masculinity are inherently sexual matters and that for one to fully become a man, one needs only engage in sexual intercourse. The inconsistencies about what cross-gender behaviour can be tolerated and in what context it will be accepted are discussed by Hooks (2004), as quoted in Danielle (2007). These inconsistencies affect men and women in that it makes certain behaviours acceptable only under certain circumstances and as a result the societal environment provides them with contradictory and confusing messages about masculinity and femininity. Hooks (2004) explains that during socialisation the

[...] black man internalizes conflicting definitions about what it means to be men and women. Black men are taught that they must be aggressive, dominant and sometimes, violent in order to be true men. Women are receivers that are pursued and acted upon, and men are seen as pursuers, actors and agents who objectify the women that they pursue.

They are taught that as men, they should have sex with as many women as possible, as often as they can, in order to assert their manhood (Collins, 2004). The ability to engage in patriarchal sex, which emphasises conquest, and to spread their seed to make babies serves to

remedy the lack of control and power that black men have in larger society and it functions as an arena in which they can seek fulfilment, power and affirmation (Staples, 1979; Collins, 2004; Hooks, 2004). The concept of 'sexualities' in this study helped to assess the changes that have occurred in patterns of sexuality that can be explained within the framework of gender and sexual relationship patterns (Morrell, 1998) by paying attention to the use of sex-enhancing substances.

2.2.7. The concept of 'sex-enhancing substances'

By the term 'sex-enhancing substances' Mcetywa (2001:151) clearly makes allusion to the notion of becoming sexually active when using aphrodisiacal products for increasing libido, boosting one's stamina, making one's body strong for sex, strengthening the forces that make the subject feel young, vital and alive, and correcting problems that make sex difficult or impossible. Vertovec (2001:573), as quoted by Snider (2008), considers identities to be "ways in which people conceive of themselves and are characterised by others". This study focuses on the use of sex-enhancing substances by Congolese heterosexual migrants based in Durban as a way they have chosen to negotiate their masculine identities in the South Africa transnational environment. This study focuses on the meaning and value they assign to the practice, their interpretations of male identity as demonstrated through their practices and performances within their community, towards the host community. Furthermore, it is judicious to demonstrate that the use of sex-enhancing substances is not a new practice initiated within the South Africa cultural environment by the Congolese heterosexual migrants. Rather, the use of sex-enhancing substances has been practised in South Africa for a long time, but there is little reference to it in the literature when compared with other sexual issues. Most black South Africans are aware of the different medicines, practices and procedures that are available in this regard and they know where to go or whom to contact in order to obtain the 'right' medicine. There are traditional healers or herbalists known as helping men and women who provide sex-enhancing substances for a fee. They can be found along the streets and buildings of the city centres.

In addition to this, there are shops where a variety of modern substances can be bought to enhance sexual pleasure and strengthen relationships (Kunene, 2010). Research done by Mcetywa (2001:152) on Zulu traditional medicines reveals that those in the Zulu culture believe in the use of sex-enhancing substances as sex boosters and that people can be made to fall under a kind of love charm or medicine called *imithi yentando*, which is commonly used

by people who want to win the love of their partners. These traditional ‘medicines’ also include the use of medicines that are perceived to protect a woman from competitors and help her keep her partner faithful to herself. In the DRC, the cultural beliefs of the *Lega* culture, for instance, which is in the east of the DRC, where I am a native, the use of sex-enhancing substances is often linked with sexual pleasure and gender power relations between men and women. In the *Lega* culture, men use these substances with the aim of demonstrating/proving to the women their sexual power and the women, for their part, use them in order to attract and satisfy men’s desires.

In most cases, research on sex-enhancing substances has been focused only on women by exploring the range of vaginal practices used by women (Attwood, 2005; Comella, 2003; Posel, 2005). For example, important work was undertaken in the mid-to-late 1990s amongst the female sex workers of the KwaZulu-Natal (KZN) province in South Africa. The clients of these sex workers were mainly long-distance truck-drivers. The studies found that 60% to 90% of the sex workers made use of intravaginal substances to create a dry and tight vagina, or to prevent and treat vaginal discharge (Morar and Ramjee, 1997; Morar, Ramjee and Karim, 1998; Scorgie; 2009). Kunene (2010) has related the use of love medicines to the high risk of HIV infections, an assertion that is supported by the cultural norms of KZN where women are socialised to please men and defer to male authority (see also Leclerc-Madlala, 2001, and Leclerc-Madlala, 2005).

Nevertheless, research focusing on the use of sex-enhancing substances by men has been primarily concerned with the extent to which these chemical and herbal substances contribute towards an increase in men’s sexual pleasure and autonomy as well as how these substances aid in the construction of new male sexualities (Christine, 1994; Karin, 1993; Leonore, 2000). These previous researchers have been interested in erectile dysfunction, increasing levels of sexual desire; increasing libido; delaying ejaculation, and increasing vitality and stamina for sex in order to deal with biological and psychological problems such as anxiety, depression, and the humiliation that can be caused by sexual dysfunction (Frank, 1978; Leonore, 2001; Joe, 2002). Parle and Scorgie (2001), in their research on the love medicines used in KZN, found that the traditional practice of *umhayizo* is often used by Zulu men to bewitch girls or young women so as to make the latter fall in love with the men.

This study is focused, however, on migrant men and as such investigated the relationship between the use of sex-enhancing substances and the social discourses that have been

constructed around heterosexual men's identities as well as whether or not these discourses are causing disruptions in the way in which heterosexual migrant men negotiate their male identities in the transnational context. The relevance of this study is based on the fact that the bulk of research into sex-enhancing substances usage has been conducted in the global context and local contexts and there is limited research on migrants' sexuality in the transnational context. To the best of my knowledge, a study focusing on heterosexual migrant men's use of traditional and manufactured sex-enhancing substances in a transnational space has not been conducted within the context of Durban. The statistic given below proves the extent of the use of sex-enhancing substances within a South African context.

The World Health Organization's (WHO) 2003 report on traditional medicines estimated that about 80% of the population in Africa uses traditional medicines for their primary healthcare. In South Africa, about 75% of the population (i.e. 33 million people) consult with traditional healers either before or after going to qualified doctors (Gilbert, Selikow and Walker, 2002). These figures are even higher than those estimated by Mander et al. (1997), who suggested a figure of 27 million users in South Africa, 6 million of whom lived in KZN and 2 million in Durban alone. There are several large markets for traditional medicine in South Africa. This could be the reason to confirm that in a South African context, it is not easy to estimate the number of people using traditional medicines, of which sex-enhancing substances constitute a share.

The findings from the above research point out that most of the users of sex-enhancing substances are blacks and that they represent a wide range of the socio-economic spectrum (Mander et al. 1997). The patients of the traditional healers that were surveyed for Mander's study ranged from fifteen years in age to above sixty-six years of age. Most of the users (36.5%) fell within the twenty-six to thirty-four-year-old bracket, followed by 32.7% being between fifteen and twenty-five years old. More than half (52.9%) of the users were female. Over 60% had at least some form of secondary education and 8.7% had a tertiary-level diploma or degree. Almost all (96%) of the users had a Christian affiliation, with more than a quarter being Zionist (Mander et al. 1997). This is not surprising because one of the reasons why the Zionist Church was established was to synchronise traditional practices with Pentecostal elements (Thorpe, 1982).

According to Kunene (2010), it became clear that the use of traditional medicines is not confined to those with a low income, as even professionals and managers use this kind of

medicine. More than three quarters of the users indicated that they would continue using traditional medicine even if the price was increased (Mander et al. 1997). Similar findings have been reported by Cocks and Miller (2002), who conducted a study within the Eastern Cape province of South Africa. There are other varieties of traditional medicines available within the country and that are being packaged and sold over the counter. These include, for example, Dutch and Afrikaans traditional medicines (which are packaged by the Lenon company for various application), multi-coloured salts called *itshe labelungu* (which are used as a body wash to elicit fortune), and also locally packaged Eastern remedies originating from India, Japan and China (Cocks and Dold, 2000).

The findings collected during the research interviews with the participants, which are analysed and discussed in Chapter Four, attest to the first part of the research hypothesis and have confirmed that Congolese heterosexual migrant men based in Durban use sex-enhancing substances as a way to negotiate their masculine identities within the South African transnational context. By so doing, they are reinforcing the hegemonic masculinities of their identities within the transnational context.

Therefore, among several obstacles encountered during the research investigation, religious beliefs and especially the Christian understanding and belief of the use of sex-enhancing substances has been a great challenge to the researcher, which required me to operate with wisdom and appropriate techniques. This is attested to by Scorgie (2003), who argues that the present-day sexual practices and norms within African society have been powerfully shaped by the relatively long history of mission Christianity, which laid the foundations for a conservative moral discourse on all matters of sexual practices. Christianity prompted profound shifts in indigenous practices and institutions intended to regulate courtship and sexuality (Delius and Glaser, 2002; Scorgie, 2003). As a result, people do not talk openly about sexual relationships or traditional practices because these are not acceptable within the existing forms of Christianity. It is for this reason that the use of sex-enhancing substances as cultural sexual practice remains an open secret meaning that although people know it happens, they prefer not to talk about it.

2.3. Theoretical framework

In this section I will discuss the general theoretical understanding of the main concept that informs the research. A theory, as explained by Shikumo (2008), helps in bringing forward the various structured ideas within the research whilst at the same time acts as a point of origin for the ideas and views contained within the discussion. Hughes (2002:6) recognises the fact that any text is constructed within some kind of theoretical or conceptual framework that may or may not be made explicit. However, the value or advantage of working within the confines of a theoretical framework is that it “places the knowledge presented in a broader epistemological and ontological field” (Hughes, 2002:6). Bertrand and Hughes (2005:262) aptly describe a theory as a “set of concepts, derived from and contributing to a model, which together explain a phenomenon or practice”. This section consequently presents various concepts that supported my investigation of masculine identities as negotiated within the transnational space.

According to the World English Dictionary, as quoted by Vygotsky (1986), a concept is an idea of something formed by mentally combining all its characteristics or particulars; in other words, it is a construct. It is a general idea or notion that corresponds to some class of entities and that consists of the characteristic or essential features of that class. It then helps elucidate and solidify embraced arguments on masculine identities as being socially constructed by the socio-cultural environment and how (some) migrant men thus become interpolated by the various traditional belief systems they embrace through the social conditioning they may have found within the transnational context.

With this in mind, it seems judicious to discuss different concepts that are used in this study, such as transnationalism, gender identities, masculinities, and sex-enhancing substances. These concepts will enable the reader to better understand the reasons and motives of the use of sex-enhancing substances within the transnational space. The socio-constructionist theory (see points 2.1 and 2.3.2) has been used to measure the extent to which the constructed socio-cultural norms on masculine gender identities still impact and influence the lifestyles of many of the participants.

2.3.1. The concept transnationalism

Theories of transnationalism are discussed in the section on migration, which stipulates that migration can be permanent or semi-permanent change in the residence of an individual

person or group of people (Levitt and De la Dehesa, 2003). These theories also state that migration can take place within countries (internal migration) or between countries (external or international migration), and on almost any scale, from very local to intercontinental. They agree that migrants engage in transnational practices that attest to their continued membership in the broader sending nation. Therefore, one way that migrants stay connected to their sending communities is through transnational socio-cultural and religious practices (Levitt and De la Dehesa, 2003). Bash et al. (1994:6) define transnational migration as:

[...] the processes by which immigrants forge and sustain multi-stranded social relations that link together their societies of origin and settlement. It is advanced by several scholars that the improvement in communications and transportation of technologies among others factors had facilitated migrants' transnational ties.

Levitt and De la Dehesa (2003) see transnational migrants as individuals who live aspects of their social, economic and political lives in at least two settings. They establish themselves in their host countries while they continue to earn money and vote in their countries of origin. Transnational migrants then bring particular incarnations of global religion and culture with them, create new forms of these by combining what they bring with them with what they encounter, and then reintroduce these ideas, practices, identities and social capital into the host community (Levitt and Dehesa, 2003).

Transnationalism is according to Levitt (2001), so dense and widespread because of the accelerated flow of people, capital and society remittances, such as ideas, norms, practices and identities. Ong (1999) sees it as spatial processes situated in cultural practices of mobility that produce new modes of constructing identities. When considering the social and cultural movement as being intrinsic to identities and as crucial in understanding what happens to personal histories of people taken out of the contexts they have originated, there is a reason to confirm that both formal such as the economic, realm, political transnationalism and the informal social, cultural and religious practices connect all forms of social experience (Levitt and Glick Shiller, 2004; Smith, 2005; Pessar and Mahler, 2003).

The concept of transnationalism has been connected in this study to masculinity because of the transnational aspects of identities, spaces, places and networks. Snider (2008) commenting about transnationalism said:

[...] might inform more fluid or dynamic identity formations and therefore indicate new articulations of masculinities that are more or less hegemonic or oppressive. On the other hand, this increased potential in transnational identities may cause greater or renewed reliance upon older hegemonic forms (Snider, 2008).

According to Snider (2008), transnational lives “present apparent contrasts between home and host ‘cultures’, the constant rearticulation of identities across space, as well as a possibility of the desire to reify older identities”. So, as the heterosexual Congolese migrant men cross the border between the home country and the receiving one, it seems interesting to know how they reinterpret their masculine identity, or, in other words, how they might renegotiate it within a new context as an opportunity for them to gain insights into the transnational space. On the other hand, transnational identity has been connected to gender because a transnational identity is one that can be understood to be in fluctuation across borders caused by a displacement and loss of familiar referents and practices. It is also an identity that is renegotiated as the migrants interpret, or are interpreted by, and navigate the host communities, cultures and practices that they encounter (Mahler, 1998).

In this regard, transnationalism as a concept refers in this study to the development of networks, activities, models of living, and ideologies that link the home and host societies of immigrants. These constraints were experienced in several ways and in a variety of relationships, as is argued by Vertovec (2007). Levit and Glick Schiller (2004) as well as Smith (2005) understand transnationalism as taking place within fluid social spaces that are constantly reworked through immigrants’ embeddedness in more than one society. Therefore, as transnationalism operates on multiple social and cultural levels, it is within the context of these socio-cultural scales of transnational migration that masculinity ideologies are reaffirmed, reconfigured, or both (Levit and Glick Schiller, 2004). This concept revealed in this study that migrants in the transnational space are likely to be cultural hybrids, as they maintain links between their home and host countries (Levit and Glick Schiller, 2004). Within the present context, the concept of transnationalism has been applied to this study to help the researcher examine how the life experience between the home and the host countries has impacted the Congolese heterosexual male migrants. It enabled the researcher to examine how masculine identities are renegotiated in the transnational space through the use of sex-enhancing substances and how, by so doing, they are either reinforcing hegemonic masculinity or creating new forms of masculinities within the transnational context.

2.3.2. Socio- constructionist theory

Social constructionist theory provides a useful framework for understanding the process through which particular forms of knowledge are related to gender and sexual practices. Bilton et al. (1996:200) define social constructionism as “the process whereby natural [and] instinctive forms of behaviour become mediated by social processes and in this way [become] socially constructed”. Principally, society and its social institutions, arrangements and conventions thus predate us and box us into predefined identities of femininity and masculinity. Hand in hand with this are the male roles that accompany these identities and which are either taught or learned (ibid). The social constructionist theory helped in terms of explaining how and why individual users learn the traditions of using sex-enhancing substances. Social constructionist theory informs much of the work on gender identity within masculinity as being a social construct. It focuses primarily on the formation of the ‘me’, exploring the ways in which interpersonal interactions mold an individual’s sense of self (Karen, 1997). The social constructionist theory conceptualises masculinity as a social structure. It analyses the ways in which masculinity is embedded in the individual, is interactional, and is institutional within different dimensions of our society (Barbara, 2004).

The social constructionist theory views the term ‘sex’ as referring to physical differentiations (i.e. male-female) whereas the term ‘gender’ is used to refer to a social construction (i.e. masculine-feminine) (Libby and Thomas, 2003:785). With regard to gender, there are predominantly two subgroups, namely masculinity and femininity, where the word masculinity tends to conjure up images of bravery, strength, power, heterosexuality, competitiveness and machine (Young, 2001) whilst femininity suggests submission (Carole, 1991:879). The concept of gender within the context of my research (as viewed by Lorber, 1994, and quoted by Barbara, 2004:430-431) helped to discover that the gendered difference based on sex, body and identity is primarily a means to justify sexual power and decision differences. It provides much cross-cultural, literary evidence to show that gender differences are socially constructed and yet are universally used to justify gender relation power between men and women. Gender in this study explains the continuing purpose of men’s sexuality as a category of which the aim is to construct women as a group to be subordinate to men as a group.

Therefore, the processes of social constructionism may be achieved through socialisation, which is the process through which these culturally mediated norms, values and identities are

learnt. Bilton et al. (1996:205) describe it as “an ongoing process whereby individuals learn to conform to society's prevailing norms and values”. Here, infant boys and girls learn what is expected of their different sexes. Processes of modelling or imitation copied from parents or older members of society serve to internalise the taught behaviour. Cultural and/or traditional values are also used as a springboard for learning one's attendant gender roles.

The responses alluded to by some of the participants of this study acknowledged the key role that cultural beliefs initially play in building up one's worldview. Thus, the belief systems that are formed are hard to shake even in the face of an alternative, progressive-seeking view. The socio-constructionist theory therefore enables a deeper interrogation of how some identities are reinforced or maintained, newly acquired, questioned, changed, or completely abandoned in the face of personal introspection. In the same vein, it may explain why it becomes harder to examine some of those identities that may be negative due to an internalisation and acceptance of them as the norm or standard. Masculinity is a social construct and is thus defined as a “gendered phenomenon” (Connell, 1995) that refers to how a man comes to be characterised. Bilton et al. (1996:200) define masculinity as: “Various socially constructed collections of assumptions, expectations and ways of behaving that serve as standards for forms of male behaviour”. They point to a strain of social constructionist theory where gender identities are viewed as a product of social encounters and relationships (see also Evans, 2003 and Ngcongco, 1993). This includes somewhere the notion of power.

