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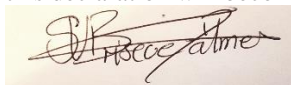**Full title of thesis/dissertation** (block capitals): **THE POLITICS OF BLACK CARIBBEAN MASCULINITIES: (DE)CONSTRUCTING THE POSTCOLONIAL *'OTHER'***

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THE POLITICS OF BLACK CARIBBEAN MASCULINITIES

(DE)CONSTRUCTING THE POSTCOLONIAL *'OTHER'*

by **SHARDIA VIOLET BRISCOE-PALMER**

A thesis submitted to the University of Birmingham for the degree of DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Department of Political Science and International Studies
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ABSTRACT

The thesis sets out to address the importance of race in masculinity debates. This thesis conducts a postcolonial analysis of masculinity with an intersectional methodological approach to explore black masculinities specifically. The recent inequalities towards black men (and women) have been presented on different platforms in various geographical locations. This thesis applies an intersectional gendered lens to examine the constructed male identity and deconstructs associated gender performances. It exposes racial discriminations, marginalisation and vulnerabilities experienced by black men daily, attributing to centuries of oppression. Not to be used as an excuse for unwarranted behaviours, this thesis nonetheless presents a comprehensive analysis on current discourse.

The thesis combines Postcolonialism and Intersectionality theoretical frameworks with an ethnographic methodology based on black masculinity in Jamaica. The research involves 51 participants, 9 focus groups and 6 weeks' worth of reflective observations to explore and analyse the multi-complex relationship between black masculinity, gender privilege and racial oppression. It finds that the performance of hegemonic masculinity is at the expense of discrimination and exploitation towards *other* masculinities. This thesis challenges the dominant social discursive ideal of masculinity and emphasizes the significant gap in the debate, race! Addressing geographic cultural variations of masculinity and heteronormative constructions through time and space (Nast 2001), it exposes gender scripts (Mosher and Tomkins 1988) placed upon black masculine performances as hindrances embedded within the black male gender. The thesis acknowledges flaws in postcolonial perspectives however and therefore, adopts intersectionality methodologies to move the debate forward by establishing an appropriate framework to research masculinity and race. The thesis exemplifies, using said frameworks, why and how race is and must continue to be a significant component of masculinity studies.

To my beautiful sons

Patrick Anthony Palmer III and Joseph Cornelius Palmer,

Be proud of your black masculinities.

X

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Adventist Church in Old Harbour, St Catherine. As well as the students attending Willowdene Group of Schools, Old Harbour High School and Seventh - day Adventist Co-Educational Institution. Your knowledge and experiences are invaluable.

To my parents Everton and Jean Briscoe, I appreciate, and I am thankful for the sacrifices you have made that has enabled me to experience the world as I have and take up opportunities stereotypically not made for people where we are from. I am grateful for your lovingly provoked years of worry as I walked across campus late at night and embark on a lonely tiresome 16 miles home drive from university. Your conversations, on many occasions kept me awake and alive. I want you to know that I am okay, and I am happy. Anything life must throw at me cannot come close to the difficulties I experienced during the completion of this thesis. To my Grandma Violet, your moral support, affection, and pearls of wisdom have been a lifeline in ways only you and I know how.

With emphasis, I would like to thank and praise my husband Patrick Palmer Jnr for the continued strength you have provided me. You have been privileged to tear soaked shirts, fiery moods, and endless conversations on a subject matter you experience daily but probably had little interest in dissecting it like I have. Your kindness and affection have been highly welcomed. Your patience respected. I have great love and admiration for the man that has helped me accomplish my dream. I will endeavour to remember this tested period of struggle in our marriage, celebrate our accomplishments and relish in the beauty of our glorious partnership.

To my aspiring black boys, you can now have your mummy back!

CONTENTS

INTRODUCTION

Spot the difference!

The image above captures the invisibility of structural privilege and multi-complex disadvantages across gender, race, and class that I explored whilst conducting research during my visit to Jamaica. The image captured is of four young boys (4 years old) in Jamaica, eating iced sponge cake upon a high rock whilst on their break during a

church Saturday school. The boys in this image represent how socially constructed depictions of man are often mistakenly constructed exclusive from race, time, space, and influence. The image encourages our (un)conscious bias to identify all four of these young boys as a homogenous identity. Their individualism is overshadowed by legacies of race and constructions of *other*. So, what is the difference? One of these boys was not born in Jamaica nor currently resides there. One of these boys attends private school in the UK, where he remains a racial minority and has never experienced the privilege of being within the dominant racial group. One of these boys has never experienced poverty, hunger, or struggle. One of these boys is not aware of his privilege or his luxuries in life. But all these boys are identified by society as the same: Black! One of the boys in this picture is my eldest son, Patrick, who happened to join me towards the latter end of my research visit. As I watched his innocent attempts to navigate some of the familiar and not so familiar intersectional spaces of gender performances, it helped me to formulate some of the arguments in this thesis and consolidate my overall position on masculinities and race.

The image reminds you that these binaries of race – black and white – are less relevant to these young boys. It depicts a construction of black masculinity woven on to black men's bodies from a young age, where Black men are constructed via a Westernised white gaze (Goffman 1963) and their understandings of what it means to be *a man* are shrouded in gendered and heteronormative assumptions which feed into their being. Instead, experiences of pigmentocracy and homogeny of race are what overshadows their individual identities, casting devaluation of self, due to the loss of individuality.

My research demonstrates how the dominant literature within masculinity studies fails to adequately explore, or even notice, the experiences of black men and boys. It also exposes the dubious imperialistic assumptions that pervade the literature.

Exposed, yet unaware, these young black boys are subject to race and racialised disadvantages on a global scale. Their understanding of what it means to be a man is premised on Westernised norms and European cultural values which have almost been de-raced globally and politically, leaving structural racism at its most pernicious and mythically destructive (Burrell 2010).

To offer an introductory description and reflection of my research, I must first set out my conceptual underpinnings of the black male gender performance expected and admired. Black masculinity is a socially constructed concept which not only identifies the race and gender of an individual, but also places behavioural characteristics, politics, and history on his identity. Encompassing colonial legacies and continued underdevelopment, my research exposes the invisibility of structural privilege and disadvantage in terms of gender, race, and class in the global context. The fight against racial disparities and the unequal treatment of a person due to their levels of melanin remains as prevalent in this millennium as it has across history. Emancipatory celebrations, such as Jamaican Independence Day on the 6th of August, pinpoint the legal ending of slavery. Unfortunately, the legacies of imperialistic rule over the empire – politically and economically – have continued to inform entangled constructions and perceptions of race and gender (Alexander 2012; Beckles 1996, 2004; Boakye 2017; Burrell 2010; hooks 2004; Lewis 2003; Olusoga 2016; Reddock 2004).

Decades of scholarship have established a vast literature based on the fact we cannot understand popular gender debates unless we explore masculinities and expose their significance (Alexander 2006; Anthony 2013; Barriteau 2000; Beckles 1996; Bird 1996; Brod and Kaufman 1994; Butler 2013; Chevannes 2001; Connell 2005, 1993, 1992; Ferber 2007; Figueroa 2004; Gillmore 1990; Hofstede 1998; hooks 2004; Kimmel 2005; Lewis 2003Morrell, et al 2012; Nurse 2004; Reddock 2004, 2003;

Ward 2005). Despite that, there has not been enough interest in the question of race being a big concern for masculinities literature, especially black masculinities. Michael A. Bucknor (2013) in his article 'On Caribbean Masculinities' explores the need for further research on the topic of masculinities in this region for better funding opportunities and wider acknowledgement of associated publications. My thesis brings black masculinity to the forefront of gender studies. I use black masculinity as an example of why and how race is significant within mainstream masculinity scholarship. Too often black people are 'talked about'; so much so we remain an absent presence without voice (hooks 2004:151). It is considering this that my thesis acts as a quest for theories and models that can examine colonial legacies and impacts. To address the silence of black masculinities within the dominant literature, using postcolonial theory as an analytical tool, I expose the significance of addressing black masculinities within this discipline.

Indeed, black male bodies are increasingly admired and commodified in rap, hip hop, and certain sports, but at the same time they continue to be presented as "inherently, aggressive, hypersexual and violent" (Ferber 2007:12) and associated with criminality. Black men are simultaneously held in contempt and valued as entertainment (Collins 2005; Leonard 2004). This continued stereotyping of black men makes me question the beneficial nature of sustaining such a negative identity and leads me to agree with what some scholars are calling 'New Racism' (Feber 2007) and acknowledging what Patricia Hill Collins (2005) equates as "colour-blind ideology", which presents the perspectives of a society who believe race "discrimination to be a thing of the past and [that] the playing field has been levelled" (Feber 2007:14). Unfortunately, the understanding of cultural differences within so-called colour-blind societies tends to undermine and underplay the role of race in everyday experience, depoliticising the

issue and making racialised power relations more insidious. Fittingly, W. E. B. Du Bois (1994) 'Souls of Black Folks' observes that a world without a colour-line has yet to be reaped in relation to contemporary practices.

Context, Positionality, and the Researcher

The purpose of me sharing my personal experiences as part of my theorisation is fronted in Sara Ahmed's (2017:5) exploratory statement "where we find feminism matters, from whom we find feminism matters". Ahmed (2017) suggests the origins of our *own* feminism matters as it forms the foundation of our comprehension and structures our fight for equality. My positionality as a feminist has an impact on the research topic, processes, and my continuous exercise of reflexive methods. In this thesis, I share my feelings of academic guilt and acknowledge the potential for exploitation while researching within these challenging environments. Further, I cannot ignore my own position of privilege as an academic researcher, within a UK context, yet I am still disadvantaged due to my own race, gender, and social class. I believe my own feminism and feminist fight was founded in what I had been taught about absent black men – mainly based on indoctrination, inequality, and injustices. Through my own conceptualisation of feminism – an accurate awareness of gender relations and dynamics, where the interrogation of masculinity is central – I found my interest in masculinities and their gender performances. Similar to Allen's (1989) 'Tale of The Amazon' examples, I believe the conceptualisation of black masculinities has "many different voyages of discovery" (p.39) but is dominated by a single Westernised white patriarchal narrative.

Becoming a mother of two black boys has opened my eyes as they develop their own individual black male identities. I often question, in fear, how we (my husband and I)

will nurture their being, how they are perceived by society, and most importantly, how they will value themselves. The killing of George Floyd in 2020 by a police officer sparked distress and sadness in the black community but also animated support in the fight for race equality across the world. The visual capturing of his death resonates with many black people; Mr Floyd, in the eyes of the legal system, was arguably no different than my father, my husband, or my sons. My fear resides in the very fact that what is currently perceived as cuteness will later be perceived as a threat by society as their black masculine identities emerge once they become black men – a reality of typecasting which can often become disabling. However, to quote Allen (1989), "A tale once heard differently, can be retold" (p.45). As a purpose for this, I conceptualise black masculinities via a different narrative to the dominant tales previously told, impacting the discourse on race in masculinity studies.

What do you see or how do you feel when you hear the words "a Black Man"?[1] I think of strength, resilience, a role model, the father of my children, my own father, my grandfathers and so my list could go on. But my relationship with black masculinity, I am aware, is uniquely positive compared to most of my British peers who make up the ethnic majority in the country I was born and reside in[2] (ONS 2018). My experience is an exception in a context of the historical indoctrinations of mankind and institutionalised structural biases. I write this thesis to pay homage to this person, and to applaud the black men who "keep coming up against histories that have become

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[1] This sentences echoes Sara Ahmed's (2017) opening sentence in *Living a Feminist Life*. The style of writing executed is a technique significant for my requested engagement from a reader.

[2] According to the 2011 Census, the total population of England and Wales was 56.1 million, and 86.0% of the population was White. People from Asian ethnic groups made up the second largest percentage of the population (at 7.5%), followed by Black ethnic groups (at 3.3%), Mixed/Multiple ethnic groups (at 2.2%) and Other ethnic groups (at 1.0%).

concrete, histories that have become as solid as walls" (Ahmed 2017:1). In support of exposing gender inequalities shaped by racial privilege which play out on gendered bodies, largely between competing masculinities, I examine black men's experiences of *positively surviving* in a moment that subjects them to the tangibility of western European violence (Allen 1989) – physical and psychological. I offer my research as an aid to dismantle the nefarious historical constructions of black men. In so doing, I offer a corrective to existing narratives and constructions of black men and black masculinities.

As a black lecturer of race and racism, I often encounter students who desire a more relatable understanding of race and correspondent intersections whilst requiring a safe space to explore a topic historically tabooed in the classroom. Many of my students see the policing of race within society but, until this point, have rarely been given an opportunity to speak about race outside of the home, where ongoing racial inequalities are often evident within the criminal justice and judicial systems. Disparities are evident via the higher rates of black men being stop and searched in the UK by police (Ministry of Justice 2020), a disproportionate custody rate among juvenile black offenders in the UK[3] (Ministry of Justice 2018), and a disproportionate percentage of deaths in police custody in England and Wales of black men and women (Statista 2020). Against the backdrop of the Covid-19 pandemic, racial inequalities were highlighted by a UK government report[4] which identified the disproportionate

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[3] The 'custody rate' is the percentage of offenders given an immediate custodial sentence, out of all offenders being sentenced in court for indictable offences. Among juveniles, Black offenders had the highest custody rate, at 13.7%, compared with 9.9% for White and 10.3% for Asian juvenile offenders.

[4] The UK Government (2020) released a report on understanding the impact of COVID-19 on BAME groups, which identified a disproportionate case and death rate for BAME people in comparison to white people. The report highlighted the need for quality ethnic minority data collection, culturally competent and focused risk assessments, education, and prevention campaigns.

impact the virus placed on black bodies due to socio-economic inequalities and environmental injustices.

June 2020 witnessed an ignition of anti-racist activism and protests after the videoed unlawful killing of George Floyd by four police officers gained global attention. Led through the activism of the Black Lives Matter movement,[5] global condemnation of what many are calling a *murder* has turned the spotlight, once again, onto race, racial injustices and what it means to be black. These issues get to the heart of my research as I place considerable focus on what it means to be a black man. How has this destructive notion of black masculinity been constructed? And through a shared understanding, how can dominant masculinity discourse be inclusive of race, gender, and associated intersections? The global anti-racist fight led by the #BlackLivesMatter movement is not a new phenomenon, but has given race a central platform to explore, expose and examine social relations in an effort to promote social change. The widespread activism and campaigns involving *all* races has put aside the customary narrative of *us* and *them*. In gaining traction, it has lifted the lid on *all* our colonial pasts allowing us to revise our foundational truths to build a better future.

As an identity, the term *man* is a relatively new description associated with black male identities. Adult black men have only been recognised as adult men for approximately the last 60 years (Franklin 1989). Previously, black men were referred to as *boy*, purposely placed in positions of inferiority and infancy; socially constructed for

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[5] #BlackLivesMatter was founded in 2013 in response to the acquittal of Trayvon Martin's murderer. Black Lives Matter Foundation, Inc is a global organisation in the US, UK, and Canada, "whose mission is to eradicate white supremacy and build local power to intervene in violence inflicted on Black communities by the state and vigilantes. By combating and countering acts of violence, creating space for Black imagination and innovation, and centring Black joy, we are winning immediate improvements in our lives" (blacklivesmatter.com, 2020).

ownership through colonial history and mastered as a resource by Western-European men (Phillips 2006:412). Reflected in the quote provided by Martin Luther King Jr., "the ultimate measure of a man is not where he stands in moments of comfort and convenience, but where he stands at times of challenge and controversy" – black men, and their masculinities during times of challenge and controversy, have stood strong against continuous discriminations over time and space. This triumph is seldom remembered, and positive accounts of black men (and indeed women) are omitted from mainstream knowledge. It is as though "black men have been parked away by history" (Beckles 1996:1), breeding misinformed narratives of black male identities and histories. I advocate for the acceptance of telling history via "another beginning" (Allen 1989:40) so that black men can be remembered as kings.

The constructions of black masculinity, within the context of (white/Western) hegemonic masculinity, has produced a competitive and often aggressive culture amongst black men to value as well as protect their individual masculine identities (Alexander 2006; Cooper 2006). According to Julien and Mercer (2007), hegemonic masculinity has been historically constructed via patriarchal systems of male power and privilege. The need for black men to strongly protect their identities stems from an inability to strip away negative stereotypes and discover some natural black masculinity that is good, pure, and wholesome. Instead, black men are left trying to assimilate to the gender role created for them by Western patriarchy – due to power and privilege. As well as being marginalised in the popular imaginary, black men and masculinity is rarely acknowledged as worthy of scholarly debate, thereby limiting the potential for attitudinal change.

My own experience with black men spans across several different interpretations I have gained over the years. Loved by my black father and shown a black male identity

of strength and survival, I obsess and struggle to forget the lasting directives from my mother in how I should navigate this gendered being. Growing up, with little context from myself and with no obvious malevolence from my mother, I remember she would repeatedly utter, "don't have no baby until you can look after it yourself". This would be a common instruction for both my older sisters and I throughout our entire young upbringing. I share such parental narratives due to the lasting impact this statement has had on me growing up and navigating my own pathways and relationships with black men and their masculinities.

Once married and after becoming a mother of two black sons, I remember asking my own mother why she repeatedly proclaimed that statement to us growing up. My mother's response left me dumbfounded and, in some senses, unsettled. She answered, "because that is what my mother use to tell me". Curiously, I then asked my grandmother the same question, who with no hesitation stated, "because that is what my mother use to tell me". My great-grandmother is not alive for me to ask this question to her, but I am confident that her response may be like that of her daughter's and her daughter's daughter. This sequential dispensing of what I believe to be a form of genuine honest protection and perceived wisdom exposes the internalised assumption, perpetuated through colonial legacies, of absent black males within the family structure. What my mum explained to me is that men (there was little need to state his blackness due to the context of the conversation) will more than likely leave the family home and so I would need to be financially and mentally capable to raise a baby as a single parent. What created further confusion in my understanding in not only the statement, but also the context in which it was delivered, was notably that my parents have been married for almost 35 years. This embedded assumption stinks of colonial indoctrination and is related to the legacy of slavery where black male slaves

were torn from their spouses due to colonial stud-like practices (Beckles 2006, 1996; Lynch 2009). The construction of the black absent father has created a culture of devaluing black men within the family home due to the accepted expectations that he will leave.

The purpose of me sharing this narrative is twofold. First, I want to identify and demonstrate how discourses of specific identities such as black men are constructed over time and space. The idea of the absent black man is a legacy of slavery and purposely reproduced to uphold normative constructions of the family that privilege white, Western family models. Contemporary portrayals by the media and society do little to change this narrative; rather, they perpetuate the stereotype (Hall 2013; Jones 2020; Lopez 2020). Subsequently, such cultural typologies are prevalent in prejudicial educational textbooks[6] which educate our young people, maintaining the assumption that black men will be absent parents. In Chapter Two, I explore further these inaccuracies and the discrimination placed on to black men's gender performances.

My thesis is situated among a backdrop of institutionalised systematic failures which globally have left black men and their masculinities in crisis (Ferber 2007; Levant 1992; Murray 2009). Historically, black men have been oppressed and left in a marginalised position of vulnerability (Brown 1999; Hunter and Davis 1994; Seaton 2007; Ward 2005). In light of more recent global issues surrounding the breakdown of race relations[7] across the globe and the race related impact of the coronavirus

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[6] In 2018 and again in 2020, a GCSE and a separate A Level Sociology textbook was criticised and recalled for citing damaging and discriminatory descriptions of Caribbean families. The publishers of both books (AQA) apologised for the racism and amended the book to reflect actualities.

[7] #blacklivesmatter

disproportionally impacting black, Asian and minority ethnic (BAME) communities in England and Wales,[8] black masculinity remains at the centre of social injustices.

Masculinity has become a focus for gender research with a localised interest in the Caribbean (Lewis 2007). Publications from Stephen Bourne (2014) on the *Black British Community and the Great War*, Miranda Kaufman (2017) on *Black Tudors: The Untold Story*, and David Olusoga (2016) on *Black and British: A Forgotten History*, have helped inspire the movement for embedding the history of Black Masculinity into gender studies and associated social science fields. I explore how initial colonial constructions of black male gender identities as animalistic yet infantile (Beckles 1996) continue to obstruct the deconstruction of social expectations and hinder the much-needed reconstruction of contemporary black male identities and gender performances. The conceptualisation of black masculinity and the negative connotations associated (Seaton 2007; Ward 2005) with this gender type is brought to the attention of the reader to dispel stereotypes and myths on the homogeneity of black men (and other men of colour) and their experiences. Hypermasculine performances are contingent upon the stratification of masculinities, often an expectation exists that black men will behave in hypermasculine ways, which shapes through internalisation, the behaviour and the perceptions of black men (Brown 1999; Hunter and Davis, 1994; Mosher and Tomkins 1988; Seaton 2007;). I explore the politics of masculinity through a political sociological lens and examine the structural inequalities of the individual as well as the collective. Identifying black men as a homogenous group, a single cohort of people, can create a damaging precedent for silencing if not omitting black male identities.

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[8] Public Health England 2020

The marginalisation of race in masculinity studies

Masculinity as a significant research focus in gender studies is no longer a new phenomenon. A global shift in gender roles as well as a change in ideologies, attitudes, and beliefs (Lewis 2007) has witnessed an increase in literature published on masculinity/masculinities (Brod and Kaufman 1994; Connell 2005a, 2005b, 1996, 1993, 1992; Kimmel 2005, 2001, 1987). The literature is dominated by poststructuralist and social constructivist approaches, arguing that masculinities and femininities "are produced within the institutions of society and through our daily interactions" (Kimmel 2001:500). These conceptualisations, whilst popular for an understanding of gendered characteristics, also acknowledge the socially constructed nature of gender(s). What my thesis identifies are the limitations of these conceptions intersectional perspective in relation to race and culture, which are rarely included. In addition to this, blind spots often occur in the accuracy and complete historical depictions of masculinities. The dominant literature on masculinity/masculinities relates to historical development (Connell 1993), gender socialisation (Mosher 1993, 1991, 1988, 1984), male privilege (Hofstede 1998), and representations of men (Goffman 1963). While these scholars do not capture a full range of experiences, they have however opened up valuable debates on men, their performances and nuancing work on gender. As noted above, masculinity/masculinities studies have been dominated by social constructivist approaches; many are visibly derived from traditions in poststructuralism, queer theory and especially feminism, which has a vast literature base. Not without criticism, these theoretical approaches together have contributed to my discussion on exploring *masculinities* with a focus on race.

My thesis is informed by postcolonial theoretical perspectives which support me in engaging in this conversation on masculinities and race. Postcolonial perspectives

provide me with the tools to analyse systematic constructions of the past whilst exposing the continued impact of the present. Using this lens helps me to navigate an understanding of masculinities inclusive of race which opens dialogues to question why and how black men are constructed as *other*. I place importance on the contributions made by Frantz Fanon, notably *Black Skin, White Mask* (1952) and *The Wretched of the Earth* (1961), as Fanon's psychological approach to examining black male identities and constructed performances formulates the basis of my discussions and arguments throughout my thesis. At this point I would like to help contextualise my position and avoid confusion. When exploring postcolonial theory, I use the theoretical contributions of Michel Foucault sporadically to ground my theoretical discussion. However, I want to reiterate this is not a Foucauldian thesis and I do not wish to place him central to my narrative. In fact, I will go as far as to state by placing Foucault central to my theoretical debate, I would be perpetuating the very racial structures my research aims to dispel. His texts have "monopolised the conversation about sexual formations and steered them away from considering race" (Ferguson 2006:85). Instead, I place Fanon as central to my arguments, as his work best supports my discussion on a black male experience of *other*.

In addition, I draw inspiration from Andrea G. Hunter and James Earl Davis's (1994) work on the complexity of manhood which explore the meaning of, and structures which affect, black men. I also engage in the contemporary discussion from Frank Rudy Cooper (2006), who offers a meaningful representation of black male voices and their experiences. Together both authors inform my framework in demonstrating how to engage in effective research with black communities on the subject of race, gender and sexualities. I particularly welcome their approach to their research questions and qualitative data collection which I borrow in creating my own research questions on

masculinity and remain focused on the intersectional constructions of black men. Additionally, Kimberlé Crenshaw's foundational underpinnings of intersectionality approaches inform my methodological contribution to masculinity research which I adopt, but adapt, to establish a framework best suited for my research. Combined, they inform a framework I extend that not only focuses on Jamaica/Caribbean as a geographical location of analysis, but also includes the perspectives of women and young people to adequately analyse the significance of racial marginalisation of black Caribbean men in scholarly debates on masculinities.

Hegemonic masculinity as an ideal, regardless of how it changes over time, is central to the construction of subordinated masculinities and femininity (Connell 2005). Scholars (Beckles 1996; Chevannes 2001; Lewis 2003) in black Caribbean masculinity studies present a historical depiction of the challenges faced by "raced" masculinities to achieve such desirable hegemonic outcomes. Despite this, their scholarship remains relevant, informing black masculinity contemporary debates. However, their work tends to be marginalised in wider discussions on masculinity, often dominated by hegemonic white male Western(ised) scholars. Irrespective of this marginalisation, in an age of innovation, development and cultural integration, it is time for a different approach to masculinity research to be sought. As such, my research explores the politics of race in masculinity studies and demonstrates why and how race and its intersections should be addressed in mainstream masculinity/masculinities scholarship. As noted above, mainstream masculinity scholarship has overlooked race as a significant factor. Although black masculinity has received little attention in gender studies, black male identities and their bodies are frequently given central eco-political attention (Collins 2006; Patterson 2015). Arguably, black male bodies are politicised due to the longstanding racialised injustice suffered at the hands of political

as well as economic elites. The recent anti-racism campaigns mentioned earlier in this introduction echo and place emphasis on this narrative.

Positioning poststructuralism and social constructivist schools of thought so dominantly, masculinity studies tend to underplay the significance of race in masculinity discourse as its primary goal has been to interrogate hegemony (white masculinity). The scholarship in this field tends also to be dominated by the very same individuals it researches, white men[9]. Further cracks in mainstream masculinity studies' position on gender lay in the constructed understanding of *other*. Such conceptions are generated through hegemonic white, heteronormative ideals of gender and again downplay the significance of race in establishing hegemonic norms. Within the literature, accounts on the behaviour of black men, frequently related to "notions of criminality, delinquency, underachievement, absentness and sexual promiscuity" (Franklin 1986), systematically, discredit the multiple experiences of race in masculinity debates. The solipsism of white, often queer men who write about masculinities (Mackay 2017; Mercer 2014; Ward 2019) lean toward research that relates to sexualities, hypermasculinity and femininities, rather than race (or indeed class).

Reflections on research design and sample selection

As noted above, this thesis is heavily influenced by postcolonial theory. However, I acknowledge that postcolonial theory is not without flaws. As such, I adopt an intersectionality lens to enhance my postcolonial analysis. Most feminist

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[9] There are some very notable exceptions of course – such as Raewyn Connell (who is a white trans woman) – although it remains that people of colour, regardless of gender, are certainly under-represented in this field.

methodological perspectives support the investigation of women's subjectification and Black Feminist Theory applies an intersectionality framework that addresses racial oppression with women's marginalisation. In addition, I borrow from Critical Race Theory in my approach, though my thesis does not focus on it, but rather draws upon the foundational work of scholars such as Delgado and Stefancic (2012) in studying and transforming the relationship among race, racism, and power. Along with intersectionality scholarship (Bilge 2009; Collins 2005), these approaches help to explore the vulnerability and oppression related to the black men's experiences in the Caribbean. My research methodology is firstly an advocation for the application of intersectionality as research approach. I then demonstrate via an expansion of intersectionality how this approach supports my masculinity research. I do not aim to take credit away from the magnificent work of the founding scholars and activists of this approach thus far. Rather, I use the flexibility of academic and theoretical application to demonstrate how this lens can and should be applied to black male oppressions.

Second, I expand the application of intersectionality as a methodological approach to gender research as it complements postcolonial perspectives. By doing so, I play a part in moving this approach forward and contribute to debates within masculinities scholarship. This is, of course, not to claim that there is no masculinities scholarship that engages in race. Rather, race and masculinity often, as mentioned previously, reproduce negative stereotypes – such as the nexus of black men with criminality (Seaton 2007) or his reduction to sexuality (Reddock 2004, 2003; Sharpe and Pinto 2006). My thesis strongly supports calls by Hilary Beckles (1996) and Barry Chevannes (2001) for further research to be conducted on black masculinity, its origins, and prospects. I refuse to engage in political and criminal deliberation on black men's

identities. My thesis is less interested in criminality and sexual promiscuity; rather, I take the time to investigate the why and how black men and their masculinity have been constructed in the ways they have and provide comprehensive reasoning for the ostensible *crisis*[10] in black masculinity.

The purpose of this research is to expose gender privileges that intersect with racial oppression, creating the mythical gender identity of "the black man". My position is drawn from Kimberlé Crenshaw's (2017) advocation at the National Association of Independent Schools for People of Colour (NAIS), that "You cannot change outcomes without understanding how they came about". Having stated the problem and my position, I emphasise the significance of race in masculinity studies. The premise of this thesis is founded in the following research questions:

1. What does an intersectional approach lend to the study of black Caribbean masculinity?
2. How does race impact constructed gender performances in relation to hegemonic masculinity?
3. How do black Caribbean men experience and perform masculinity?
4. What role does the legacy of colonialism play in shaping the expectations of, and discrimination towards, black men?

I acknowledge and canvas my subjectivity in my study of the black man and black masculinities. As a black female, married to a black man and a mother to two black young boys, I project not only my interest in understanding black masculinity but

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[10] Black Masculinity is identified by numerous scholars (Ferber 2007; Hunter and Davis 1994 Levant 1992; Murray 2009; Ward 2005) has being in a state of 'crises. This notion of a "marginalised man", is explored later in my this (*see* p.59 and p.76).

reflect on my subjective position in the complexities of also researching black men and their masculinities. This positionality and awareness of my personal subjectivity is explored and entwined into this thesis via my reflective and immersive approaches to research. Subsequently, I demonstrate the richness and limitations associated with such methods in my methodology and empirical chapters.

Before I begin setting the methodological underpinnings of my research, it is important to justify why I decided to research the English-speaking black Caribbean,[11] with a focus on Jamaica as a country of interest. Noted, research on black men or black masculinities is not a new phenomenon (Alexander 2006; Anthony 2013; Chevannes 2001; Griffith et al. 2012; *hooks* 2004; Hunter and Davis 1994; Lemelle 2012; Neal 2013). However, from the literature accessible to me, little research explores the conceptualisation of black masculinity and any relationships experienced outside of the expected hegemonic gender performance. Jamaica's role in gender constructions demonstrates where hegemonic power was lost and how gender norms have become indoctrinated over centuries. My case study also presents findings on current gender

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[11] As the specification of this paper stems from the understanding of Black Anglophone Caribbean Masculinity, analytical attention must be given to definitional clarity of 'Black', 'Anglophone', 'Caribbean' and 'Masculinity'. For this thesis, the term 'Black' is to mean a human group of people having dark-coloured skin. Importantly, it does not refer to people of all non-white identities, such as Asian ancestry. The term 'Anglophone' refers to an English-speaking person or English-speaking nation (Oxford Dictionaries, 2020). For example, 'Francophone' refers to nations that speak French. The acquirement of European languages into the Caribbean was inserted into these countries from colonial rule. This differentiation between the English-speaking Caribbean nations and others (French, Dutch, Spanish, etc.) is important as it sets the historical pathway of that nation and creates a colonial comprehension of why particular Caribbean countries embrace certain European cultural identities. My research will focus solely on Anglophone Caribbean countries due to my limitations of language but also due to an advantage of cultural understandings. Within this thesis, the Caribbean is understood as a grouping of small islands "located to the southeast of the Gulf of Mexico, east of Central America and Mexico, and to the north of South America" (World Atlas, 2020).

performances as amalgamations of hegemonic masculine acceptances and expressions of *other* masculinities.

My research contributes to this narrative by offering a depiction of black men that does not place stigmatisation on his gender by creating a binary between perpetrator or non-victimised. Specific to my research, I present an inclusive comprehension of the expectations and stereotypes negotiated by black men in Jamaica. I ask the question: how are black men's gender identities and performances shaped and challenged? Linden Lewis (2007) points out the significance of examining the language, but more importantly the discourse spoken by men in the Caribbean. The influence the Caribbean has on the culture and traditions performed outside of the continent are paramount to gender studies. Evidentially demonstrated across my research, the binary relationship between Westernised white hegemonic masculinity is coupled with the exploitation and oppression of other masculinities. Therefore, the understanding of other masculinities and histories will provide a better, and fuller, understanding of the ways in which certain gender performances are accepted and become dominant.

My research has a focus on black men and their masculinity which I engage with throughout my empirical analysis. However, due to the widespread existence of the black male gender – not only in native locations such as in Africa and the Caribbean, but diaspora spaces also – I acknowledge debates on matters concerning racism, sexism, and sexuality will be experienced differently by black men occupying different spaces and during different periods in time. Nevertheless, while avoiding generalisations, what I found comparing my own research with existing accounts was that aspects of black male experiences identified in Jamaica are echoed in and/or influence the shared experiences of many black men elsewhere.

Researching the attitudes and opinions of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity in specific localised regions like the Caribbean is important. I decided to conduct my research on and in Jamaica, due to the country's colonial significance in the construction of the British Empire, but also the dominant relationship it has with the diaspora communities exerting these legacies across the globe. As the largest of the ten established British territories (Gabriel 2007:35), Jamaica was used as a starting point for immigrant settlers. Escaping colonisation by the Spanish in exchange for the colonisation by the British, Jamaica was populated by white settlers in their thousands pursuing wealth through plantation networks and growth. Still headed by the British monarch, Queen Elizabeth II, Jamaica has a history of slavery and is a society currently in recovery from its traumatising legacy.

Reflections of Methodologies

Sociological and anthropological methods play a role in my data collection and analysis. I engage in reflexive and immersive methodologies to provide "a deeper, richer and more textured ethnography" (Emerson 1987:81) into the research conducted. This supported me to become my research as my research has become me. My thesis exposes the narrow methodologies available to examine masculinities – evidence of the lack of a clear methodology as a potential weakness of intersectionality emphasised throughout my research. Acknowledging the complexities associated with the application of this intersectional approach, one limitation becomes apparent through my research: existing intersectional work seeks only to capture the marginalisation of black women or, at a stretch, women of colour. However, it is at this point that I move the approach forward, applying intersectionality to the examination of masculinities.

The data collection methods used in my research are formulated on an ethnographic framework of observations, immersion, and reflexivity, focus groups and research diaries to generate greater as well as specific understandings of black masculinities and the importance of race in analysing all genders. As part of my data collection, I incorporate picture entries as an additional shared observation that provides visual aids in support of my discussions. The analysis of my findings has been thematically grouped to formulate a narrative in this debate. The categories are twofold and address; 1) *Family and Household Cultural Norms* and *Interrogating Sexualities*, and 2) *Cultural Influences and Religious Values*. The themes illustrate how and in which way gender is governed by race and its associated cultures. I do not stand shy of the ethical challenges faced throughout my research including matters of safeguarding still, I offer justifications for my choices, sharing my experiences throughout.

Further, it is worth noting that much of the research about the post-colonial *'Third World'* has been conducted and generated via research and knowledge of the metropole (Delgado and Stefancic 2012; Fanon 2001, 1967; Kimmel 2005, 1987), embracing knowledge production through Western eyes. Contemporary postcolonial scholars (*see* Bhabha 2017) from outside the Western perspective have made significant contributions to apply a postcolonial theoretical approach to ethnographic research. However, "it [becomes] a fraught and almost disabling self-conscious exercise" (Rajan 1993:1) to attempt an identity deconstruction, due to the dominance of knowledge production from the West.

My methodological approach includes the examination of race as my focus but incorporates additional marginalisation such as social class, age, sexuality, and gender performance to address the intersections at their crossroads in which oppressions are more complex. My research contributes to the discussion from Caribbean authors,

such as Linden Lewis (2003) and Rhoda Reddock (2004), who have produced research distinctly identifying the difference culture has on gender and sexuality in the Caribbean and extend this focus to highlight and include the difference *race* and *ethnicity* also have on gender and sexuality. It is the notion of *colourism* that I would like to shed light on at this intersection of my research to dispel myths of one homogenous lived black male experience.

Colourism refers to prejudice based on skin shade (Phoenix 2014:97), reciprocating privilege and discriminations witnessed during colonialism (Lynch 2009) in favour of lighter shades of skin tone (Gabriel 2007). This concern has been explored in my later chapter (*see* Masculinity: A Conceptualisation). Research on colourism tends to focus on women and the intersections with sexism to disempower women of colour (Avril 2008; Gabriel 2007; Phoenix 2014). Yet, it is still relevant for my thesis to acknowledge and understand the 'intra-intersectional discrimination' exposed by Devon Carbado and Mitu Gulati (2013) that renders inferior certain darker skinned black men.

Similarly, preferential treatment was given to enslaved people via a colourism dichotomy; light skinned women who were produced via slave master rapes, or 'relationships' with black slaves (Harrison 2010; hooks 2003) were weaponised towards darker women (and men). Exploring the performative dynamics of the 'Fifth Black Woman' by Carbado and Gulati (2013), the article exposed the ways that gender biases within an ethnic group can occur. Comparably, society's stereotypes of a racial group are often towards a specific stereotyped gender performance. Carbado and Gulati (2013) demonstrate how, amongst a group of five black women attending a job interview, the woman that dispelled stereotypical gender performances of a black woman would not be recruited (for instance, if she had a typically 'black' name and/or

appearance). Likewise, black male identities can be both constraining and positive. They are also identified through racialised gender performances and stereotypical discriminatory practices. In fact, the purpose of my research is to highlight the importance of being aware of such differences in relation to gender and the intersectional relationship with race and culture.

Earlier in this introduction, I openly discuss the current socio-political affairs affecting black Caribbean men – more specifically, the recent anti-racism campaigns and impact of Covid-19 on black people. Jackson Katz (2004) opens his article by proclaiming that "all ethnographies are politically cast and policy relevant" (p.280). In agreeance with Katz (2004:280) I characterise my own ethnographic research as a political statement itself. Such identification I can recognise in my research and in the approaches I have used. My thesis demonstrates that for black men, "the personal is indeed political" (Ahmed 2018:3). Institutionalised colonial legacies have lasting subjective influences impactful across generations. Being identified and labelled a black man often results in negative material consequences that are rooted in the history of slavery and colonialism.

Limitations

My thesis depicts the construction of black masculinity in Jamaica via the lens of a black British woman. Some may see this as problematic due to differences in my experience of gender. However, the approaches I incorporate throughout my research acknowledge gender is constructed through relational practices, and so while you may not identify as male you still can shed light on this issue due to your position relative to masculinity. The history of colonialism has been told many times, so I will not do that in my thesis. Instead, my research focuses on the constructions of black

masculinity which have generated great interest in race studies but remain largely overlooked in gender theory.

I am clearly aware of the literature bias in constructing an accurate depiction of 16th century colonialism and Western imperialism. It is for this reason I consciously choose to incorporate non-Westernised scholarship, activists, and critical theories to inform my work. This has not come without challenge in the sense of library categorisations of literature on masculinity, gender, and race being at opposite ends of the building. I remember the literature specifically on black masculinity was categorised not with books on gender, but on civil rights and slavery, which ironically was tucked away in an isolated bookshelf in a lonely part of the library. In addition to overcoming issues of literature bias, I found further research barriers with the university's journal subscription services not representing nor granting access to the thematical materials I required to conduct my research. Nonetheless, I found ways to overcome these challenges by contacting authors directly and purchasing books myself.

As another challenge, language as a tool for communication and comprehension became, at times, a limiting factor in my research. The native language and dialects in Jamaica, from what I identified as part of my research journey, became victim to cultural translation and academic meaning. In his book *Learning to be a Man*, Chevannes (2001) analysed the derogatory language adopted by Caribbean boys as a rite of passage into becoming a man. It was beneficial to share the meanings of local vernacular with his readers for a greater comprehension of this community. Controversially, it can also be received as an attempt to further incite negative stereotypes and subordinations already subjected to black Caribbean men. I found such similarities in my examination of local vernacular and descriptions of additional verb meanings of manhood. In different cultures the term manhood relates to different

things (Kimmel 1994:119). For example, I found that in the Anglo-Caribbean islands the term 'manhood' refers to the male genitals, protective, competitive, and heteronormative aspect of his being, whereas in other cultures, 'manhood' refers to male attributes of machoism. It became important for me to gain clarity in not only my understandings of cultural terminologies, but also to offer a clear explanation of the Westernised, British, and occasionally academic language I presented.

The acknowledgment of how and why I have set theoretical parameters and the identification of research limitations is not a question of my research integrity; rather, my specificity and sincerity provide leverage for a specific topic – masculinity (gender) and race – which I then explore via an unconventional postcolonial feminist lens. By doing this I not only provide a unique framework for researching masculinity and race, but specifically, I provide an opportunity for black men's voices and their experiences to become central in gender studies scholarship.

Thesis Contributions and Key Findings

My thesis presents an original contribution to the field of masculinity studies as it provides a postcolonial intersectional framework to adequately research race. This thesis speaks directly to masculinity scholars advocating a requirement to include race and its intersections into gender research. The research contributes an in-depth understanding of why, but also how, race needs to be included in dominant masculinity debates. Here, I investigate what it means to be a black man in society and explore the legacies of black male identity constructions and societal expectations. Building on Beckles' (1996) symposium on *The Construction of Black Masculinity*, I examine the relationship between race and gender and draw from narratives on gender privilege against racial oppression. It is at this point that I demonstrate inadequate inclusions of black men in these discussions. Many areas within the dominant

discourses of masculinity studies trivialise black masculinity as a research topic. It is interpreted as a problem for race-related studies rather than received as a central component of gender studies. I reinterpret existing work through a new theoretical framework. To borrow Ahmed's (2017) declaration, "intersectionality is a starting point, the point from which we must proceed if we are to offer an account of how power works" (p.5). Therefore, forming a postcolonial intersectional framework has enabled me to appropriately include race in masculinity research discussions and expand intersectionality's black feminist foundations to also be inclusive of men.

Acknowledging Leslie McCall's (2005) *The Complexity of Intersectionality*, I acknowledge the weaknesses of intersectionality approaches and frameworks and contribute to the work on intersectional methodologies, exploring race appropriately beyond conventional and often dominant methods in this discipline. My thesis examines black masculinities specifically as a fusion of genders and contributes to narratives by Priscilla A. Ocen (2013) on *Unshackling Intersectionality* as an approach to expose alternative perceptions of black masculinities, whilst embracing a new method of thinking of his gender as a praxis of social change (Yuval-Davis 2011) and potential social capital (Yosso 2005). My contribution towards feminist scholarship continues in my application of feminist theorisation as a method in my research throughout.

This thesis contributes an understanding that if we continue to write about race and culture for only those of us who are academic critical thinkers, there remains "a risk of perpetuating hierarchical ideas of knowledge that falsifies and maintains structures of domination" (hooks 2004:153). It is for such fundamental reasons that I write my thesis for a wider audience (beyond academics). I take on a similar approach to Alice Walker's, and write this thesis in a manner that is accessible to the many. The language

I use, and discussions considered, have been purposefully structured to encourage accessibility to comprehend and participate in this debate. When writing my thesis, I use the terms *we/us* when appropriate to provide clarity in who it is, I am speaking about. While I am aware of the risk, I run by becoming too close with my research and identity group, I use *us/we* in the hope that I stay connected to my research and transparent with my reader (Collins 2000; hooks 2004).

This thesis found that when addressing matters of masculinity, an emphasis on race needs to be taken into account to acquire an accurate examination of this gender identity and associated performances. My thesis found that in the case of black Caribbean masculinity, sixteenth century colonialism has been a vital component in the construction of black Caribbean masculinity. Additionally, my findings demonstrate how the gender performances of black Caribbean men have been constructed and continue to be influenced by systemic structures and societal attitudes. Black Caribbean men have been stripped of their original enslaved identity and continue to be indoctrinated as devalued objectified bodies positioned as inferior and inhumane (Beckles 2004).

Using Frantz Fanon (1952) as a cultural example of black masculinity in my analysis, I demonstrate the crippling psychosis engrained into black men and the worthlessness expected by him from society. Ultimately, my thesis exposed the relationship between hegemonic depictions of masculinity and black Caribbean masculinities as oppressive and unjust. When race is addressed inadequately in masculinity debates, it creates flaws in the discussion and compels white salvation including uncivilization narratives (Burrell 2010; Fanon 1967) and racial oppressions (Carbado 2001; Yosso, 2005). Such typecasting oppresses and furthermore marginalises black men, not seen as victims but labelled as privileged aggressors (Johnson 2016; Oselin and Barber 2019; Woods

2008). My findings are significant to the development of masculinity studies and contribute to a wider scholarship on gender inclusivity.

Indeed, I was surprised by the extent to which colonial legacies surrounding gender constructions, cultural norms, and sexualities of black men in Jamaica remain prominent. Jamaica has one of the largest diaspora communities around the world, exemplifying many shared experiences of black male gender performances in these locations. The embedded doctrines of slavery remain influential of the current gender norms, expectations and performances exerted by black men. Jamaica, as a pinnacle of British colonialism and its legacies, exemplifies the intra-intersectional prejudices that still exist through colourism. However, shared via my conclusive discussion chapter, I am at least able to place reason – but still not justification – onto homophobic values and promiscuous cultural expectations.

Overview of thesis

This thesis is driven by a need to explore the constructions of black masculinity and identify why race is a significant aspect of masculinity debates. The beginning of this introduction presents picture of innocence – four young boys, including my own son – and my research examines what and how such innocents become constructed in ways that negatively impact their opportunities and life chances. Broadly, in order to present this argument, my thesis is structured into two sections: theoretical and empirical.

The first chapter critically reviews the literature on masculinity/masculinities, exploring and problematising the dominance of poststructuralist and social constructivist perspectives in this field. The chapter interrogates historical (Goffman 1963), geographical (Jackson 1991), and hypermasculine (Mosher and Tomkins 1988)

views on masculinity/masculinities as well as exploring the literature that focuses on masculinity/masculinities across time and space. In this chapter, I acknowledge the understanding of masculinity as a social construct (Butler 1990; Connell 2005; Kimmel 2004) but highlight the flaws with the dominant literature's scarce inclusion of race – inaccurately, if at all. This leads neatly into Chapter Two, which addresses the questionable inclusion of race in the mainstream gender studies/masculinities literature through my adoption of postcolonial theoretical frameworks. Here, I argue, along with other scholars, that postcolonial frameworks are more appropriate for examining race in masculinity research. I not only expose patterns of discrimination (Ferber 2007) in the literature but provide a platform for the oppressive *other* to become significant in the debate. Specifically, I use black masculinity as an example of why race historically (Beckles 1996) remains significant. I demonstrate how an inclusive analysis can be achieved. This chapter, then, addresses the constructional concepts explored in Chapter One.

Chapters three and four, respectively, present my intersectional methodological approach to analysing gender supported via a postcolonial perspective and the design and methods used during my data collection, overall highlighting the ethical challenges associated with my approach. I draw from intersectionality as a core methodological approach. However, I adapt the approach to enhance my analysis and move forward the debate on masculinity to be more inclusive of race.

In the remaining chapters, based on the ethnographic research I conducted in Jamaica across six weeks, the core findings in my thesis continue to unfold. Here, I offer examples of how race and gender, when identified as *other*, have an impact on the examination of masculinities. I present black masculinity in Jamaica as an example of how race greatly influences gender performances and should be part of the dominant

discourse. Chapter five provides an examination into *Family and Household Cultural Norms* expected to be performed by black men in Jamaica. In the household, I found that gender norms are shrouded by colonial legacies and cultural practices. My analysis exposes the potential hindrance such subcommand is having on the development of gender in this region. Chapter six, *Interrogating Sexualities: Cultural Influences and Religious Values*, unpacks sexual experiences and expectations linked to the black male body. In this chapter, the notions of fetishisation, desirability and promiscuity are highlighted. I share participant accounts and observations that evidence discriminatory narratives towards homosexual men, as well as women, which are upheld through cultural norms, religious doctrines, and the law.

I conclude my thesis with a summary of my empirical findings and discuss the current political constructions of black masculinities. This final chapter formulates the key debates generated from my research findings and develops themes for future research and debate. The chapter uses the new insights I have provided to demonstrate how reconstructions of masculinity are being generated inclusive of other masculinities. The thesis concludes by reflecting on how positions of masculinity inclusive of race can be included in masculinity studies. My research offers postcolonial theoretical perspectives supported with an intersectional methodological framework to research race in masculinity studies. I conclude my thesis highlighting the theoretical, empirical, and methodological contributions. A remembrance to the reader that an examination of race as an acknowledgment of difference is a significant factor and needs to be better integrated within masculinity debates.

Masculinities: A Conceptualisation

'All a woman needs for her identity as a woman is to fulfil her biological role. But for a man, his paternity is not enough. He must learn to be a man…'.

Chevannes (2001)

Masculinity is an area of contestation within gender studies and relatable fields. The quotation above provided by Chevannes (2001) acknowledges the "meaning" of both femininity and masculinity as hugely contested gender(ed) generalisations, often based on assumed biological roles and "destinies". The statement highlights the way in which women's identities are too often reduced to simply biology, presumably becoming a mother, whilst simultaneously invoking the complexity of becoming a "man". Notably, the paternal factor for men as a gender identity is overlooked in favour of learnt behaviours, which are sometimes deemed more appropriately masculine. Socially constructed divisions frequently govern gendered expectations intended for men and their bodies.

The purpose of this chapter is to firstly identify some of the way's masculinity has been constructed across time and space and exemplify the long-lasting impact it has on gender relations. In conceptualising masculinity, I highlight the domination of theoretical perspectives on socially constructive systems of cultural bias in the literature.[12] This chapter will also highlight a criterion of masculine gender identity

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[12] My research is informed by poststructuralism and social constructivist theoretical perspectives, which I argue are flawed in the inadequacy of including race as significant in dominant masculinity debates. However, the relationship my thesis has with poststructuralism and social constructivism is

and explore genealogical gaps in the literature that cause concern in deploying accuracy and fairness in the interpretations of said knowledge production. This literature chapter incorporates different schools of thought (poststructuralists/modernists foundations, social constructivism, feminist standpoint theories and queer theory), which are included in most debates within masculinity studies. Specific attention is given to poststructuralism and social constructivism as theories which, through the process of deconstruction, both acknowledge the system or production of knowledge as culturally biased. Nevertheless, representations of identity (ethnicity, race, class, gender, religion, etc.) are not as widespread as the focus on race. To problematise poststructuralist theory, I acknowledge the influence western(ised) or European thinking has in gender studies debates and the subsequent privileging of these perspectives. Similarly, social constructionism's viewpoint on power and knowledge production processes, again, are constituted from western(ised) culturally biased conditioning. The complexity of theories of/on masculinity demonstrate how no single viewpoint on masculine gender identities and performance is sufficient. In addition, it is worth noting masculinity can be attached to female bodies also – an important qualification as it highlights the performative nature of gender.

To remain focused on the aim of my research, I overlook the breadth of literature and theoretical perspectives which explore dominant constructions of masculinity (*see* Brod and Kaufman 1994; Connell 2005, 1993, 1992; Kimmel 2005, 2001, 1987), in exchange of analytical concentration on genealogical constructions of masculinity and an in-depth exploration between power, knowledge production and cultural bias.

foundational in scoping the debate but rectified throughout the research, instead using alternative appropriate approaches such as postcolonialism.