An example of this is how men negotiate power as an aspect of one's uniqueness face to woman or other men. I am of the opinion that in the context of my study, men who feel powerless, marginalised and/or compromised are more likely to turn to the use of sex-enhancing substances because it gives them a feeling of power in dealing with the situation. Sex-enhancing substances, are not, therefore, used as a rule, but rather as a way of dealing with a situation, where a form of power is exerted over another individual in the hope of maintaining a functioning relationship.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the vast and growing body of literature surrounding the research topic as well as the theoretical framework by which the research has been constructed. The review of the literature has revealed different factors associated with migration, the transnational context, and masculine identities. In the process towards the renegotiation of masculine identities within the transnational space, some elements have been pointed out, such as the cultural influence of the migrants' sending country, the cultural influence found within the transnational context, and the socio-economic influence upon the migrants of the host country.

The migration of people is not a new phenomenon, but it is mostly associated with the modern world and industrial society (Johnston, 1998). Migration has been further reinforced by globalisation, which intensified at the dawn of the nineteenth century. As a political (as it is for the case of the Congolese migrant men who constituted my study sample) and natural event, migration is the movement of people through geographical space (Myers, 1997). People have always migrated in response to demographic, economic, political and related factors such as population pressure, environmental disasters, poor economic conditions, poor education conditions, conflicts and the effects of macro-economic adjustment (Myers, 1997). Contrary to this, Jackson (1969) argues that migration over the sixteenth, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries was the result of aggressive and technically superior powers overwhelming inferior ones. Migration seemed therefore to be more than a change of residence, or more than a movement in space from one to another. There have been several reports on the statistics of international migrations. A recent ILO report estimated that there are more than 120 million international migrants around the world. ILO then estimated that there are around 10 to 15 million illegal immigrants in the world (see Trade Union World, 2000:16). In 2005, according to Bossard (2008), there were 200 million migrants throughout the world.

In the context of South Africa, the term migration was defined by Mngonyama (n.d.) as workers who oscillate between their homes and their places of work over distances that are greater than that which can be travelled on a daily basis and who are, either way, living at the place of their work without their families. According to this perspective, migrants are those who seek urban employment with the intention of earning sufficient income to support

themselves and provide a surplus to send home to their families. Nevertheless, despite the numerous problems that face the majority of blacks in South Africa, for Africans from other parts of the continent, South Africa is perceived as a land of increased economic opportunities and hope, especially after the 1994 elections (Maharaj, 2004:2). These have been the driving mechanisms behind most of the legal and illegal migrations to the country.

The available literature has also highlighted that South Africa, with a population of almost 50 million, has enjoyed a comparatively strong economy and political stability in comparison with other black African countries. This situation has made it a leading destination for migrants from neighbouring countries, as well as from the African continent as a whole (Schachter, 2009) since the collapse in the 1990s of the white-dominated apartheid government. Estimations have been made by different sources as to the number of immigrants living in South Africa. Landau (2005) estimates the immigrant population in South Africa to be about 2.2% of the total population.

The literature stresses that the gender imbalance of African immigrants to South Africa in general and in Durban in particular is also an element to consider when addressing migration. Research conducted by several researchers reveals that African immigrants are composed of significantly more males than females (Dodson, 1998). This gender-related migration pattern may be due to the dangers of travel, the costs involved, and the fact that numerous obstacles have to be overcome on the long overland journey. Since transnationalism operates on multiple social and cultural levels, the literature shows that it is within the context of these socio-cultural scales of transnational migration that masculinity ideologies are reaffirmed, reconfigured, or both. The literature also reveals that this experience of living abroad and constantly renegotiating socio-cultural norms can either alter or support people's perspectives of gender.

Gender has been examined in the literature mostly from a cultural, socio-political and economic perspective within the transnational context. Research towards this dissertation however, assessed and examined men as a dominant factor over women and within the male community in the process towards the renegotiation of masculine identities. Masculine identities are, therefore, according to the literature, viewed as emanating from intersecting historical, cultural and social factors at a particular moment in a transnational life context. The review of the literature examined masculine identities from a socio-cultural perspective. Masculine identities in this perspective obtain a cultural sense in the meanings, values,

identities, symbols, ideas, knowledge, language and ideology of people within the societal context it is negotiated. Within the socio-economic context, masculine identities are related to the received value and honour one gets from one's financial power. Another salient category that informs masculine identities within black African culture is, as raised by the literature, that which defines one's sexuality. This has strong ties, according to Connell (1995), to a cultural construct of what it is/was to be defined as a 'real man'. Consequently, heterosexuality is played out as a dominant masculinity because of its interconnectedness with gender and sexuality. Popular constructs of what it is to be a 'real man', as suggested by Alsop et al. (2002), are learned from the dominant discourses of being a heterosexual man. So, 'a man' or 'real men' are those males that are virile as well as sexually active and experienced.

The emphasis placed on sexuality in this gendered perspective of masculine identity has been discovered by most of the researchers (see Kunene, 2010, Scorgie and Parle, 2001) that were reviewed in the literature as a source of [change "source of" to "reason for"?] the use of sex-enhancing substances. As viewed by Mcetywa (2001:151), men use aphrodisiacal products in order to increase their libido, boost their stamina, make their bodies strong for sex, strengthen the forces that make them feel young, vital and alive, and correct problems that make sex difficult or impossible, with the aim of reinforcing their masculine identities.

In order to conduct this study, the concept of transnationalism as well as the socio-constructionist theory (see point 2.3) were developed with the aim of bringing forward the various structured ideas within the research and placing the knowledge presented in its broader epistemological and ontological fields (Hughes, 2002:6).

Chapter Three

Research Methodology

3.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on the methodology used in conducting this research. The study applied a qualitative research methodology which is suitable for enabling the researcher to gain a deep understanding of the research participant's perceptions and to understand their point of views (Frankfort and Nachmias, 1992; Leedy and Ormrod, 2005). It falls under the category of social research traditionally defined as concerned with gathering data that can help answer questions about various aspects of the society and enable readers to understand society and gives them a way through which they may see and comment on various significant social issues as it is socially interested to investigate into constructed lives, so as to provide answers to questions of theoretical interest to a particular social discipline (Bailey, 1982:3).

3.2. Qualitative research methodology

Qualitative research in this study attempts to give an account of the opinions held and choices made by the Congolese heterosexual male migrants living in Durban on their perceptions around the usage of sex-enhancing substances and how they are developing new alternatives and perspectives of their masculine identities. Feminist research recommends qualitative methods as an endeavour to see the world from the distinctive aspect of women in their social world. Nevertheless, in this study, a feminist approach has been used because it provides a system of ideas about human life that involves men participants who are knowledgeable and active with regard to the use of sex-enhancing substances. The qualitative approach provided an opportunity to investigate the context as well as the real experiences of men as opposed to making them simply agree or disagree with what the researcher has hypothesised; constructing, creating or reinforcing specific versions of manhood

In light of the above, a qualitative research type was more conversant with this study because it "aims towards the exploration of social relations, and describes reality as experienced by the respondents" (Sarantakos, 1998:6). The participants are therefore conceived as being active agents and contributors of the actual research process given that they are in and continue to live in the situations that are being researched. Respondents are thus not reduced

to mere variables as their voices are given an unfettered avenue of expression. A key feminist research principle envisions a symbiotic relationship between the researcher and the participant(s) that enhances mutual constitutive learning. Feminist in broad terms usually centre on proving qualitative methods as a viable and legitimate form of research.

Due to the interpretive nature of this research, a qualitative methodology worked best. Participants cease to be mere pawn in the research process but rather are subjects who define, explain, interpret and construct reality (Sarantakos, 1998:51). As it is their own reality, this provides a deeper and more intimate understanding of their world view. Kirsch (1999:4) notes therefore that feminist researchers “collaborate with participants as much as possible so that growth and learning can be mutually beneficial, interactive and co-operative”.

Though qualitative methods of research are increasingly gaining favour from feminist researchers, there are concerns arising from navigating through the private and public lives of research participants. This is in light of the fact that in building thematic themes arising from qualitative interviews, the research itself involves tracing historical backgrounds and life stories that are private and putting them into the public domain as academic rigour demands. A crucial critique of qualitative methods is the lack of representativeness and generalisability of the research findings. Representativeness occurs when the “findings from the sample reflect the attributes of a target population [and further, that the] conclusions drawn through the study are pertinent to the whole population” (Sarantakos, 1998:26). In the case of this research, there were not large numbers of respondents but rather it was fixed to typical cases; that of male migrants’ Congolese heterosexual living in Durban. The choice was therefore out rightly purposive and “not towards representativeness but rather towards suitability” (ibid: 155).

3.3. Sampling method

Sampling can be regarded as the process of selecting a representative sample for interview from an entire population in order to draw conclusions about the entire population of study (Marshall, 1994). This study has used purposive sampling method and drawn from ten Congolese heterosexual men living in Durban from the same culture so as to provide a rich understanding of their opinions about the use of sex-enhancing substances within the transnational context.

Purposive sampling method according to Yildirim and Simsek (2006:107), as quoted by Dursun (2009), gives opportunity to study methodically the situations which are believed to have abundant information. In this respect, purposive sampling method has been applied for the selection of respondents whose qualities or experiences permit an understanding of the phenomenon in question and are therefore valuable (Dane, 1990). Sarantakos (1998:152) describes purposive sampling as a technique where researchers “choose subjects who in their opinion are thought to be relevant to the research topic”. I was however careful not to exclude those participants who were not extroverts and thus used the quality and not necessarily quantity of their verbal content as a marker. Sarantakos (ibid) notes that purposive sampling, amongst other sampling techniques like non-probability, snowball and theoretical sampling; correspond to the inherent philosophy of qualitative research.

As it is often not practical or possible to study an entire population, it becomes necessary to make general findings based on a study of only a subset of the population known as a sample. This research explored the subjective experiences of masculinity by a group of male heterosexual migrants. My sample frame was thus drawn from a pool of Congolese migrants living in Durban. Their ages ranged from twenty-three to forty-eight years old. As gender inscribes relations between both men and women, this study focused upon masculinity with a regard towards femininity as well. This involved focusing to a small extent on whether women are indeed playing a role, if any, in identifying ways in which men are reproducing or changing popular versions of masculinity. I have used purposive sampling to select my sample frame by choosing the sample based on who I thought would be appropriate for the study. Sarantakos (1998:152) describes purposive sampling as a technique where researchers “choose subjects who in their opinion are thought to be relevant to the research topic”. Thus, I have used my own judgment to assess participant’s suitability based on the levels of engagement that the participants showed during discussions when I have conducted the pilot study around in town. The study had drawn from ten migrants Congolese heterosexual men living in Durban from the same culture so as to provide a rich understanding of their perception about sex-enhancing substances within the transnational context.

3.4. The personal demographics of the respondents

As mentioned earlier in the previous chapter concerning the research methodology, the study participants are comprised of the Congolese heterosexual migrant male living in Durban. At this point, the researcher presents the personal demographics of participants such as their age,

gender, religion, occupation, and level of education. Each element is considered as a respondent's measure of understanding the perception about the use of sex-enhancing substances while renegotiating their masculinities identities in the transnational context

A total of ten participants were involved in the study. The ages of the participants ranged between twenty-three and forty-eight years old. Amongst ten participants, six were married and the remaining four had never been married. Three of the participants said they were Christians and other two were Christian but not a real Christian. Three had not any religion and two were Muslims. Most of the participants have done high school and University education (six of ten) and four have some level of primary education but without a degree or certificate. Most of the participants interviewed were employed. Those who were employed ranged from security guard; car guard; mechanical technician; one was self-employed running a small business as a vendor at Mandeni market and two still students. Data obtained reflected that sex-enhancing substances are used by all categories of participants such as young and old, married and un-married, educated and uneducated, religious and non-religious people. Below are the personal demographics of the respondents:

Muganza Mbila: born in the DRC. He is twenty-three years old and is not married. He is working as a car guard here in South Africa. He said that he is not a Christian and he does not have any religion. He earned a Matric in general pedagogy in the DRC.

Bashimbe Chikuru: was born in the DRC. He is a married man with four children. All his family lives here in South Africa. He is thirty-five years old. He did not, in his own words, "studyenough"; he completed secondary school but says he "did not get a chance to get a certificate". He is a security guard at Enforce.

Mulindwa Shangalume Salum: born in the DRC. He is forty-one years old, is not married, and is a Muslim. He studied motor mechanics back home in the DRC and is now working in South Africa as a technician mechanic.

Mukunda Kabungulu: born in the DRC. He is forty-eight years old, is married, and is a father of six children. He has been working as a security guard for eight years, ever since he came to South Africa. He has his Matric in education and was a teacher at a primary school back in the DRC. He is a Roman Catholic.

Mirereko Ntaboba (often called Mika): was born in DRC. He is twenty-seven years old. He went to school but he did not finish his high school education because of the war. He is a car

guard at the Pavilion shopping centre. He is not a Christian and does not have any religion. He is single but he is planning to get married in July 2011.

Sumahili Lubingo: born in the DRC. He is twenty-four years old and is not married. Currently he is studying electrical engineering at Coastal College and he is also working part-time as a security guard from 16h00 to 22h00 in a shop in town. He was a Christian when he was in the DRC but he is not going to church anymore because he works every day, even on Sundays.

Masengo Bisoka: born in the DRC. He is forty years old and is married. He has a certificate from a motor mechanic in the DRC and he currently works as a panel beater, working with other Congolese mechanics. He is a Christian.

Songa Muloba: born in the DRC. He is twenty-five years old, and he is not married. He is running his own small business, selling shoes and clothes in the Free Market in Durban and in Mandeni. He attended secondary school but he did not obtain a certificate. He is a Christian, but not a committed Christian because, as he said, he still does so many wrong things that are against the will of God, but he does go to church every Sunday.

Mwangilwa Kibiswa: born in the DRC in 1970 (forty-one years old). He is married, and is a father of four children. He has a Bachelor degree in social sciences and he was a teacher at a highschool in the DRC, but here in South Africa he is working as a security guard at Isidingo Security. He is not a Christian.

Ntakobajira Mudenda: born in the DRC. He is thirty years old. He is a Muslim and he is not married. He has an Honours degree in conflict resolution and peace studies at UKZN and this year he is doing his Masters in economics and history.

Although participants' age does not appear to be an important factor in interpreting phenomenon, nevertheless it is of utmost importance to know the age of the respondents in order to understand the psychological perception of each participant about the use of sex-enhancing substances as a way of renegotiating masculine identity. The factor 'age' in this study helped the researcher to classify participants in different groups in order to know the dimension with which people use sex-enhancing substances according to their age and the motives according to the age. This factor helps to understand different dimension and level of age where masculine identities start to be negotiated. In the same way, daily 'occupation' of the respondent seems to be relevant in the analysis of data as it helped to understand the

physio-biological and economical reasons of the participants in engaging in the use of sex-enhancing substances in the transnational environment. Another element that is considered as one of the factors that determining man identity in the personal demographic of the participants is 'religion'. The use of sex-enhancing substances of the participants is measured and interpreted according to their religious beliefs. At one side; certain change of values system in the transnational context of some participants is somewhere influenced by the religious beliefs held by each one while at the other side the 'marital status' helped the researcher to know which category of the participants is mostly involved in the practice of the use of sex-enhancing substances; to understand the pulling and pushing factors of each category in using the substances within the transnational context. The last element in the personal demographic of the participants is the level of education. This element helped to understand participant's point of views about the use of sex-enhancing substances; motives and values according to their level of education.

3.5. Research methods

3.5.1. In-depth interview

Kumar (1996) defines it as any person-to-person interaction between two or more individuals with a specific purpose in mind. Face-to-face interviews have been essential since the interviews have been directed at understanding the lived experiences of participants. As an interaction between the researcher and interviewee, in-depth interview enabled me to gain a deep understanding of how heterosexual men from the DRC are using sex-enhancing substances to renegotiate their masculinities in the transnational space. Questions for interview were translated in French and Swahili as most of the participants come from the French and Swahili African speaking areas. Responses from the participants have been recorded and later transcribed in English. The data was translated into English during data interpretation and was analysed according to the major themes and patterns of the study.

Face to face or in-depth interviews were conducted with individual men from the community. The researcher anticipatively explained the reason and the necessity of the study every time before the interview. The aim here was to extract each individual's perspective on the use of sex-enhancing substances. The opinions of the individual users were specifically elicited to share personal feelings, experiences, reasons, meanings and the social context in which sex-enhancing substances are being used (Mack et al., 2005). Particular attention was given to social circumstances, love relationships, beliefs, culture and practices as well as the gender

issues related to the use of sex-enhancing substances. In-depth interview participants were selected on the basis of having been identified as being potential or possible users of sex-enhancing substances or having been observed to be more knowledgeable than others during the pilot study. Some of them, although have been identified as users during the interview, denied that, while revealing an in-depth knowledge of the practice. In such cases, it was important to continue with the interview to avoid making it obvious that the researcher was pre-informed about their behaviour. It was easy to hide pre information as all the in-depth participants were approached with the same questions of whether they knew someone who used sex-enhancing substances to perform sexual relations or whether they had used any of these medicines themselves. Further questions were designed in case certain issues needed further investigation. This made it easier for the individual to disclose whether they had used such substances before being interviewed further.

This kind of approach produces a narrative that offers insight into and understanding of human social life. It aims to understand culture from the native point of view (Munhall, 2007). Data is gathered from a range of sources, but observation and/or relatively informal conversations are usually the main ones (Burman, 2006; Bryman and Teevan, 2005; Denzin and Lincoln, 1998). In order to avoid the possibility of prejudice that is inherent in the interpretation by the observer, Bryman and Teevan (2005) suggest that interviews should be used for data collection. It is for this reason that, although I had observed these communities while living amongst them and conducting a previous pilot study with them, which has been conducted from June 2010 to October 2010. Data collection was used to facilitate an investigation of sensitive issues such as the socio-cultural and economical related issues; the sexual behaviour or, sexual practices and gender related issues which might be a reason for using sex-enhancing substances. The reason for applying this method was to broaden the perspective and provide as much evidence as possible to increase the credibility of the study for decision makers such as policy makers and programme managers (Ulin, Robinson, Tolley and McNeill, 2002).