Explained in my introductory chapter, the methodological approach I implement, to beneficially limit the direction of my research, is inspired by both Smith (2020) and V Spike Peterson (2003:13). I commend the influential work of key writers such as Raywen Connell and Michael Kimmel, which are fundamental in masculinity scholarship. Yet, whilst their work is well known, it lacks an acknowledgment of cultural and racial bias. Breadth, I argue, can be a distraction from specification in research – something I believe is fundamental in my research, to identify flaws in systems of knowledge production and influences. By doing so, I can concentrate on the social construction of masculinities (plural) and often notions of racialised masculine performances, which dominant discourse fails to address adequately. To achieve this, I focus on the conceptualisations of masculinity – what is a man? – the historical construction of masculinity, and cultural influences of time and space on how masculinity is performed. Here, I demonstrate how the construction of dominant masculinity is founded in institutional governance and cultural bias, impacting how masculinity, as a gender norm is presented.[13] During this process, I illustrate how transformations to gender relations during and after the 19th century, reveal a deliberate ignorance towards masculinities. Issues of hegemony, dominance and power will also be addressed, providing a foundation for theoretical debates on consequential inequalities and discrimination. At this point, the chapter will draw on feminist theory as an adoptive support framework. The chapter also explores the associations masculinity has with geographies and cultures, allowing for consideration

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[13] I do not discuss intersections of gender, sex, and sexuality due to the depth of analysis each concept would require. I am aware these three terms are strongly associated with gender construction but are often misunderstood to be interchangeable. My research does not discredit the importance of these debates, however due to my limited focus and space I am unable to adequately provide an appropriate discussion on these topics.

of how expected hyper-masculine performances are affiliated with specific geographically located (gender) identities. The discussion will formulate an introductory advancement in dominant masculinity discourse, which identifies the lack of attention given to race as a deserving focal point in this debate.

Masculinity: what is it?

In the following section I begin my (de)construction of masculinity by firstly identifying and then attempting to define it. My thesis demonstrates the importance of examining foundational constructions of masculinity as a route to understanding how current gender ideals on race are formed. Once comprehension is achieved, I then evidence why it is fundamental and how to deconstruct such discriminatory notions of black men. Masculinity is commonly regarded as opposite and superior to femininity and, consequently, the masculine is defined through the rejection of the feminine (Hofstede 1998; Spence and Helmreich 1979). It is important to acknowledge this is not a new insight but is instead something that feminists have long been arguing. This claim holds historical merit and legacy when contextualised with factors such as location, culture, time, and space. Masculinity has a deep-rooted influence on an unequal gender relation dominated by men performing masculinities. Often these factors are associated with gender norms, with an aversion to different gender performances. Kimmel (2001) highlights that, even though gender (male/female) can be viewed as an internal state, masculinities, and femininities "are produced within the institutions of society and through our daily interactions" which impact at the societal (public) level. Such views were echoed by Jackson (1991), who argues that "masculinities and femininities are being created and recreated throughout the lifecycle: confirmed, negotiated and modified daily" (p.201). Understanding such social processes is vital to underpinning (de)constructions of current gender norms

and expectations. It will demonstrate how knowledge is produced, why power lies in the palms of an elite few and continues to suppress identities which symbolise difference.

During this chapter I compare poststructuralist's understanding of the culturally biased systems of knowledge production with some social constructivism perspectives on the power systems in place governing knowledge production (Woolfork 1996). To gauge an understanding of how approaches to knowledge production explicitly address race and cultural bias, I contrast the two paradigms in an attempt to identify discriminatory flaws within the dominant discourse on gender. Poststructuralists often understand gender not as something we are, but rather as something we *do*; gender is a performance. According to Moynihun (1998), social theories of masculinities recognise that gender "is achieved through and by people and their context" (p.1073) and is constructed via a process of defining an object (identity construction). Social constructivism argues gender is "an active process of construction, occurring in a field of power relations that are often tense and contradictory, and often involving negotiations of alternative ways of being" (Connell 1993:193). It is our social interactions that shape, script and govern gender as well as generate differentiation between and amongst other people's performances. But, in spite of numerous expressions of masculinity, hegemonic masculinity remains the ideal.

I continue my (de)construction of masculinity by exploring how hegemonic masculinity is illustrated and acknowledging which masculinities do not align with constructed hegemonic gender ideals. When constructing an understanding of

masculinity, the quest for the *hegemonic*[14] man evidently becomes a focus. I argue, in line with Connell (1987), the hegemonic definition of masculinity in each culture "is constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities, as well as in relation to women". The exclusion and marginalisation of certain men and masculine performances are not merely a result of masculine-feminine gender disparities, but also a consequence of differences within the category of men. Masculinity norms are home to heteronormative Eurocentric ideals of what it is to be a man. Possession of said qualities produces hierarchies between men, as well as an under-acknowledgement of women. As early as the 1960s Goffman (1963) famously offered an insightful definition of the hegemonic masculine standard that continued to shape gendered expectations in the late 20th century and even resonates today. Indirectly highlighted through this statement are the masculinities (plural) excluded from his and societies' constructed acceptance.

> […] there is only one complete unblushing male in America; a young married, white, urban, northern, heterosexual, Protestant, father, of college education, fully employed, of good complexion, weight and height, and a recent record in sports… Any male who fails to qualify in any one of these ways is likely to view himself – during moment at least – as unworthy, incomplete, and inferior.

Contrary to this argument, Goffman's definition of hegemonic masculinity leaves me puzzled. He codes the "ideal" as white and protestant and therefore, makes explicit reference to ethnicity and culture – underpinning the significance of race in his depiction. Some feminist scholars conclude Goffman's (1963) stated characteristics as "relational, they depend on each other for their meaning" (Tickner and Sjoberg 2006). The identification of a man provided by Goffman (1963) can be contested on the

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14 Hegemony is discussed in the following chapter under masculinity and race.

grounds of society's developments since an era where "John Wayne" was the ideal representation of hegemonic masculinity. However, inclusion of equality policies has done little to shift this manifestation of hegemonic masculinity, with society's conceptualisation of man and expectations of the dominant gender moving little beyond this accepted depiction.

The societal influence of "the masculine" couples well with institutional governance of gender norms; a concept which resonates notions of leadership, power, dominance, and knowledge by one state or social group over another. Initially hegemony was understood as a political concept which rests with Marxist's understanding of class system. Gramsci's (1971) neo-Marxist progressive examination saw hegemony as being concerned with the divisions of society, both political and civil, to identify the superior beings. It is essential to explore what we view as a social understanding by whom is it constructed and for who to practise. Such scripts are supported by Hofstede (1998:78) who declares how hero models (the ideal man) are created according to the dominant culture in the society of which they are made. Hofstede (1998:6) defines gender dynamics as "a society in which men are supposed to be assertive, tough and focused on material success; women are supposed to be more modest, tender and concerned with the quality of life". However, neither definition advocates inclusivity of differences nor additional behaviours ideally from a spectrum of genders. I share these definitions due to the continued conceptualisation by society, where such premises still hold merit. The reluctance to include equality or togetherness as accepted behaviours inherent to all genders directly feeds the dominant rhetoric on masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity maintains its hegemony through the subordination of competing masculinities (as well as the rejection of femininity). I acknowledge such realities but seek an alternative to this model.

Masculinity, and sanctioned masculine performances, are heavily dependent and influenced by i) the state, ii) the labour market and iii) the family. Anderson and Baym (2004) explain, through a poststructuralist lens, how the knowledge produced through such institutions, and often reinforced through policies, impacts how objects are perceived, as well as the range of potential meanings they can represent. Connell (1993) suggests "human activity is institutionally bound and within that too is the personal practice of masculinity". As a distinct and clear expectation on separate gendered behaviours is universally evident, I interpret such widespread portrayals of institutionalisation as pathways towards misogynistic and harmful ideals of gender(s) and associated performances. The battle for equality, diversity, and inclusivity would minimise discrimination within the category of "man".

A change in the way that we comprehend masculinities is required. Masculinity is now defined on the basis of class and race, and indeed, "more by what one is not rather than who one is" (Kimmel 1994:126). As such the social composition of masculinity changes within different contexts. I embrace the poststructuralist understanding which goes beyond societal divisions of power (Laclue and Mouffe 2001) and integrates hegemony to include the cultural construction of social and class identities as well as gender, ethnicity, and other aspects of identity. Regardless of these changes over time, hegemonic masculinity appears to be invariably coded as white and heterosexual. Using this position as a springboard, I pursue my own interrogation of masculinities (plural) in my research.

Pillars of History: The Construction Site of Masculinity

Masculinity genealogy, as stated earlier in this chapter, is a significant aspect of my research. I argue masculinity to be a culturally bound term that makes little sense outside of the western(ised) European understanding of gender. Current westernised

European discourse on masculinity does not represent the realities of gender normativity in other cultures. Exploring historical constructions of (hegemonic) masculinity serves as the basis for a comprehensive analysis of men and the construction of masculinities. My discussion resonates with Laclue and Mouffe (2001) who identify the culturally conditioned bias within many poststructuralist accounts of masculinity. By presenting this timeline, I demonstrate why an alternative, postcolonial and intersectional lens to masculinity is more appropriate, and at this point in the debate necessary.

This section of my literature review follows a historical discussion of how and why current masculinity performances exist. Presented as key moments in history, Connell (1993) exhibits significant changes in gender identity and performances during the early modern European era. These milestones include:(i) the disruption of Medieval Catholicism by the Renaissance, (ii) the creation of overseas empires during imperialism, (iii) the growth of large dominant cities (i.e., London) and commercial capitalism, and (iv) the European civil war and the displacement of gentry masculinity by political revolution. Due to the industrialisation and urbanisation of specific civilisations in the western world (Kimmel 2001:9318), gender norms – expected behaviours and attitudes – also changed throughout these periods. Despite documenting these momentous changes, race as an invitation into discussions of *masculinities* is absent.

In search of the research depth over breadth referred to in my introductory chapter of this thesis, I acquired Kimmel's (1994) discussion of three models of manhood that were a continuation of Connell's (1993) assertions on development, established during a more contemporary era of growth in the early and middle part of the 19th century.

The prevailing "Genteel Patriarch" that governed land and the existence of "Heroic Artisan" that had physical labour jobs – such as craftsmen and shopkeepers – "embodied the fusion of liberty and equality" (Kimmel 1994:123) into the knowledge of masculinities. Kimmel (1994) describes the third model of manhood as the Marketplace Manhood which gathered its autocracy within the growing capitalist marketplace and modern ideas of globalisation. He argues that the success of the Marketplace model "cast aside the Genteel Patriarch as an anachronistic feminised dandy – sweet, but ineffective and outmoded, and transforming the Heroic Artisan into a dispossessed proletarian, a wage slave". In parallel to this change, the eradication of aristocratic freedoms and the equality of Artisan left capitalist men to rein with a sovereign model of manhood by the "exclusion of *other*, women, non-white men, non-native born men, homosexual men…" (Kimmel 1994:124). Noteworthy, Kimmel also fails to include masculinities – racial or otherwise – as being part of any conceptual social construction of man during this developmental era.

This historical exploration of the construction of masculinity is significant to my research because it enables a better understanding to be formed on the conceptualisation of black men. By retrieving foundational underpinning on systems of oppression and marginalisation, power and privilege, my research is able to identify how and why, storytelling via an alternative lens exposes gaps in our knowledge. It highlights discrimination and exploitations experienced by *other* masculinities in order for hegemonic masculinity to prevail. Despite a growing trend for researching masculinity, "little attention is given to those who suffered at the hands of dominant men's privileged positions" (Coltrane, Brod and Kaufman 1997:41). Discussed previously, dominant schools of thought (including poststructuralism and social constructivism) construct masculinity through a westernised European lens of power,

dominance, and privilege. Connell (1993) understands this problem to be due to a narrow understanding of gender as static. This corresponds with my own position that recognises these sub-human narratives of the *other*. I applaud the literature available to me, however scarce, on masculinities of marginalised groups, race, and other cultures throughout history (*see* Beckles 1996; Hines and Jenkins 1999; Lewis 2003; Reddock 2004, 2003) and I share concerns on the erasure of "other" masculinities within the wider literature.

In line with Connell (1993), considering such omissions, the idea of multi-masculinities should not be farfetched as we already identify with multiple cultures. Despite this, cultures not constructed by western European ideals are often forgotten or ignored. The exclusion, from the dominant literature of *others,* causes concern for the representation of other masculinities and their experiences. Indeed, the histories of others cannot be side-lined for the convenience of whitewashed, westernised tales of greatness and empire. Such narratives must include the reasoning of *who* and *how* certain histories have prevailed. For example, Beckles (1996) argues that "black men have been parked away by history" (p.1) and identifies how current theoretical approaches to international development or gender studies merely take black men into consideration. For instance, and similarly, Hines and Jenkins (1999) analyse the participation of black masculinity in the United States' fight for freedom and equality during 1750-1870. Such depictions of power are rarely relayed in dominant literature. The dissemination of positive constructions of black masculinity would present a more accurate portrayal of the histories of masculinities. Using *race* as an example, my research demonstrates why the (de)construction of masculinities is a fundamental element currently missing from masculinity debates.

Masculinities across Time and Space

The tone of this section changes to reflect my thinned patience for the minimal inclusion of the *other*, which dominant schools of thought continue to dismiss. In this section, I continue a historical depiction of masculinities in my presentation of both space and time. Geographical and cultural context both equate to influential features affecting knowledge production related to masculinities. Explained by poststructuralist perspectives, knowledge as situated is dependent on time, space, and context. Stressed throughout this chapter, constructions of masculinity and associated gender norms are interpreted differently geographically and historically. Therefore, this section explores the significance of context and exemplifies how dominant constructions of masculinity remain discriminatory of the *other*.

Analysing gender and race through a geographic lens offers breadth to masculinity research which is not to take focus away from the research depth promised. Broadly, "masculinity continues to be a focus for feminist cultural and social geographers" (Longhurst 2000:441), something which is, therefore, important to acknowledge here. Longhurst (2000) reports how "feminist geographers have always been engaged in discussions of masculinity" (p.439) yet acknowledges how the discipline rarely takes on for example a queer approach to exploring the inter-relations between geography and non-conforming gender identities. Nonetheless, "feminist culture and social geography is a key area where probably the greatest volume of work on masculinity has been carried out" (Longhurst 2000:440). I associate my research with advances made by geographers in the conceptualisation of masculinity/masculinities and discussions surrounding hegemony, culture, time, and place.

Geography has been important in analysing masculinity, not least since Peter Jackson's (1991) work *The Culture of Masculinities: Towards a Social Geography*. Using Jackson's work as seminal, geographers recognise "the importance of destabilising existing power relations in terms of geopolitical interventions" (Brown 2010:1567) when researching the constructions of masculinity. By and large, geographers' studies of masculinity focused on the 'androcentric and masculinist character of much work being done in the discipline' (Berg and Longhurst 2003:353). Jackson (1991), on the other hand, focused on 'men as men' (Hopkins and Noble 2009:811), the role of men and what influence men have in different spaces and at different times. I synthesise this geographical lens with a postcolonial intersectional approach to research on masculinity and offer an analysis distinct from other masculinity approaches. The exploration of not only spaces, but also the acknowledgment and entwined analysis of time, provides reasoning and for many historical events justifications that a simple, non-inclusive, and a-historical definition of masculinity leaves little room for.

During my research, literature on masculinity from countries outside of the western/European sphere were difficult to access. The available literature offered few alternative perspectives and failed to provide adequate discussion. Similarly, Jackson (1991:199) also highlights the few areas of literature which offered an analytical framework sufficient for men who wanted to challenge the gender norm of supremacy through a geographical lens. Geography scholars (*see* Berg and Longhurst 2003; Brown 2008; 2009; 2010) echo the significance of researching masculinities (plural), given the multitude of possible gendered contexts, relationships and practices that come together in the structuring of identity from different times and spaces. Geographers have included research on sexuality (late 1990s), rural studies and

sociology – classism, intersections of diversity (early 2000s), nationalism and more recently immigration. Applying a geographical lens to my research on masculinity expands comprehension on history (Beckles 2004; Downes 2004; Lewis 2003; Reddock 2004), social constructions (Hopkinson and Moore 2006; Neal 2013; Porter 2015) and contemporary performativity (Alexander 2006; Anthony 2013; Boakye 2017; Houston, 2014) which I found not to be as prevalent or easily accessible in political science. Formulating a gendered analysis inclusive of race, space and time requires an understanding of the distinctions often missing from, yet beneficial to, this debate. By identifying the intersections between the fields (political science and geography), I can forge a narrative appropriately inclusive of race, which also acknowledges the significance of culture.

Geographers (*see* Berg and Longhurst 2003; Jackson 1991; Kobayashi and Peake 1994; Longhurst 2000) have traditionally employed definitions of masculinity that tend towards *essentialism* in their understanding of the male body; relying heavily on gendered and racialised assumptions and expectations. However, more recently geographers have sought to correct this perspective. For example, Brown (2010) highlights how 'the complexities of sexuality across the Global South cannot be transported from the Global North' (p.1567). Similarly, the differences in gender comprehension, practice and acceptance amongst continents cannot be a replica of another. As such, 'masculinities […] are highly contingent, unstable, contested spaces within gender relations' (Berg and Longhurst 2003:352). Due to the spatial dimensions of masculinity, greater emphasis should be placed upon researching 'shades of masculinity' (Hopkins and Noble 2009:815), which is something that this thesis remains mindful of. The notion of analysing layers of masculinities or shades

echoes the key concepts in masculinity studies (Connell 1993; 2005; Kimmel 1987; 2005). Exploration is offered by Hopkins and Noble (2009) who state:

> [...]in which questions of the spatial embeddedness of male practices in local places, processes or cultural endorsement, intergenerational changes (especially between fathers and sons) and patterns of leisure and consumption produce diverse masculine hues... (p.815).

Harmonised in relevance, *Masculinism*,[15] a term used by geographers (Berg and Longhurst 2003; Jackson 1991), yet rarely utilised in other disciplines; is critiqued as essentialist and anti-feminist. I share such sentiment in my earlier mentioning of essential differences between men and women. Controversially, Jackson (1991) in his earlier work eludes,

> Masculinism takes for granted that there is a fundamental difference between men and women; it assumes that heterosexuality is the norm, its acceptance without questions the sexual division of labour, and it sanctions the political and dominant role of men in the public and private spheres (p.201)

As Jackson (1991) explains, "recent interests in masculinity are a response to the opposed perspectives of feminism, and to a lesser extent, the rise of an increasingly politicised gay consciousness" (p.199). Indeed, masculinity has become a "focus for geographers interested in sexuality" (Brown, 2010, 2009; Longhurst, 2000:441). Earlier research on "geographies of sexuality" (Brown 2009; Longhurst 2000) explored issues of and arising from homophobia. Nast (2001) shares this recent

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[15] The term 'masculinism' when referred to in the social sciences is understood to fix masculine identities and essentialise them. I use the term via the geographer's lens to make my point as a progressive/alternative factor rarely applied in gender studies discourse.

interest for geographers to 'explore how sexuality shapes and is shaped by social and spatial organisation (socio spatiality) of everyday life' (p.14022). Literature in the field of geography, established over the last 30 years (Brown 2009; Hopkins and Noble 2009; Jackson 1991; Kobayashi and Peake 1994; Longhurst 2000; Nast 1998), illustrate a progressive growth in masculinity research to also focus on masculinities as additional identities, how they are constructed, and how masculinity as a performance is negotiated in different times and spaces.

Geographical perspectives on masculinity offer my research an insight in to branches of race such as sexuality which political science struggles to explore. Traditionally, research on geography and sexuality has concentrated on the normative forms of heterosexuality and its relationship with space, time, procreation, language, and experiences, which my thesis highlights. The interrelationship between sexuality and geography stresses the importance of acknowledging the symbolic, spatial and practical centrality of heterosexuality and the ways in which this is upheld within different cultures and historical periods, demonstrating the politics of masculinity I wish to unfold. For example, Nast (2001) concludes heteronormativity marginalises gay masculinities in research analysis. Further, he argues that gay masculinities are also excluded in the practice of everyday life, as they do not come under the heteronormative umbrella. The socially constructed "naturalness" of heterosexuality has introduced a generational compass of heteronormative morals and acceptance. Nast (2001:14022) examines Butler's (1990) "heterosexual matrix" to explore spatial and social organisations. For instance, he highlights that many cultures incorporate and value heterosexual norms that take on an ontological and epistemological approach towards procreation, which is based on binary genitalia. If sexual norms do not equate to procreation, then they are abnormal and unaccepted in some cultures.

Arguably, the gendered categories relating to power, dominance and resistance escalate into arguments of hegemonic power, privilege, and subordination (Hopkins and Noble 2009:815), leaving groups of male identities lost in histories or silenced through marginalisation.

Masculinity discourse requires an examination with a specific inclusion of race, as evidenced through this chapter. Race and culture have greater variations than do gender differences. Interpretations of gender, roles, and norms "differ from place to place and time to time" (Jackson 1991:201). The dominant schools of thought have a narrow understanding of this significance, when "men" continue to be constructed via a singular binary lens of hegemony and subordination. In failing to acknowledge the culturally conditioned bias of knowledge production, inaccurate constructions of (hegemonic) masculinity are shared. The hegemonic position of the white, heterosexual western(ised) man is not representative of all men. Acknowledging the authors, I have discussed, I also recognise that masculinities (plural) exist, there tends to be a focus on the hegemonic ideal of man as marginalising instead of capturing the voices and focusing on the experiences of subordinated masculinities. I demonstrate, in following chapter, why and how knowledge on race can be constructed in a different manner. Geographers have tended to examine this problem of addressing masculinities in relation to sexualities and/or culture (and the organisation of space) but have spent considerably less time focusing specifically on race/ethnicity and masculinity (*see* Alexander 2006; Hine and Jenkins 1999; Kobayashi and Peake 1994). Nevertheless, the research conducted by these authors remains at worst hidden in a distraction of breadth, and at best marginalised amongst other attempts to include masculinities. It is at this point that my thesis makes its contribution to this field of masculinity studies. Through applying a postcolonial and intersectional lens, my

research provides an explicit examination of race as a significant, but much neglected, factor in masculinity scholarship.

As is evident from my previous discussion on geography, there is a clear significance in identifying and including culture in the definition and analysis of masculinities. Thus far, I have made the argument that masculinity means different things to different people at different times in their lives. However, dominant Westernised theories have done little to offer an appropriate representation of masculinities and failed to include definitions from different cultural norms. This chapter will continue to examine how and why race is a significant factor within masculinity studies. The importance of examining this question is built across a bed of multi-complex notions of representation and inclusivity. The approach I take in discussing matters of culture, gender, and sexuality forms part of my overall answer to my research question on exploring the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and black masculinity, as well as examining the extent to which history and cultural influences are accountable for contemporary performances of black Caribbean masculinity. I begin by continuing the conversation of cultural norms and gender expectations explore so far and examine notions of *hypermasculinity* whilst demonstrating the connected associated scripts between race and masculinity. In addition to this, *(homo)sexuality* also explored in this section as an intersectional multiple oppressive notion experienced by black masculinities. I introduce many culturally specific themes in this section, which continue into the following chapter on *Theorising Race in Masculinity Studies*.

A Cultural Representation

What classifies as a man is based on the "criteria set by each culture" (Chevannes 2001:25). Unsettlingly, dominant masculinities cast shadow over the meaning of other masculinities elating tiers of oppression and self-devaluation. It is stated by Kimmel

(1997) that "manhood does not *bubble up* to consciousness from biological makeup; it is created in culture" (p.120). Critically, Kobayashi and Peake (1994) explain how "geographers have literally and metaphorically mapped those boundaries" (p.226) of racial and gendered identities. These mapped boundaries are problematic in accepting gender identities and eroding historical (de)constructions of masculinity. Similarly, "geography has a sexist legacy" (Kobayashi and Peake 1994:226), creating historically embedded constructions of subordination and inequality of, and within, masculinities and femininities. I argue, in line with a considerable wealth of gender literature (*see* Alexander 2006, 2004; Beckles 2004, 1996; Bird 1996; Brod and Kaufman 1994; Bucknor 2013; Burrell 2010; Chevannes 2003; Connell 2005b, 1996; 1992; Coston and Kimmel 2012; Figueroa 2007, 2004; Griffith 2003; Hine 1999; Hodes 2001; *hooks* 2004a, 2004b; Hunter and Davis 1994; Kimmel 2008, 2005b, 1987; Lemelle 2010; Lewis 2007, 2004, 2003; Mac An Ghaill 1994a, 1994b; Philips 2006; Rahman and Jackson 2010; Reddock 2004, 2003), that cultural constructions of masculinity perpetuate gender norms, formulating a platform for othering those who do not meet the set criteria.

This anthropological explanation by Hofstede (1998) defines culture as "the collective programming of the mind which distinguishes the members of one group or category of people from another... a broad pattern of thinking, feeling, and acting" (p.3). It is concerned above all with the social construction and political significance of difference (Jackson 1991:201). Kimmel (2001) argues that cultural variations are far greater than gender separations. In this, he focuses on male cultures that prove their masculinity via the achievement of sexual conquest in comparison to other men who prove their masculinity through the provision of food for their families and communities. Either

way, the compliance toward any criterion of masculinity "is deeply oppressive to many men" (Jackson 1991:102) who do not meet set standards.

Different cultures have multiple understandings of masculinity and encompass practical norms that have been socially constructed through history. We must recognise the variety of gender performance identities that may be adopted by individuals of either sex, "varying from place to place and time to time" (Jackson 1991:201). It is essential we do not ignore said differences as they provide an in-depth comprehension of why masculinities are scripted, often omitted. Such historical influence and constructed norms are given identifications, delinquency, or worse – normalcy.

What is becoming more apparent is the lack of understanding and exclusion of generations' worth of masculinities due to the hegemony of white European/American histories, cultures, space, and time. Some "western feminists treat women as a homogenous category which does not acknowledge their differences depending on their culture, social class, race and geographical location" (Mohanty 1998; Tickner and Sjoberg 2006). As a result, the pioneering work of black feminist theorists and activists (Collins 2017, 1990; *hooks* 2006, 1987) has challenged approaches that universalise women in this way, leading it to fall out of favour in contemporary feminist scholarship. I request the same argument be used to support the differences that are unacknowledged within masculinities. With the engagement of a more intersectional approach and inclusive comprehension of gender, a plurality of masculinities can be welcomed into the research agenda and accepted in society. Cultural politics, I declare, is at the heart of gender constructed norms of masculinity. With progression, as noted by Longhurst (2000:442), the "merging of masculinity studies and (historical) postcolonial geographies are producing useful work". From the geographical and

cultural summary provided, I again advocate toward the impactful position geographers hold in the research of masculinities inclusive of culture and race.

According to Tomkins (1979), the polarities initiated of masculinity (*good*) and hypermasculinity (*bad*) has cast a toxic binary on male gender performances. The rigid criteria of masculinity are shrouded in the construction of masculinity as a hegemonic gender norm unattainable to many. Supported by research scholars across the United Kingdom, United States, and Caribbean diaspora countries (Barriteau 2000; Figueroa 2007; Hunter and Davis 1994; Jha and Kelleher 2006; Kangethe et al. 2014; Odih 2010; Pitt and Sanders 2010; Sewell 1997; Thomas and Stevenson 2009), the "failings" of black men in different cultural societies are often a result of marginalisation, structural injustice, and gender socialisation. Black Caribbean masculinity, as mentioned previously in my thesis, is in "crisis" (Ferber 2007; Murray 2009). Sustained through the notion of a "marginalised man", it appropriately constitutes that of a black man, where his possibility of "success and achievement remain difficult, if not [an] impossible task" (Franklin 1989). This identification of structural inequality is paramount to my research and the acknowledgment equally supports the significance that space, time, and fundamentally race and culture have on the (de)construction of masculinity.

More so, black masculinity is being recognised and accepted by young boys (and girls) through the presentation of popular youth culture, song lyrics, music video imagery and celebrity idolisation. Mosher (1998) argues instead of captivating young minds held in a trapped gaze of cultural ore, they should be left to wonder and develop meaningful understandings of their person and on their own gender identity. The world of boys becomes a stage to try out and rehearse macho roles. This transition from *real boy* to *real man* requires trials by fire. The "macho personality" is often

asserted to the cultural norms of working-class men (Jewkes 2005:48; Pyke 1996:530) and ethnic, more specific, men of Afro-Caribbean or African descent (Brown 1999; Hunter and Davis 1994; Seaton 2007; Ward 2005). Mosher (1988) highlights macho *rites of passage* during adolescence (p.71) of violence, aggression and criminality which are performed in various cultures and societies. Exposed by Julien and Mercer (2007), the images of black masculinity are contradictions, however truthful. This script, construction and stereotype has become a pillar of societal fear, a repetition of injustices, and for the purpose of my research, a disturbing acceptance by black men about the scenes available to them to conduct their gender performances. However, the mythology of black machoism is maintained by black men who have had to resort to certain forms of force in order to define themselves and their communities (Julien and Mercer 2007).

Comparatively, Kangethe et al. (2014) share how circumcision, described as a socio-cultural practice, is honoured as a rite of passage for some cultures in Kenya. Differently, early first sexual experience and promiscuity are used as a rite of passage to manhood for many black Caribbean boys. Such cultural experiences and expectations can be harmful to the development of manhood due to harnessing distorted versions of gender identity and "portraying undesirable" (Forbes 2010:1) gender performances. The rejection, rather than acceptance, of parents by boys during adolescence, as stated by Mosher (1988), means the acceptance of peers becomes more important for a safety cocoon resembling family structures. Such self-made family bodies perpetuate an environment for the replication of ill informed, ostracised by society yet peer-idealised performances of black male genders.

Conversely, as an example, the linguistic and in places poetic approach of Boakye (2017) explores black masculinity in respect of Grime music and offers a contemporary

and refreshing comprehension of the black man through time. Boakye (2017) presents depictions of black male youth delinquency to be loud, aggressive and in positions of gun-related violence not as a justification for socio-political environments but as a misunderstanding of motivations (p.27) and complexities surrounding identity politics as a catalyst for *solipsism* (p.30). Similar alternative narratives on black masculine gender identities are witnessed in the ground-breaking film *Moonlight*[16] which examines "the manner in which black men are forced into a system of black masculinity emphasising a brutal sense of toughness and emotional suppression" (Copeland 2018). This film honourably highlights the intersection of race, class, and sexuality within black communities. However, it fails to address the undertones of hypermasculine behaviours such as violence and aggression, depicted throughout the film. In many instances, the hypermasculine gender performances, often disliked within society, became a requirement for the characters to display in order to survive their struggle. The film avoids the opportunity to explicitly represent reasoning and in some cases justification as to why culture and environment are significant components in constructions of masculinities.

The notion of masculinity as explained by Boakye (2017:355), is preconceived ideological positions performed via music such as Grime. Conversely, for many young black males, popular culture is just another example of reactionary masculinity (Boakye 2017:357) but the attribute and traits constructed for boys (and girls) to adhere to are damaging to personal and societal gender identities. Unhappy about the ideals of socially constructed identities (Connell 2005, 1993; Kimmel 2005, 2001, 1987; Nars 2001), Boakye (2017) provides an additional navigational layer of gender performances within the black Caribbean community often heard and seen in Grime

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[16] **Moonlight,** Directed by Barry Jenkins in 2016.

music. The Alpha Male is identified and introduced by Boakye (2017:356) humorously as a job advertisement.

> Alpha Male:
>
> *Earn the most money, have the biggest car, tell the funniest jokes, wage the biggest war, have the sharpest suit, score the winning goal, run the fastest race, win the most prestigious award, write the best book, bed the most women, drop the sickest bar [song lyrics], get the most reloads [start the song again due to popularity]. Show no emotions. Don't be soft. Be the best. Weakness need not apply.*

Although analysed in contrast but comparable against the initial character definitions of a man provided by Goffman (1963) earlier in this chapter (*see* p.45), the core pillars that pioneer white westernised hegemonic masculinity similarly project into the idealised attributes of the "Alpha Male" description in black Caribbean communities. Not too dissimilar in notion, both ideals require subjectification of the *other* for a hegemonic masculinity to prevail.

Subsequently, Grime has emerged as the music of confident youth empowerment (Boakye 2017:319) within the UK and speaks supremely to "black British post-diaspora cultures [who have] come out the other end" (p.320) of racialised gendered stereotypes. In support, technological advances within media have removed that fear of black men's dominance because they "no longer live performances and black men no longer appear in the flesh" (Collins 2005:31). Unfortunately, the legacy of his blackness remains a political symbol of aggression, violence, and fear: a hypermasculinity.

Hypermasculinity: Too much gender?

To continue, I would like to draw attention to a concept scarcely identified across the literature review thus far. *Hypermasculinity* is a term with deep significance for understanding the (de)construction of masculinity in my research but interestingly, across the substantial bodies of text reviewed on masculinity, it has hardly been discussed. In addition to my review below, hypermasculinity is discussed in my following chapter when addressing concepts of othering. The notion of fear and socio-economic disorder as prerequisite of hypermasculinity is introduced by Seaton (2007) in his examination on stereotyped gender performances and environmental conditions. Hypermasculinity has commonly been associated with criminality and militarism (Beesley and McGuire 2009; Peterson 2010; Ray and Gold 1996), men who are of working class (Jewkes 2005; Pyke 1996), negative behaviours by men in sports (Welsh 1997), and specificities of behaviour traits by men in minority groups (Brown 1999; Hunter and Davis, 1994; Seaton 2007; Ward 2005).

Unsurprisingly, a vast amount of research analysing hypermasculinity gives attention to the relationship with hegemonic masculinity and how non-normative masculine behaviours are performed. The literature rarely addresses why hypermasculine performances are deemed more aligned with race or why such performances are perceived as negative. As discussed earlier in this section, hegemonic masculinities are dependent on their rejection of other masculinities to maintain a position of legitimacy, creating an *us* and *them* – a gender performance binary – in order to achieve such goals.

To contribute to understanding the negative behavioural norms associated with hypermasculine men, a psychological perspective has been incorporated into my discussion (Beesley and McGuire 2009; Hamburger et al. 1996; Mosher 1991, 1984;

Mosher and Tomkins 1988; Parrot and Zeichner 2006; Ray and Gold 1996). The literature explored presents quantifiable data assessing fixed variables such as behavioural responses and psychological interpretations of gender behaviours, which I deem outdated. Worryingly, few examples in the literature (Bryson 1987; Pitt 2010) provide qualitative or shared experiences and understanding of hypermasculinity, its origins or its linguistic purpose. Highlighting the fundamentals of pre-designed behavioural pathways, for the purpose of my research, exemplifies how marginalised men have been starved of their freedoms of choice and self-regulation and are often restricted in their avoidance of discrimination. Essentialist notions of masculinity, echoing binary concepts tied to male bodies, can reproduce notions of their bodies being inherently dangerous. Such conceptualisations, I argue, are evident and supported via dominant rhetoric and constructivist frameworks.

From this highly researched psychometric approach, script theory (Beesley and McGuire 2009; Mosher and Sirkin 1984; Mosher and Tomkins 1988; Ray and Gold 1996; Zaitchik and Mosher 1993) has become a popular framework for analysis on this topic. Scripts provide a conceptualisation of *machismo* and depict what types of gendered behaviours are deemed (un)acceptable through one's experiences and performances of learned behaviours. The qualitative method established by Silvan Tomkins in 1979 (Mosher and Tomkins 1988) uses a Hypermasculinity Inventory (HI) to quantify and validate behaviours in shared categories of violence, aggression, and cultural unacceptance. Script theory has been modified over time to adapt to modern changes of socio-economic nominators of identity but its core elements against *machismo* remain.

Mosher (1993,1991, 1988, 1984), a committed writer on script theory, explores specifications of script that allow the theory to determine individual as well as cultural

constellations of "macho personality" (Mosher and Sirkin 1984) which directs acceptance of (i) callous sexual attitudes, (ii) violence as manly, and (iii) danger as exciting. A script is a set of rules for interpreting, directing, defending, and creating the scenes making up life of the macho man (Mosher and Tomkins 1988:60). The ideological scripts of *machismo* depict the behaviours of both young and old, however restricts its application to specific minority groups or specific negative behaviours. The logic is being played out in the #MeToo campaign where somehow the male body is a source of danger, criminality, and sexual aggression. Such scripts are being applied onto men and little specification is being placed onto the small minority who are the perpetrators. As mentioned previously in this chapter, "The seeds of inferiority of the non-West are already laid in the first chapter of history that the others have compiled for me" (Sadar 2008: xv). The social stratifications of an individual and the cultural ideological scripts that govern the type of machismo to which one will become accustomed; through time, "the macho is living a life in accordance with his macho script" (Mosher and Tomkins, 1988:62).

Mosher (1988) shares script theory's seven socialisation dynamics: *unexpressed distress, fear-expression and fear-avoidance, shame over distress and fear, pride over aggression, evoking fear and uncertainty* in others, *excitement, and enjoyment* of acceptable achievements of the other six dynamics. These dynamics ignite machismo and deliver scenes that *"require physical action to test a real man"* (Mosher 1988:71). The male body, so often a vehicle for illustrating masculinities, is also exemplary of gender and power within a prison setting (Courtenay 2000:1391). The mentioned correlations between hypermasculinity, violence and aggressions have been identified by numerous researchers (Parrott and Zeicher 2006; Ray and Gold 1996; Seaton 2007; Welsh 1997) and used to examine the implications of the macho

on criminality (Beesley and McGuire 2009; Jewkes 2005; Ray and Gold 1996; Welsh 1997; Zaitchik and Mosher 1993).

Presented as an initial exploratory notion in this section of my chapter, hypermasculinity because of marginalisation and an avenue toward black sexual politics continues to be a theme scarcely visible in dominant masculinity studies discourse. Yet hypermasculinity is clearly recognisable in the literature on black masculinity and gender identities. Black and working-class men are embedded in hierarchies of masculinity functioning to pathologise black and working-class men's gender performances. Black men of afro-Caribbean or African descent are stereotypically associated with the negative connotations of hypermasculinity (marginalisation) and have become victims of masculine (hegemonic) cultural norms (Brown 1999; Hunter and Davis 1994; Seaton 2007; Ward 2005). Through regular reported associations with criminality and militarism (Beesley and McGuire 2009; Peterson 2010; Ray and Gold 1996), negative practices by men in sports (Welsh, 1997) and specificities of damaging behavioural traits by men in minority groups (Brown 1999; Hunter and Davis 1994; Seaton 2007; Ward 2005) such *macho personality* linked to black men is better depicted as a hyper-vulnerability; an interconnected result of gender culturalisation. It is at this juncture that I strongly advocate for the implementation of an intersectionality approach when examining black men. The multi-layers of oppression resulting in marginalisation must be acknowledged accurately. The impact such constructions have on black men are evident via the cultural stereotypical performances explored in the previous section. What I find worrying about the current socially constructed imagery of black masculinity are the expectations of a *less* than male gender performance by society, exacerbated by an aspired hyper performance by black men themselves.

Through my observations of the literature, the term *hypermasculinity* and the negative attributes associated with these depictions of black men are rarely used in research conducted by authors of Afro-Caribbean or black African descent. Neither are negative portrayals of the black man as 'subject', produced in regions where black men reside as either a majority or as a dominant gender collective. An example of subconscious colonial practices of subject alludes Shefer and Ruiters (1998), "two white/coloured lecturers/researchers" (p.40) analysing discourse on heterosexual notions made by all black male university students in South Africa. The researchers acknowledge implied power inequalities based on colour, class, age, language, and status (Shefer and Ruiters 1998:40). Nevertheless, the researchers continue to study black men as subjects and deliver sweeping generalisations of men (black). Stated by Shefer and Ruiters (1998), "[black] men are said to have sex to assert power over women" (p.42), "sex with women is an extension and reflection of their social power as men" (p.43), and "But at the end of the day, the care of women's sexual needs, is, as women suspect, not a primary concern for men" (p.42). The black men in their study are interpreted as overly sexualised, controlling, and loveless beings. I argue the black male student participants in this study have been misrepresented for the purpose of research and used as subjects.

In line with both Boakye (2017) and Forbes (2010), I contend such a dichotomy of generalisation to be harmful This analysis was taken from a small cohort of unmarried black male students studying the same course within the same age bracket (in their 20s). Such affirmations question the validity and disrupts the contingency of what can only be confirmed as a westernised construction of gender and associated identities, which discriminates differences. Conversely, Brown (1999) shares his observation of the discriminative *other*; he argues, "black men are not othered, they are hypered –

too hard, too bodily" (p.28). Brown's (1999) *hard* male and the *soft* other distinguishes his identification of 'other' to mean women as well as feminised men. Brown (1999:27) explains his concept of *hard* male using Theweleit's depiction of "armour by muscles and by emotional rigidity…". Again, the notion of dual identities discussed in the context of pop culture in this chapter limits the multifaceted nature of gender. However, such notions may be accurate as popular desires of the black male body, muscle physique, is often associated to this hard male performed identity.

Social stratification and culturalisation (Mosher and Tomkins 1988) have been placed at the centre of unacceptable macho behaviours and unattainable masculine norms. Stated by Mosher and Tomkins (1988), "using enemies violently, taking slaves and raping women creates social stratification that later transfers to class, sexes and ages within society" (p.63). The magnitude of embedded inequalities becomes "normalised cultural structures and an adoption of values" (Mosher and Tomkins 1988:73) followed by most. Critical of this statement: if structural inequalities and environmental factors are a known response to historical events, why are hypermasculinities continuously subjected to oppression, discriminations, and in some instances, persecution?

Masculinity, a concept of gender construction, has become a socially acceptable performance for a man to perform. In contrast, hypermasculinity and its meaning of machismo is accepted less due to its exaggerated over-superiority and accepted masculine male traits. Insightfully, Ray and Gold (1996) provide a comparative analysis of hyper-femininity (Murnen and Byrne 1991, in Ray and Gold 1996:47) in their examination of gender roles, aggression, and alcohol use in dating relationships. This research shares findings that portrays a similar differing of women who display a hyper-feminine performance; over-superior to that of the accepted feminine norm.

Hyper-feminine women are portrayed as manipulating men with sexuality (*ibid.*:48). The paper reports how hyper-feminine women are at a "greater risk of being physically and sexually abused" due to their tolerance of adversarial relationships (Murnen and Byrne 1991, in Ray and Gold 1996:48). In disagreement to the simplification of binary responses to aggression within relationships, I applaud the notion of script theory as an approach to encourage comprehension on cultural behaviours. Subsequently, I credit the idea that gender stratification emulates culturalisation of accepted gender scenes. However, like hypermasculinity, I advocate for the accepted acknowledgement of other femininities.

Pitt (2010) offers a contemporary analytical approach to the notion of hypermasculinity in association with marginalised masculinities by revisiting and affirming it is a racially charged associated narrative. Pitt (2010:33) shares a psychological experiment initially conducted by Loftus and Palmer in 1974, which evidenced the importance of understanding and acknowledging emotionally charged language and the impact this has on attitudinal barriers. Informed by Pitt (2010), hypermasculinity, as a term established for critiquing masculinity that did not meet the hegemonic criteria, was predestined to carry the weight of a disapproving audience. Therefore, its earlier conception as a descriptor of *other* has held its discriminatory language charge. Black masculinity – and associated hyperisations of male gendered norms – is almost always portrayed as non-normative (Pitt 2010:43), maintaining their position of inferiority and subordination. Collins (2005) explains how during slavery emotionally charged language was used to create difference. For example, aggressively, uncivilised, sexual "fucking" was an annotation of black sexuality by white Americans to redefine black sexual activities. On the contrary, on language charges and social constructions alone, who is to say masculinity is to be the

inferior characteristics of hypermasculinity and that the hegemonic benchmark should not be set with *hyper* character traits as the social gender norm?

(Homo)sexuality

As an isolated research topic, black masculinity and (homo)sexuality attracted minimal academic attention until the 1980s when scholars began to have an interest in research associated with HIV/AIDS (Cochran and Mays 1988; DiClemente and Boyer 1998; Friedman et al. 1987; Jemmott 1992; Peterson and Main 1988; Quimby and Friedman 1989). A combined turn in health studies and geographical interest meant gay black men, their health, and sexual behaviours became a topic of interest. In no way a new phenomenon, homosexuality is now and has been a common interest amongst scholars and practitioners. Unfortunately, within the black Caribbean community (and other cultures around the world) when speaking about homosexuality and race, notions of unfit masculinity become shrouded in narratives of power and control (Glave 2005). I will not use this section of my thesis to discuss homophobia in the black community as so many scholars before me have researched and published influential work on this subject matter (*see* Bird 1996; Constantine-Simms 2001; *hooks* 1989; Jemelle Jr. 2010; Lewis 2003; Reddock 2004; Roberts 2009; Tomsen and Manson; Ward 2005; White and Carr 2005). The work listed, addresses dominant constructions of black masculinity which depicts a rejection of homosexuality within the black Caribbean community. In so doing, the literature shapes the conceptualisation of being a 'real man' within these same communities. I will, however, extend such narratives whilst exploring how power and control has left heteronormative constructions of masculinity to shape patriarchal modes of regulation and exclusion (Ferguson 2000:419).

Subsequently, femininity and queer masculinities in the Caribbean are both pathologised for not meeting dominant gender norms explored throughout this chapter. Consequentially, I address the marginalisation placed onto groups of people who neither identify with the dominant gender norm nor are accepted as meeting the set criteria of these standards. As a key argument in my thesis, masculinities, as an identified plurality, are a core discussion in the identification and comprehension of more than one type of masculine gender performance is paramount to include race in dominant masculinity debates.

The importance of acknowledging masculinity and race within a given cultural gendered setting has not always been a directive of sexuality and queer scholarship. In fact, popular scholars like Michel Foucault, in westernised literature on sexuality, have been accused of a "monopolization [of] the conversation about sexual formation and steered them [text] away from considerations of race" (Ferguson 2006:85). This raises another reason why my research is not informed by Foucault but rather is steered by inclusive queer and postcolonial theorists (Ahmed 2006; Allen 2012; Hall and du Gay 1996; Hemphill 1991) when addressing gender, race, and sexuality. Glave (2005) explains, as with gender, sexuality cannot be ignored as an intersection of *race*. With this understanding, so too is blackness interpreted as a synonym of homosexuality due to the "similar techniques of regulation and exclusion" (Ferguson 2000:420). However, as addressed by *hooks* (1989:124), we must not fall into the trap of undermining the gay liberation struggle with the either/or overshadowing of the black liberation struggle. The intersectional oppression at the crossroads of gender, race, and sexuality (amongst other factors) is what needs addressing. These ideals are founded in the backward and simplistic dichotomy that "African-American [black] culture has always been deemed as contrary to the norms of heterosexuality and

patriarchal ideals" (Ferguson 2000:419). Historically, according to dominant literature and ignorance towards race, black existence has been identified as nonheteronormative, going against the hegemonic norm and therefore civil society.

Similar othering of black culture is evident in the broken *black family narrative*, briefly discussed in my introduction, with greater discussion on this subject available in my following chapters. I welcome the advances of James Baldwin's "queer of colour" critique by Ferguson (2000) who challenges the presumed relationship between nonheteronormative racial formation and homosexual difference (p.420). Coupled with the slave methodological legacies discussed earlier in this chapter, the perceived typology of "wild, unstable and undomesticated" locates blacks as "reproductive rather than productive, heterosexual but never heteronormative" (Ferguson 2000:423). This societal construction feeds into my proclamation that black masculinities, as well as the contribution of my research, are indeed political!

Despite the marginalised complexities associated with gender, race and sexuality, in most part black masculinity still strives to achieve some type of assimilation (Ferguson 2000) into the dominant white culture as well as to be recognised for their attempt to be rationalised through gendered norms. Conversely, and often seen in black diaspora cultural settings like the Caribbean, there is only one socially accepted dominant hypermasculinity within the culture, which is measured in exaggerated attributional performances, pinpointed by Mosher and Sirkin's (1984) Hypermasculinity Inventory (HI) explored previously in this chapter (p.50). The HI identifies three variables of macho personality as having a callous sexual attitude towards women, the belief that violence is manly, and the experience of danger is exciting. I will stop myself at this point and identify with *hooks* (1989) against the notion of "one monolithic black community that must be challenged – Black communities vary – urban and rural

experiences create diversity of culture and lifestyle" (p.121). Instead, I will narrate heterosexuality as a criterion for manhood in *most* Caribbean communities is to be absolute in male gender identities. The very notion of hegemonic European masculinity and hypermasculine behavioural traits are the pinnacle of the normative gender constructed identities of *many* black men.

Consequently, homosexuality in most black Caribbean and black diaspora cultures is marked as a social deviance against the hypermasculine black male identity, the gendered norm. Influenced and written in law during colonial rule, the Offences Against the Person Act (OAPA) 1864 declared that same-sex male sexual activities be deemed illegal in certain commonwealth countries. Such 'Buggery Laws', still upheld today, coerce and justify the historically influenced discriminatory attitudes placed upon certain gender and sexual identities, as well as scripted social norms embedded for generations. However, this negative treatment is a fairly recent addendum and was not always prevalent within the black community. As *hooks* (1989) states, "they [gays] were us – a part of our community... gay people did not live in a separate subculture" (p.120). Unfortunately, colonial constructed legacies shape and continue to govern the (un)accepted gender performances of black homosexual men.

Homophobia, I interpret as a label of *other* placed upon queer identities - the heteronormative ideological requirement for demonising homosexuality in order to legitimise dominant masculinity norms as cultural agency (Ward 2005:496). These position shines light on how certain masculinities gain their acceptability. Kimmel (2005) proclaims "that the reigning definition of masculinity is a defensive effort to prevent being emasculated" (p.39). Differently, yet in support to my argument, Dean (2013) offers "the main way heterosexual masculinities are constructed is through heterosexual men's expressions of homophobia which creates boundaries of social

distance between themselves and gays" (p.542). Such queer approaches to differences are aligned to black Caribbean men's attitudes to sexual differences. It introduces the premises of homophobia within communities as a fear of sexual difference that may upset the construction of *man*. Dean (2013) shares a powerful quote from one of his participants, a 30-year-old African American man, who concludes his interview stating: "Homosexuality is to the family what cancer is to any living tissue of the body". Such expressions of repellence demonstrate an identity and performance abode to the expectations required to uphold the social distances of heteronormative ideals within certain black communities. Heterosexual anxiety about appearing gay is present for straight men who worry that others view their gender performance as feminine, whilst dominant forms of masculinity require the subordination of the other, both through "external hegemony" and other "internal hegemony" (Demetrious 2001, in Dean 2013:536) masculinities. Similarly, Delgado and Stefancic (2012) imply, "are gays and lesbians marginalised by the need of these groups to appear exemplary" (p.94) of the hegemonic norm?

However, research conducted by Hill (2013) found the black community not to be more homophobic than other communities. Even though Lemelle Jnr and Battle (2004) report on the frequency of religious attendance as a significant factor in attitudes toward gay males, *hooks* (1989) argue "there is a tendency for individuals in black communities to verbally express in an outspoken way anti-gay sentiment" (p.122), whereas an equally prejudiced white individual may not speak their opinion but is more likely to have the power to actively exploit and oppress marginalised sexualities in housing, employment, etc. Nevertheless, Hill (2013) explains there are intersectional factors such as culture, class, and religiosity that affect perceived homophobic behaviours in this community. In support again of *hooks*' (1989) and

Hill's (2013) request to acknowledge "there is no such thing as a monolithic black community" (p.209), I encourage the notions of plurality – communities and masculinities – to be considered when discussing race and cultures.

Still, hegemonic masculinity is hegemonic not just in relation to other masculinities, but in relation to the gender order (Connell 1996:209). Arguably, the aligned interconnections between racism and heterosexism explain how those (black lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgendered; LGBT) at the "margins of both systems and who are harmed by both systems" (Collins 2005:88) would identify and experience oppression earlier and more frequently than the privileged gender norms. Queer critical theorists examine the interplay between sexual norms and race, looking at the histories "accidental and inherently" (Delgado and Stefancic 2012) as to why certain groups become more marginalised than others. For example, a black gay man experiences systematic multiple oppression between race, gender, and sexuality – other intersections such as class and age can also play a part in the oppression. This can often leave many gay black men living outside of their communities to avoid multiple forms of persecution. Rightfully expressed by Glave (2005), we (blacks) must "recognise that all of us, heterosexual, and homosexual, deserve equal, loving places in society. Until we do so, we will continue to bear the master's marks, and the weight of our shame – our *dis*-spiriting prejudice and ignorance" (p.21).

The multiple oppressions experienced by black Caribbean homosexual men also speak to Nagel's (2003) intersectional narratives of hegemonic power, structure, and constructions. Nagel (2003) defines sexuality as "the genitally-based distinction between men and women accompanied by culturally defined appropriate sexual tastes, partners and activities". This collision of ethnicity and sexuality is explored by Nagel (2003) as a sexualisation of ethnicity and ethnicisation of sexuality. Labelled

"ethnosexual", the gendered sexual experience of an individual becomes a matter of not only gender order but also structured power. Unsettlingly, not all gender performances can be accepted as the norm and a single ideology remains dominant. In relation to black Caribbean men, there becomes a "clash of sexualities and sexual systems" (Nagel 2003) which evidentially becomes a breeding ground for power and exploitation.