The interviews were rich in descriptive narrative and highlighted by influence of culture, gender, masculine identities; as well as the socio-economic impact of the host country. As a researcher, I was able to obtain first-hand information as I observed participants while I interviewed them and being engaged in interview discussions from depths of their hearts. I had to be well familiar with the aims, objectives and questions of the study in order to listen and to recorder. This was extremely important as the study was dealing with the sensitive

issues of sexual behaviour and the use of sex-enhancing substances which in some cases can be perceived as witchcraft. All the interviews were conducted in the language most preferred by the participants who were French or Swahili. In some cases, participants tended to mix French or Swahili and English during an interview

3.5.2. Data analysis

The initial stages of data analysis of open coding took place concurrently with the process of data collection continued on an on-going basis. It was anticipatively expected before that in-depth interview should result in large quantities of narrative data. Therefore, preparations to handle this on a daily basis were done from the beginning of the study. The focus was to have as much credibility, dependability transferability and conformability which are the criteria considered for determining the reliability and validity of this study (Lincoln and Guba, 1985; Harmmesley, 1990). I utilised the narratives and meanings approach for analysing my data. Punch (2005:217) admires this technique as an advantageous way of studying lives and lived experiences saying: “Contemporary anthropology and feminism often emphasise the study of lives from the narrator's viewpoint, with data seen as a shared production with the researcher”. I therefore used verbatim wording from the participants coupled with my interpretations grounded in the theoretical framework used in chapter two that believe gendered identities as being a factor of social constructs. Indents called attention to quotations from participants. These were reported in verbatim.

According to Bryman and Burgess (1999), even the transcripts from the tape recordings might not be able to capture the emotional context. In this case, notes were added to the transcript to provide for this. This included also intonation of voices, pauses and other emotional expressions such as laughter and exclamation. Analysis included critically examining the collected data, coding, identifying emerging issues, summarising and synthesising the data with reference to the added notes on emotions. More interviews and further searching for specific data was pursued. Follow up on the themes, questions and issues that emerged from the data were done. Assessment of both the quality of collected data was done on an ongoing basis to identify information categories and thematic patterns that recur.

Recurrent themes and emerging issues have been considered with major importance and constitute the major elements of the data discussions and recommendations. Convergence, divergence and inconsistency between data from different sources were noted. This was done

by getting submerged in data which involved devoting a lot of time to repeatedly reading data, going over every word, phrase, sentence, paragraph and noting the added non-verbal communication that was jotted down during data collection (Burnard, 1991). At this stage, the aim was to get the essence of the meaning with an attempt of understanding the data and discovering any ambiguity. It was very important to check possible ambiguities as the data collection was in French and Swahili and the transcripts translated into English. Another relevant step in data analysis was to get assurance if all the questions were answered. This was also started during data collection where the analytic tool was used as described by Strauss and Corbin (1998). This was applied from the first scripts where whatever was missing or not clear was re-highlighted in the guide and asked in the following interview. It was found, however, that all the questions were answered.

The ‘flip flop’ technique, where concepts are turned upside down to obtain a different perspectives on the phrases (Kunene, 2010), was applied to some of the categories of participants’ responses. This technique was applied in this study to explain the reasons why different participants had similar views on the same question raised by the researcher. It was also applied to establish the connotative sense of the repetitive phrases which were common for most of the interviewees’ responses such as: “*She must realise that I am a man*” or “*You know what is to be a man*”. The ‘waving of a flag’ technique, as recommended by Strauss and Corbin (1998), was also applied where an issue would be raised that sounded exaggerated as for example where the participants tend to generalise the effect to everyone such as: “*the use of sex-enhancing substances is common to all men ...; jobs that we are doing here make us sexually weak*”.

3.6. Research ethics

As a sensitive research that engages ethical issues, it was very important to the researcher to make more accents on the moral guidelines concerned with such research project. The collection of data from the interviewees has required this consideration. Punch (2005:217) lists key recurring themes applied in feminist research practices as responsibility and accountability by the researcher, confidentiality, questions of intention underlying research, and the idea that consent may need to be ongoing and renegotiated throughout the research project. Due the above requirement, all participants who have been part of my research project have been given an informed consent before any interview began. The researcher should explain the significance, the relevant as well as the objectives of the survey. Then,

participants were asked to read and sign the consent form. The participants had freedom and the last decision whether or not to be interviewed. A copy of the signed consent form was given to each of the participants for their records. The respondents were also given a choice of either having their interviews recorded or not. Pseudonyms are used for each of the participants except two men who elected to use their real names. In addition, ethical clearance was first obtained from the University of KwaZulu-Natal Ethics Committee before the research process commenced as part of the requirement for Masters and PhD research.

3.7. Limitations of the fieldwork and problems found

As it is often not practical or possible to study an entire population; it becomes necessary to make general findings based on a study of only a subset of the population known as a sample. This research explored the subjective experiences of masculinity throughout the use of sex-enhancing substances by a group of male migrants. My sample frame was thus drawn from a pool of male heterosexual Congolese migrants living in Durban city (Point- Saint George-and market). Their ages ranged from twenty-three to forty-eight years old. The reason for selecting such area was that it has been identified as having a slightly higher number of the male Congolese migrants and refugees. In most cases, these men are all familiar to the researcher and it is possible of getting a chance to have their views documented. Therefore, while the selection of the area for the study may be a limitation, the study gave these men the opportunity to talk to the researcher.

Although, as I was aware of the notion of representativeness; I should point out that the limited sample size confines the generalisability of the research findings. My aim was, however, exploratory and means to give an insight into a world in which the hegemonic masculinity has begun raising inquiring questions for most the researchers in gender order studies. Clifford and Marcus (1986) whilst speaking exclusively to ethnographic accounts of research collection, nevertheless advice researchers to be on their guard of making general assumptions about research findings. They insist that “...our own ‘full’ versions [of research undertaken] will inevitably appear partial” (ibid: 18) due to the fact that most samples form a microcosm of a constitutive whole. It is nevertheless not in vain to study a select sample size as it invariably forms a sub-section of the whole from which salient exploratory data can be collected.

It was also an advantaged for me to conduct my research in this community as I come from the same area; I share the same culture with them and I have taken time to observe their

behaviours while living with them. The fact that the participants came from the same background as the researcher as well as the homogeneity of the sample strengthens the chances of getting comprehensive information from them. While this study was conducted in an area where all the participants are likely familiar to each other, I am aware that their status as men does not necessarily mean they are all the same. There are those who find it easy to make themselves heard or visible by demanding their rights in some way or the other. I acknowledge also that inequalities and inequities also occur among men and they may differ according to class, age, religion and education when responding to the questions. Therefore, discussions pertaining to sexual relations or sexual practices are regarded as personal and sometime as sensitive issues, it was anticipated that it would not be easy to get the kind of sample required to talk about their life experience of the use of sex-enhancing substances and other sexual related practices. Another difficulty faced during the interview is the fact that as a known pastor within the area entering the personal private life of people and hoping to interact in a personal manner required that I built up a lot of trust with the participants.

Conclusion

This chapter focused on the methodology used when during the research. It applied a qualitative research methodology to gain a deep understanding of the participant's perceptions and to understand their point of views (Frankfurt and Nachmias, 1992; Leedy and Ormrod, 2005). Qualitative research in this study gave an account of the attitudes and perceptions held by the migrants' Congolese heterosexual men living in Durban on the use of sex-enhancing substances and how they were developing new alternatives and perspectives of their masculine identities. The participants were therefore conceived as being active agents and contributors of the research process. As it was their own reality, this provided a profound and more intimate understanding of their world view.

In this research, there were not large numbers of respondents but rather it was fixed to a typical case; that of male migrants' Congolese heterosexual living in Durban. The choice was therefore out rightly purposive and not towards representativeness but rather towards suitability.

Therefore, purposive sampling method was regarded as the instrument of selecting a representative sample for interview from an entire population in order to draw conclusions about the entire population of study. Ten Congolese migrant heterosexual men living in Durban from the same culture were chosen so as to provide a rich understanding of their

perception about sex-enhancing substances within the transnational context. Their ages ranged from twenty-three to forty-eight years old. They were given an informed consent before any interview began. The researcher should explain the significance, the relevance as well as the objectives of the survey. Then, participants were asked to read and sign the consent form.

In-depth interview contributed to interact face-to-face with the participants and the questions were directed at understanding of their lived experiences. The opinions of the individual users were specifically elicited to share personal feelings, experiences, reasons, meanings and the social context in which sex-enhancing substances are being used. Data collection was used to facilitate an investigation of sensitive issues. The reason for applying this method was to broaden the perspective and provide as much evidence as possible to increase the credibility of the study for decision makers such as policy makers and programme managers (Ulin, Robinson, Tolley and McNeill, 2002). In order to reach the aim, data analysis as another method was chosen and it included critically examining data collected, coding, identifying emerging issues, summarizing and synthesizing the data with reference to the added notes on emotions.

Chapter Four

Findings of the Study and Discussions

4.1. Introduction

This chapter presents the findings of the study. It gives the analysis of data collected from interviews carried out with research participants and assesses the renegotiation of gender (masculinities) identity in transnational space and examines the socio-cultural life experience of South Africa as well as the life experience of Congolese migrants in the host country and the use of sex-enhancing substances as a way of negotiating masculine identity. According to Plummer (1995), there are two major interpretations and levels in any research analysis. The first level involves the participants who relate and interpret their lives experiences while the next level involves the researcher who in turn interprets these experiences drawing on the theoretical and analytical constructs. Furthermore, using Gray's (2003) strategy, paralinguistic elements, such as pauses, repetition, hesitation, laughter and emphasis are also incorporated in this study in order to provide emotions and meanings as expressed by the participants. According to Mauthner and Doucet (1998:138), presenting a complete picture of participants and their lives is something of much more importance in order to guard against details that may be lost or subsumed in the process of dissecting, distilling and reducing their accounts when coming up with themes and categories for data analysis.

In addition, the issue of analysis and writing up then involves the extent to which the researcher uses the study participant's views on the material and also the extent to which their accounts are allowed to appear in the text Bryman and Teevan (2005). This seemed to be relevant during the compilation of this study as the practice of sexuality in Africa as viewed by Amadiume (n.d.) presents many difficulties to researchers and scholars due to the ambiguity of beliefs and attitudes in traditional cultures and religions. Sexuality is even more problematic in the received world religions and global popular cultures of post-colonial African modernity. Therefore, a perspective that supports debate on responsible sexuality without guilt, fear or ill-health is a welcome and courageous departure from stasis that characterizes rigid orthodoxies of normativity (Amadiume, n.d.). This chapter draws on the study's participant's experiences of the use of sex-enhancing substances while renegotiating their masculinities identities in the transnational space. It is basically built on the

interrogation of masculinity constructed between home country and the received country as well as the different perceptions of gender construction of male identity in the transnational context.

The analysis also endeavours to discuss in great details, the opportunities and causes of the renegotiation of masculine identity in transnational context as perceived by the study participants in order to provide a deep understanding of circumstances the participants find themselves in, in the political, economical, social and cultural transition between the home country and the host country. Drawing from this approach, this chapter is structured by means of the major themes emanating from the data collected from the interviews. It discusses the study results which is further divided into six subsections: the personal demographics of the respondents; the conceptualisation of the term 'sex-enhancing substances; factors behind the use of sex-enhancing substances in the transnational space; masculinities identities as renegotiated in the transnational space; negative consequences of using sex-enhancing substances; religion and the change of mindset in the transnational context.

4.2. Presenting and defining sex-enhancing substances

The Swahili concept *dawa za nguvu ya mapenzi* translates into English as sex-enhancing substances. In this study, emerged as a well known phenomenon among the community where the study was conducted. All the participants during the interview have acknowledged the usage of sex-enhancing substances within the migrant heterosexual male Congolese community in Durban. Responding to my question concerning this issue, some of the participants confirm this in the following statements:

Sex-enhancing substances? Ah! [Laughing] These are common to most of men in our community. (Muganza)

Researcher: Which community are you talking about? Congolese migrant men community in Durban or in your community back home?

Respondent: Both. I knew about sex-enhancing substances long time ago since I was adolescent back in my country. And learnt to use them because it was like a life for all the young adolescents in my village (Muganza).

Willing to verify and to know the veracity of this issue, others participant continue answering to my question by emphasising that the practice exists among Congolese heterosexual men migrants in Durban:

Masengo: You mean the use of sex-enhancing substances existence within the Congolese men community here in Durban?

Reasearcher: Yes.

Masengo: Not only me, there are so many young boys I know who often use them

Reasearcher: How did you know?

Masengo: We are men and especially youth, we always discuss our lives as youth; particularly our sexual lives and relations with ladies.

Yes, Pastor, the use of sex-enhancing substances is very common in this Congolese community. Most of the men do use in such or such other way. They may not use the same kind I use but they all at some stage do something to enhance their sexual performance like healthy food or others things. (Mwangilwa)

Sex-enhancing substances practice exists in our community. It is known by all men. I know many people in my community who are using these products. (Ntakobajira)

Participants had various ideas when it came to defining the concept sex-enhancing substances. They all, however, agreed that sex-enhancing substances is a term given to all products used to establish or enhance love or a sexual relationship, to attract a partner, as a stimulant to arouse or induce feelings of sexual desire (libido enhancer) and/or to improve sexual performance. They were all in agreement that this form of medicine results in greater sexual performance and promotes extreme sexual pleasure and arousal. This reality has been discovered through the different definitions that participants have given to sex-enhancing substances. Below is presented different definitions resulting from data collected from participants. These definitions seem summarising all the participants' understanding about the meaning of sex-enhancing substances.

For Muganza Mbila, for example:

They are traditional products that make a man to be very sexually powerful during sex-intercourse.

According to Bashimbe Chikuru:

Sex-enhancing substances as I know them from back in DRC are all those different traditional medicine using by most of men and women before sexual relationship to strengthen their sexual power or to make sex again very pleasurable as it will take long before man ejaculate for the first round and it makes man's penis to stand powerful even for all the night.

Eh! Sex-enhancing substances are medicines to increase sexual power and pleasure when doing sex because it makes man' penis very big, long and strong. Once enter a

woman, she cry but at the end she feel better as it fit with the vagina and sexual act takes long until she is very satisfied. (Mukunda)

[...] are known as traditional medicine and industrial manufactured products used by people to increase their sexual pleasure or making sex-intercourse taking long time. (Mulindwa)

Sex-enhancing substances are stimulants product to arouse or induce feeling of sexual desire or medicines used to improve sexual performance in order to enhance love, sexual relationship or pleasure with the aim of attracting a lady to love you more and more but also to have control on her. (Sumaili)

Concerning the understanding of sex-enhancing substances; I think, each one has his conception of sex-enhancing substances according to his purpose for using them. (Ntakobajira)

Women's role in the gendered aspect in this context is to please the men. Pleasing a man includes giving herself entirely to him by satisfying his sexual pleasure; and the discussions with the participants have revealed that women regard this as the key to having and keeping a man. Therefore, the analysis of these different definitions given to sex-enhancing substances by the participants reveals that the gendered related issues in this study has been founded in one side in the societal constructs; the cultural influences; society peer pressure; power dominance over women. At the other one, nobody amongst the respondents has mentioned the desire to please the other sex as from the participants' experiences and views revealed through these different definitions, they all focus on their own pleasure and search of power over women

It was discovered from the participants' experiences that no one amongst them has bought sex-enhancing substances for their women in order for them to experience also pleasure. By contrast, women themselves search their own sexual enhancing products in order to precipitate their orgasm and make themselves to feel pleasure quickly without delaying, to attract men or to make men loving her more. This has been confirmed by Mirereko's statement when he argues:

These are products used by men when he feels himself weak sexually in order to increase his sexual power. Women use them when they want their orgasm to not delay; I mean to make themselves to feel pleasure quickly without delaying once a man enter her; some use them in order to attract men or to make men loving and coming to them more and more. (Mirereko)

It was revealed during the research interview that sex-enhancing substances are used in different ways. Some come in the form of sweets, powders, pills, concoctions or even dried fruit; others in form of liquid and are consumed by the users themselves. The analysis of the

data has demonstrated that most of the users of sex-enhancing substances amongst the Congolese heterosexual migrant men were mostly interested by the performance of the product within their bodies rather than focusing to know the name of the products. It was very amazing for the researcher to discover that no one among the participants was able to give the name of one of the products while they claimed to be users. Some participants affirm this when they said:

I cannot know their names but what I know is that there are several kinds of those products according to the herbalists you may contact. Some are herbs, crust or powder, and others are liquid. (Songa)

I cannot remember their names because once we go to buy; the seller just gives us products, explaining to us how to use them and power of each one. They do not write names on the products; some are in the small plastic and others in a small bottle without name on. (Mirereko)

In comparison to the context of the DRC, most of the participants have confirmed that sex-enhancing substances as well as its practice exist even within the DRC. They all approved certain difference based on the usage and the possibility of getting the products within the community.

There are so many kinds of sex-enhancing substances according to each donor, reason being that in DRC it is so difficult to know the names of those products as you cannot find them at the market or shops like here in South Africa. Only elders of the community possess. You can get them only by being connected by someone to the person. You can get them for free or by paying some amount but not so expensive. (Mwangilwa)

Difference, firstly because, these products are opened to everyone and can be find easily and everywhere here in Durban differently to DRC where, the product is hidden, not often easy to be find unless you have a particular connection with somebody who have a close relationship with the seller. Secondly, sometimes these products are given by the elders freely but secretly in the village in DRC but in South Africa they are payable. (Muganza)

This difference concerning the possibility of getting sex-enhancing substances between the two context of the DRC and the host country has to some extent influenced some of the participants to engage in the practice. One of the participants illustrates this saying that:

I started using these products because I was interested by people exposing the pamphlets around the roads downtown. It was not easy to get them back in my country. (Muloba)

4.3. Societal pressure

In some cases, participants stated that the friends or peers even introduce or initiate them in the use of sex-enhancing substances. Peers in this study are usually contemporaries of the same status or persons of the nearly same age. They sometimes have the power to influence each other into doing certain acts or thinking in a certain way. It was realised in this study that most of the participants and especially those who are not married showed overt signs in their speech of being influenced by friends and relatives. Sometimes, it is the traditional healers, themselves, who initiate people into the practice of sex-enhancing substances. These result also from the insults from peers such as friends, members of the family. The case of Mulindwa illustrates this reality when he argues that:

I remember, at the river, when we were bathing, if you have a small penis, people, and elders included, were laughing at you, saying that you will not be a man. That has pushed most of the youth in my village to search for medicine to increase the size of their penis.

The society peer pressure has an impact in dictating men's sexual behaviour concerning the use of sex-enhancing substances as it is like normal community life. It is attested by Mwangilwa that most of the men in his community and especially the young have learnt to use sex-enhancing substances because it is common activity in this community. One of the participants said:

We learnt to use them because it is like a life for all the young adolescents in this community. (Muloba)

4.4. Renegotiating masculinity identities within the transnational cultural aspect

In the research on migration and related issues in the home countries of the migrants conducted by Demiray and Tuncel (2008:2), it was observed that the immigrants' social and cultural positioning was conceptualised as the peculiar outgrowth of the domestic socio-cultural situation of the home country. Migrants were analysed as passive agents living in a country but determined by the realities of another country. In other words, the factors associated with the home country are overemphasised in reference to the cultural and the socio-political context within the host country. In the same way, within this transnational cultural aspect of our study, it is realised that the use of sex-enhancing substances got source/origin in the patriarchy system based on gender discrimination that they have learnt since back from the sent country which has been amplified by the cultural context they are living in the host country. Ntakobajira, one of the participants attests to this when he said:

Sex-enhancing substances still useful even in South African context. I am a man with all my desires as a man, even here in South Africa. Nothing has changed in me. You know, the South African context itself and environment influence and pushed us to use sex-enhancing substances.

Bashimbe argues:

According to me, there is not a change but a continuity and enforcement of the DRC culture through this one [i.e. the use of sex-enhancing substances] we meet in South Africa.

It has been realised in this study that, amongst various numbers of factors that characterise the masculinity identities; three factors have been discovered during the analysis of data (see section 4.5) in the process of renegotiating masculinity identities in the transnational aspect of the host community such as: factor of familiarisation and acceptance within the host community; factor of dominance, control and prove of sexual power over women; and fear of wives' infidelity. Therefore, sex-enhancing substances have been used by most of the participants as a means to renegotiate their masculine identities.

4.5. Factors behind the use of sex-enhancing substances in the transnational space

Kunene's (2010) argument states that the reason why people make use of sex-enhancing substances appears to be the desire to bring about biological changes within the genital part (penis or vagina) to enhance sexual pleasure. There are also others underlying reasons, however, which are socially motivated and related to the economic interests, socialisation, culture and traditional beliefs systems. These are viewed in this study as motives behind people to use sex-enhancing substances. Motives refer to a need or drive that makes individuals engage in a specific action. It is normally referred to as an energizing factor that compels an individual to act, behave or perform certain behaviour. Motives range from environmental, biological, cultural, economical influences to perceptions, memories, cognitive development, emotions, explanatory style, or personality (Kunene, 2010). The user must have seen or heard that sex-enhancing substance works and also believe in the use of traditional or scientific therapy power of the substances.

According to data, these factors influence individuals to use of sex-enhancing substances. Findings from the data collected indicate that the use of sex-enhancing substances by the Congolese heterosexual migrant men in Durban while living in transnational context is the result emanating from the "external" and "internal" factors. By "external factors", I mean the factors or power outside of the subject that attract the concerned to use sex-enhancing

substances. While the “internal factors” cover all the factors and power inside of the subject pressing on the subject to use sex-enhancing substances. These two factors can be assimilated to the beauty of women; seek of strong and durable sexual relationship; desire of gaining some advantages or interests from women; seek of proving his male identity discriminated within the community by a woman or another man.

Nevertheless, during the analysis of the data, it was discovered somewhere as one factor could appeared at the same time as an external and internal factor. Therefore, the following factors have been discovered in this analysis of data as motives leading the Congolese heterosexual male migrants in Durban to engage in the use of sex-enhancing substances

4.5.1. Domination over women

Ghail and Haywood’s (2003) research concerning the preoccupation amongst researchers studying men and masculinities has discovered that the need to justify how human beings choose to ‘do’ or to enact their gendered roles and identities depends upon the ideological beliefs as mediated by the culture, religion, and peer/age groups, that they buy into. The data shows that there are clearly delineated gender-related issues for both men and women but with great intensity towards the dominance of women by men and discrimination by the latter of the former. This gendered position of women at this point is revealed through the related stories of some of the participants about their life experiences with regard to the use of sex-enhancing substances. One said:

Anyway, it makes me to feel happy and proud before my wife. In the case of my wife’s feeling, I do not know what to say, but ...! I think it was not pleasurable for her because she was crying all the time of our sexual relationship and asking me to finish now. (Muloba)

Mulindwa acknowledges the gendered consideration of women within the reality of the use of sex-enhancing substances but he seems to be dominated and influenced by the social, cultural and religious constructed norms. These were revealed in his words when he argued the following:

Yes, because truly women suffer and it is painful for some of them but they do not have choice, they must support because they have been married for that cause.

For most men within this migrant community, regardless of their transnational environmental context, social status, education or religion, the importance attached to the cultural belief that stipulates that men must always keep their power over women has not changed. Their values

and beliefs are still rooted in their home culture and reinforced by the cultural values found within the environmental context of the host country. Their leading norms and values regarding heterosexual relationships in transnational space are still deeply rooted within the old black African traditional beliefs. Mirereko stated:

In my culture, for example, men have often power over women and sexual power is one of the ways for man to confirm his power over them.

Another step, as presented by the participants, is to take control of the relationship by controlling the partner through the use of sex-enhancing substances. They become so much in control of all situations in the house or within the relationships. The data reveals that in many of the cases where men are using this kind of substance, they become very dominant over their wives or girlfriend. One of the participants emphasised this point, saying:

This is the reality, Pastor; women adore men who are sexually powerful. By this way you have control over her, she cannot shout at you when she knows that she always want a man like you. Eich! She will be ready to leave everything under your control in her life and accepts herself to be controlled by you. (Songa)

You can openly or publicly shout at your partner or girlfriends without any fear of revenge or opposition from her. (Mukunda)

Men's sexual power over women within this migrant community is deemed as the main pushing factor in the transnational context for most of the participants. Male sexual power for them defines male identity, which can be either dishonoured or honoured depending on his failure or success when having sex. These men use sex-enhancing substances in order to enhance their sexual performances with the aim of proving to their women that they are strong and also confirming their male identity.

I am using them again to someone I want to prove that I am sexually powerful, especially if for the time I met her, I did not perform or I did not do sex very nice and she was not happy, so, for the second time, I use sex-enhancing substances to show her that I am not weak as she may thought for the first time. I am also using them sometimes to those who made me suffer to have sex with her, then when I caught her, I will show her who I am. Finally, I use sex-enhancing substances to those I paid money to get sex. (Ntakobajira)

The above arguments given by the participants also connote an aspect of gender marginalisation and sexual abuse against women. Woman's identity is, in this context, gendered by the fact that she is considered as a competitive field or stadium where man's sexual powers are measured. Furthermore, the gendered aspect of women is revealed by the fact that women's bodies are viewed by these men as goods, instruments or objects of

revenge in the case of a certain sexual weaknesses manifested within men's bodies independently to women. Woman is gendered for a cause unknown by herself. Hooks (2004) attests to this by saying:

[...] "Of the problematic messages given to black children about gender roles are ideas about what it means to be men and women and their links to objectification. Inherent in the connection to objectification is the emphasis placed on sex for men and women. Women are receivers that are pursued and acted upon, and men are seen as pursuers, actors and agents who objectify the women that they pursue".

In order to think of masculinity relationally, it must be connected to the system of gender relations within which it arises (Danielle, 2007). By definition, masculinity is the set of social practices and cultural representations associated with being a man (Pilcher and Whelehan, 2004). According to Connell (1985), the term 'masculinity' refers to "the state or fact of being masculine viewed as the assemblage of qualities regarded as characteristic of men; maleness, manliness". In defining masculinity in this way, Danielle (2007) qualifies the social character of what it means to be 'a man', 'male' or 'manly' as an assemblage of qualities, a natural character, a set of behaviours, or a norm. Providing a useful starting point for a working definition of masculinity, Connell (1995:71) argues that masculinity is simultaneously a place in gender relations, the practices through which men and women engage in that place in gender, and the effects of these practices on bodily experience, personality and culture.

Based on the analysis of the data collected during the research project, it seems that there is a definite link between masculinity and sexuality within the Congolese heterosexual male migrant community within Durban. This reality has been revealed through the expressions 'as a man' or 'real man', which were mentioned by most of the participants during the interviews. It was discovered that for them, 'a man' or 'a real man' are those males that are virile as well as sexually active and experienced. The idea of what it means to be a man or a real man tends to focus solely on the sexual aspect of their lives and does not include any rules on how to act in regards to family and partnerships. Mwangilwa attests to this, saying:

It makes you as a man to feel proud of yourself because you are able to show your sexual power and performance before any women you meet in your sexual life relationship. And finally, it makes you proud to testify and report before other men your sexual life experience with a lady without shame as no one will laugh at you but other men will realise that you are also a man.

A man or a real man is and should be that much more sexual and sexually active. They are taught by the elders that as men they should have sex with as many women as possible in order to assert their manhood. The use of sex-enhancing substances relates to the cultural belief they inherited from their elders in the community back home in the DRC. Masengo confirmed this when he said:

My grandfather, who was polygamous, is the first one who initiated me to the use of sex-enhancing substances. Because I usually joke with him and one day, he ask me if I have done already sex with a lady and I say, "Yes". He then ask me how many rounds I did, I said, "One". Then he laughs at me and says, "One? You are not a man." The following day, he called and gave me a small bottle of powder and requires me to put it in the tea all the time before I start doing sex.

Young boys and girls learn more about their identities by way of the ritual ceremonies. For example, in the village, during the traditional circumcision or rite initiations of young boys, the boys always learn that a man has power over a woman and that he must exercise that power. Power, according to traditional Congolese culture, is related to a man's ability to satisfy a woman and prove his sexual performance. Songa, one of the participants, in speaking about the ritual ceremony in the DRC, reported that most of the ritual ceremonies designated for young men or women are based on sexuality. In the *Lega* culture, for example, during the *lutende* (a ritual ceremony that takes place in the forest over six months and is aimed at educating young *Lega* men in the DRC about life), the main point is to define and to explain 'who is a man' and how someone comes to be seen as a 'real man' within society. There are so many elements but man's ability and power to have sex with a woman is highly emphasised as an element of manhood.

Elders show young men that esteem, respect and honour from women and men result from their ability to demonstrate that they are sexually powerful. They were taught that as men, they should have sex with as many as they possibly can. The ability to engage in patriarchal sex that emphasizes conquest serves to remedy the lack of control and power men have in larger society and functions as an arena in which they can seek fulfilment, power and affirmation. It seems through the analysis of the data that girls also are taught the same lessons about manhood. As women, their own ideas of what it means to be a man or a 'real man' are also skewed. Both men and women take part in the proliferation of these ideals and consequently enter into love relationships in problematic ways as well.

The advantages of using these substances according to the participants are related with the user but mostly "male/masculine identity" is at the centre of using sex-enhancing substances.

Whatever people may argue on the advantages of using sex-enhancing substances; the main cause and reason are hidden in the “seeking of male identities” before women and other men. As Danielle (2007) explained that the emphasis placed on sexuality within the black community helps to draw the deduction for both males and females that manhood and masculinity are inherently sexual matters and that for one to fully become a man he needs only engage in sexual intercourse. On the other hand, as it was demonstrated above, men are taught that they must be aggressive, dominant and sometimes violent in order to become true men. ‘Real men’ are those males that are virile as well as sexually active and experienced, and able to prove their sexual ability before women and other men. The analysis of the data that was collected from the participants has confirmed this reality. Some of the respondents have supported this, saying:

The use of sex-enhancing substances helps me to keep my position as man within man’s community. (Songa)

There are so many advantages for me as a man for using sex-enhancing substances; it makes me proud of being a man. I am not afraid to afford sexually any woman and that makes me proud as a man. (Muganza)

The cultural consideration of male in black Africa communities is the same. I am saying this to argue that the Zulu society like the Congolese believe that man must be honoured as the head in the society. Man has a power over women and must exercise that one in each circumstance to show his superiority. It is in this same way; even Zulu men also use sex-enhancing substances. (Ntakobajira)

Pastor, when a real man is doing sex, he must make sure that woman realise that she has affair with a man; before you finish sex, do all your best reach that objective. (Mukunda)

According to the explanation given by UNDP (2004), one’s culture is not inborn. After birth an individual learns cultural values, practices, traditions and norms while growing up in the given physical and social environment. Gender and masculinities identities are essential facets of culture as they determine the way daily life is lived not only within the family, but also in society as a whole. The social constructs that make up masculinities identities are said to be mostly centred on deeply held cultural and traditional beliefs (UNDP, 2004). Therefore, within the patriarchal society, man's identity is constantly judged and assessed by other men and women in favour of the prevailing dominant cultural dictates (Shikumo, 2008).

The use of sex-enhancing within the Congolese migrant men in Durban gets source in patriarchy system and gender discrimination which respectively support the superiority of men over women and the inequality between men and women where the later are considered

as objects of sexual satisfaction for men. Beside of enjoying sex; the main objective for men to use sex-enhancing substances is to exercise and show its sexual supremacy over women. Men enjoy even the suffering of his partner during sex. One of the participants answering to my question argues:

Researcher: How do you feel when your wife or any lady is crying while you making love with her; is it not painful for her?

Mukunda: *This is what I am looking for, to see her crying, talking some words and manifesting some sexual feelings like: Ah! Ah! Do it slowly! You kill me! Etc. Pastor, she is not crying or saying that because she feel pain otherwise, she could not move in the bed while we making sex. By contrast, it is by that time now she now holds me strongly and kissing me more and more.*

Focusing on the black African context, Ouzgane and Morrell (2007) clearly argue that this field on masculine identity includes asking how African boys are socialised to become men in specific historical and cultural contexts, why men behave the way they do in order to identify or to be seen and respected as masculine; and what cultural features of masculinity need to be challenged or deconstructed in order to make more effective interventions toward sexual health and male violence against women

Blackbeard and Lindgger (2007:35) state that:

[...] “Male peer groups are a central context for the construction of masculine identities against a standard of acceptability. Other than cultural or traditional socialization, men also draw upon images of their identities from kinship relationships. The underlying fact is that these identities are experimental relations forged from male figures such as father, grandfathers, uncles etc.”

Hyslop (2001:142) comments on this by saying:

[...] “Much discussions of male childhood becomes fixed on the relationship with the father [...] through the socialization process, the young men learn acceptable male behaviour and standards by which they measure. As family is the first unit which we learn to function in the wider society, fathers become important teachers. These male-male relationships would then either further concretise patriarchal tendencies or go against the more responsible identities”.

The above statements illustrate the importance placed on sexuality for men which draw the inference for both men and women that manhood and masculinity are inherently sexual matters and that for one to fully become a man, one needs only to engage in sexual intercourse. Consequently, for them (the Congolese heterosexual migrant in Durban) as explained by Hooks (2004), the idea of what it means to be a man tends to focus solely on the sexual aspect of their lives and does not include any rules on how to act in regard to family

and partnerships. The interest in masculine identity and sexuality is reflected by the African cultural constructed discourses within the community which consistently hypersexualise men. The Congolese cultural belief as attested by one of the participants put more accents on the performance of sexual relationship as a way for men to keep their position in the community. This reality has been attested by most of the participants during the interview. Most of them have mentioned the role of the community elders in the use of sex-enhancing substances initiation. Commenting around this issue, one of the participants argues that:

In my culture, people believe that a man will be able to build and keep a safe and respectful relationship with a woman once he is able to keep safe his sexual relationship with her. It is said in Lega tongue: Bulume tabuli u njuma, bulume buli u bwanjo, translated literally in English by: manhood is not about money; manhood is all about bed. (Sumahili)

‘Bed’ in this Lega adage makes allusion to the dimension man is able to make sex with the woman (I mean wife or girlfriend inside or outside home). The emphasis on hypersexualisation with the sexual basis for what it means to be a man for them reinforces the idea that men are and should be that much more sexual and sexually active. Hooks’s (2004) arguments tend to confirm this; she explains that:

[...] “the emphasis placed on male sexual activity poses a direct problem for black men when approaching and entering into love relationships mainly because the cult of masculinity teaches men that manhood is first and foremost about penetration and conquest, but not necessarily about responsibility to nation and family”.

At this point, a number of sub-themes emerged under the socio-cultural theme. These include such as power dominance over women through sexual relationships; power measurement (sexual power competition) amongst men; male identity based on esteem, honour and respect from women and men within the whole community. All these cultural attitudes are applied to woman’s position within the community. The gendered aspect of women in this case results on the fact that the female body is considered as a field of experimentation. Women in this community learnt to be passive, submissive even when her rights and gender status as a female are violated. All these beliefs have been perpetuated by people from generation to generation.

The passiveness of the women which is viewed in this perspective as an aspect of gender is revealed on the fact that the female according to the Congolese cultural belief must not be aware of the usage; she must not be in commitment with the partner for the use of sex-

enhancing substance. She is only playing a receptive role in the process of sex and pleasure. See how Bashimbe, one of the respondents answered to my question concerning this issue:

Researcher: Did you use these products in commitment with your wife before sex-intercourse?