Echoed throughout my review, black masculinity has been identified as a *'crisis'* (Hunter and Davis 1994; Ward 2005) in masculinity discourse. However, challenging the measurement of this said *crisis* and who it has been set by has been my focus in this chapter. I recall in the introductory chapter of my thesis the identity of black men as only recognisable within the last 60 years (Franklin 1989). Therefore, my research advocates for an acknowledgement of this setback and exposes the crisis against a backdrop of historically constructed disablements. In this chapter, I have contributed to existing literature on black masculinity (Cooper 2006; Hunter and Davis 1994; Seaton 2007), marginalisation (Ward 2005) and paths towards black male oppression (Ferguson 2000; Glave 2005; *hooks* 1989). Exploring matters of slavery through to hypermasculinity (Pitt 2010), I have arrived at a destination saturated with social constructions in dire need of deconstructing.

My thesis revisits some of the factors discussed by Hunter and Davis (1994) in their work on the complexity of manhood which explores the meaning of, and structures that affect, black men. Twenty-five years on, I extend their research framework to examine structural barriers against black men's social development including, but not limited to, female-headed households, a lack of black male role models, and an academic deficit of black boys. This foundational approach, though significant in black masculinity research, is short-sighted, as Seaton (2007) proclaims. It fails to consider

the role of social context in shaping opportunities to complete normative developmental tasks (p.367). My research uncovers such similar barriers, and I examine the dominant poststructuralism and social constructivist narratives in this debate. I present alternative perspectives as well as potential reasoning for the *crisis*.

Conclusion

The literature reviewed in this chapter demonstrates the complexities, and inaccuracies, in identifying a single definition of masculinity. The white westernised depiction of the term breeds historical inaccuracies, losing validity in my research and other contemporary discussions. My review identifies significant contributing factors that are essential to gaining a comprehensive understanding of masculinity. These factors are also vital to the contribution of my thesis within gender scholarship. The chapter has explored how events through time and space shape cultural norms and values, consequently impacting the constructed understanding of masculinities worldwide. Masculinity, as part of a gender spectrum (Monoro 2008), has been acknowledged and used to initiate further discussions on gender as a social construction (Connell 1993, 2005; *hooks* 2004), through a postcolonial (Fanon 1967, 2001), feminist (Collins 2015; *hooks* 2004), and an intersectional (Crenshaw 1998, 2011, 2012) lens.

My review offers a depiction of masculinity, critiquing but also acknowledging Goffman's (1963) social accuracies of hegemonic performances. The literature has provided areas of controversial positionings (Hofstede 1990) but also displayed progression in our understanding of gender differences and lack of conformity towards gender roles (Courtenay 2000; Kimmel 2001). The heteronormative ideal of western masculinity is not and should not adopt a one-size fits all approach. Furthermore, my

review illustrates how history played a significant part in the construction of masculinity as a core strand of gender research. This review has shown how "the cultural turbulence around themes of masculinity has grown" (Connell 1993:598) in conjunction with the diversity of scholars researching this subject matter.

I highlight the historical stages of masculinity, which provides a clear order in the developments and progression encountered. The historical exploitation and discriminative treatment of black people during 16th century slavery that led to the infantile treatment and dehumanisation of the black man (Beckles 1996; Chevannes 2001; Du Bois 1994; Miller 1986) has manifested institutionalised subordinations present today. The doctrines exposed by Lynch (2009) and the accurate recollections discussed by Hines and Jenkins (1999) and Feber (2007) on the impact colonialism has on black male gender identities evidences the need to continue researching black masculinity within gender discourse, but also to be recognised as a standalone identity separate from westernised social norms. I argue the colonial foundations of black male identities continue to propel black men into marginal positions of power in society. The toxic narrative of stereotyped aggressive, violent, and criminal (Brown 1999; Hunter and Davis 1999; Seaton 2007; Ward 2005), animalistic (Ferber 2007), and loveless behaviours (Shefer and Ruiters 1998) fuels the discrimination experienced by black men. Dominance of power, knowledge, and cultural significance concedes masculinity as a cultural performance, founded through social constructs and upheld by subordinations of unacceptable performances of *other* masculinities outside of the hegemonic cultural norm.

For what I found to be emasculating, the research shared by Mosher and Sirkin (1984), Franklin (1989), and Mincey et al. (2014) all produced inventories that measured or

categorised the characteristics and behaviours of men whose masculinity went against the social norm. What have become apparent through my review of masculinity literature are the unquantifiable measurements of gendered norms against the criteria set for and by hegemonic males – or at least those males closer to the hegemonic standard. These gendered norms are based on a historically exploitative perception that the *other* is sub-masculine or, in the case of black men, too masculine: *hyper*. This rhetoric deems black masculinity a problem.

The erasure of accurate depictions of histories has evoked racial and cultural inferiority of men (and women) in non-westernised countries. If significant influences such as race are not acknowledged in masculinity debates, they will "be driven out, denied and reduced to silence... [demonstrating], not only did it not exist, it had no right to exist" (Foucault 1988:4). The existing literature on masculinities is insufficient in providing an accurate representation of race in their analysis of masculine gender performances. My thesis will address this flaw through applying a postcolonial lens on to this debate. In my following chapter, I demonstrate using postcolonial theory and intersectionality as a corrective approach in analysing masculinities, and how race can and should be included in masculinity debates when the appropriate theory is applied. I use black masculinity as an exemplar and with the adoption of intersectionality premises, I provide a framework for analysis and debate. In my conclusive dismay, hegemonic masculinity is a constructed ideal, continuously tested by the behaviours of *others*. The subjectification, marginalisation, and exploitation of the *other* is intrinsic to the survival of hegemony over time and space.

Theorising Race in Masculinities Studies: A Postcolonial Perspective

> The colonists usually say that it was they who brought us into history: today we show that this is not so. They made us leave history, our history, to follow them, right at the back, to follow progress of their history.
>
> Amilcar Cabral 1973

In continuation of the above quote, and in anticipation of this chapter, I contribute my understandings of a history that has reinforced and promoted constructions of masculinities that are exploited, from before the horrors of 16th century colonialism to the racialised police brutalities of the present day, explored in my introductory chapter. This is a history that the existing literature in masculinity studies has failed to adequately represent, because it largely ignores the role of race and in particular black masculinities. Along with the problematised notions of hegemonic masculinity introduced in my previous chapter, and the silenced colonial histories proclaimed in the opening quote by Cabral (1973), black men remain a perceived problem, in a state of crisis (Ferber 2007; Levant 1992; Murray 2009) in a world constructed against their very existence.

In this chapter I demonstrate how race has been constructed as a tool to sustain hegemonic masculinity and maintain the submissive narrative of *other* masculinities and their perceived gender performances. Encompassing a postcolonial theoretical perspective as a corrective approach when analysing masculinities, race can and should be appropriately included in masculinity scholarship. I, for the purpose of my

research, use black masculinities as an exemplar. With insights from intersectionality supporting this perspective, I provide a framework for analysis and debate. The marginalisation and oppression experienced by black men is explored through examining the intersections of race and gender and how it can hinder the progression of black men. In my conclusive dismay, hegemonic masculinity presents as a constructed ideal, used to deflect from lived experiences relating to power, gender and race and continuously tested by the behaviours of *others*.

My conceptualisation of the term 'hegemony' is informed by Antonio Gramsci's theorisation of the dominance of one social group over another (Gramsci 2005[1971]), who, through a Marxist lens, sought to understand why the powerless consented to be dominated by those in positions of power (Gramsci 2005[1971]). Gramsci's answer to this conundrum was in the formulisation of the notion of hegemony. In his influential *Prison Notebooks* (written between 1929-1935), Gramsci documented the idea that dominance of one social group over another came in the form of consent by the powerless. Gramsci goes on to argue that the ideals of the ruling class are upheld through the manipulation of common sense, including language and culture. This dominance established itself as the norm and was met with little challenge, rather embedded as a way of life. Such approval is perpetuated through the mass media, education, and other influential institutions. As an example of this dominance, hegemony is protected via the dominant universal usage of the English language as an educational symbol of elitism and professional hierarchy. Acknowledged as a challenge in my introductory chapter, the scholarship outside of the dominant western English-speaking educational literature was difficult to find within my university libraries and subscribed online resources. Similarly, Gramsci explains how such difficulties are deliberate: a direct embedded construction for how the powerful

sustain positions of leadership and authority. In relation to my research, Gramsci's notion of hegemony informs my conceptualisation of black men as 'othered'. Black masculinity, I argue, should be explored as a complex gender identity. The intersections of race and gender leave black men in a perceived position of dominance, yet powerless, fighting to be accepted into a heteronormative society which does not include their gender performance as part of the societal norm.

Identified as one of the dominant schools of thought in my previous chapter, social constructivist perspectives fail to adequately comprehend masculinities away from the hegemonic white heteronormative gendered norm. This conceptualisation of masculinities also fails to identify the significant role of race in acquiring and sustaining white hegemony. The representations of race historically constructed and continually presented of those who do not meet the criteria of the dominant class, is 'part of the process by which meaning is produced and exchange between members of a culture' (Hall 2013:1). I adopt postcolonial theory as a critical approach to understanding *other* masculinities and make sense of the exploitative relationship left behind after colonialism between the ex-colonies and ex-colonisers. In doing so, I put forward key arguments in this chapter that illustrate why and how postcolonial theory, with intersectionality as a supportive approach, can appropriately examine race in masculinity scholarly debates. Observed, there is an abundance of examples I could discuss; however, this chapter explores matters of hegemonic notions of othering (Fanon 1961; Said 1978) and identity (Bhabha 1994; Hall 2002), complexities surrounding black sexual politics and sexuality (Collins 2005; Lemelle Jr 2010) and issues concerning the black male psyche and self-worth (Cooper 2006; Fanon 1967; Spivak 1988).

Notably, I apply postcolonial perspectives not without critical dialogue, and provide an examination expanding to postcolonial critique (Fanon 1961, 1967; Spivak 1983), Orientalism (Said 1978) and Hybridity (Bhabha 1994). In support of my argument that race has yet to be sufficiently explored in masculinity studies – which this thesis intends to amend – I exploit its flaws as an opportunity to navigate change in how we expose and represent racial as well as cultural hegemony.

Hegemonic Notions of Othering

Ideologies, science, art, language, and literature are all shrouded in westernised/European epistemological hegemony and by what Bhabha (1994) concedes as *distinct European essence*. The very existence of what we understand to be truths, not only of ourselves but also of others, are tainted in racial subjectification, exploitations, and fearfulness. Non-westernised civilisations were and continue to be portrayed as 'inferior, childlike, or feminine, incapable of looking after themselves; despite having done so perfectly well for millennia' (Young 2003:2). The represented gender performances expected of and indoctrinations on male gender identities are generated from this ontological bias. Unfortunately, comprehension is frequently grounded in these questionable truths and constructed via European dominated meaning, leaving some masculinities in a prison of marginalisation; othered, yet feared!

The preconception of black men as uncivilised is perpetuated from colonial legacies, are tools used to *other* masculinities that do not meet the hegemonic criteria of the dominant norm. Such conceptualisations of difference, similarly, are witnesses in the othering of Middle Eastern and Asian cultures as well as the traditions in contrast to imperialist acquisitions of the West. As Frantz Fanon (1967) notes, to be 'The Other,

is to feel that one is always in a shaky position, to be always on guard, ready to be rejected and … unconsciously doing everything needed to bring about exactly this catastrophe' (p.76). Frantz Fanon, a black French psychiatrist and philosopher, is known for his influential publication 'Black Skin, White Mask' (1952). This text is famously known for its precedential exploration of the black psyche in a white world. Through a historical critique, Fanon confronts the complex construction of blackness and identifies direct relationships between colonial legacies of dependency and current statues of inadequacy. Fanon's postcolonial perspectives inform this research and offer me a significant approach in my examination of constructed gender performances and colonial accountability on contemporary expectations and stigmatisations of black men. Not only do the writings of Fanon support the answering of my research questions (*see* Chapter Four), but he is also central in thinking through the psychological impact of blackness and masculinity. This critique of the dominant scholarship in masculinity studies is needed to acknowledge the inability of black people to fit into white societal norms as a legacy of colonialism.

The quote above offered by Fanon (1967) brings about a convincing account of how men removed from the ideals of hegemonic masculinity experience gender, navigating their masculinities through historical and cultural constraints on their expected gender roles and performances. The construction of the *other* is crucial in defining gender norms and locating one's own position in a world generated after colonialism (Ashcraft, et al. 2003: 169). Continuing with my approach towards deconstructing black Caribbean masculinities, this thesis explores in whose subjectivity is the objectified *other* defined? Such conceptualisations are exposed in Hall's (2013) chapter on The Work of Representation, where he states, 'all meanings are produced within history and culture' (p.17). Therefore, my construction of black masculinity via

a postcolonial historical lens, as according to Hall (2013), works well in my research were meaning and comprehension as they relate to masculinities are explored.

In the exploration of *'the other'*, this section introduces the notion of Orientalism to offer an appropriate humanistic critique of constructed subjectification experienced by other masculinities. Informed by Edward Said (1978), Orientalism as a theoretical perspective is applied to open the fields of struggle examined and to introduce a longer sequence of thought and analysis in deconstructing pillars of hegemonic dominance.

Edward Said, known as the founder of postcolonial studies, published insightful perspectives on the breadth of colonial discourse evident in European writing. Said (1978) reminds scholars, 'neither the term Orient nor the concept of the West has any ontological stability, each is made up of human effect, partly affirmation, partly identification of the *Other*' (Said 1978; p.xii). When applying such perspectives to black masculinities as a constructed other, Said (1978) confirms the foundational understanding that these identities mean little outside the hegemonic ideal, required to sustain cultural dominance. However, the question of meaning and cultural representation is wrapped in hegemonic ideals against the other, which Hall (2013) summarises as either intentional or constructionist approaches to meaning (p.10). It is this construction that leads to easy manipulation of one culture over another, requiring extensive decolonisation. However, the quest for identities and meaning not manipulated by another, according to Homi K. Bhabha (1994), will be difficult to obtain as the notion of a 'purity of cultures' (p.37), untouched or influenced by man, does not exist. Instead, like Bhabha, I advocate for an understanding of cultural hybridity as fitting for humanity's current interrelated state. Enlightened by Bhabha's (1994) 'Location of Culture' where he argues the production of culture is most productive where it is ambivalent, a hybrid, the bringing together of two or more

cultures, is a more accurate description of the current intercultural society. Notwithstanding the dispute of this term in postcolonial theory, harmonisation of cultural existence which benefits all included is welcomed. It, too, will ignite the deconstruction of hegemonic cultural identities and labels of the orient.

In recognising the complex process of Orientalism, I comprehend it as an ideology that works to construct power relations between the geographical and political East and West. In accepting Said's (1978:50) openness to ambitiously cover a large geographic, such widespread dimensions are deployed into this research by including all non-Eurocentric, black Caribbean men and their masculinities in an attempt to deconstruct the postcolonial other. In applying these perspectives, my thesis questions the acquisition of knowledge. Orientalism exposes the ontological bias, mentioned earlier, that typecasts a culture or difference as uncivilised, a subject for research and salvation. Like Gramsci, it is recognised that knowledge acquired that structures beliefs and reflects dominant western interests in the quest for hegemony, furthermore, necessitates the subjectification of others to sustain such dominance. Asserted by Young (2003), the knowledge that you need is the knowledge you learn informally, from your family and environment, and the knowledge you learn formally is someone else's knowledge (p.14). Young (2003), along with Gramsci, Said and Spivak, contests the domination forced upon what ex-colonisers deemed as uncivilised societies. The power dynamics, colonial cultural doctrines and ontological beliefs that create *othering,* bring questionable doubt into the acquisition of knowledge and epistemological justifications on someone you have never met, or a culture never experienced. Orientalism, a framework used to establish comprehension on the unusual and unknown, exposes the distortion and calculative discrimination of the *other.* Against the salvation of the east, the dominant west believes due to cultural

hegemony, it needs to rescue the mongrel black [brown] man and bring him in line with the civilised [white] man (Said 1978). In absence of fact, acknowledgement of little or no cultural understanding regulates any chance of progression bound by colonial pastures and continued inequalities.

Orientalism, as an approach to explain imperialist western dominated rule over the south-east countries of the world, hallos perceptions of understanding and includes narratives on other, similar postcolonial theory. To disassociate itself with 'binary axis of power' (McClintock 1992:85), a postcolonial theory approach demonstrates westernised histories of binary subjectification and discrimination, for example, white/black, slave/slave owner, centre/periphery. What postcolonial theory aims to synthesise are the beneficiaries and casualties of colonialism as an impact of western progress. McClintock (1992) explains how postcolonialism re-centres global histories around the 'single rubric of European time' (p.86). Like McClintock (1992), I question whether progression, signalled through the end of an imperialist era, should be accepted as progressive if the impacts and influence of said movement are only considered via a hegemonic framework. Postcolonialism is argued by Armitage (2007:254) as generating history via a 'localist' cultural lens, with an inability to acknowledge historical advantage and to reconstruct histories distinct from a linear subjective. Bhabha (1994) advocates culture to not be a static entity which can be isolated in time or space, but encompassing of fluidity, constantly in motion via transformation. Similarly, Hall (2013) explains how 'the concepts to which they [words] refer also changes, historically, and every shift alters the conceptual map of the culture, leading different cultures, at different historical moments, to classify and think about the world differently' (p.17). Applying a theoretical perspective that acknowledges these conceptually changing meanings of identity, whether that be

cultural or specifically related to gender representation, is fundamental to the understandings of constructed representations. Masculinities should be understood as an everchanging cultural identity which engulfs different cultural meanings at different historical moments. However, to bring this discussion back to the opening quote made by Cabral (1973) at the beginning of this chapter, postcolonial theory, though encouraging examination from a critical perspective of hegemony versus other, often fails to acknowledge the histories lost along the way and identify those cultural identities as a casualty.

Understanding what gender means and does not mean among a given people 'is imperative in any effort to see *how* such a people construct their sense of being, male or female, who they incorporate, whom they exclude' (Chevannes 2001:34). I incorporate a strong metaphysical (Greene et al. 1984, in Armitage 2007) notion of construction, deconstruction and reconstruction of black masculinities which I integrate in my research to examine societal characteristics and disabling narratives on masculinities. There is a growing body of literature on blackness which focusses heavily on black women and their oppression (Brah and Phoenix 2004; Carbado and Gulati 2001; Collins and Bilge 2016: Collins 2015, 2005, 2004, 2000; Harding 2004; McCall 2005; Mirza 2009; Mugge et al. 2018; Nash 2008; Ocen 2013; Phoenix 2014; Phoenix and Pattynama 2006; Yuval-Davis 2011, 2006). Comparatively, little has been published in relation to black male oppression during a similar or previous time frame. Demonstrated in my previous chapter, this literature identifies how historical internalised constructions of black men as childlike and subhuman (Beckles 1996; Brown 1999) have left black men socially, mentally, and spiritually uncivilised (Young 2003). However, there are alternative strands of literature (Hopkinson and Moore 2006; Lemelle Jr. 2010; Levant 1992; Okundaye 2017; Pyke 1996; Serrant-Green

2008) that demonstrate the linear route to black masculinity as too simplistic. Therefore, an understanding must be sought, that blackness by itself can be a sight of resistance. It is not just about black men being marginalised or oppressed; instead, a look at agency within this battle should be sought to avoid feelings of dehumanisation. Applying an alternative, postcolonial lens to the study of masculinities exposes a more rich and complex discourse available within this discipline.

Orientalism as a theoretical perspective, while not directly focussed on the experience of black men or even gender, informs my arguments against the long-held othering of black masculine gender performances. These alternative perceptions are appropriate in applying it to the history and state of black Caribbean masculinity. The construction and learning of black masculinity were disrupted by colonialism and dislocated across the Atlantic. Still, black masculinity is not remembered through the histories stolen, but attempts to reconstruct this gender identity to remain prevalent. Paradoxically it fuels the cruel norms of the oriental *other* but creatively disassociates any interrelation of any postcolonial structure. What we have been left with since colonialism, in alliance with societal gender analysis, are investigations like mine that look into 'postcolonial masculinities' (Ouzgane and Coleman 1998).

Continuing towards the focus of my research on race, gender, and masculinities, to ignore difference would be to rewrite histories on constructing the other for hegemonic gain. In acknowledging Fanon's (1967) statement '*sin is to negro as virtue is to white*' (p.139), it is widely exhibited that not only must the black man be black; he must be black in relation to the white man. Such principles are shared by Fanon (1967:109) in his book '*Black Skin, White Mask*', in which he eludes on the experience of being othered and finding out he was an object amid other objectifications. Fanon speaks on his positionality as a black African who spoke French. He explains his experience of

resistance from white male domination but maintains encouragement towards cultural hegemony. Fanon shares being stripped of his own customs and culture norms as a salvation method to integrate with the locals. Proclaimed by Fanon (1967), 'affective self-rejection invariably brings the abandonment-neurotic to an extremely painful and obsessive feeling of exclusion' (p.76). The tangible neglect and feelings of abandonment establish vulnerabilities previously experienced by enslaved populations. Such narrative is echoed by Spivak's (1988) subaltern rhetoric and supports my advocated need for ethical intervention. It is at this worthless *othered* state where black masculinities have been parked and remain often but not always drowning, desperate to climb ladders leading up toward boats that oppressed them initially.

As 16th Century colonial history has shown, the *other* or being *othered* is a binary requirement for the success of an ideological dominance. The continuous comparison and interrelation dependence of one (person, group, institution, or structure) against another (other) is fundamentally rooted in outdated power balance structures (*see* Gramsci). It highlights the practice of hegemonic masculinity by the west on previously colonised countries and the gender performances executed by them. Bhabha's (1994) chapter on 'Of Mimicry and Men: The ambivalence of colonial' navigates discourse on the need for civilisation of cultural imitation as a missionary but asserted efforts used to maintain cultural hegemony, making the coloniser more like the colonised. If, however, centuries' worth of European salvation were successful, it would erase the assumed gap in cultural hegemony. Similarly, it is forceful that black masculine efforts remain *'white but not quite'* (Ram 2013). If the salvation of black masculinity were achieved, the racial dichotomy of hegemonic masculinity would no longer stand ground within society. Reducing the black man to childlike, infantile, and animalistic

identities tactfully provides the required otherness for white male hegemony to prevail. Fanon (1967) recounts: 'it is the wreckage of what surrounds me that provides the foundation for my virility' (p.221). Conversely, if the virility exposed by Fanon was sought and harnessed by all black men, the pronounced strength would be a welcomed mechanism in support of the Pan-Africanism[17] path to progression.

Unequivocally, the power yielded by hegemonic gender, masculinities, is captivating for a short while as it is easily lost. However, the beliefs surrounding racial hegemony indoctrinated into society on race and inferiority yield similar power as gender – of lasting for ever! In fact, its steered independence towards societal shackles of judgement. The racist and sexist beliefs used for centuries as a justification for an uncivilised identity given to black men will remain forever embedded into the black psyche and the binary need for *othering*.

The clout of othering and diminishing an entire ethnic group as uncivilised is a generationally impactful campaign. Constructed obstacles placed upon black men since 16th century colonialism were interwoven to decipher progression through the eradication of cultural freedoms. The plight to instil an identity onto a population that is ignored in relevance of historical contributions but has their conditioned worthlessness required to preserve hegemonic binary identities demonstrates calculation in a proven lasting impact. Colonial discourse cannot admit such truths, as the notion of a superior west is at the core of colonial justification for civilising missions. The moment it is pointed out that there is no real 'purity' of culture (Bhabha 1994), the mission of civilization will break down. Calculations and death from colonial

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[17] Pan-Africanism ideology encourages the solidarity of African people across the world, including diaspora communities, to rise against imperialist principles of separation rather towards unity, independence, and progression.

rule on this scale are irreversible; so too are the impact and influence of othering on society after the fact.

Nine-tenths of the entire land-surface of the globe was controlled by Europe or European derived powers (Young 2003:2) during colonialism. Though documented as an end to, it must be acknowledged, the end of colonialism does not signify an end to an uncivilised identity placed upon black men. Spivak (1988), in the publication 'Can the Subaltern Speak?', illustrates how if the subaltern, in my case the black male, is given the independence to speak, will his utterances be accepted as meaningful narrative? Similar processes of expression have been robbed from black men who are rarely given the space and time to speak, tainting societal knowledge and gendered norms. Berger and Luckmann (1966) suggest 'men must talk about themselves until they know themselves' (p.53). However, what language do you adopt when you have always been spoken for? Consequentially, as Fanon (1967) shares, 'I am deprived of the possibility of being a man' (p.89) and systematically infuriated 'to ask the question constantly, in reality, who am I?' (p.200). In this case, black men by default will struggle to know themselves unless they not only begin to speak but are also listened to. In taking a sympathetic stance on such analysis, by way of default, Spivak's (1998) notion on the subaltern finds postcolonial masculinities as *'othered'*. Remembering and engraved into the postcolonial understanding, 'the negro is a slave who has been allowed to assume the attitude of a master, the white man is a master who allowed his slaves to eat at his table' (Fanon 1967:219). Black men who internalise the hegemonic status of progression as positive through interrogation, postcolonial masculinities may be deemed unprogressively as it acknowledges the multiple cultural practices and gender performances but ignores the hybridised masculinities informed through postcolonial relations (Ouzgane and Coleman 1998).

As remedial, intersectionality, a fitting strand of Critical Race Theory (CRT), 'caste not as a grand theory but more a prism we have to understand certain kinds of problems' (Crenshaw 2017), covers some of these shortcomings in postcolonial theory perspectives. Incorporating an intersectionality approach to my research supports a focus on the disadvantage of multiple social identities which create an inclusive analysis of not only race, but additional intersections. Explained in the introductory chapter, I acknowledge the literature on CRT but have chosen not to focus too heavily on this approach, in part because of its heavy focus on US examples. Nevertheless, the thesis does draw up on its foundations and embrace a specific critical branch of this perspective. Instead, intersectionality is used to examine the impact such multiplicity has on the lived experiences of black men specifically. A conceptualisation of intersectionality and how I adopt and adapt it as a methodological approach can be found in the following chapter. Nevertheless, it remains beneficial for this research to interject aspects of critical race theory into my analysis, plugging the simplification concerns of postcolonialism in an inclusive hybridity of multi-complex identities. In so doing, not only does this thesis contribute an adapted lens to a postcolonial theoretical analysis, but also advances the debate beyond discussions of black masculinity, criminality, low educational attainment, and absent fathers, moving it forward to address the complex intersection of race and gender as a hybrid cultural performance within masculinity scholarship.