Bashimbe: *Eh! Eh! Eh! Pastor, how can you do that? Otherwise you disclose yourself and she cannot respect you. She must realise that the sexual power you have is your natural power. You know, even your wife or the external woman with who you are making sex must not know that you using sex-enhancing substances.*

In order to secure their masculine identities within the community, Congolese migrant men use sex-enhancing substances which they believe will make them to be perceived as real men. The societal construct in this community is so strong that if a man is not able to demonstrate and prove his sexual performance over women it results in an individual being given a bad name such as *Ntanzi*, which means sexually powerless or unproductive or viewed as a failure in life (Mirereko). Ntakobajira who is one of the interviewees also confirms that by saying:

It is known in our community that if a man fails to prove his sexual power over a woman, it makes you to feel like you do not have value within the community and automatically you are a subject of humiliation and if you are not known by other men as sexually powerful, you feel like you do not deserve to be classified within men community.

Men's identity is measured within the community by both men and women.

In case of making sex, if man is sexually weak he becomes a subject of critics by both men and women in the village. Such man is often called by the elders of the community; after interviewing him, they give him medicines to address that problem. This is reason why men in DRC are mostly interested in sex-enhancing substances. (Masengo)

The above realities prove that individual and societal beliefs and values as constructed by the community play a major role in the use of sex-enhancing substances amongst people and within the society. These beliefs are mainly influenced by individual socialization, social networks, experience in sexual relationships as well as the previous use of sex-enhancing substances. These include beliefs about traditional therapy and scientific as spoken within the community included the use of sex-enhancing substances and that can be influenced by socialization within a family as part of family practice or community life style.

4.5.2. Competition with other men

The findings from the data showed that sexual performance within the Congolese heterosexual migrant male is like a competition within men community. It is for them like a way of getting value, honour, esteem before women and other men:

Sexual life within men community of friends is like a competition. The problem is because women speak about men sexual relationship with them wherever they meet within their community. It makes one ashamed when your friends know that you did not sexually improve during sex-intercourse with a lady. (Mulindwa)

The uses of sex-enhancing substances come from the traditional cultural belief about the role of men and women in the society. Congolese community believe that honour and esteem within the society and especially from women and other men depend with your consideration within the community. Sexual ability according to the Congolese belief is one of the key elements that offer those qualities within the society. If people know that you are sexually weak and unable to do sex properly like a real man, then you will be automatically rejected and humiliated in the society both by women and men. This will be a shame to the subject and his family too as attested by the following participants during the interview:

Before, while I was not using these products, I was doing ten or minutes of sex, only one round and I am very tired. I was feeling very ashamed and humiliated especially when other young men were discussing about their experiences of sex with girls and how they were making them cry. (Muganza)

You know, a man in black African culture is a man when he is able to maintain and to keep his place within the society as a man. There is only, in brief, one advantage as a man in using sex-enhancing substances. It helps me as a man to keep my power, honour and esteem before women and other men. (Sumahili)

The participants raised the point that there are different ways of maintaining that social status but the subject must also be able to prove its sexual performance especially before women and other men. One said:

In my culture, for example, somebody who is known as sexually weak, powerless or manifests such sexual dysfunction is always considered by female community as without values. He is placed in the same rank of women by male community. (Mulindwa)

Through the use of sex-enhancing substances, man sustain and strengthen his sexual ability to prove his power over woman; to keep his respect and honour within men's community. (Bashimbe)

Accordingly, for this case of the Congolese heterosexual migrant in Durban, man identity characterized by respect, honour and esteem from both women as well as other men is at the

centre of most of their cultural belief; he is the ruler of the family and all the community; he is a peacemaker and responsible of order within the community. He deserves all respect and honour from the community. In this case, he needs to do all his best in order to keep his male identities as above enumerated. This migrant community still believing somewhere that sex is a way for man to keep his masculine identity before other men. Men's identity is measured within the community by both men and women. In case of sex-intercourse, if men are sexually weak he becomes a subject of criticism by both men and women within the community.

This is in line with what Leclerc-Madlala (2002) describes in South African context as meanings behind the multiple sexual partnerships in the efforts to secure the status of being *isoka*. Hunter (2005), described *isoka* as 'man that is successful with women'. This brings about competition, insecurity and fear among the men in the society. When conducting the interview, one of the participants called Muganza sustained this in the following words:

Let me tell you the truth: we young men are competitive. There is a time where another man can take your girlfriend because you are not sexually powerful. Myself, I have done that experience.

4.5.3. Complicit women

Black scholars writing on black male-female relationships according to Franklin (1984) tend to agree that these relationships are problematic in this issue. However, what they do not agree on are the causes of the problems between black men and women's relationships. Some believe that black men are the problem while others contend that black women contribute disproportionately to black male-female conflict about gender identities (Danielle, 2007). This situation arises, according to Franklin (1984), from the fact that during socialisation, black children internalise conflicting definitions about what it means to be men and women. Black girls are taught by both parents that as women their ultimate goal is and should be to "snare" a black man who will take care of them. On the other hand, black boys are taught that they must be aggressive, dominant and sometimes violent in order to be true men and consolidate their male identities.

Nevertheless, Buchbinder (1994:35) notes that although it is not only other men who confirm man's masculinity upon him, women might also affirm it. These may include a man's mother, sisters, aunts, female friends, or female partner(s). The question of complicit women also sought to measure to what extent female think of the ideal man. Descriptions of the ideal

man are very subjective and vary from individual to individual. Therefore, in the case of this study, I needed to not only interview men about their thoughts concerning masculinity but also find out women's thoughts about male identities. In other words, I needed to understand what women consider it is to be a real man. The aim behind interviewing men about sex-enhancing substances in this study was propelled by the fact that sometimes women become complicit in dictating men's identities and are one of the reasons for their own gendered status. I will thus be identifying the reason why women play a role in men reproducing or reinforcing popular versions of masculinity. During the interviews, the participants boasted about the effectiveness of the use of sex-enhancing substances and explained why they go out of their way to obtain the products. One told me:

It is women who are influencing us to use these substances because you find that you start fighting over small thing or being humiliated. The problem is that you love her, and then you will not want to be left behind. (Sumahili)

I know, you want to prove to me that by using sex-enhancing substances we are making our wives suffer but no, and I say again, no! You, guy, are the one who want to make something that is not problem to be a problem. Our wives never complain about; by contrast, they want someone who is sexually strong. (Mukunda)

I believe that sex-enhancing substances are very helpful for man's sexual relationship with women because, you know yourself that all the women like a powerful sexual man and they always give him more respect but if you are sexually weak, you will be humiliated and criticised by women. They cannot consider you as a man. You know women always speak about us when they meet together. The use of sex-enhancing substances strengthens our relationship with a woman because if you sexually made her happy, she will come again to you all the times searching to have sex with you. (Muganza)

Bashimbe, who was one of the participants willing to emphasise the extent to which women themselves influence men to use sex-enhancing substances, said that a married woman revealed to him that she used sex-enhancing substances to reduce her man's power and authority in the house because when she believes that when a man is sexually weak before a woman, he does not have also something to say, he is powerless. He is not a man. This was also attested to by another participant during his interview, when he said:

Yah!! It is true because women like men who are sexually powerful; they respect them and are ready to do everything for them... but at the other side, women profit from men weaknesses in this matter of sex-intercourse to dominate over them. A sexually weak man does not have something to say before her wife, he cannot take any decision before her. (Masengo)

It was also discovered during the analysis of the data that men use sex-enhancing substances as a response to women's sexual requirements. The findings reveal that some women are sexually strong and require men to be very sexually strong; these kinds of women require men to draw out the sexual experience for a long time. If a man cannot sustain the experience for a sufficiently long enough period of time, he will be subjected to humiliation, and suffer the insults and rejection of his partner. Therefore, the fear of humiliation and criticism leads many men to seek help from sex-enhancing products in order to keep their male identity before women. This notion has been confirmed by some of the participants. One said:

I use sex-enhancing substances to those I know that they are so sexy or sexually powerful, those who always want more and more when we making sex-intercourse... I am not using sex-enhancing substances to a woman who I want only to satisfy my sexual desire. (Sumahili)

In order to maintain his male authority and esteem before women, he needs to engage in the use of sex-enhancing substances to avoid humiliation and insults from some of the women deemed to be more sexually exciting. One of the participants compared South African women to Congolese women in this regard. He emphasised that there is difference between them in terms of sexual orgasms and said that this is the reason why him and some of his friends prefer using sex-enhancing substances, especially when having sex with South African women, as this man claimed that the former are sexually strong than are the latter.

There is a big difference between the South African women and Congolese. The South African women, once you sleep with her she is not tired, she wants you to go forwards and forwards doing sex and if you cannot make it she will start insulting you in Zulu language, "Kwerekwere, why do you start doing sex with me and you are not a man. I do not like such people like you." And after that she will report to your friends. But when you use sex-enhancing substance, she enjoys and she will start looking for you all time she need a man. She will respect you and give you money if she has. (Songa)

The above statements are reinforced by the fact that women do, to some extent, search for sex-enhancing substances that will make their husbands more sexually strong during intercourse. One of the interviewees has experienced such a reality. He reported the following:

I know the case of one of my friends who recently got married; I saw him eating fresh peanuts and other fresh potatoes and others substances, I asked him, why you are eating this; he answered, "I want to increase my sexual power," and his wife was the one who made it for him. (Ntakobajira)

At this point, it is judicious to confirm that the use of sex-enhancing substances as a way for a man to consolidate and reinforce his male identity before other men and women within the

community is not only a matter of manly desire and decision, but somewhere women on the other side contribute towards such practices in one or another ways. Women are considered to some extent in this study as the source of their own sexually gendered position. The Congolese migrant men's cultural beliefs attest that most women, like men, are sexually powerful and able to demonstrate this ability during intercourse. Failure to show that ability results in the infidelity of the partner. So men ensure that the women do not engage in sexual relationships with other men. Wifely infidelity does, according to their culture, cause the husband great shame and is seen as being proof of his sexual inability. Sumahili says:

Here I am talking on behalf of married man; we need to satisfy our wives sexually; how now when we are growing and getting weak sexually. We must look for help; otherwise, sex dissatisfaction can be a source of trouble and infidelity in the family which will be in return a shame and loss of esteem within the community members.

Mwangilwa confirms this by saying:

[...] because, the use of sex-enhancing substance help me to keep my respect, power and control over my wife; I know, she does not need someone else outside of me. Yah! What she will looking for while she is not sometimes able to support my sexual ability.

4.5.4. Socio-economic reasons

Subcategories that emerged under socio-economic factors in promoting the use of sex-enhancing substances included factors of financial and social interests, poverty, and unemployment and they emerged as being linked. It became evident from the data that these factors have a great impact upon all the categories of the participants, encouraging them to use sex-enhancing substances. These people target women who are able to meet their financial needs. They use sex-enhancing substances in order to attract women who can provide them with material things and money. South African women at this point constitute the target for most of the migrants. It emerged from the data that the targeted women will do anything for those men who give them sexual pleasure; so it follows that sex-enhancing substances that are used to enhance sexual pleasure will result in the attainment of material things and greater status.

The renegotiating masculinity identity within the transnational sexuality as observed during the analysis of data is based on the socio-political recognition of their foreigner identity within the socio-political context of the host country. Masculine identities renegotiated in this context are viewed or defined as the renegotiation and recognition of some rights at the same rank as citizen or the renegotiation of their rights as migrants within the transnational area

deemed by most of the participants as violated by some of the governmental officers or companies. It was observed in this study that, some of the participants have raised the point of using sex with South African women/ladies in order to get access to some of these rights. This has been supported during the interview as some participants explained:

In South African context, the use of sex-enhancing substances helps me to get so many South African girlfriends and they want me all the times; they are ready to do everything for me. You see sometime coming here at the University with a car, that car belong to my girlfriend; you cannot know I got my South African permanent residence; it is one of my girlfriends who helped me in that process. (Ntakobajira)

It makes women to love me so much and this is very beneficial for me as a foreigner, I need confidence, affection and love from the citizen; you do not know who is going to help you tomorrow. I can tell you the truth; I already get lot of things form South African women because I was affecting them when we were making sex. I know many of my friends who found nice jobs, South African citizenship and other advantages from South African ladies who were very touched by the way those friends made sex with them. (Mwangilwa)

Another connotation given to masculine identity renegotiated in this transnational space is related with the financial power. According to Sumahili, finances constitute one of the factors that characterise human identity. For him, “money gives power to the powerless; it gives respect and honour to the possessor”. Therefore, the finding has revealed that as this marginalised poor population often find themselves in a situation where it is impossible for them to support themselves financially, most of the participants have raised the point of using sex through the use of sex-enhancing substances in order to obtain some financial support from women.

I tell you, she will refuse to let you go if you have used it and do not want to be away from you ... she wants to be with you all over. She follows you wherever you are and becomes so jealous. As a result she is ready to give you whatever you request from her. That is exactly what you wanted, that she must love you alone and even more and care about you. That is what sex-enhancing substance is all about. (Mwangilwa)

Another one, when asked if he uses them, argued:

Yes, but not all the times I am doing sex. And I am not using them to all the women or ladies... [Which one, for example] Mostly, to South African women and especially to the one I target to get some advantages. (Masengo)

Within the transnational space, the ability to use sex-enhancing substances during sex-intercourse is characterised by the fear of losing confidence, love, esteem and honour from South African girlfriend from which they get some socio-economic interests or by the capacity of maintaining sexual power all the time in case of multiple partners.

4.5.5. Multiple sexual partners

Some participants indicated that multiple partner sexual relationships forced them to resort to the use of sex-enhancing substances. The research findings reveal that all the multiple partners participants resort in using sex-enhancing substances to ensure that the wives live in peace without any dispute as they are all sexually satisfied or to gain sexual strength more and more to satisfy sexually its partners; to avoid humiliation from one of the them or all as stated by one of the respondents:

*For us who have others sexual relationships outside the marriage, these things helps us so much to conserve our sexual power and to be able to satisfy both sides.
(Mukunda)*

Multiple partners' relationship is a societal constructed phenomenon within the Congolese community. By societal constructs in this study, I mean the different beliefs that people attest to and consider as natural and truthful phenomenon, life orientation and behaviour within the society which are not true in reality but constructed by people themselves (Rogers, 1991:32). Heterosexual intercourse becomes, therefore, a socially and culturally constructed phenomenon within such a society. Data showed that the other motive of using sex-enhancing substances is the societal sexual construction about a real man and good woman. Further sexual meanings are developed in the course of sexual interaction and exposure to sexual messaging that takes place within the changing cultural and social context (Longmore, 1998). Alksnis et al. (1996) as well as Simon and Gagnon (1987) have argued that there are sexual scripts developed that guide and regulate sexual practices. Nevertheless, Young (1994) has alluded to this and explains that the quality or state of being sexually active distinct to a particular biological. The research' findings reveal that in this particular community, such beliefs present a good man or a real man as a man who has more than one partner; able to prove and demonstrate his sexual power over all them. Mulindwa attests that by saying that:

Eh! I am a man, Pastor; it is not good for a man being limited only to one girlfriend... other men will laugh at you... you know, a man in black African culture is a man when he is able to prove his sexual performance especially before women.

Consequently, men in this community strive towards what a good man must be and sex-enhancing substances are used to achieve this end. Good man or real man has the connotation that he can have as many women as he wants and be able to keep all of them sexually.

4.5.6. Working condition and identities

Mouduma's (2009) argument on migrant identity has demonstrated that individuals are not restricted by nations and culture they belong to, but to a certain extent, they are owned by the circumstances and position that determine the conditions of their displacements. Identities according to Castells (2004) come into existence only when and if social actors internalise them, and construct their meaning around this internalisation. Further, the stories and histories of migrants' lives let migrants to build new identities as well as reinforce previous ones. It is very important, however, to keep in mind that migrants are at the same time confined and retained by different aspects of those identities as well. Migrants also interact with narratives circulating in their new home, creating new hybrid identity formations. The effects that such narratives have on identity constructions among the migrant population are myriad, as well as are the effects on the host communities (Snider, 2008).

However, the renegotiation of masculine identities in the transnational space by the heterosexual Congolese migrant men in this study, based on the analysis of data collected on the field is constructed upon distinct main areas such as the transnational sexuality and the transnational cultural context; socio-economic context; xenophobia issues; work-related factors, and the identity issues with which migrants are living. It is within and through the entangled intersections of these fields which this study took place, as it was often difficult to discern where each of the aspects are settled in within one another.

It was discovered during the analysis of data that most of the participants who are also seen as representative of Congolese men migrant living in Durban are marginalized by the political policies of the host country. Most of them are employed as security guards, car guards, haircutters and so forth. They are experiencing difficult life due to the hard jobs they are doing in the host country. Some are educated but the government's policies do not consider their qualifications. Clearly Mukunda has manifested his negative judgment in regard to South African policies vis-à-vis to the migrants concerning this issue. He said:

Since I came to South Africa I am doing security guard; I am doing this Job for more eight years. It does not mean that I am not educated, I am. I have got my Matric in education and I was a teacher at primary school back home in my Country but you know this country is discriminating us. The South African Government does not consider our or certificate.

So, within such conditions of life, Congolese migrants felt that their masculine identity is discriminated, rejected and consider themselves as humiliated by the host community within

this transnational space. For them, nothing is more important in their lives than masculine identity which defines male as ‘a man’ or ‘a real man’. A man according to the majority of the participants is considered as ‘a man’ or ‘a real man’ by his ability of being acknowledged by within the community as caring power and benefit the rights given to everybody within the society.

The research finding has discovered that due to the multiple stresses that impact the mental, physical and biological wellbeing of the Congolese heterosexual migrant men; they are likely to be involved in the use of sex-enhancing substances. Most of the participants in this study often militate for the importance of using sex-enhancing substances within the South African environment. The other motive for them in using sex-enhancing substances within South African context is based on the state of their organs which is day by day getting weak because of the hard work which they are obligatory submitted to such as security guards, car guards, car washers or haircutters. According to them, there is the risk of remaining sexually weak forever if they cannot pay attention and by that way they will lose their values as men before women or amongst other men. Some of the participants attested to this, saying:

You know how difficult migrant and refugees’ lives here in South Africa are due to the hard jobs we are doing in this country. These jobs are killing even our bodies and especially our genital parties. You know pastor, I can feel a big difference within my body here in South Africa comparatively from back in my country [the DRC]; even sexually, and I always found myself very weak here in South Africa compared to what I was back in DRC. This is also the reason why I am using sex-enhancing substances with the aim to strengthen my sexual power and conserving my male identity. (Muganza)

For my case, for example, due the hard job and so many things I am crossing through that always stress me, sometime I feel very sexually weak and at the same time come a girlfriend that I love and who wants sex with me rightly. Those products help me at that time. (Masengo)

Yes, I can say that they are helpful for men’s sexual relationship with women. I am not a machine. Even a machine sometimes gets tired and need to review the mechanism or add some oil inside. It is the same for us men. When we feel ourselves sexually powerless, we cannot keep quiet. We need some outside helper which are sex-enhancing substances to increase our sexual power. (Sumahili)

4.5.7. Revenge in the context of xenophobia

When analysed the interventions of the participants, it is observed for most of them like discrimination and humiliation that they always encountered within the lifestyle in the transnational space are interpreted by them as no consideration of their power, authority,

honour and respect. In other words, it is interpreted by most of the participants as non-consideration of their masculinities identities by the host community. In regards to this matter, the analysis of data found that, most the participants in this study have used sex as another way of revenge in the context of xenophobia, discrimination and humiliation from another person maybe physically or socially powerful than the subject. One participant said:

Pastor, you cannot imagine how much South African guys are scared before us; they always say that we came to take their wives and girlfriends. Yes, these are somewhere the cause of xenophobia against us but also somewhere, it makes us proud because they know that we are also strong somewhere. (Mukunda)

Songa to emphasise the previous respondent argued:

We use sex-enhancing substances to South African women or ladies the most; first, to prove them that we are sexually strong than their South African boyfriends and secondly, to prove South African men that we are also men like them and more powerful than them.

Willing to know if the respondent was serious to what he reported to me, the answer to my question was as it follows:

Yes, we have many South African girlfriends who left their South African boyfriends and are committed to us. By this way, we get some respect from South African men. I remember one of my colleagues spoke to me and said: “Why do you foreigners take our girlfriends? Once they meet you they do not want us again ... your muthi is very powerful.” (Songa)

South African women at this point were viewed by the Congolese heterosexual men migrant as facilitators in the process of renegotiating masculinities identities. The research finding in this study has showed that most of the Congolese heterosexual migrant men mostly use sex-enhancing substances with South African ladies/women. The reason behind this, according to most of the participants, is the need to prove their identities, as they are often discriminated against and rejected by South African men. The other reason concerns the fact of their being integrated within the South African culture where the use of sex-enhancing substances is common and popular. They have all reported that they have found a culture in South Africa that is not contrary to Congolese culture. Bashimbe, one of the interviewees, argued:

The second motive concerns the fact of being integrated within the South African culture when we are using sex-enhancing substances. I have found a culture in South Africa that is not contrary to my culture.

The need of proving their identities often discriminated and rejected by the South African men has been raised by so many participants; below are some of their views:

It makes me to be integrated within the South African culture atmosphere. Today, I am much familiarised with many South African ladies with whom I am doing sex; I am feeling myself like a South African man ... ehch! I do not know how to explain it but these products make me to be integrated within the South African society somewhere. (Mirereko)

I am known by so many South African men and women who friends to my girlfriends and their families; and that make me to be integrated within the South African family. I am refugee in South Africa, and you know how refugees are considered by South African but I am not considered as a refugee by these people as it was before. (Ntakobajira)

You know everything start by women, when within a local place women respect and honour you; then you will be also respected and honoured by men of that place and the contrary is also true. Sex-enhancing substances helped me to be respected, honoured by some of the South African ladies. The use of these medicines has helped me to be familiarised with the South African cultural environment. You can see, mostly South African men are xenophobic but the majority of women do not want their brothers to aggress us. (Songa)

For the Congolese heterosexual migrant men, sex with the South African ladies is viewed in this study as another way of claiming male identity right in the transnational space within the context of discrimination and humiliation from the citizens deemed somewhere like economically, politically or socially powerful than the Congolese migrants men. They use sex-enhancing substances mostly to South African ladies/women with the aim of proving their power and to reduce negative and discriminative conception of the South African men vis-à-vis to the Congolese migrant men. One of the participants said:

I know, you are a pastor, you won't know a lot about these things but I am telling you, women are the key way if you need to dominate over another man or to be integrated in foreigner culture and lifestyle. (Mwangilwa)

4.6. Religion and the change of mindset in the transnational context

Beyer (2001), as quoted in Levitt and De la Dehesa (2003), argues that religion is a global societal system as transnational in its operation as the economy or the nation-state. Transnational migrants bring particular incarnations of global religion with them, create new forms by combining what they bring with what they encounter, and then reintroduce these ideas, practices, identities, and social capital or what he called social remittances into their lifestyle within the host country. Migrants engage in transnational practices which attest to their continued membership in the broader sending nation. In this case, transnational religious belief remain a way through which migrants stay connected to their sending communities and use religious institutions to live their transnational lives.

It came out during the analysis of the data that some of the participants while influencing by the religious belief of the host country and knowing the truth within the transnational area, they remain connected to the religious belief of the sending country that forbid them to use sex-enhancing substances. Nevertheless, these categories of the participants while they are not involved in the practice, they still militating for it as a helpful means to keep man identity especially in the transnational context. One of the participants said:

I am not using them since I have received Jesus Christ as my Lord and Saviour because my pastor was forbidding all the members of the church and especially in our youth meeting to use sex-enhancing substances as it is against the will of God. Now! I do not believe that it is against the will of God to use sex-enhancing substances as Christian because, if it is so, it is also against the will of God to use any tablet prescribed to us by doctor or nurse at the hospital. I think my pastor back in DRC where inspired by missionary teachings and believe which were always against our traditional African values. (Bashimbe)

Another one has said:

I do not know why I am not using them but it is like I am dominated by that old belief of back in DRC at the point that I am not interesting with those products. (Milambo)

It emerged from the data that some of the participants who use sex-enhancing substances identified themselves as Christians. According to the findings of this study, they find themselves being forced to take some kind of action, even if it is in conflict with their religion, in order to keep their identities in the transnational space. Mirereko who is one of the participants in this case point out that the subject needs to take a kind of action. He argues that:

You cannot sit and say that God will see, just because you are a Christian. He [God] will forget you one day – you need to do something for yourself, meaning you need to get medicine to increase your ability to make sex.

4.7. Negative consequences of using sex-enhancing substances

This part presents the perceptions of the participants with regard to the potential risk of using sex-enhancing substances. This is pursued by an evaluation of the possible risk to HIV based on a number of points that are usually included in a discussion of HIV/AIDS prevention. Most of the participants were concerned about the option of exposing themselves to the risk of HIV/AIDS, but they raised the fact that they felt the punishment or pain of embarrassment of losing their male identity. For most of the participants, the success to keep their male identities was greater than the fear of the possibility of acquiring HIV/AIDS and others negative consequences resulting from the use of sex-enhancing substances. So, it appeared

that the participants are aware of the possible negative risks attached to the use of sex-enhancing substances but they felt that they had more pressing and urgent needs, which ranged from financial needs and the cultural expectations of being esteemed and honoured by women and other men (and especially South African men). They felt that these needs were greater than the fear of being infected with HIV/AIDS. This reality has been confirmed by most of the participants. Ntakobajira said:

The serious problem and great danger in doing sex-intercourse by using sex-enhancing substances is related to the destruction of human health because there is a risk of getting infected positively by HIV/AIDS. Sometimes, we lose control of pleasure until we forgot to use preservatives.

They don't think about it at all. They are busy thinking of what they want at that moment in time, they think of the now and not the future, they don't care what the future holds for them. (Muganza)

I do not know more about the disadvantages but according to what other users testify, it seems like the routine in using sex-enhancing substances end by killing the natural sexual power of men which could remain as sexual dysfunction in the future. (Masengo)

In summary, we cannot keep on denying the fact that there are Congolese heterosexual male migrants living in Durban who use sex-enhancing substances and perform certain practices in order to enhance sexual pleasure. Studies have shown a correlation between some of these practices and sexually transmitted infections within the South African context (Leclerc-Madlala, 2005; Scorgie, 2009; Kunene, 2010).

Some of the participants raised their concern that such practices are likely causes of other sexually negative consequences and sexual infections, but they did not feel that they could end the practice. One of the respondents said the following:

Eh! Eh! First, it is only a fear of remaining sexually powerless in the future if I will not going to get sex-enhancing substances as it seems like my body is now habituated in using sex-enhancing substances. I cannot stop using them because I need them all the times I want to do sex; otherwise, I will not doing it well. Second, fear of getting sick one day because, sometimes it comes to the point that the penis does not come down all the night or day even if we finish the act and we are all tired. I feel like I do not want sex again but the penis still strongly stand up and after it is very painful inside. Third, it is fear of getting positively HIV infected because sometimes, as the pleasure become very high, we lost control and we do not care about using condoms or other preservatives; we using it only on the first round but as the pleasure goes high we are likely to avoid the use of preservatives. (Mirereko)

The only problem I can testify in this practice is the fact that, it makes sometime painful after finishing to do sex. And sometime, it makes the penis to stand up for all

*the night or day especially if the woman is not able to support you until it come down.
(Ntakobajira)*

What did emerge from the discussions was that there is an existing tension between protecting a sexual relationship and acquiring HIV infection. The most striking data was that men were prepared to put their lives at risk as long as they could get socio-economic advantages. They further explained that they were not going to stop using body to body sex-intercourse as it is necessary for an exchange of fluids to take place for sexual pleasure to be effective. Some felt that the price for getting and using the substance is too high; this includes money paid and procedures used for the practice. Therefore they wanted to make sure that there is good transfer of sexual pleasure.

No, you need to make sure that there is direct contact with the intended person. You cannot use condom because condom forms a barrier. You do not want anything that is going to delay the process. You want her to get it straight... Remember, you cannot pay for all these and again using a condom which will prevent them from being effective. (Songa)

Some others who still using sex-enhancing substances are not aware of the negative consequences of the practice. They acknowledge hearing people speak about that but never experience themselves. Mirereko's point of view with regard to this issue is that:

I am not very informed about the disadvantages of using sex-enhancing substances and people who sell them to us never tell us any problem that could happen in using them. The only encourage us in the practice. Nevertheless, community people often speak about the risk of being probably sexually weak forever in your life except you using the product. People always talk negatively about the use of these products but me; I never experience any negative consequence of using them.

Consequently, sexual behaviour has been identified as the main driver of the HIV pandemic in South Africa (Leclerc-Madlala, 2005). The data from this study reveals possibilities or potential risks that are associated with the use of sex-enhancing substances. Most of the procedures would not be harmful if precautions were taken during sexual activities. Unfortunately, however, the practice itself involves the belief that there should be bodily fluid exchange and skin to skin contact. Sexual intercourse is the preferred mode of applying sex-enhancing substances because for most of the users in this study it is a measure by which to assess whether or not the product has indeed been effective.

Conclusion

This chapter has presented the findings of the study. It has given an analysis of the data and has provided a discussion of the data that was collected from the interviews that were carried

out with the research participants. It assessed the renegotiation of gender (masculine) identities within the transnational space and examined the socio-cultural life experiences of South Africans as well as the life experiences of Congolese migrants in the host country and their use of sex-enhancing substances as a way of renegotiating their masculine identities.

In effect, the analysis of data has revealed that the use of sex-enhancing substances is a living practice and reality within male Congolese migrant community in Durban. It is used by all the categories included young, adult, educated and uneducated, religious and no religious. The overall definition given to sex-enhancing substances by all the participants seemed to qualify them as medicines used to establish or enhance love or a sexual relationship; to attract a partner; as a stimulant to arouse or induce feelings of sexual desire (libido enhancer) and/or to improve sexual performance. There are also others underlying reasons leading men to use sex-enhancing substances which are socially motivated and related to the economical interests, socialisation, culture and traditional beliefs systems. There are different kinds of sex-enhancing substances. Some come in the form of sweets, powders, pills, concoctions or even dried fruit; others in form of liquid. The analysis of the different definitions given to sex-enhancing substances by the participants revealed that the gendered related issues of the practice which is based on the societal constructs; the cultural influences; society peer pressure; power dominance over women. Findings revealed that most participants did not start the practice in Durban but several confirmed that the practice exist in the DRC. They all agree about certain differences based on the usage and the possibility of getting the products within the community. These medicines are easy to get in South Africa compared to DRC where they are hidden and the access is only possible by being connected to someone who has relationship with the sellers who mostly are the elders of the village.

Gender related issues with great intensity towards women dominance and discrimination constitute the main factor for using sex-enhancing substances as for most men within this migrant community still attached to the importance of the cultural belief of their home country which stipulates that men always must keep through all the means his power dominance over women. Their values and beliefs are still rooted in their home culture and reinforced by the cultural values found within the environmental context of the host country. So, men sexual power for them defines male identity which could be dishonoured or honoured respectively in case of failure or success when doing sex-intercourse. They learnt this from elders of the community.

Sexual competition amongst men in the community constituted another motive for using sex-enhancing substances in order to keep and reinforce masculine identity. Men's identity is measured within the community by both men and women. Man identity within the Congolese migrant men is often characterised by respect, honour and esteem from both women as well as other men. This statement justified the reason raised by most of the participants qualifying women complicit as another motive that pushed Congolese male migrants to use sex-enhancing substances. Data showed that some women are very sexually active and require men to have sex with them for long time. This has been the case of South African women as compared to Congolese women. Participants confirmed to use mostly sex-enhancing substances when having sex with South African women firstly, as they are sexually active than the Congolese. Secondly, they want to get some social and financial supports from them. Others reasons were related to multiple partner sexual relationship; revenge in the context of xenophobia; and the working conditions and identities of the participants

Concerning the negative outcomes related with the use of sex-enhancing substances; it appeared that participants are aware of negative risks but still using them as they are more pressed by urgent needs which ranged from financial needs and the cultural expectations of being esteemed and honoured by women and other men and especially by the South African men. Some others who still using sex-enhancing substances are not aware of the negative consequences of the practice.

Chapter Five

Conclusion and Recommendations

5.1. Overview of the research

People migrate for many reasons, such as natural disasters and political, socio-economic and educational issues. Migrants come from diverse cultural backgrounds with already formed cultural identities and they experience multiple stresses, including the loss of cultural norms, religious customs, and social support systems, having to adjust to a new culture, and experiencing unwanted changes in identity and their concept of self (Bhugra and Becher, 2005). These stresses can negatively impact their mental well-being. Cultural identity is influenced by various factors that arise before, during and after the migration process, and cultural bereavement is an inherent danger to the migration process. Cultural identities interact, as people who have migrated come into contact not only with people of the majority culture but also with immigrants of both similar and disparate cultures (Bhugra and Becher, 2005).

This study sought to interrogate migrant Congolese heterosexual men living in Durban and investigate their use of sex-enhancing substances as a way to renegotiate their masculine identities within the transnational context. Transnationalism has been defined as transnational migrants taking on a multiplicity of identities that are a combination of both their country of origin and their host country (see Basch et al. 1994) and refers to the condition in which networks of relationships are forged that transcend pre-existing boundaries of nation-states (Manjusha, 2006:2).

While the strength of the regime of the Second Republic of the DRC (1965-1997) was based on an obscurantist dictatorship, headed by the former President Mobutu, the regime began to encounter difficulties stemming from discontent linked to the country's poor economic performance. The salaries of state employees were squeezed, study bursaries were cancelled, and public hospitals no longer received state subsidies. The Congolese population found itself left to its own devices. While the governing classes were helping themselves to the nation's resources and wealth, the rest of the population witnessed a daily deterioration in their living conditions. In such a context, the migratory movements of Congolese populations were accelerating towards bordering countries, countries in Western Europe, and the USA. In

1996, war broke out again in the DRC, leading to the end of the Mobutu regime. As a result of this, there were large-scale internal and external movements of people (Tshibambe and Mukohya, n.d.). Baruti (2005) argues that the migration of Congolese people into Durban has been as a result of the war in the DRC, which involved the armies of five other countries and forced tens of thousands of refugees to flee their homes to seek asylum elsewhere. These refugees find that once they are living in a transnational context, they are not just immersing themselves in another culture, but they are also positing themselves within another gender system or gender regime. This experience of living between two cultural and socio-economic contexts can either change or reinforce their perspectives of gender.

The study sought to further interrogate renegotiated masculine identities, which were examined from a cultural and social standpoint that views gender identities as emanating from intersecting historical, cultural and social factors at a particular moment in a transnational life context. The plural form of the concept of masculinity – in other words, ‘masculinities’ revealed different forms of masculinities that Durban’s migrant Congolese heterosexual men often tend to negotiate when living within the new society context.

Connell and James (2005) offer four categories of masculinity, namely dominant, complicit, submissive, and oppositional or protest. They use these categories to make sense of the relationships between groups of men. Hegemonic masculinity is a key element of patriarchy, is based upon the unequal distribution and exercise of power between groups of men and between men and women (Connell, 2000), and has been the main focus in this study as it embodies the currently most honoured way of being a man whilst also requiring all other men to position themselves in relation to it (Connell and James, 2005:832). This study examined the renegotiation of the masculinities of Congolese male migrants in a new cultural context and how dominant hegemonies impact upon their sexual knowledge and heterosexual experiences. As stipulated by Andreas and Katherine (2001), in the transnational space, studies of sexuality are important sites for understanding how masculine identities are socially renegotiated. This study was based on the heterosexual form of sexuality as it is the most dominant form of masculinity amongst the Congolese migrants of Durban.

The study critically examined how Congolese migrant heterosexual men in Durban are renegotiating their masculine identities in a transnational space through the use of sex-enhancing substances. The key question in this study has been: How are men from the DRC using sex-enhancing substances to renegotiate their masculinities within the transnational

space? The central hypothesis of this study was that Congolese heterosexual men, in renegotiating their masculinities through the use of sex-enhancing substances, reinforce the already existing hegemonic notions of masculinity and also end up creating new forms of hegemonic notions of masculinity. Based on Morrell's (1998) explanation of masculinities as a social gender identity and not a natural attribute, masculinities are not seen as a fixed character type but rather as configurations of practice generated in particular situations as a result of the changing structure of relationships.