Grown from postcolonial theory, hybridity as an intersectional expansionist concept explains appropriately the construction of intersections addressed in this thesis. Hybridity, explored earlier in this chapter, is understood as a creational explanation for when two cultures amalgamate into a joint culture (Shields 2008:305). Such a unique creation also conceptualises the existence of new gender identities as

multiplicities. A *bipolar* justification is offered by Frank Cooper (2006) for extending intersectionality theory to heterosexual black men if shared interests of the 'multiple subordinations are considered in defeating western epistemological system of the scaling of bodies' (p.853). Similarly, to Cooper (2006), I welcome the acknowledgment of multiple systems of analysis in which hierarchies are placed to determine the characteristics of those bodies. Within this research, intersectional concepts of hybridity provide not only conceptualisation for understanding the joining of both black male cultural identities with hegemonic male identities, but it also forms new angles to explore gender scholarship. Still, my research differs from Cooper's (2006) by incorporating a historical comprehension into the narrative and explores how, as well as why, such narratives have come about. Including this historical element to the research enables an adoption of an intersectional hybrid analysis of marginalised male identities and cultural immersions. This then provides a better examination of contemporary gender performances and expectations. As a running theme throughout this research, time and space also play a significant part in the multi-complexities conducting research via an intersectionality lens. Social location as an intersection of identities, as suggested by Shields (2008:301), must be held paramount to intersectionality research as it can affect the particularities of gender (McCall 2005). Black men continue to juggle a multi-complexity of gender performances resulting in a new black male gender hybrid.

Black Sexual *Politics*

Thus far, this chapter has explored notions of othering. The following sections will examine how ideas surrounding the sexualisation of the black body has placed a legacy of fearmongering yet a fetishisation of black men's sexuality. The sexualisation of the black body has been discussed in depth by Patricia Hill Collins in her book *Black*

Sexual Politics (2005). From her introductory pages, Collins (2005) provides examples of objectification on the female body, sharing narratives of Sarah Baartman as a 'sexual freak of nature' (p.27) to the billion-dollar insurance on Jennifer Lopez's bottom. With little intention to take away the significance of this book for gender scholars or discredit the insightful ground covered by Collins, I would like to draw the reader's attention to the lack of examples shared about the black male body – historical or present. From initiation, Collins, through omission, casts black sexual politics as a discussion on black women's sexual agency. The book does not stipulate a focus on women but does fail to address black men's sexual politics specifically. Collins' (2005) inclusion of black men into her work is merely used as clarification for how black women during colonialism were treated worse than black men. Poignant to this research, the omission of male examples, I argue, is reflective of the position held by black men not just by society but within his own community. Collins' direct position away from male examples is a reminder of why deconstructing perceptions of privilege through the inclusion of race is significant in masculinity research.

Though explored in the previous chapter, I wish to examine further constructions of black masculinity via racialised notions of sex and sexuality. Worryingly, while discussions of hegemonic masculinity often exclude marginalised ethnic minority and working-class men, the dyslogistic labels of hypermasculinity and hypersexuality have come to define them (Sharpe and Pinto 2015). A regular focal point when characterising black masculinity historically and within research is through the male body (Lemelle Jr. 2010). The black male body is often labelled as popular for its celebrity idolisation and sexual fantasy fascinations. However, as Ward (2005) explains, the exploitation of black sexuality during colonialism has elicited a fear of hypersexualised expressions of gender identity and performance by black people.

Black men have long been given gender performances that place sexuality centre stage (Collins 2005:31). Popular television shows such as *The Maury Povich Show* and *The Montel Williams Show* depict black men as proud of their irresponsible sexual behaviours (Collins 2005:41), which upholds the repression of his being through marginalisation, infancy, and workless ethics. Black men being often described as "broken men and boys" (Sharpe and Pinto 2015:38), needing to be fixed, upholds a *saviour* rhetoric depicting black males as a subject to study and fix. This will continue if the discourse constructs them as o*ther*. There is an urgency to extract these misrepresented pillars of cultural negative stereotypes and encompass Beckles' (1996) proclamation that 'they learnt to use it as it was used against them' (p.19).

The magnitude of the sexualisation placed onto black men is captured by Fanon (1967), who claims that 'in relation to the Negro [black man and women], everything takes place on the genital level' (p.157). Sexualisation of the black male body and associated typologies has encompassed an additional self-devaluation method via sexual desire of the black penis by white women. In correlation to this female desire, there were also 'feelings of impotence or sexual inferiority' (Fanon 1967:159) by white men who believed in the sexual beast-like potency of black men. Even though Fanon (1967) explains the sexual curiosity of white women who often desired the destruction, the dissolution, of her being on a sexual level, he describes the gendered role of black men to *negrophobic* women as putative sexual partners (p.156). The illegal practice of miscegenation has historical coding into westernised law (e.g., the US and Australia). It is a white privilege that even with civil rights laws more recently in place there is a delay in social acceptance of miscegenation in some countries. The illusionary sexual superiority of black men frequently resulted in public castrations and lynching which, I argue, post-independence is still practised via disproportionate prison populations,

police violence (Garland, Spohn and Wodalh 2008; Mauer and King 2007) and a disproportionate requirement in mental health (Singh et al. 2013; Singh 2006), another dehumanising method used to devalue self and identify black men as *'other'*.

This objectification of just the body sustains the colonial doctrine of infancy, adverse and incapable of a multiplicity of identities let alone complexities. Contemporary affirmations of Fanon are exerted by Lemelle Jr. (2010) and Collins (2005) who suggest the gender identity of black men are constructed in an intended visionary of a simplistic sexual singularity. Highlighted by Kobena Mercer (1997) in anti-pornography campaigns, men and the aggressive equation of male hatred and violence falls on to the identity of black men (p.279). Consequentially, violence and aggressive sex become a normalised expected behaviour. I deem the ongoing sexualisation of the black male another calculated tool used to continually devalue black men and inappropriately typecast him as *other*.

Self-devaluation and unworthiness of love creates and sustains insecurities and lack of self-esteem in any cohort of people. The continued constructed devaluation of oneself via sexual illusions and fetish "coerced the black man as not wishing to be loved and adopting a defensive position" (Fanon 1967:75) against his gender. It is not too far-fetched to recognise the correlation between the historical sexualisation and fetish of black men with insecurity and a lack of confidence. Yet, aggressive protectionist behaviours exhibited by black men (in)directly are not ignored; rather, insufficiently examined as his identity.

And so, the mass historical efforts to deem black men as uncivilised expands not only across time but also generations. The doctrine of devaluation spans across the composition of young black boys, subsequently maximising the impact and

maintaining the belief of worthlessness throughout a lifetime. Fanon (1967) resonates the narrative of colonial beliefs that the 'family is a miniature of the nation; the civilised' (p.142) to highlight again the efforts made to *other* certain members of society – in this case, black children. To reiterate Fanon's (1967) logic of whiteness, a normal child who grows up in a normal family will be a normal man (p.142.) Adversely, Fanon adjudicates "a normal Negro child, having grown up within a normal family, will become abnormal on the slightest contact with the white worlds" (p.143) – their blackness becoming a comparative (white/black) *other*. Similarly, when a black man encounters the white world, they too will revert to his typecast of being othered.

The magnetism of economic gain through the exploitation of the body is far from a contemporary notion. Black men have been overly sexualised, desired, and politicised in the exploitation of the black male body (Brown 1999; Collins 2005; Ward 2005) through the openness of sex tourism as an economic and monetary need for many 'cash-poor' (Sharpe and Pinto 2015:250) developing economies. Notwithstanding the exploitation by the global north to consume the black/brown body through increasingly becoming drawn into networks of a global sex trade and sex tourism (Lemelle Jr. 2010). A lasting conceptualisation based on experience and historical truths; Fanon (1967) explains that 'Negro suffer[s] in his body quite differently from the white man' (p.138). These aesthetic objectifications have left black men *othered,* not only in mind but also in body. The Structural Adjustment Programmes[18] (SAPs) put in place in the 1980s to progressively advance economies ashamedly are believed to have 'pathed a beacon' (Mullings 1999) for the 'rise in sex tourism due to national

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[18] Structural Adjustment Programmes (SAPs) involve loans from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and, or the World Bank to countries that experience economic hardship or crisis.

policies on flexible tourism' (Sharpe and Pinto 2015:250). Similarly executed during the 16th century slave trade (Beckles 2004), SAPs reproduce relations of slavery, where an expression of this can be seen in the increase of sex tourism.

Thus far, I have presented historical strategies of cultural dominance and the impact hegemonic masculinity has placed on the construction and expectations of black male gender performances. Robert Young (2003) rightly acknowledges the resistance, struggle, and loss during imperialist rule. However, Said (1978) questions whether imperialism ever ended. Said's (1978) idea of 'Neo-Colonialism' continues to be echoed by scholars seeking definitive answers to the haunted space postcolonial discourse occupies (Hall 2002). Similarly suggested in my introductory chapter, independence from imperialism should only be seen as a representative approach to ending violently repressive colonialism. Instead, many ex-colonies are still enslaved mentally, economically, and socially, if not dominated indirectly via uncivilised typologies and cultural othering by European and westernised powers. Called to attention by Said (1978), the 'Holocaust has permanently altered the consciousness of our time: why do we not accord the same epistemological mutation in what imperialism has done and what Orientalism continues to do?' (p.xvi). In support of Said's ideals and in reference to black masculinity, this chapter demonstrates similarly to Ogar et al. (2019) and Rahaman et al. (2017) how society has entered a state of neo-colonialism, freed from physical shackles but enslaved by the mental, economic, and social restraints of globalisation to serve the imperialistic interests of the western world. Together, the ongoing legacies of colonial teachings through postcolonial practices demonstrate why it is paramount in acquiring an accurate representation of race in masculinity discourse which is inclusive of *all* masculinit*ies*.

The Black Male Psyche

Until now, this chapter has focussed on the historic exclusion of black masculinity from civilisation, cast into the fire of otherness, deemed as aggressively libidinous and feared for the same stereotypical attributes. Collectively, these histories confirm the dehumanisation of black men who continue to suffer because of this primary level of socialisation. It leaves little, if any, currency within the global society except (as evidenced earlier in this chapter) as fetishes and desired bodies. Moving forward, I intend to look specifically at black Caribbean men with this historical lens. Clearly stated by Berger and Luckmann (1966), 'the individual [however] is not born a member of society, he is born with a predisposition towards society, and he becomes a member' (p.149). Black masculinities do not hold any position of privilege in society. However, over time he has become a perceived active member of a privileged group within society: men! What I will explore and have discussed in the previous chapter on masculinities is the space or level of membership blackness currently occupies within the privileged gender group.

To initiate critical thinking, in line with Fanon's (1967) body of work, I present the de/reconstruction of the black male psyche against the backdrop of colonial oppressive legacies as a challenge to gender privileges and hegemonic status. Once outside of constructed social circles, complications based on linguistic and cultural comprehension begin to surface (Fanon 1967) – a welcome challenge in which the premise of postcolonial and associated studies 'threatens privilege and power' (Young 2003:7) of any sort towards the already established hegemonic actors. Entitlement based on Eurocentrism and whiteness, embedded in subjectivities and objectified perspectives, cause the continued *othering* of blackness as a type of unwarranted man. To correct these injustices, a redistribution of cultural hegemony and an inclusive

intervention of the black male subaltern is required. Black males are constructed via a multitude of ideological imperatives and governed by responses to such doctrines. Postcolonial theory convincingly involves a conceptual reorientation towards the knowledge perspectives developed outside the west (Young 2003:4). It is at this junction where I believe intersectionality supports a progressive approach to postcolonial theory which critiques the legacies of colonialism as they persist to promote inequalities between nations and people.

The levels of inequality experienced by black men span across education, employment, and leadership, to name but a few. They are systematically, physically, and sexually abused and experience high levels of poverty and deprivation (Johnson 2016). Yet his identity is still argued as exceptionalism (Butler 2013) and privileged (Butler 1990: Nash 2008; Woods 2010). Intersectionality is interpreted as a micro level analysis required to understand and inform macro social-structural (Bowleg 2013) inequalities. In committing to Crenshaw's (2017) approach to inequalities, 'an intervention that provides a solution of equal opportunity regardless of identity' (*ibid*), intersectionality offers my research an interrogative perspective and platform for critical reflective thinking on gender and race intrinsic to this debate.

As a supportive example to this argument, from a young age, black boys are educated on their devalued position in society and constructed to accept the gender performances they *should* exhibit as a societal expectation (Sewell 1997). This shaping of a collection of bodies not only (un)consciously hinders any growth of his being, but also informs the prejudicial expectations of his peers, ultimately disrupting how black boys see themselves and affecting their black male psyche. In 2018, a sociology GCSE textbook used by most teenagers sitting the AQA examination paper in the UK was

exposed for misrepresenting the cultural gender performances of black Caribbean men. On the content printed about Caribbean families, the book stated:

"In Caribbean families, the fathers and husbands are largely absent, and women assume the most responsibility in child rearing" (HuffPost 2018).

Such gospel-like written text has educated and misinformed a generation on a community but also upheld historically indoctrinated gender expectations of that race. Through widespread criticisms, the book has since been pulled from publication and an apology was given. However, as stated in the introductory chapter, the postcolonial typology of *other* through devaluation and stereotype was already achieved. I have chosen not to put forth a critical analysis of the entire book and its authors, but rather highlight the section in question as problematic, damaging and part of long-standing historical ideological doctrines on blackness, its people, and more specifically black men. Johns (2006) voices her concern of similar narratives that:

'*a generation of both white and black kids has now been successfully indoctrinated to think that the only way for black masculinity to manifest itself is through physical posturing, sexual braggadocio, feral violence and general anti-social behaviour*'.

Apparent from such examples, these young people, through their taught omissions and subconscious, demonstrate a societal rejection of black masculinities. Fanon (1967) speaks upon the shared heroism between both black and white boys on ancestry and taught histories in educational settings, like school. He shares the irony of the black schoolboy in his lesson forever talking about '*our* ancestors, the Gauls' (p.147), which resonates with me, too, as I was taught similar utterances and was connected to heroically during my schooling era. I cannot help but equate current teaching practices

such as this to a continued demonstration of colonial indoctrination legacies, succeeding in constructing an ignorance and disliking of themself, their fathers, and their ancestry.

Exploring this notion of 'duality in masculinity' Brown (1999) uses the analogy of a masquerade disguise to help the reader comprehend the 'carefully orchestrated performances' tied to black masculinity (p.25). Brown (1999) presents Milestones superhero comic book as an example where alternatives are found to the extreme hypermasculinity of black men depicted by the media. Within scope, this analogy is explored well, however, I still find the idea of a superhero-like duality analogy limiting and exclusive of wider encompassing performances of black masculinities. Similarly, Fanon's (1967) narrative on white and negro children's informed identities of one another via comic book depictions wrongly characterises black men as 'evil, bad spirit, bad man and savage' (p.146). Fanon (1967:151) identifies the sacrificial realities experienced by young black boys (including Fanon himself) when they subjectively adopt the white man's hero-like attitude, rejecting and resisting the indoctrinated sadism of his own.

The comprehensible reality of living a dual personality and supressing cultural gender performances is a direct stimulant against black men and their psyche. Black men must choose or interchangeably perform the good black man role or face the consequence of illustrating the bad black man position. Similarly, Cooper (2006) identifies a split *bipolar* black gender performance and distinguishes between a *bad* black man who is crime-prone and hypersexual and a *good* black man who distances himself from blackness and associates with whiteness as normality. Cooper (2006) demonstrates how the coerced threat of the bad black man label provides heterosexual black men with an assimilationist incentive to be more consistent with the perceived

good black man image (p.853). Such notions of bipolar are discussed again (p.127) in the following chapter on intersectional methodologies. As a result, when the devalued nature of any man is continuously objectified as nothing, the negativities are absorbed and digested by society.

Though physically taken off, there remains a continued treatment of racialised unequal practice through embedded colonial stereotypes, behaviours, and restrictions. Johns (2006) in her article 'In search of Notorious PhDs' reminds us "we [black people] still need liberating from the debilitating mental shackles of our colonial past". Built off colonial foundations as well as a conditioning to discriminate through *other* ideology, feminisation and inferiority, black men are left to navigate through a controlled constructed existence of their being. As an example, sexual superiority remains a powerful stereotype associated with black men. Abstractions of the black male physique and the pornographic perception of his superior libidinous powers are acknowledged by Clennon (2013) as pre- and post- colonial dehumanising constructions. Yet black men continue to be identified, constructed, and feared for their genitalia (Fanon 1967:157). This (post)colonial belief escalates the oppressive state of black men and his expected gender performance.

History has blocked full integration of black gender performances into the white hegemonic spheres. A feeling of emptiness is an evil of black men. There hovers a guilt of not wanting to be *othered* but also not having the tools to defend black men who choose to embrace their otherness. It is almost like black masculinity lives in anticipation of a secondary socialisation wave, which can offer a redefined or restructuring of themselves in a sub-world. Alternative gender identities are performed precariously, facing little acceptance and feelings of normality. Is it not time, then, to perceive black men as less than, we value their bodies as having 'expert

knowledge' (Berger and Luckmann 1966:158) in marginalisation, oppression, and discrimination?

Conclusion

Postcolonial theory has been used to examine masculinity inclusive of race. The theoretical perspectives presented in this chapter move away from the linear rigidity of social constructivism and encompassed an inclusive, intersectional journey of past and present. This chapter set against the hegemonic foundational understandings of Gramsci's construction and dominance of one group over another is understood to be purposefully built and maintained. Exposed by Delgado and Stefancic (2012), "Our sense of the world is the product of hundreds and thousands of such stories or narratives," (*ibid*). I demonstrate, using black masculinity, how complexities due to products born of colonial narratives create conflict and marginalisation of black men and their gender identities.

The specified entanglement of black Caribbean masculinity in this chapter has identified themes of oppression that demonstrate historical gender constructions as a crippling hindrance on black male progression. This representation, explained by Stuart Hall (2013), has varying degrees of distorted meanings, yet make up and reflect the intended meaning of the hegemonic group: the white male. Black masculinity is acknowledged as a highly contradictory formation of identity, as it remains a subordinated masculinity (Brown 1999:28) raped of original gender identity yet still feared, portrayed as violently aggressive and continuously subjected to an object: the body. These stereotypical representations of black men (and women) are gender performances accepted and expected by society. This chapter has investigated private and public spaces (home and school) where gender performances prevail. I have

focused on the historical and contemporary constructions of gender identities and the implications such racialised stereotypes have on education, domestic relationships, expectations, perceptions, and subjectification of others.

The postcolonial framework established to understand the unknown, the orient, publishes century-long impounded typologies and casts black masculinity in a marginal gender position in society but also into a feeling of insecurity. Orientalism exposes the postcolonial dichotomy to reflect the lack of fluidity and progression in the interconnectedness of culture and gender. As evidenced in this chapter, postcolonialism can be sought as merely an extension of colonial 'othering', subjectification, and exploitation. I explore the privileged identity placed upon black men as male but remind the reader of the historic and continued marginalisation experienced due to his blackness. The exceptionalism (Butler 2013) identity of black men sings most relevant to my research in the level of oppression faced by this group via stereotype, patriarchy, misandry and assumed privilege. Such multiplex identities, I argue, are exceptional in their lack of critical reflection of all the intersections playing a role in the gender identity of black men.

Linguistic complexities that identify the misconceptions and miseducation often informing postcolonial narratives became an exploration for what it is, exciting other arguments from Bhabha (1994) and Spivak (1989). Support of a new wave of transcultural understandings are materialising via the adoption of hybridity (Bhabha 1994) ideologies and the acceptance of 'other' parallel masculinities, which previously via a social constructivist lens were deemed as less salient. I have demonstrated in this chapter the inseparability of race and gender and the interaction between these complex identities. Rightfully stated by Ferber (2007), 'Gender is constructed through

race, and race is constructed through gender' (p.15). Therefore, a black man is neither a *man* nor just *black*. He is a black man!

In the remainder of my thesis, I aim to explore, through a postcolonial and intersectional lens, black masculinity in an attempt to contribute and correct existing masculinities scholarship that has lent little attention to race. The hybrid narrative discussed in this chapter acknowledges the interrelations of gender and race needed in the development of masculinity studies. Subsequently, an intersectional approach to examine black masculinity is appropriately applied to my research, subsequently offering a methodological framework for the data collection and analysis of such debates.

INTERSECTIONAL METHODOLOGIES

There is no greater agony than bearing an untold story inside you.

Maya Angelou

I invite you to remember a burning urge to speak and share your opinion, no matter how controversial. For instance, do you remember waving your hand frantically as a child in a classroom, hoping to answer whatever question has been asked? Yet, what happens when we are unable to speak, share our opinion and/or are not chosen to talk? For many black men, their opinion is muted, and their stories are untold. It is this hidden silence that my thesis aims to expose. In this chapter, I will ask 'who is allowed to speak, who is heard, and who is silenced?' (Mattocks and Briscoe-Palmer 2016:478). I examine whether masculinity 'lives in' black men's bodies or if it is something placed upon them. Similar to Maya Angelou's quote above, the literature reviewed and the research I conducted demonstrates that, for black men over time (and space), their stories have often been untold, their voices frequently silenced, and their identities shrouded in the storytelling of others. Echoing my introductory chapter *'Black men have been parked away by history'* (Beckles 1996) and left with a deposition of silence which has become a burden on the storyteller and an agony placed on the self. Incorporating intersectional methodologies strengthens my research in exposing oppressions experienced by black men and firmly positions their stories as significant within masculinity discourses and studies.

Established across my first two chapters, this research is situated against a backdrop of global advantages toward white European and American men (Connell 2005; Hays 1997), in an era of increased acceptance of Westernised gender(s) as the norm (Connell 1993; Kimmel 1987, 2001, 2005; Nars 2001). The research also sits against a backward perspective of others, who are unable to meet the criterion of hegemonic masculine performances (Hofstede 1998; Goffman 1963). My research acknowledges and accepts that identity intersections play a part in gender(ed) performances. Thus, I accept not all white men's stories are told. I agree no application of intersectionality, in a definitive sense, can grasp the range of intersectional problems that plague society (Carbado 2013:305). Nonetheless, for the purpose of my research, it is on the disproportionate disadvantages and inferiority (Burrell 2010; Hunter and Davis 1994; Westwood 1990) of black male narratives that I place analytical focus.

The purpose of this chapter is to set out how I will collect and analyse my data using an intersectional methodological approach. Informed by anthropological research methods, I conducted fieldwork in Jamaica that included interviews, immersive observation, research diary entries and focus groups which I examine further in the following chapter. I adopt reflexivity and immersion practices to complement the ethnographic methods I use for the collection of my data. As will become evident in this chapter, identifying an exact methodology to research black men and their masculinity is challenging. However, I demonstrate how my adapted application of traditional intersectional approaches equates a research design best suited for my thesis.

The methodological position of my research is informed by multiple feminist methodologies which are explored throughout this chapter. The intersection of these methodologies, used not just within my data collection but throughout my analysis, is

an appropriate approach to conduct research on black masculinities. I explore feminist methodologies specific to the Caribbean (DeVault 1996; Green 1974) as a foundation for understanding gender and specifically masculinity research. Arguably, aspects of the literature have been built on repetitive white hegemonic foundations (Green 1974) often seen in dominant masculinity discourse (*see* Chapter One), which are too weak to build new, contemporary models of research. As a comparative, I explore feminist methodological approaches but argue this lens would place limitations on my research due to its propensity to side-line intersections (Greene 1974; Hammersley 1992). My discussions identify the lack of methodologies which focus on approaches to intersectional masculinities as a research methodology and design. Intersectionality is given attention in its foundations and positioning. I explore the relevance of adopting a sociological and anthropological lens to my research, which ultimately explores how societies, cultures and human behaviours govern gender, identity, and performances (Katz 2004; Munhall 1988; Price and Hawkins 2002; Wilson 1977).

The anthropological logic of immersion (Emerson 1987), embedding oneself into the culture or environment (Jones and Ficklin 2012; Valentine and Matsumoto 2001; Varjas et al. 2005), informed my research; enabling me to become close to the research experience. Complementary to my research and as a criterion to gain a fuller analysis, I incorporated a sociological application of reflexivity (Robertson 2002). This involves reflecting on my influence on the research environment but also being able to consider my positionality as a researcher, including my own identity.

Not only does my research explore the (de)constructions of masculinity as a conceptualised methodology, but it also continues to offer a comprehension of black masculinity and implications of these gender performances. Some scholars suggest reflexivity and immersion methods are controversial in academic research (*see*

Newbury 2001; Punch 2012). However, including the researcher's experience is beneficial and adds merit to my findings. It captures the emotions and empathy of the researcher as a crucial component in presenting both the researched and the researcher's experiences.

Expanding Feminist Methodologies

Before I turn to expanding my discussion of intersectionality methodologies, I will first look at feminist methodologies more broadly and the potential rejection of some feminist perspectives on masculinity/masculinities research. I acknowledge and embrace the success of inclusive feminist intersectional methodologies, but as a masculinity's scholar, I also recognise the deficit that marginalised men experience. As a response against standard procedures within some social science research methodologies, vulnerable men often face a type of "masculinist sociology" activism. As stated by Hickey-Moody and Laurie (2015), "a certain triumphalism vis-à-vis feminist philosophy haunts much masculinities research" (p.2), leaving marginalised – and often vulnerable masculinities – silenced in social science methodologies, theory, research strategies, and procedures.