With regard to the above statements, this research focused on migrant men and investigated the relationship between the use of sex-enhancing substances and the social discourses that have been constructed around heterosexual men's identities as well as whether or not these discourses are causing disruptions with regard to the way(s) in which heterosexual migrant men negotiate their male identities within the transnational context. The relevance of this study is based on the fact that the bulk of research into use of sex-enhancing substances has been conducted within global and local contexts, but there is limited research into migrants' sexuality within the transnational context. To the best of my knowledge, a study focusing on heterosexual male migrants' use of traditional and manufactured sex-enhancing substances in a transnational space has not been conducted within the context of Durban.

Drawing on the testimony of ten migrant Congolese heterosexual men living in Durban, all of whom are from the same culture, this study made use of the qualitative research methodology, which was deemed suitable for enabling the researcher to gain a deep understanding of the research participants' perceptions on the issue at hand. Furthermore, the purposive sampling method was used during the research investigation. Purposive sampling was regarded as the process of selecting a representative sample from an entire population in order to interview them and thereby draw conclusions about the entire population of study (Marshall, 1994). In-depth interviews were essential since the interview questions aimed to elicit information with regard to the lived experiences of the participants. The interviews enabled me to gain a deep understanding of how heterosexual men from the DRC are using sex-enhancing substances to renegotiate their masculinities within the transnational space.

5.2. Summary of the findings

The dissertation focused principally on investigating how the Congolese heterosexual migrant male based in Durban are negotiating their masculinity identities in transnational context through the use of sex-enhancing substances. It has been therefore characterised by the

themes of masculinities, identities, transnationalism, and sex-enhancing substances, which dominated the entire process of the research investigation. The study generated critical insights into the complexities experienced by male heterosexual Congolese migrants when immersing themselves in a new context. Migrants have chosen South Africa as a place of refuge due to the favourable image of the country that has been developed outside of its borders. This goes together with the projection of South Africa in early 1990s as a country where democracy, equality for all (including migrants and refugees), tolerance, freedom, peace, and opportunity (Castles and Miller, 1998:20) are the rights of all the people living within the country.

Their coming to South Africa brought them face to face with xenophobia. Scholars such as Crush (2000) have documented the realities of the hostilities – both subtle and overt – that have been directed towards African immigrants by South Africans. Ramphela (1999) has highlighted how stringent immigration controls from the Department of Home Affairs in terms of study permits, visa acquisitions and renewals, repatriation requirements, and regulated employment opportunities are perceived as by migrants as being governed by xenophobia.

Furthermore, as immigrants in the transnational context often engage in the complex process of gender (masculine) identity (re)negotiation, they encounter multiple levels and forms of social and cultural contradictions and complexities, which serve to challenge, shape, and transform their ideas, thoughts and sense of self (Muthuki, 2010). In brief, contradictions and complexities that challenge and shape their masculine identities in the new context exist within the transnational space. The themes presented in this study during data analysis revealed that masculine identity renegotiation was related to the struggle to keep and reinforce black African masculine identities. From the onset, the study established that gender identity has been revealed in different ways during the study analysis and constituted a principle factor that has influenced male heterosexual Congolese migrants in the use of sex-enhancing substances within the transnational space.

In effect, the analysis of the collected data revealed that the use of sex-enhancing substances is a living practice and a reality within the male Congolese migrant community in Durban. It is revealed during the interview that sex-enhancing substances are used by most of the participants, the young, adults, the educated and uneducated, the religious and non-religious. Some of the participants, whilst influenced by the religious beliefs of the host country and

knowing the truth within the transnational area, remain connected to the religious beliefs of the sending country, which forbid them to use sex-enhancing substances. Nevertheless, these categories of participants, while they are not involved in the practice, still consider it to be a helpful means for keeping a man's identity, especially in the transnational context.

Participants had various ideas when it came to defining the concept sex-enhancing substances. They all, however, agreed that sex-enhancing substances is a term given to all products used to establish or enhance love or a sexual relationship; to attract a partner; as a stimulant to arouse or induce feelings of sexual desire (libido enhancer) and/or to improve sexual performance. Therefore, the analysis of these different definitions given to sex-enhancing substances by the participants reveals that the gendered related issues in this study has been founded in one side in the societal constructs; the cultural influences; society peer pressure; power dominance over women. At the other side, nobody amongst the respondents has mentioned the desire to please the other sex as from the participants' experiences and views revealed through these different definitions, they all focused on their own pleasure and search of power over women. It was revealed during the research interview that sex-enhancing substances are used in different ways. Some come in the form of sweets, powders, pills, concoctions or even dried fruit; others in form of liquid and are consumed by the users themselves. In comparison to the DRC context, most of the participants have confirmed that sex-enhancing substances as well as its practice exist even in the context of the DRC. They all confirmed certain differences based on the usage and the possibility of getting the products within the community. This difference concerning the possibility of getting sex-enhancing substances between the two contexts of the DRC and the host country has to some extent influenced some of the participants to engage in the practice.

The reason why people make use of sex-enhancing substances appears to be the desire to bring about biological changes within the genital part (penis or vagina) and to enhance sexual pleasure. There are also others underlying reasons, however, which are socially motivated and related to the economic interests, socialisation, culture and traditional beliefs systems. Data analysis showed firstly that gender related issues with great intensity towards women dominance and discrimination constitute the main factor for using sex-enhancing substances as for most men within this migrant community, regardless of their transnational environmental context; social status; educated or uneducated, religious or not, still attached to the importance of the cultural belief of their home country which stipulates that men always must keep through all the means his power dominance over women. Their values and beliefs

are still rooted in their home culture and reinforced by the cultural values found within the environmental context of the host country. So, men sexual power for them defines male identity which could be dishonoured or honoured respectively in case of failure or success when doing sex-intercourse.

These men use sex-enhancing substances to enhance their sexual performance with the aim of proving the women that they are strong and confirm their male identity. This reality has been revealed within the expressions 'as a man' or 'real man' mentioned by most of the participants during the interviews. For them 'a man' or 'a real man' are those males that are virile as well as sexually active and experienced. There are so many elements but man's ability and power to do sex with a woman is also emphasised as an element of manhood. They learnt this from elders of the community. Elders teach young people that esteem, respect and honour from women and men as well result from his ability to demonstrate that he is sexually powerful. The ability to engage in patriarchal sex that emphasises conquest, serves to remedy the lack of control and power according to the data analysis. In other circumstances therefore, in order to maintain his male authority and esteem before women, he needs to engage in the use of sex-enhancing substances to avoid humiliation and insults from some of the women who seemed more easily sexually excited.

Sexual competition amongst men in the community constituted another motive for using sex-enhancing substances in order to keep and reinforce masculine identity. Data analysis revealed that, in this community man identity is often characterised by respect, honour and esteem from both women as well as other men. Men's identity is measured within the community by both men and women. In case of sex-intercourse, if men are sexually weak he becomes a subject of criticism by both men and women within the community.

An additional point on the motive of using sex-enhancing substances and the renegotiation of masculinities identities within male heterosexual Congolese migrant in Durban raised during the analysis of data included women complicit and fear of women infidelity. It was revealed through data analysis that, to some extent women themselves influence men to use sex-enhancing substances. Participants have mentioned that they use sex-enhancing substances as a response to women sexual requirements. The findings reveal that some women are sexually strong and require men to be very sexually strong; these kinds of women require men to have sex with them for a long time. Failure to show that ability resulted in the infidelity of the partner. So, men ensured that the woman does not engage in sexual relationships with other

men. Wives' infidelity according to their culture constitutes a great shame for the husband and proof of his sexual inability within the couple. Therefore, by fear of humiliation and critics or the loss of some advantages; men seek help in using sexual enhancing products in order to keep his male identity before the woman.

The finding also revealed that migrants used sex-enhancing substances the most when they were sexually engaged with the South African women. According to the results from data, it was discovered that there is a big difference between the South African women and Congolese. The South African women are sexually active as compared to Congolese women and failure to perform sexually with them (South African women) resulted in insults and loss of financial and material support they got from them.

Multiple partner sexual relationship also forced them to resort to the use of sex-enhancing substances. Participants with multiple partners seem to engage in the use of sex-enhancing substances to ensure that partners are all sexually satisfied in order to gain sexual strength more and more and to avoid humiliation from one of the them or all.

Another factor was related to the cultural influences, societal constructs, and the society pressure on masculine identity and sexuality within black African cultural belief. Hook (2004) argues that the interest in masculine identity and sexuality is reflected by the African cultural constructed discourses within the community which consistently hypersexualise men. These, sometimes have the power to influence each other into doing certain acts or thinking in a certain way. It was realized in this study that most of the participants showed overt signs in their speech of being influenced by friends and relatives. Heterosexual-intercourse therefore in such society becomes a socially and culturally constructed phenomenon. These factors are based on the societal sexual construction about a real man and good woman. A real man for them is a man who has more than one partner and is able to prove and demonstrate his sexual power over women and men.

It was discovered during the analysis of data that the renegotiation of masculine identities for most of the participants was constructed upon distinct main areas such as the transnational sexuality, the transnational cultural context; socio-economic context; xenophobic issues; socio-economic factors; work-related factors, and issues of identity within which migrants are living. They are marginalised by the political policies of the host country. Most of them are employed as security guards, car guards, barbers and so forth. They are experiencing difficult life due to the hard jobs they are doing in the host country. Some are educated but the

governmental policies do not consider their qualifications. Within such conditions of life, Congolese migrants felt that their masculine identity is discriminated, rejected and consider themselves as humiliated by the host community.

Consequently, the raised motive of using these substances within South African context is based on the state of their organism which is day by day getting weak because of the hard work which they are obliged to do such as security guards, car guards, car washers or barbers, and therefore there is the risk of remaining sexually weak forever if they cannot pay attention and by that way they will going to lose their value 'as men' before women or amongst others men. In regards to the matter of xenophobia, the analysis of data found that, most of the participants in this study have used sex as another way of revenge in the context of xenophobia, discrimination and humiliation from South African men. South African women at this point were viewed by the Congolese heterosexual men migrant as facilitators in the process of renegotiating masculinities identities. The reason behind according to most the participants tend to emphasise the need of proving their identities often discriminated and rejected by the South African men.

Another issue is related to the socio-economic factor as cause for them to use sex-enhancing substances. Finances for them constitute one of the factors characterising human identity. For them "money gives power to the powerless; it gives respect and honour to the possessor". In this context, Congolese migrants target women who are able to meet their financial needs. Data analysis showed that South African women at this point are mostly targeted. It emerged from the data that the targeted women do anything for the men who give good sexual pleasure. Migrants use sex with South African women/ladies in order to get access to some of the socio-economic and political rights.

The study closed by focusing on the negative consequences of using sex-enhancing substances, it appeared that participants are aware of the possible negative risks attached to the use of sex-enhancing substances but they felt that they had more pressing and urgent needs which ranged from financial needs and the cultural expectations of being esteemed and honoured by women and other men and especially by the South African men than the fear of being affected positively by HIV/AIDS. Some others who still using sex-enhancing substances are not aware of the negative consequences of the practice.

5.3. Recommendations

The recommendations are based on the research findings. As a broad topic, this study seems to be not exhaustive; it only opens door opportunities for both qualitative and quantitative research in the same field. There is a need to investigate the in-depth use of sex-enhancing substances among the women and men migrants in general in the context of the entire South Africa. It revealed also a need to search in-depth the association between the use of sex-enhancing substances and the risk of acquiring HIV in more systematic studies.

This study therefore, recommends that a collaborative research that uses a participatory approach to explore how South African political policies, socio-economic conditions leading to the use of sex-enhancing substances among migrants in South Africa may be changed in aim to fight the spirit of revenge as a way of negotiating masculinities identities by the migrants within the transnational context.

This study may also include establishing types of health promotion researches based on the theories of gender and which takes into consideration the gender-related issues and socio-economic and cultural factors.

This research recommends that the South African Government provide developed material in the form of brochures or booklets using migrant languages (French or Swahili in the case of the DRC migrants) to educate the public, with particular attention being paid to educating men about sex-enhancing substances and the negative consequences of their use. This project should get input from the community members and make communities take a leading role in the development and distribution of this material to get their buy in. The funding for this project should have some capacity building component for training volunteers that can educate people about the gendered impact of the use of sex-enhancing substances and the possibility of health risk. The volunteers should be given a salary or incentives. They should work hand in hand with the host community to address this issue.

The fact that multiple sexual relationships for men are acceptable within the culture in this migrant' community should be considered when developing intervention strategies. This needs to be profoundly examined for the community to visit their own reality and deal with their own biases. There is evidence that gender related and cultural constructed sexual behaviour factors need to be given special attention. Therefore, there is need for an agency

for such gender activities for this community in Durban. Such an agency must think for the empowerment of male Congolese migrant in particular and work towards a change of their current gendered characters. There is need to build also the self-esteem of women to such an extent that they no longer view themselves as having a value only if they are in a relationship with a man. This devalues female sexuality and pressures women to become sexually active at a young age. Women find it difficult to abstain from sex because it is part of their culture to be perceived by men as providers of sexual pleasure and this is compounded by the availability of sex-enhancing substances. So, there is need to create advocacy groups that will develop conferences and workshops for defining sex-enhancing substances in Congolese language, especially for young people. Women need to have workshops where they will learn what makes a woman a woman as well as the empowerment strategies

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Appendix 1

Informed Consent Form

(To be read out by researcher before the beginning of the interview. One copy of the form to be left with the respondent; one copy to be signed by the respondent and kept by the researcher.)

My name is Mulungula Mungela (student number 206526840). I am doing research on a project entitled:

Renegotiating masculinities in a transnational context: The use of sex-enhancing substances (dawa ya mapenzi) amongst heterosexual men of the Democratic Republic of Congo (DRC) living in Durban

This project is supervised by Dr. Janet Muthuki at the Department of Gender Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, in Durban, South Africa. I am managing the project and should you have any questions or concerns my contact details are:

Department of Gender Studies, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban 4041, South Africa

OR

Tel: +27-733796851 (South Africa)

Email: pastormulungula@yahoo.fr or 206526840@ukzn.ac.za

Thank you for agreeing to take part in the project. Before we start I would like to emphasise that:

- Your participation is entirely voluntary;
- You are free to refuse to answer any question;
- You are free to withdraw at any time.

All interviews will be recorded. The data from the interview will be kept strictly confidential though excerpts from the interview may be made part of the final research report. I will require demographic information such as your name, social status, contact details, age, gender, religion, level of education and occupation. Your name and contact details will be kept confidential.

Please sign this form to show that I have read the contents to you.

----- (Signed) ----- (date)

----- (print name)

Write your address below if you wish to receive a copy of the research

Appendix 2

Interview Guide

Part I: Personal demographics of the interviewee:

Place of interview:-----

Date of interview:-----/-----/-----

Contact:-----

Sex: -----

Age:-----

Occupation: -----

Religion: -----

Level of education: -----

Part II: Interview questions

1. What is your understanding of sex-enhancing substances?
2. Does the use of sex-enhancing substances exist in your community?
3. Do you know any material that can be used to enhance sexual performance in your culture? If so, could you name some?
4. What are the cultural beliefs about the use of sex-enhancing substances in the DRC?

5. Who mostly uses sex-enhancing substances in your culture (men or women) and for what purpose?
6. Can sex-enhancing substances be found even here in Durban? Where and how can one get them?
7. Are they traditional substances or industrially manufactured substances and what is the difference?
8. What are the cultural beliefs about sex-enhancing substances in Durban?
9. What similarities or differences have you observed in the use of sex-enhancing substances from the DRC as compared to those in South Africa?
10. What are the advantages for you as a man in using sex-enhancing substances?
11. What are the disadvantages for you as a man in using sex-enhancing substances?
12. How does the use of sex-enhancing substances affect your identity as a man?
13. Do you think that sex-enhancing substances are helpful for men's sexual relationship with women? How and why?
14. How does the use of sex-enhancing substances affect your relationship with other men?
15. Do you think that the use of sex-enhancing substances is useful while in the South African context?
16. Are there ways in which you have changed while using sex-enhancing substances in the South African context?

Appendix 3

The transcribed material of four the interview from French and Swahili to English

1. Muganza Mbila

I am Muganza Mbila (male), born in DRC. I am 23 years old, I am not married and I am doing car guard as a job here in South Africa. I am not Christian; I do not have any religion. I have got a matric in general pedagogy.

What are you asking me? Sex-enhancing substances? Ah! (Laughing), those are common to most of men. They are traditional products that make a man to be very sexually powerful during sex-intercourse. We always using them me and my friends. I cannot know their names but what I know is that there are several kinds of those products according to the herbalists you may contact. Some are herbs, crust or powder, and others are liquid. There are so many believes around sex-enhancing substances in my country but in my culture for example, men has often power over women and sexual power is one of the ways for man to confirm his power over them. Before, while, I was not using these products, I was doing 10 or minutes of sex, only one round and I am very tired. I was feeling very shame and humiliated especially when others young men are discussing about their experiences of sex with girls and how they were making them crying.....

Yes, both men and women use sex-enhancing substances in my culture but with more percentage for men. As I told you, there are so many reasons for men to use sex-enhancing substances in my culture but the veritable reason for men to use sex-enhancing substances is to prove his sexual power over woman. In my culture, women also use sex-enhancing substances to attract men sexually; to enhance their sexual feeling or by drying their vagina in order to make a man always thinking about her and not interested with others women

Yes, there are also so many sex-enhancing substances here in Durban. To know where and how one can get them depend with each and every one. For my case for example, I have been interested by one of my friend who brought me to an herbalist here in Durban town. There, first, you explain the problem that you have, after that, he starts explaining the power of their products as well as the mode of employment and then you pay the amount due to get it.

Yes, there are traditional and industrial. Myself, I never see the industrial sex-enhancing substances but there are because some of my friends spoke about them and their power but I never experience one of them.

We are all Africans; it seems like we have the same cultural belief of sex-enhancing substances us Congolese and South Africans because during the consultation we have the same reasons all of us (Congolese and South Africans) of coming to consult the herbalist.

I do not know if I will be right to speak about similarities or differences in the use of sex-enhancing substances from the DRC as compared to the South African. According to me, I can say that there are at the same time similarity and difference. Similarities because we all use them for the same purpose that is to show more sexual power over woman or to repair our sexual weaknesses or sexual dysfunction

Difference, firstly because, these products are opened to everyone and can be found easily and everywhere here in Durban differently to DRC where, the product is hidden, not often easy to be found unless you have a particular connection with somebody who have intimacy relation with the seller. Secondly, sometimes these products are given by the elders freely but secretly in the village in DRC but in South Africa they are payable.

They are so many advantages for me as a man for using sex-enhancing substances; it gives me proud of being a man. I am not afraid to afford sexually any woman and that makes me proud as a man. It makes me to be positively estimated by women because I make them to feel better, to reach their point of orgasm. There is any disadvantage of using sex-enhancing substances according to me. People always talk negatively about the use of these products but myself, I never experience any negative consequence of using them

I do not think but I believe that sex-enhancing substances are very helpful for man's sexual relationship with women because, you know yourself that all the women like a powerful sexual man and they always give him more respect but if you are sexually weak, you will be humiliated and criticised by women. They cannot consider you as a man. You know women always speak about us when they meet together. The use of sex-enhancing substances strength our relationship with woman because if you sexually made her happy, she will come again to you all the times searching have sex with you

At the same way, the use of sex-enhancing substances helps me to keep my position as man within man's community. I am young Pastor, let me tell you the through; us young men are competitive. There is a time where another man can take your girlfriend because you are not sexually powerful. Myself, I have done that experience. It is also makes shame to be known by others men that you are not sexual strong.

Let me tell you Pastor, the problem is because you Pastors, you always know the truth but you do not want to talk about it. You know how difficult refugees' lives here are in South Africa due to the hard jobs we are doing in this country. These jobs are killing even our bodies and especially our genital parties. You know pastor, I can feel a big difference within my body here in South Africa comparatively from back in my Country (DRC); even sexually, I always found myself very weak here in South Africa comparatively to what I was back in DRC. This is also the reason why I am using sex-enhancing substances in aim to strengthen my sexual power and conserving my male identity. Further, the use of sex-enhancing substances helps me to be accepted by South Africans women and ladies and get some advantages from them. They love us because of our sexual power. Many have confessed to me that they like to have sex with Congolese than their brothers because we are sexually powerful.

I cannot say that I have changed while using sex-enhancing substances in South African context but I am happy because through the use of sex-enhancing substances even within the South African I am still keeping my position and identity as an a black African man

2. Bashimbe Chikuru

My name is Bashimbe Chikuru (Male), I was in DRC and I have 35 years old, I am married with four children, all of us are living here in South Africa. I am Christian and evangelist. I did not study enough, I have done secondary school but I did not get a chance to get a certificate. I am security guard at Enforce.

Eh! Pastor, do you want to know about sex-enhancing substances? That is very interesting. Yes, sex-enhancing substances as I know them from back in DRC are all those different traditional medicine using by most of men and women before sexual relationship to strengthen their sexual power or to make sex again very pleasurable as it will take long before man ejaculate for the first round and it makes man's penis to stand powerful even for all the night

Which community are you talking about? Congolese migrant community or in my culture back home? (Both). I knew about sex-enhancing substances long time ago since I was adolescent back in Country. And learnt to use them because it was like a life for all the young adolescents in my village. But, I am not using them since I have received Jesus-Christ as my Lord and Saviour because my pastor was forbidding all the members of the Church and especially in our youth meeting to use sex-enhancing substances as it is against the will of God. (That was long time ago in your village?): yes,

(and for now as you are living modernisation and get more light concerning the Word of God, are still believing that it is against the will of God to use sex-enhancing substances?): Eh! Eh! Pastor, surely, Now!, I do not believe that it is against the will of God to use sex-enhancing substances as Christian because, if it is so, it is also against the will of God to use any tablet prescribed to us by doctor or nurse at the hospital. I think, my pastor back in DRC where inspired by missionary teachings and believe which were always against our traditional African values.

Why now do you still keeping your position of not using them while you know the truth that it is not against the will of God? I do not know why but it is like I am dominated by that believe at the point that I am not interesting with those products.

Did you try to use them once or twice during your sexual relationship with your wife? Yes, before I decide to follow Jesus Christ. And how was your feeling and your wife feeling all the time you were using sex-enhancing substances?: I was feeling better myself but at the end I felt myself very tired and painful inside of my penis because my penis was standing up even when we are already tired and finish the story. Anywhere, it was making happy and proud before my wife. In the case of my wife's feeling; I do not know what to say but!!!! I think, I was not pleasurable for her because she was crying all the time of our sexual relationship and asking me to finish now.

What was your reaction when you saw her crying? Eh! By that time, when she started crying, I felt very proud, comfort and I felt like I should accentuate the movement to confirm my sexual power. That was our cultural believe within the community. We learnt that from the elders of our community. I remember, at the river, when we were bathing, if you have a small penis; people and elders included were laughing at you saying that you will be not a man.

That has pushed most of the youth in my village to search for medicine to increase the size of their penis

Did you use these products in commitment with your wife before sex-intercourse? Eh! Eh! Eh! Pastor, how can you do that? Otherwise you disclose yourself and she cannot respect you. She must realise that the sexual power you have is your natural power.

Concerning the names of some substances that were been used to enhance sexual performance; I can say no, because those sex-enhancing substances were given to us by herbalist, or some elders in the society already treated. But also, I was not interested to know the substances.

We mostly believe that sex-enhancing substances increase sexual power and pleasure but the first main purpose for men to use them is to search the respect from women because in our culture, we believe that women respect a man who is sexual powerful and sexual weakness and sexual dysfunction are subject to rejection and humiliation from both women and men within the community. The second objective is to attract women and making them looking only for you amongst other men in the society but also to keep your wife if you are married of going out to search for somebody who very strong than you.

These products in my community are mostly used by men as I told you but some women also use them. Are they the same products for both men and women? I am not sure but I think, they have their own sex-enhancing substances. To my knowledge, mostly, women who are married, prostitutes and Infidel are the one who often use these products than young ladies. Why? Married men want their wives to remain attracted and see that they are participating in movement during sex-intercourse. In my conversation with a married women about this issue, she revealed to me that she use sex-enhancing substances to reduce man power and authority in the house because when a man is sexually weak before a woman, he does not have also something to say, he is powerless. He is not a man. Prostitutes and infidel women use them for attracting men who do not belong them, because, once, they are impression by the quality of sex, they remain joined to them forgetting they house wives or others girls friends. It is like a competition.

Yes, these products exist even here in Durban but I am not sure if they are the same with those we were using back home in DRC. You can found them at the market or to some herbalist' shops around in town. Differently to DRC, here you cannot get them for free but you must pay. There are also both traditional and industrial manufactured sex-enhancing substances. I cannot know the difference between them as I am not interested again in using them. I confirm that because I am living with people who still using them.

Concerning the South African believe about sex-enhancing substances; I do not know what to say but what I know, we all African, we have the same culture and tradition. I think, they have the same believe like us. If it was so, why they are selling them everywhere in the market, why do we see many people with pamphlets to advertize sex-enhancing substances?

You know pastor, this question of knowing the advantages and disadvantages as a man of using sex-enhancing substances is very confusing. Myself, I am not still using these products like I told you. Nevertheless, I can say that there are both advantages and disadvantages in

using sex-enhancing substances: advantages for man because, you know pastor, we are human being, we are called to change in our organism system; we cannot still keeping the same sexual power we had before, here I am talking on behalf of married man. They need to satisfy sexually our wives; how now when they are growing and getting weak sexually. They must look for help; otherwise, sex unsatisfaction can be a source of trouble and infidelity in the family. Advantage again because through the use of sex-enhancing substances, man sustain and strengthen his sexual ability to prove his power over woman; to keep his respect and honour within men' community. So, women do not have choice, they must support because they have been married for that cause. Disadvantages because truly women suffer and it is painful for some of them but others like it and need powerful sexual man.

Taking into account the South African context about the use of sex-enhancing substances, like I told above, now I am only speculating as I am not still using them here in South Africa. But what I want to say now come from some of the discussions we always do with others man both married and single, old and young. Most of the men often militate for the importance of using sex-enhancing substances within the South African environment. The first motive for them in using them within South African context is based on the state of their organism which is day by day getting weak because of the hard work which they are obligatory submitted to such as Security, car guard, car wash or hair cut etc.... so, there is a risk for remaining sexually weak forever if they cannot pay attention and by that way they will going to lose their values as a men before women or amongst others men. The second motive concerns the fact of being integrated within the South African culture when they are using sex-enhancing substances. They have found a culture in South Africa that is not contrary to their own. According to me, there is not a change but a continuity and enforcement of the DRC culture through this one they meet.

3. Mulindwa Shangalume Salum

I am called Mulindwa Shangalume (Male) and I am very proud of being male than being a female. Why do you say that? You know yourself that women all over the world are inferior to men. Are you sure? Exactly, Am I the first to say that, God is the first to reveal the inferiority of women vis-à-vis to men. Let us come back to our matter, where were you born? I am Congolese born in DRC. I am 41 years old; I am not married yet and I am Muslim. I have studied mechanical motor back home in DRC and working here as technician mechanic

Sex-enhancing substances are known as traditional medicine and industrial manufactured products used by people to increase their sexual pleasure or making sex-intercourse taking long time.

Yes, it is.

Yes, but not by their names

In this culture, the use of sex-enhancing gets source in patriarchy system and gender discrimination which respectively support the superiority of men over women and the inequality between men and women where the later are considered as objects of sexual satisfaction for men. Beside of enjoying sex; the main objective for men to use sex-enhancing substances is to exercise and show its sexual supremacy over women

Both men and women use sex-enhancing substances but with a great accent or intensity for men. This practice is not very common within female community but some (precisely few) still using them. Women for their side, use sex-enhancing substances in order to make his partner better during sex-intercourse. How? Because, men want to see their partner moving when they are doing sex and these substances make women moving and crying during sex-intercourse

Yes, with a great quantity and very open to everybody here in Durban comparatively to DRC. There is a special place at the market here in Durban town where only traditional medicine are seeled including sex-enhancing substances if you asking for. You can also get them from different herbalists. Not for free, you need to pay some cash and they will explain the mode of employment.

Both traditional and industrial manufactured can be found. The different is situated at the fact that the traditional sex-enhancing medicines are not well conserved and not protected properly. They are like dirty by looking at them. Sometimes, it is required by the seller to mix those different substances yourself. By contrast, industrial manufactured substances to enhance sex performance come prepared and ready to be used. It does not require any other job. Therefore, they are also different in their power reaction within human organism. For my case for example, I prefer to use the industrial manufactured sex-enhancing substances because some of the traditional one sometimes do not work and even they work, they are not very strong

I think, South African also like us Congolese strongly believe that sexual power is a part of man identity because often when we are buying the product, South African sellers always encourage us by saying that: “do you want to be a man, this will make you a man today...”

As a man, there are so many advantages in using sex-enhancing substances. I am feeling not humiliated and stressed when I am doing sex with any woman as my moral and mind are very quiet and stable, enjoying sex for more than an hour. Disadvantage? I do not care about it. It is sometimes painful when you finish but it end slowly

You know, a man in black African culture is a man when he is able to maintain and to keep his place within the society as a man. Yes, there are different ways of maintaining that social status but he must also be able to prove its sexual performance especially before women and others men. In my culture for example, somebody who is known as sexually weak, powerless or manifests such sexual dysfunction is always considered by female community as without values. He is placed in the same rank of women by male community

Yes, I can say that they are helpful for men’s sexual relationship with women. I am not a machine. Even a machine sometimes gets tired and need to review the mechanism or add some oil inside. It is the same for us men. When we feel ourselves sexually powerless, we cannot keep quiet. We need some outside helper which are sex-enhancing substances to increase our sexual power.

Sexual life within men community of friends is like a competition. The problem is because women speak about men sexual relationship with them wherever they meet within their

community. It makes shame when your friends know that you did not sexually improve during sex-intercourse with a lady

Of course, it still useful while in South African context. I am a man with all my desires as a man even here in South Africa. Nothing has changed in me. You know, the South African context itself and environment influence and pushed to use sex-enhancing substances. How? Contrary to DRC, it is not hard to get a woman for sex in South Africa, if you want to sleep with ten a day you get them. It depends on your sexual power. Another problem, I cannot expend my money and get only five minute for doing sex with a lady; she eat my money, she work for it, she must also pay.

What kind of change are you talking about? I did not change; I am still the same like I was in DRC. Nothing has change on me like I told before.

4. Mukunda Kabungulu

My name is Mukunda Kabungulu, born in DRC, I am 48 years old, and I am married to one wife and Father of six children. Concerning my Job? Since I came to South Africa I am doing security guard; I am doing this [fuck] Job for more eight years. It does not mean that I am not educated, I am. I have got my Matric in education and I was a teacher at primary school back home in my Country but you know this country is discriminating us. The South African Government does not consider our or certificate. Yes, I am Christian member of Catholic Church

Eh!! Sex-enhancing substances are medicines to increase sexual power and pleasure when doing sex because it makes man' penis very big, long and strong. Once enter a woman, she cry but at the end she feel better as it fit with the vagina and sexual act takes long until she very satisfied. I knew a lot about sex-enhancing substances since I was in DRC.

Yes, I know so many people amongst my friends who use sex-enhancing substances, Is it any problem in using them? (I am not saying that there is any problem in using them; I just wanted to know). Not only men who use sex-enhancing substances but also women use them to make their vagina dry or to increase their sexual pleasure on the bed. [Why?] You know, men like women who are dynamic, making movements and talking in bed when they are doing sex. It makes us to feel very nice and to realise that you do your work as a man [Wow!] Yes pastor, when a real man is doing sex, he must make sure that woman with he is doing that thing realise that she has affair with a man; before you finish sex, do your all best reach that objective

Concerning the cultural belief behind the use of sex-enhancing substances; I have realised a big difference between South Africa and DRC. In South Africa, sex-enhancing substances can be seen everywhere and can be find at any time you want to get them. In contrary, sex-enhancing substances usage in DRC is something like taboo but authorised to anyone who want to use them but not publicly like here in South Africa. In DRC, people use sex-enhancing substances in secret. People must not know that you are using them, it is your own secret [can you be killed or persecuted once community knows?). No, they won't do something but you lost your credibility and your esteem before women or other men who maybe before, they thought the great sexual performance you have is your natural sexual

power. You know, even your wife or the external woman with who you are making sex must not know that you using sex-enhancing substances; she must know that my husband is sexual powerful, he has a big penis and the external woman must know you are sexually powerful with a big and long penis than someone else. I remember, back home, people use to come to me and ask me “why your penis so big and long?” I answered them; “I do not know, I have born like this” I could not tell them the truth. Sexual performance in our community is like a competition within men community and like way of getting value, honour, esteem... before women and other who will be aware of your ability of doing sex very powerfully. That is why in our village back, when you have a small penis you feel yourself shame to take off your clothes at the river and bath with others men.

Yes, like I told you before, sex-enhancing substances exist here in South Africa. I can say that the practice here in South Africa has attained a high dimension than in DRC because, you can found them everywhere and it is not a shame to use them. They are sell publicly at market, at different shops and to herbalists in town. Another difference is the fact that in DRC these products are most used in the village area but here in South Africa, it is in town. In DRC we knew only the traditional sex-enhancing substances but in South Africa, there are traditional and manufactured sex-enhancing substances. (Can you make a difference between those of DRC and of South Africa) yes, the traditional one in our country are very strong than these one we find in South Africa in shops; and sometimes, they do not work

I do not know the cultural belief behind the use of sex-enhancing substances in Durban but as I know, we are all black African, we have one culture. It must be the same belief as in DRC. The difference is maybe on the fact that here in South Africa; women are mostly using these products than Congolese women. In my country, few women only dedicate themselves in sex-enhancing substances usage but here in the shops and at market when we are looking for the products, we meet a great number of women than men. It seems like this practice is mostly use by women than men in South African environment contrary in DRC.

Yah! I told you, there are more advantages in using sex-enhancing substances not only for me as a man but for all men. Pastor, do not be destroyed by the knowledge given to you by white people who do not know the realities of us black African. We have our culture they have their own culture; we have our own consideration of “what means to be a real man”, they have their own. They must not come and try to impose us to leave our culture left to us by our ancestors and which we never see any inconvenience. I know, you want to prove me that by using sex-enhancing substances we are making our wives suffer but no and I say again No!!!; you guy are the one who want to make something that is not problem to be a problem. Our wives never complain about; by contrast, they want someone who is sexually strong

According to me there is any disadvantage in using sex-enhancing substances; they help us to fulfil one of our responsibilities as a real man. [You do not feel any pain before or after using these products?] Sometimes but this is not a problem. [How do you feel when your wife or any lady is crying while you making love with her; is it not painful for her?] This is what I am looking for, to see her crying, talking some words and manifesting some sexual feelings like: Ah! Ah!; do it slowly!; you kill me; etc...Pastor, she is not crying or saying that because she feel pain otherwise she could not move in the bed while we making sex; by contrast, it is by that time now she now hold me strongly and kissing me more and more

You want to know if I have changed somewhere in South Africa while using sex-enhancing substances (yah!) not at all; I am still the same. [How did you feel when you found these products here in South Africa?]. When I came, because I came before my wife and I could not stay like a priest. I was going around with South African ladies. But that time I was not aware of the existence of these products here in South Africa, I was thinking like in DRC that you need to see an old man or witchcraft in the village to get the product. I was not feeling good because I could not make sex as I wanted until one my friends we sharing the same room told me about and show me the place to buy. In this context, the South African environment has helped us so much; myself I feel like at home. Sex-enhancing substances in South Africa are better even if they are not very strong like those in DRC; myself I feel like at home. Sex-enhancing substances in South Africa is better even if they are not very strong like those in DRC because there is traditional and manufactured one which are better conserved in a clean bottle contrary to DRC.