Social science, broadly speaking, has led the way into positioning research standards and procedures to become inclusive of women's concerns and feminist methodologies. The "second wave" feminist movement that began in the 1960s and early 1970s (DeVault 1996:29), played a major role in generating academic focus in distinguishing between orthodox methods of research processes, strategies, and procedures. Hammersley (1992) proclaims that conventional social science is primarily based on "an expression of the experiences of men presented as if it were all human experience" (p.187). Feminist resistance to patriarchal power "emerged via methodological

injunctions to explore women's experiences…" (Hammersley 1992:187). Subsequently, DeVault (1996) sets an inclusive and investigative tone for the requirement of feminist methodologies. Such a supportive feminist inclusion into methodological procedures and contribution of knowledge has generated a following for decades (Baxter 2003; Butler 1988, 1990, 2004; Collins 2017, 1990; Hammersley 1992; Harding 1987, 2004; hooks 1987, 2006; Ramazanoglu and Holland 2002; Reinharz and Davidman 1992). In response to Hammersley's (1992) statement on men's experiences presented as universal, I argue with Du Bois: from which men are these expressions of experiences sought?

> To address women's lives and experiences in their own terms, to create theory grounded in the actual experiences of language of women, is the central agenda for feminist social science and scholarship (…). To see what is there, not what we've been taught is there, not even what we might wish to find, but what is.

> (Du Bois 1983: 108-10)

Leading with such sound comprehension, I support a feminist methodology which speaks to the core themes in my research – masculinities and race - and through applying feminist intersectional procedures, it addresses masculinities marginalised and vulnerable. The accurate depiction of gender research as "interrelation between *forms* of masculinity and femininity" has been challenged by Demetriou (2001) as a critique on the idea of hegemonic masculinity (p.343). According to Demetriou (2001), identifying clear power dynamics within genders is in fact accurate. For the purpose of this research, I adopted a consciousness raising approach similar to Allen (1973, in DeVault 1996:30) which creates a system to investigate the knowledge, therefore power (*see* Chapter One) disseminated on the gender identity of black men.

As a result, the lack of male gender inclusive identities is a cause for concern in my analysis. In particular, it is the lack of a male ideology that depicts the position of non-hegemonic men which became a challenge. According to Hanson (2009), when addressing the lack of inclusivity of marginalisation amongst women, some feminist theorists place emphasis on the biologically determined or politically produced gender identities women are often forced to embrace (p.20). Similar distinctions to Hanson (2009), I acknowledge are evident in research on marginalised and subordinated masculinities. However, some feminist methodologies such as intersectionality, remain limiting to my analytical research techniques, as they maintain women as a referent object with a real-world existence (Hansen 2009:24) creating theoretical and therefore methodological hierarchies.

I sought to avoid patterns of white hegemonic repetition by adapting an appropriate inclusive rationale to my research focus by way of my research questions, ethnographic engagements, and reflective diary entries. Green (1974) discusses attempts by previous writers to research colonial legacies and contemporary concerns. However, the overly *encyclopaedic* investigation provided by Green (1974), fails to provide helpful methodological clues for analysing the function and role of colonialism. A lack of methodological concern and establishment of a process can led to what Green (1974) describes as a circular sequence of "discovery-neglect-rediscovery", rather than to cumulatively build upon earlier contributions (p.1). Informed by Green's (1974) oversights, each element of my research design and processes encapsulates the impact of colonisation as well as imperial legacies.

Identifying a specific Caribbean research methodology was useful in relation to my research focus but also presented challenges. I approach my research and analysis through an intersectionality methodological lens to avoid Hammersley's (1992:191) position that: "when a feminist investigates a particular topic, the whole process of research will reflect her commitment to feminism." The extent to which I support this statement is minimal as feminist research has evolved to become more compassing to intersectional approaches and wider gender concerns. I advocate, along with DeVault (1996), gender 'should not be given any pre-established priority over other variables' (p.192). Using my intersectional commitments as a foundation to investigate masculinities, my research encourages a "talk back" (DeVault 1996:30) approach of questioning the question, as a critique to potential feminist methods used to acquire knowledge about societies understanding of gender. Instead, my research brings together shared understandings, a platform for experiences and truths to be explored.

I have developed a methodology informed by intersectionality, deconstructionist feminism, masculinity, and critical race studies, to better make sense of the black Caribbean man's experience. This methodology bears similarity to the feminist methodology (Harding 1987) of "excavation" (DeVault 1996:32), adapting my focus to the attention of non-hegemonic masculinities. It is a shift in focus from some orthodox methodologies' obsession with masculinity as the universal experience. Initial implementation of this methodology is evident throughout my literature review chapters and is distinctive in my research methods and analysis. Capturing the silenced narrative of black men is fundamental for my research, but also crucial for identifying the hegemonic deficit experienced by black men due to discrimination and disadvantage. It has been significant to examine feminist methodologies first as a

foundation for researching gender. Next, I demonstrate using intersectionality, how my research has travelled into exploring methodologies of gender *and* race.

Intersectionality

Intersectionality is the core approach informing my thesis both theoretically and methodologically. It offers an inquiry and praxis (practice, distinguished from theory) into race and masculinity discourse. Intersectionality is an approach that addresses structural systems of oppression, identity politics and discrimination. However, intersectionality is commonly neglected in discussions of genealogy and histories of sensibilities, as the wider canon of intersectional scholarship sometimes misrepresents the original ideas of leading scholar Kimberlé Crenshaw. My thesis disengages from the narrow pathway of intersectionality defined as a "feminist theory of identity" (Collins and Bilge 2016:204), due to the limitations which can exclude all other identity intersections apart from that of black, working-class women – which I shall shortly discuss.

Instead, I answer Patricia Hill Collins' and Sirma Bilge's (2016) call for an expansion of the conversation, moving intersectionality into the politics of the not-yet (2016:204). By this, I mean that through a continued travel of this approach from the Combahee River Collection (1995 [1977]) inquiry statement[19] to the institutionalisation of normative forms of praxis, I can move beyond Crenshaw's

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[19] The Combahee-River Collection (CRC) was originally written in 1977. The statement was written by a collective of Black feminist activists and scholars who were committed to the multiple layers of discrimination experienced by black women in America at the time. The statement presents a framework that permeated black feminist politics as a movement to combat major systems of oppression.

(1991) initial foundational framework of thinking about intersectionality. I do this to expose a new interpretative way of thinking, inclusive of the complexities, including the discrimination of marginalised black men.

The past two decades have witnessed feminist scholarship's celebration of intersectionality (*see* Collins and Bilge 2016). In this section, I will walk through the historical foundations of intersectionality, clarifying its birth, conceptualisation, and capabilities. I too want to complement an approach which has enabled me to examine race appropriately in masculinity studies as well as expose black men's gendered experiences as oppressive. Collaboratively, global scholarship (*see* Black Feminism and Critical Race Theorist) offers intersectionality praise as a lens to rightfully explore the relationship between power, structure, discrimination, and experience.

Nevertheless, the core ideas of intersectionality are often mistaken as ground-breaking analytical narratives of the 1990s. Properly documented, the social justice movement of this decade made significant steps through the writings of Kimberlé Crenshaw. However, this debt as Collins and Bilge (2016) highlight, was established amongst a catalogue of different languages and vocabulary, with the:

> core ideas of social inequality, power, relationality, social context, complexity, and social justice, formed within the context of social movements that faced the crises of their time, primarily, the challenges of colonialism, racism, sexism, militarism, and capitalist exploitation (p.64)

The importance of Crenshaw's work in the global institutionalised uptake of intersectionality is respectfully acknowledged by leading scholars in the field (*see* Bilge 2013; Collins and Bilge 2016; McCall 2005; Shields 2008; Yuval-Davis 2011). Yet,

identified in the literature are some contestations, challenging the popular view that intersectionality began when it was named. The third chapter of 'Intersectionality' by Collins and Bilge (2016:63) is dedicated to unravelling and presenting a history paradigm stemming back to at least the 1960s, during a peak time of social movement activism, such as civil rights, black power, and Chicano liberation. Women of colour were at the forefront of multiple forms of subordination and oppression, which they experienced in a different way to men of colour. Their fight and struggle, positioned across representative narratives and followed by identity politics activism, offered a new framework for the analysis of social inequalities.

Early statements of intersectionality were formed between women of colour, across a shared context of social movement sensibilities (Collins 2000). Indeed, women of colour had become for the purpose of social justice a homogenous alliance. It is at this junction where the Combahee River Collections (CRC) are chronologically given homage as "A Black Feminist Statement" influential of social movements, which sowed the seeds on intersectionality. The statements focus on how systemic oppressions of racism, patriarchy, and capitalism interlock (Collins and Bilge 2016:67). The importance of the CRC is echoed as a significant expressive narrative during social justice movements due to the reach it achieved; "none had CRCs audience nor social movement settings" (Collins and Bilge 2016:67). The CRC movement established a mass following of black women never witnessed by any other social movement organisation. Due to its capacity, it held the capability to make significant waves and set precedents within social justice movements, finally making a mark in society for black women. Captured as a pinnacle moment, the shared narrative and growth in activism witnessed an introduction of the term 'intersectionality' catapulted into the

institutionalised co-option of scholarship and normative praxis. It is from this juncture that intersectionality was born.

Kimberlé Crenshaw bore a ground-breaking analytical approach to address intersectional gender discrimination. The intersectionality paradigm expands both narrow feminist theory and the single-axis approach of anti-racist politics. Exposing the entwined interrelationship dilemma, Crenshaw argues for the acknowledgement of experiencing more than one type of discrimination simultaneously. Crenshaw (1989) examines how anti-discrimination laws are perpetuated by a single-axis framework (Crenshaw 1989:139). Crenshaw's example cases on working class black women demonstrate how the application of single-axis frameworks based on race or gender singularly distort the multidimensional experiences of black women. Throughout her work, she uses three legal cases to illustrate the difficulties inherent in the judicial treatment of intersectionality.[20] Her analysis and illustrations seek to "imply that the boundaries of gender and sex discrimination doctrine are defined respectively by white women's and Black men's experiences" (Crenshaw 1989:143). This leaves black women unable to secure direct protection from policy and fairness within the judicial system. Crenshaw (1989) notes, similar to the critique that liberal feminist's offer an 'add women and stir' approach (*see* liberal scholars e.g., Sandberg), that "the problem of excluding black women's experience cannot be solved by merely adding black women in to an already established analytical structure" (p.140). This multidimensional experience requires a framework that in its core is built from an understanding of complex praxis and multiple discriminating experiences.

Indeed, Crenshaw concludes by stating.

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[20] 1. DeGraffenreid V General Motors. 2.Moore V Hughes Helicopter. 3. Payne V Travenol.

Neither black liberationist politics nor feminist theory can ignore the intersectional experiences of those whom the movement claim as their respective constituents. In order to include Black women both movements must distance themselves from earlier approaches in which experiences are relevant only when they are related to certain clearly identifiable causes (for example, the oppression of Blacks is significant when based on race, of women when based on gender). The praxis of both should be centred on the life chances and life situations of people who should be cared about without regard to the source of their difficulties (Crenshaw 1989:166)

Evidenced from the statement provided, an inseparable aspect of intersectionality is its intrinsic analysis of power. Yet, a challenge that intersectionality finds in exposing power relations lies within the creation of binary individual and structural understandings of power (Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall 2013:797). Whilst agreeing with the foundational principles of intersectionality (Crenshaw 1989; 1991), as a masculinity scholar, I acknowledge the discrimination experienced by marginalised men and identify this approach with my research focus. In so doing, I found that "to be able to pay attention to difference, it is necessary to develop awareness about a whole spectrum of subordinated histories and struggles" (Carbado 2013:823). Therefore, it is important to acknowledge how power circulates across societal groups.

Intersectionality is cited by McCall (2005), as "the most important theoretical contribution of women's and gender studies to date" (p. 1771). Conversely, like Lowry (1996), I criticise the way that gender studies are often conflated with women's studies, portraying a one-sided conception of gender. Absent from this narrative is the inclusion of gender(s) as a spectrum, including men. Carbin and Edenheim (2013)

criticise intersectionality's failure to secure a common language amongst feminist scholarship. They argue the term *women* and not *gender* should be used to categorise the appropriate identities analysed. Intersectionality is critiqued by Carbin and Edenheim (2013:2) due to its rapid growth, with little major criticism or internal clashes. Nevertheless, responding to Carbin and Edenheim's (2013) article, McKibbin et al. (2013) oppose the criticism of intersectionality, stating the representation of disadvantaged groups would be lost without incorporating an intersectional lens when exploring identity (p.102).

In response to the mentioned critiques, my thesis demonstrates how intersectionality lacks accurate representation in its single axis feminist approach. In some places, intersectional scholarship strongly resists the adoption of its foundational principles. For instance, Bilge's (2013) paper on "Intersectionality Undone" examines the erasure of race, in the name of intersectionality, by European and mainly white feminist academics (Dhamoon 2011; Frankenberg 1993; Levine-Rasky 2011). Cited as a *whitening of intersectionality* embedded with privilege, Bilge (2013:412) exposes the (in)direct restrictions of knowledge production by minority groups across the continent. However, using the discussion had by Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall (2013), I participate in exposing the complexities of intersectionality, facilitating its growth as a field (p.796). My use of intersectionality does not erase the core principles of intersectionality on the grounds of race; instead, my thesis emphasises the misrepresentation of gender(s) in discriminative examples and comprehension. For black men, their racialised gendered identity is given homogeneous discriminative attention as "it is believed their gender does not contribute to the discrimination for which they seek redress" (Crenshaw 1989:145).

Indeed, the work of Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall (2013) supports my research by offering a contemporary progressive discussion to the field of intersectionality studies – looking toward a contemporary identification of the approach, application, and praxis. The discussion entails an agreed understanding of how intersectionality is not too much of what it is or does. Rather, it focuses on how particular discussions engage with the perspective and how the interpretation of the principles allows for movement, including travel and adoption. The notion of intersectionality and the application of the paradigm remain a significant challenge facing the adoption of intersectionality frameworks to my research. Due to the foundational pillars set as an approach to identify the intersecting oppressions of black working-class women, I do not want to offend nor be accused of appropriating this lens for the benefit of black men. Successively, the definition below provided by Collins and Bilge (2016), is more in line with my interpretation, providing me with a framework to progress my own approach.

> Intersectionality is a way of understanding and analysing the complexity in the world, in people, and in human experiences. The events and conditions of social and political life and the self can seldom be understood as shaped by one factor. They are generally shaped by many factors in diverse and mutually influencing ways (p.2).

The complexity in formalising the operations of this approach is challenging, and so I embrace the idea taken from Delgado ad Stefancic (2012) of collaboration between ideas which provides time to explore the variation of intersectional sites of intersectionality itself, explained as,

> [..] the examination of race, sex, class, national origin, and sexual orientation and how their combination plays out in various settings, is necessary to

understand […] individuals like these operate at an intersection of recognised sites of oppression (p.57).

Still, it is only when acknowledging an alternative praxis to an intersectional dilemma, can discrimination on the grounds of two or more intersecting identities be accepted. Supporting similar positions by Delgado and Stefancic (2012), I acknowledge the *multiple consciousness* (p.62) most of us experience – interconnected with time and space. Applying an intersectionality approach to my research offers an opportunity to expose these differences and revise narratives on oppression. My thesis is an example of how black men are held at an intersection between gender and race, privilege, and marginalisation. Being a male but also being racialised as black places their identity categorisation at a disadvantage. This position of marginalisation leads to the omission of black men from dominant masculinity narratives (*see* Chapter One). Scarcely are black men identified as a group worth researching within gender studies, even though they too encounter oppression at the intersections of race and gender and, as a result, the subjectification experienced by black men remains unknown by most; often silenced.

Applying an intersectional lens to the examination of men and their masculinities exposes an unjust racial and gendered power dynamic explored in my previous chapter. The structural dynamics and reproduction of power is addressed by Gail Lewis (2013) who advocates for "an inclusive and open-ended definition of the subjects of intersectionality theory, and yet, at the same time, for the centrality of race (along with gender, class, etc.)" (p.869 - also *see* Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall 2013:800). My research, which interrogates the discourses surrounding black men and their experience of masculinity, does just this. I expand the foundational distinctions of Crenshaw's earlier work, by exploring the subjects of intersectionality

to include men, whilst remaining committed to the centrality of race as a defining factor of discrimination. However, the principles must not exclude black men based on dominant gender narrative. In so doing, I also apply the notion of expansion to the community of scholars and scope of scholarship (Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall 2013:801) used to inform my position and justification for applying a in intersectional methodological approach to masculinities research (Bilge 2013; Carbado 2013; Collins 2000; Collins and Bilge 2016; Delgado and Stefancic 2012; McCall 2005; Yuval Davis 2005).

Through a change in praxis, intersectionality can be embraced as an attempt to deconstruct the categorisations and, by default, sub-categorisation of individuals. According to Cho, Crenshaw, and McCall (2013) intersectionality can exhibit a reconstructive model to combat synergistic and formidable structures of subordination (p.800). In adopting a change in praxis, my thesis illustrates how through collaboration and expansion, intersectionality is an appropriate approach to identify and challenge race and gender discrimination of black men. My application of intersectionality as stated by McKibbin et al. (2013), should not be viewed as an appropriation of feminist scholarship but rather as an expansion of the field, adding value to feminist debates of that nature (p.102).

As I noted at the start of this thesis, black men have only recently been identified as a *man-promoted from a boy* (*see* Beckles 1996); feminist scholarship cannot ignore the centuries of oppression they too have experienced *alongside but differently* to black women. I contend that narratives of privilege must not be placed on them due solely to their gender as it risks ignoring the racism that constructs their identity. However, I am aware of the literature that examines the gendered bias in civil rights movements, and arguably, I can acknowledge if Martin Luther King Jr or Malcom X were women,

it is unlikely that they would have achieved leadership. Nevertheless, we must not ignore the black male journey and continual suffering that exists. Indeed, as I watch my two young black sons navigate the world around them, their *gender* and their *race* will continue to suppress them. As such, this thesis contends gender studies and feminist scholarship must include analyses of black male experiences. It is their gender, intersected with their race, that creates and sustains the stereotypes of an oppressive identity imbued with history, the construction of "the black man".

Intersections of Black Masculinity

Having discussed the origins of intersectionality and the development of this approach, I will demonstrate how the intersection of gender and race as a suppressive state also applies to black men. The marginalisation of black masculinity has been explored across the previous two chapters. Using feminist intersectional methodologies, I demonstrate that black masculinity as a gender performance still, intersected with race, suffers from particular and profound forms of discrimination.

Intersectionality's rhetoric opens a dialogue different from postcolonial discourse. It merges intra-group differences (Nash 2008:2) demanding rich and complex ontological underpinnings and an epistemological examination (Phoenix and Pattynama 2006:187). As an extension from my postcolonial discussion, intersectionality reveals how socially constructed identities profoundly influence one's beliefs and experiences of gender (Shields 2008:301). The liberal feminist notion of 'add and stir' has been critiqued (Bowleg 2008; Valentine 2007) to not assume one form of oppression should be additive of another. Instead, intersectionality reflects the reality of lives (Shields 2008:304) offering a much-needed multi-layered approach to examining masculinities. When a multitude of identities are acknowledged, the notion

of identity singularity is dismissed, demonstrating how and why race is a junction for other intersectional experiences such as social economic class or age. It is at these crossroads of intersection that marginalised oppressions should be examined. Within masculinity debates, commonalities between race and gender create leverage in identifying differences across masculinities. Roberts and Jesudason (2013) promote intersectionality as a method to highlight how oppressions are related and how struggles are linked. For example, the notion of manhood varies across continents when race is taken into consideration (Mullings and Schulz 2006:5) – this is discussed further as part of my empirical chapter on *Family and Household Cultural Norms*. Therefore, the intersections that influence gendered performances of manhood must be examined with a multi-complex lens.

Black men, informed by the breadth of literature I have so far reviewed across both Chapter One and Chapter Two, I identify as a misunderstood victim of privilege, assumed to be given gender related opportunities but often silenced and ignored due to their race. This ambiguity has pushed black masculinity into an intersection of privilege that Coston and Kimmel (2012) deem an erosion of their marginalisation. Based on the examination of male privilege, Wood's (2010) 'Black Male Checklist' (*see* Appendix 1), presents a damaging account of why black men are in fact a privileged gender. Cripplingly, Woods (2010) acknowledges the oxymoron of *"black, male and privilege"*. However, within the same discussion, he accuses black men of having a "double standard" in how they relish in their gender privilege at the expense of black women. Labelled *compensatory subordination* by Cooper (2006), it is identified this double standard is due to an increase in the magnification of oppressions, black men's experience of multiple forms of subordination which manifests negatively on to black women. Black heterosexual men, in approximating aspects of hegemonic masculinity,

subordinate black women and non-heterosexual masculinities in return for accepting their own sub-ordinal positioning. What can only be described as a *bipolar (*Cooper 2006*)* masculinity, previously explored in Chapter Two, encourages heterosexual black men into accepting "the right to subordinate others as compensation for our [their] own subordinations" (p.853). Reluctant to fully support this theory, but in agreement to some of its premises, I draw upon the simplicity of this claim as well as the additive approach associated with such mythical notions of privilege (Cooper 2006: 868). The idea of compensatory subordination I assert (see Chapter Five on *Interrogating Sexualities: Cultural Influence and Religious Values*) is insufficient in that it works as a distraction from dominant gender ideologies and legitimises the continued marginalisation and oppression of *all* black men (and black women). Addressing *race* through an intersectional methodological framework limits the essentialist ideology of masculinity, instead acknowledging the cultural reality of masculinities.

Discussed throughout my previous chapter, black men are far from privileged. The dehumanisation, savage typologies and sexualisation of black men's gendered race presents a violent history of his body and betrayal of his mind. These conceptualisations of privileged freedoms create a dangerous environment for comprehending his being. The myth of black male privilege is appropriately dispelled by Johnson (2016) as problematic. He argues patriarchy is assumed to be a static institution, in *all* places for *all* time to benefit *all* males regardless of race, class and sexuality. Black men are marginalised due to the uncritical and unreflective privilege narratives society has placed on to their "spoiled identity" (Goffman, 1963). I support the view by Coston and Kimmel (2012) that marginalisation is both gendered and dynamic (p.99). My thesis demonstrates how and why this approach inhibits

intersections like black + men from engaging fully with intersectionality as a viable approach to masculinity studies.

Throughout my thesis, I evidence why black male gender performances require greater recognition in the processes of positive social justice and change. Adopting an intersectionality approach further demonstrates an acceptance of race in masculinity discourse. So too can black masculinity obtain the academic attention it deserves in gender studies. Progressively, Johnson (2016:1) examines the assumed merit of black male privilege as unbeneficial to black men – a gendered conundrum, historically enslaved black men have been constructed by, deemed advantageous yet held in a false consciousness (Cooper 2006). The inclusive movement initiated by Crenshaw (1989) is inviting enough for me to apply intersectionality as a theoretical and methodological approach to my research. However, I do acknowledge that more needs to be done to clear the ambiguity and criticisms of this theory, for all to benefit from its progression. In so doing, I also acknowledge the impossibility of including all complexities and intersections (age, ethnicity, socio-economic class, disability, parental status, etc.) for analysis. However, I present my research as a vehicle for change, to present race as worthy of enquiry in a multi-complex intersectional analysis of knowledge production as it relates to gender, identity, and masculinities.

As previously explored in this chapter, the additive approaches to race have been likened to the 'add women and stir' quotation mentioned earlier in this chapter (Harding: 1991). Based on ontological bias and ignorance to difference, the "triple oppression" suffering of being black, a woman, and working class put forward by intersectionality's foundational examples are contested by Yuval-Davis (2006:195). Each social division cannot be individually examined but must be explored as a multi-complex identity of black, working class, women. Harding (1991) explains that no one

could have envisioned the progression and development in gender studies. Similarly, I think the same could be said of race and ethnicity studies. Subsequently, I argue race and ethnicity must be sat at the same table as gender rather than only asked to occasionally enter the room. Following on from such an analogy, I question whose voice is heard at the table and who can speak. It is not her gender, race, or social class that harbours the problem but a collection of all three intersections forming relationships in one social space. Similarly, with black men, they do not suffer from three different oppressions but an intra-categorical complexity that formulates their positionality – none less profound than the other.

As a critical approach to researching gender, the cultural wealth examined by Yosso (2005) is said to be overlooked. When you challenge the status quo via a lens exploring difference, you reveal the cultural wealth (Yosso 2005:75) hidden in centuries' worth of silence. Nevertheless, applying intersectional methodologies to my research embodies an analysis that welcomes the plethora of knowledge stitched together to develop a particular ontological and epistemological position. In so doing, my research seeks to dismantle the unquestioned normalcy and apparent moral neutrality of cultural white hegemony (Rollock and Dixson 2015). Correspondingly, to intersectionality, these narrations will inherit race frames (Bhopal 2017; Warikoo 2015) that deploy an additional lens to inform human rights, gender-based violence initiatives, anti-discrimination policies and exceptionalism programmes. Intersectionality explains how we observe, interpret, and respond to the world around us. Our race frames are influenced by various factors that include history and our family experiences (Bhopal 2017). Considering societies' different opinion on various social issues (family, relationships, religion, education, etc.) will provide an additional and welcomed praxis towards social change. In the following empirical chapter, I

provide an example of how family and household norms in Jamaica generate a set of lived experiences different to other race-related and cultural groups. Intersectionality as a deconstructive corrective approach toward mastery categories is understood as part and parcel of the deconstruction of inequality itself. I use the premise by Collins (2017),

> Intersectionality references the critical insight that race, class, gender, sexuality, ethnicity, nation, ability, and age operate not as unitary, mutually exclusive entities but as reciprocally constructing phenomena that in turn shape complex social inequalities (p.2).

In support of positive social change equate by Mirza (2009), the illustration of black male gendered experiences opens the narrative and opportunity for new thinking - "collectively, we are engaged in the process of quilting a genealogical narrative of other ways of knowing" (p,2). As a response to Mirza's notion of new thinking, black men's experiences cannot and should not be used only to acknowledge the dark past but also used to bear future fruits for all to benefit. Instead, along with Carbado et al. (2013), I believe "theory does and can move" (p.306) which through exploring the role of gender and race intersections in Caribbean men's experiences, my research contributes towards the movement of an intersectionality approach to masculinity research.

Towards an intersectionality methodology

So far, this chapter has outlined how intersectional methodologies have evolved in providing a platform for racial dynamics and acknowledging marginalised gender constructions. Having identified race as a marginalised identity for black men, I can begin to explain how an expansion of intersectional feminist methodologies, as a critical lens, is useful in making sense of black masculinities.

Intersectionality reflects a normative theoretical approach to conduct empirical research (Hannock 2007: 63) focusing on the interrelationships between categories of difference. In addition, as I continue to explore intersectionality and apply this perspective to my research, I also acknowledge the complexities associated with the application of this approach, presenting several methodological challenges –it is still addressing its quirks and conceptual ability. With little discussion as to how to *study* intersectionality, the lack of methodological position has generated concern amongst some scholars, who see the approach as limited when applied to gender and race studies (*see* Bilge 2009; Bowleg 2008; Cho et al. 2013; Hancock 2018; McCall 2005; Ocen 2013). Addressing how the multiplex framework can be mobilised, Carbado et al. (2013: 304) suggests an alternative understanding of intersectionality by assessing what intersectionality does as an appropriate starting point. Early in this chapter, I advocate along with Collin and Bilge (2016) and McCall (2005) for the expansion of intersectionality; not only focusing on black women or women of colour but including the inequalities and marginalisation experienced by black men. I offer my application of intersectionality as a contribution to this field on how it can be operationalised as a research methodology.

However, a methodological challenge for intersectionality as identified by McCall (2005), lies in the utilisation of analytical categories to explore the complexity of intersections (p.1773). The confused comprehension of which oppressions can be included, as well as the reluctant application of the approach on to additional experiences of discrimination, both lead to a misperception of intersectionality as a methodological approach. Assumed theoretical conflation (Hancock 2007: 66) has also been noted as a reason for difficulties in the application of this theory. The conceptual understanding of race, gender, and social class are applied as static

definitions that do not form a collective overlap or influence one another. However, intersectionality as a theoretical approach to research offers a diversified comprehension to categories of identity that embraces slippage between classifications, allowing the paradigm to question the ontological existence of identity and reflects on each category's contestability and context-specificity.

My initial approach to this conundrum is to identify black men's multiple layers of complex identities as a hybridity – a mixture of characteristics, composed of different experiences. Identifying multiple complexities in black men's identities transforms categories into a numeric accumulation of quantifiable data variables. This perspective creates a strategy that not only embraces the concept of Bhabha's (1994) notion of hybridity, but also creates a quantitative research method envisioned as singular data collection (Ragin 2000, in McCall 2005: 1782), making it more digestible for a simpler analysis. The insertion of Gillborn's (2015) critical race theory category dissecting race frames supports the quantifiable approach to addressing methodological resistance within intersectionality. However, even though this quantitative method acknowledges the multiple layers in black men's identity, I reject the quantification of identity complexities as over-simplistic, which, as Hancock (2007) explains, can still disrupt research progression if the increase in variables (categories) become unmanageable. Methodological strategies that translate theoretical arguments of intersectionality into practice require specific requirements which take the presentation of data into consideration. A 2-step hybrid method produced by Bilge (2009:2) combines a data-driven inductive approach inclusive of open coding to work in unison with quantifiable variables. Equally, the number of social categories submitted for analysis in this template is limiting and allows little expansion for intra-categorical complexities. Bilge's (2009) 2-step hybrid approach also includes a theory-

oriented deductive method that re-integrates the intersection back into social contexts and influences. This 2-step approach has similarly been incorporated by Goff et al. (2008) who uses a quantifiable method to study black masculinity via an intersectional lens. As fitting as this approach may seem, I have chosen not to apply quantifiable variable methods to my research to uphold qualitative methods required to investigate the multidimensional nature of identity.

Alternatively, I have chosen to employ McCall's (2005:1773) three categorisation approach on how to study the complexities of intersectionality. Labelled the *anticategorical complexity, intercategorical complexity* and the *intracategorical complexity*, these three approaches offer my research a methodological basis that helps to (de)construct analytical categories and interrogates the boundaries of such classifications. This premise echoes my earlier request for flexibility and expansion of intersectionality to welcome black men, a marginalised and discriminated group with multi-complex intersections. Explored by Collins (2005), each approach holds a specific strand of analysis to deploy as a methodology. In the following chapters, I incorporate aspects of all three categorisations in my analysis of black men's constructed gender performances and expectations. Firstly, *anticategorical complexities* deconstruct the categories formulated around social life. This approach attempts to erase the rigidity of categorisation that creates inequalities through identifying difference. The deconstruction of social and gender norms as a platform for inequality and discrimination is a focus of my thesis. I use the anticategorical complexity approach to address initial intersections between masculinities, adopting an expansionist examination to include marginalised masculinities over space and time. My following chapter also presents a discussion on gender roles and educational

attainment that demonstrates a perceived gender construction against actualities led by cultural norms.

Second, the *intercategorical complexity* approach adopts existing intersectional categories to demonstrate relationships and inequalities "along multiple and conflicting dimensions" (McCall 2005). Throughout my research, I identify the 'black man' as a categorised social intersection, constructed as such for ease of social analysis. My previous discussion on postcolonial theoretical approaches to masculinity evidenced the intercategorical complexities exposed between the sexualised conflicting dimensions of black men being fetishised yet feared. I evidence intercategorical complexities in my discussion on religious commitment and homophobic narratives (*see* Chapter Six). By applying an intercategorical complexity approach, I document existing relationships amongst intersections as well as highlight inequalities that yield due to the culture and race of these groupings.

The third *intracategorical complexity* approach resonates mostly with my contribution to an intersectionality methodology. It interrogates the boundaries of intersectionality whilst focusing on social groups at neglected points of their intersections. For instance, my research focuses on black men's gender performances, often neglected as a marginalised category but are frequently miscategorised as privileged (Woods 2008), yet troublesome. The neglected positionality that black men cross multiple intersectional boundaries creates intracategorical complexities in my analysis. Adopting this approach allows for an accurate depiction of lived experiences and vulnerabilities.

To clarify, the anticategorical approach links to identity intersections relative to culture and society; intercategorical links to multiple but synchronous identity

intersections (e.g., masculinity and heterosexuality); and intracategorical links to multiple but conflicting identity intersections (e.g., masculinity as privileged and black as discriminated against). The application of the three anti/inter/intracategorical complexities demonstrates the feasibility of applying intersectionality as a methodological approach for masculinity research.

The methodological challenges explored support the required expansion of intersectionality in order to produce a broader knowledge base to engage perspectives on the "set of issues and topics falling broadly under the rubric" (McCall 2005: 1774) of black masculinity. The scepticism surrounding intersectionality's methodological usefulness is evidence to why exploration of difference is required to demonstrate plausibility in potential policy contributions. In the context of a growing considerable consensus, one must always take into consideration multiple axes of oppression; to do otherwise presumes the whiteness of women, the manliness of people of colour and the heterosexuality of everyone (Risman 2004:442). The empirical research I present in the following chapters incorporates McCall's (2005) intersectionality methodologies as best to capture the complex experiences of individual men as well as groups performing marginalised masculinities.

Reflexivity of Immersion

Name [*Shardia Briscoe-Palmer*] **Identity** *[Black, British, Disabled, Female, Academic, Mother of Two and not to forget Wife*]: labels socially identifiable with my being, enabling as well as restrictive. These labels not only quantifiably measure and predict my life outcomes but also typecast me as marginalised (Collins 2000; Mirza 2008) and vulnerable (Collins 1998), often ignored and regularly spoken for. Compared to black men, my labels rarely reflect annotations of fear, animalistic tendencies or left in intentional ditches of self-devaluation. My identity is not mythical

or silenced as a victim of misandry (Johnson 2016) and misrepresentation. Black men are! I am aware of my positionality in relation to conducting research on black masculinity. I do not identify as a man. However, my being and the gender performances of black women significantly impact on the gender performances constructed and expected of black men (and the same can be argued for black women).

I have chosen to implement *reflexivity* into the analytical direction of my thesis. Within ethnographic research, reflexivity focuses on the researcher's awareness of self as well as the culture around them. I adopt the traditional underpinnings of Emerson's (1987) approach to ethnography, which aimed to provide a deeper, richer, and more textured ethnographic analysis (p.81). Reflexivity as an ethnographic criterion is important in setting a practice of authoritative awareness and avoidance of third person suppressions. I maintain the distinction between 'observer' and 'observed' as recommended by Emerson (1987), still, I identify the interrelations between positionality in an observation, reshaped to cause further actions, based on the action observed. Emerson (1987) clarifies how long-term and intimate involvement in the routine everyday worlds of others is a methodological *sine qua non* [sin without it] (p.71). Emerson raised concerns about research design and fieldwork as often offering the "minimal, superficial, and short-term participation in the "matrix of meaning". The task of the fieldworker is to enter into the matrix of meaning of the researched, to participate in their system of organised activities, and to feel subject to their code of moral regulations" (Wax 1980 in Emerson 1987:71). As a necessity, the researcher is the main "tool" of research (Munhall 1988:150) due to their activities, subjectivity, and positionality. This statement speaks against projects where the expected longevity for an ethnographic research study is not achieved or feasible. On the other hand, good

ethnographic research, according to Emerson (1987), will come across issues of immersion and intimate familiarity.

In keeping with this sentiment, my fieldwork was immersive, in part because of my prior cultural knowledge of Jamaica as well as existing insider networks (Bhopal 2014, Briscoe-Palmer and Mattocks 2016). Subsequently, the sociological (societies and behaviours) and anthropological (human and human behaviour) branches of ethnography credit the notion of *Immersion* as successfully advanced to the point of full achievement of the unknown. Acknowledged by Emerson (1987), ethnography has reached a point where the unknown is known but researchers position their work as "correcting, specifying, and elaborating what is now known" (p.73). This is where I would position my thesis - a piece of research that provides a deeper analysis to nuance and contribute to 'what is known', using adapted methodologies to move gendered debates forward, inclusive of black masculinity.

Immersive practices as well as reflexive strategies used within my research have complemented the ethnographic common practice for the observer to also become the subject. As Mishler (1979) argues, it is naive to believe the observer can remain independent from the observed. It is the engagement and interrelations between the researcher and researched, whether that be people, place, or event, that establishes deeper analysis and multiple truths. There may be a single encounter observed, but with the positioning of the researcher, multiple meanings can be revealed.

As standard practice in my research and as an analytical compass, I avoid an omniscient authoritative voice. Embracing the immersion approach to ethnography, I allow the research to guide my discussion and establish thematic groups no matter the

oddity. What is crucial whilst in a state of immersion during fieldwork is to avoid typecasting habits of participants or misinterpret localised cultural meanings of what has been observed (Emmerson 1987:76). Similarly, categorising participants and their activities to what best suits the research topic or best supports the literature becomes problematic to the validity of ethnographic research. This sort of glossing-over procedure obscures meaning and implicitly treats any categorisation as objective fact, rather than as an interactional contingent construct (Emerson 1987:81). Advances in ethnography are presented by Geertz (1973) as progressive understandings of what he calls "microscopic" observations. Through the implementation of a research diary and in my analysis methods, I used microscopic observations to support my thematic understanding of my data. This subsequently enabled me to (de)construct black masculinity.

Researcher as Researched

I have presented multiple methodologies that I apply as a framework to my research. However, I am yet to discuss how *I* as the researcher can influence the implementation of these paradigms. The following section of this chapter will describe the final approach which has informed my intersectional methodologies, offering limitations to such a multi-layered application but remaining committed to the lens I continue to develop. The qualitative ethnographic aspects of my research utilise reflexivity and immersion methodologies, incorporating them with the intersectional approach to my research. My methodological viewpoint is reflected by Lund's (2012) recognition that the "researcher and the researched co-produced knowledge" (p.94). Seeing myself as part of the research observed, I place emphasis on including a holistic representation of research truth and experiences. Incorporating my presence into the research and the researched into the process increases the effectiveness of consciousness-raising

(Hammersley 1992:190). These representational methodologies generated internal discussions on my own *emotions* and *empathy* experienced whist attending church service, speaking with elders of the community, and reflecting on my fieldwork environment.

Capturing researcher emotions as a plausible part of academic research is a relatively new phenomenon since the turn of the millennium. Subjectivity, as an analytical influence, has increasingly become bound towards further critical reflexivity (Dowing 2000; Jones and Flicklin 2012; Limb and Dwyer 2001; Lund 2012; Munhall 1998). This adds to both the research process and experiences had by the researched as well as the researcher. Emotions and empathy have been identified as a "valuable part of knowledge production in research" (Jones and Ficklin 2012:103). As Wilkin (cited in Lund, 2012:97) notes, emotions from the researcher have tended to focus on the influence they can have on the researched, impacting responses as well as the data captured. However, capturing accurate accounts of the researcher's emotions, and as Hochschild (1983) posits the emotional labour experienced by the researcher, can become challenging due to interpretational bias and potentially being too close to the research.

During my fieldwork in Jamaica, I adopted Harding's (1987) methodological approach to "place the inquirer in the same critical plan as the overt subject matter" (p.9). I felt it was important for me to attend church services before facilitating focus groups, to experience how the teachings of the pastor were received by the congregation. Additionally, I ate lunch with the congregation and placed myself as a subject of that moment, capturing the mood of the participants before and during my focus group

interactions. My experiences, thoughts and feelings are caught using the research diary method, which I discuss later in the thesis.

My research methodology limits the potential of downplaying, if not omitting, a significant insight into the research process. Acknowledging emotions and capturing empathy, which has been generated via a relational process, shapes the research moment, including understanding of the research moment. The cultural shock of witnessing poverty away from tourism and family securities, the normality of local socio-economic circumstances entangled in hopelessness and the overwhelming uncomfortable essence of guilt, all shaped the experience and therefore the process of the research during my fieldwork. Emotions are understood as mental and cultural constructions that unfold in the interaction between individuals and the world (Lund 2012). It is argued by Beatty (2005) that "ethnographers commonly fail to build the diversity of emotional practice into their accounts and have therefore provided a flawed basis for theorising and comparison". This is something I was careful to avoid.

Due to the nature of my research and the previously discussed impact of geographies (*see* Chapter One) on the historical and cultural gender constructions, I believed it be sequential to also address the emotions exposed to the researcher due to the geographical location of the research. The emotional dimensions of people's experiences have been highlighted. Indeed, Bondi (2005) advocates the importance of capturing the normality of emotions within geographies. Documenting emotions and empathy demonstrates the researcher's intrinsic connection to the research. The notion of space and time I became aware of during my fieldwork – not only due to the location of country (macro) and place of engagement, but also the emotional and mental space (micro) occupied by the participants during my focus groups and

observations. For example, while sitting in a religious building during a church service and conducting the focus group in the same space, I became aware that the emotion invested was subjective and related to the subject previously discussed during service.

Finally, it is important to also take account of the emotions that are not experienced and the empathy which does not manifest through the researcher. This un(der)represented data experience, as Parr (2005) eludes, may be due to "non-correspondence between words and things" because of language transfer. However, this does not mean the unsayable is not as powerful and beneficial in our understanding of "performativity and everyday practice" (Thrift 2004 in Lund 2012).

Conclusion

I use intersectionality methodology as a corrective approach to research race discrepancies highlighted in my previous chapters. Yet even with its flaws in application, adopting an intersectionality reflective methodological approach remains fitting for my research. I have shown intersectionality to be an important and progressive approach for the analysis of black Caribbean masculinity via a racially inclusive lens. The foundations of intersectionality as established by Kimberlé Crenshaw (1989) I proclaim to be formative to my research. Her *'work in progress'* rhetoric is as key today as it when it was first published. Without such a statement, the expansion of this approach would be limited, supported by current scholarly resistance to developing this inclusive position. I put forth here an appropriate expansion of the approach, applying an approach that has primarily been developed for marginalised women, adapting it so that it can be useful to masculinity studies. Consequently, I have been able to adopt research on colour blindness and intra-sectional discriminations.

Overall, my research seconds Hammersley's (1992) position that gender "should not be given any pre-established priority over other variables" (p.192) and therefore I approach my research using an intersectional lens.

The methodological challenges of data collection and analysis have been presented not as a stoppage of intersectional application, but rather as a justification for the expansion (McCall 2005) of the theory to not only include other marginalised identities like black masculinity, but to also expand into research design, methods and analysis. I have put forth three approaches to attempt an intersectional methodological application. The intra, inter, and anti-categorisation of intersectionality all acknowledge the complexities of the variables associated with identifying overlapping identities but demonstrating how application of intersectionality can still be achieved effectively.

This chapter has highlighted the social and anthropological methodologies I have incorporated into my research process and rationale. The sociologist application of reflexivity on my position as the researcher is core to the methodologies incorporated into my research and my interpretations of truths. Implementing Emerson's (1987) notion of immersion to submerge myself into the culture and environment (Jones and Ficklin 2012; Valentine and Matsumoto 2001; Varjas et al. 2005) of what I observed, I can delve into an analysis that builds upon the ethnographic knowledge of black men in Jamaica but also offer a deeper, richer, and more robust account than previous studies. My methodologies are developed upon reflections of the reasons why traditional feminist methodologies applied to gender studies are limiting. Therefore, adopting an intersectionality approach to my research has enabled me to examine the impact of colonial legacies on gender conceptualisations and the marginalisation of

black men. My application of a black masculinity methodology is in support of Demetriou's (2001) critique of hegemonic masculinity as a universal concept that is too simplistic. I call for an acceptance of masculinities within research and the inclusion of methodologies that represent intersectionality as fundamental in gender research. Adding validation to my findings, I include reflections on the researcher's positionality as a crucial representation of truth and experience for all parties involved. I attempt to establish an equilibrium that the "researcher and the researched co-produced knowledge" (Lund's 2012, p.94), including were possible extracts, quotes, and observations from all.

RESEARCH DESIGN: APPLYING AN ETHNOGRAPHIC COMPASS TO GENDER (DE)CONSTRUCTION

When the movement in masculinity studies expanded to included masculinities, little discussion took place on *how* this research must be conducted – the research design. My research contributes as an example of how research on masculinities can be executed. The previous chapter identified intersectionality as an appropriate methodological approach to conduct my research in masculinity studies. Intersectionality offers a lens encompassing the intersections of race, gender, and other identities. I engage with this paradigm through McCall's (2005:1773) three categorisations approach – *anticategorical, intercategorical, and intracategorical* – which enable me to study the complexities of intersectionality in black masculinities. In particular, the intra-categorical approach best informs my research as it is linked to the identification of multiple but conflicting intersections, such as gender privilege and racial discrimination.

The aim of this thesis is to explore via a postcolonial intersectional framework, the significance of race when examining masculinities. Taking black Caribbean male gender identities as an example, I expose discriminations placed upon *'the other'* as a direct response to colonial legacies and a result of hegemonic masculinity performances. To support and guide my analysis, it is important to revisit the research

question on the significance of race in masculinity studies, presented in my introductory chapter:

1. What does an intersectional approach lend to the study of black Caribbean masculinity?

2. How does race impact constructed gender performances of hegemonic masculinity?

3. How do black Caribbean men experience and perform masculinity?

4. 'What role does the legacy of colonialism play in shaping the expectations of, and discrimination towards, black men?

In this chapter, I present the methods used to conduct my research (ethnography, research diaries, and focus groups) and answer the research questions presented above. I implement a methodology based upon ethnographic methods for data collection, and the analysis of constructing black male gender identities. I explain what ethnography entails, but also what is not included in using this method. I detail how I used additional qualitative research tools such as research diaries and focus groups to capture an accurate snapshot of black Caribbean masculinity. I also include a candid account of the ethical considerations, assumptions and challenges that arose during my fieldwork and thematic analysis.

Before I provide an exploration of my research design, the following section will firstly introduce my data collection methods and justifications for application. My fieldwork is guided by an ethnographic approach to data collection, encompassing an intersectionality methodological approach discussed in the previous chapter. My ethnographic practice includes aspects of participant observation research,

documentation of first-hand experienced events and the logging of activities as well as interactions using a research diary. I facilitated mixed-gendered focus groups, recording my participants' narratives and stories. Additionally, across all three research methods, I captured my initial interpretations to complement my dataset.

The ethnographic research was conducted in the Parish of St Catherine, on the Caribbean island of Jamaica. It constitutes first-hand experience of attending places of worship and partaking in discussions with community elders as well as young people, to capture a cross-generational and somewhat intergenerational conceptualisation of gender constructions in this region. My research also included participation and teaching in educational institutions, as well as observations and conversations as part of my own daily activity. I continued observing people during their daily performances and noting conversations of relevance. This included observations during my attendance at two Saturday Seventh-Day Adventist church services, discussions with a group of men whilst playing a game of dominoes on the street, interactions with a group of elderly women at a local community centre as well as conversations had in the car with my own grandparents on homosexuality. Images of the diary method I used to capture these narratives are presented later in this chapter and throughout my empirical sections.

Continually, I worked with mixed gendered groups within the youth settings. I did not want to advocate gender preference based on knowledge, importance, and expectation but believed shared learning was an appropriate approach to working with this participant group. I In line with Mitchell et al. (2001:217), my research sought to address the universal need to capture societal understandings by:

Situating it within young people's multidimensional lives, that is, the social, ideological, and economic milieu within which they live their lives and makes sense of the world.

In adopting this position, I can provide an analysis of the specific contribution young people provided my research, evident within my empirical chapters. In total, I facilitated nine focus groups, composing of 51 people during my six weeks stay, to conduct data collection research whilst in the field. The participants in my focus groups consisted of both male and female black Jamaican citizens. My decision to engage with black women and include their narratives on black masculinity is supported by the literature explored in my previous chapter on Masculinities: A Conceptualisation. It is here (see p.45), in which I state in line with Connell (1987), the hegemonic definition of masculinity in each culture "is constructed in relation to various subordinated masculinities, as well as in relation to women". Therefore, the inclusion of women's perspectives and experience of masculinities is paramount to my construction of black masculinities. To acknowledge the relational character of gender – as experiences of black masculinity relate to wider gendered interactions between those culturally intelligible as men and women or, maybe in this case, boys, and girl's. Social discursive constructions of gender(s) have created an informal reliance on the conception for how men and women not only shape themselves, but also shape the gender performances of one another. I acknowledge that gender performances are mutually entwined and so my research sought to explore black women's perceptions and expectations of black men. These insights offer a more thorough understanding of masculinities in the context of the wider gendered landscape.

The focus of all my participant groups was to establish any commonality of how they understand and have experienced black masculinity. The statement 'A man is…' was presented to all participants with an instruction to complete the statement according to their individual understanding. Consciously, *black* as a racialised connotation associated with the term man was not included in the statement.[21] An in-depth discussion on my engagement with focus groups as a data collection method is presented later in this chapter (*see* p.118). The responses collected during the group sessions are included in the appendix, along with digital imagery.

Ethnography

The ethnographic methodological approaches embedded into my research have been discussed in the previous chapter. As a continuation from my previous explanation, I present here the practical ethnographic data collection methods applied to form my conceptualisation of black male gender performances and expectations. Ethnography is said to be successful in achieving knowledge attainment of non-westernised cultures (Bryman 2012; hooks 2004; Maanen 2004). Similarly, and in line with Hunter and Davis's (1994:26) study on the *'Hidden Voices of Black Men'*, I recognise the problem of ethnography being used as a colonial method for observing the indigenous people

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[21] Addressed in my earlier section on intersectionality and discussed previously in my thesis (*see* Postcolonial Theory and Black Masculinity), the term 'black man' sustains an oppressive stereotypical identity saturated with colonial history. The prefix 'black' does not make sense in a country where the population is predominantly black. It is unusual for the race of a man to be identified within the community where he resides. Including race in my statement, may have ignited feelings of othering, influenced interpretation of the statement, and exhibiting ignorance on my part. I do not want to offend my participants by emphasising the term "black man", in a country and population who overwhelming identify with the black race. By default, men in Jamaica are black and black is the dominant race within their borders. The statement 'a white man is…' would similarly be odd, if researching masculinity in a country where the white race is overwhelmingly dominant – I struggle to recall a research example where this has been applied.

of colonised land (Gobo 2011:15). However, I find ethnographic methods are, as a result, in need of being decolonised to find the appropriate application of practice. Due to the omission of intersectional masculinity methodologies from the literature, I apply caution on adopting appropriate methods best suited to investigate black masculinity. The multifaceted use and understandings of the term "ethnography" have advanced over time. I embrace the workings of Gobo (2011) who isolates three data collection methods that merge well with 'ethnography': *participant observation, fieldwork,* and *case study*. Additionally, I have chosen to use methods that generate familiarity that accumulates a truthful relationship between the researcher and the researched.

Masculinity studies lack context inclusive of white hegemony and male dominance. Therefore, I have chosen ethnography as a research method. It decodes and encodes observed narratives of collective order, diversity, inclusion, as well as exclusion (Clifford and Marcus, in hooks 2004:151). Pettinen's (2007) anthropological approach to ethnography considers the influence familiarity will have on the observation and the interpretative framework of ethnography supports my research in accomplishing the recognition of change in masculinity studies. Traditionally, ethnographers – often white western men – assumed positions of familiarity (hooks 2004:149) which presented an omniscience over the observed and the culture in which they resided. Controversially, their position lacked reflexivity regarding the cultural and historical context of white supremacy. My cultural connectedness with Jamaica limits such contextual ignorance, allowing cultural subjectivity to be placed front and centre.

I maintained a respectful interaction with my participants, consciously engaging with them as co-researchers. Even though I am familiar with the Jamaican culture, I remain

respectful of the space that I was invited into, including acknowledging cultural differences and social norms. Referred to by Katz (2004) as "worker" ethnography, the type of ethnographic method executed in my research defines the worker as a novice in the field, maintaining a "transcending respect for the subjects who are rendered as fully human beings" (p.281). Even though contested in educational youth settings, I upheld Katz's (2004) notion that I was the novice and was there to learn from and about this culture.

Building rapport with potential participants was easier due to existing relationships I had established in preparation for my fieldwork. The initial introduction by my contact was necessary to reduce the time for rapport building. Conversely, as Price and Hawkins (2002) accept "social networks are not made up of consensus groups but include relationships of conflict and mistrust" (p.1329). Contacting relevant people in the institution prior to commencing my fieldwork and meeting with that person(s) before engaging with youth groups, made for a much smoother and less time-consuming introduction to the students. Similar processes were implemented with my church interview participants. The peer researcher method was used to engage the Bishop and Sisters in my research before speaking with congressional groups. Simultaneously, I acknowledge Wilson's (1977:247) *Naturalist-Ecological* perspective that the organisation or institution would assert power over the participants and have an influence on participant behaviours. Such agency could not be avoided. However, to limit their influence, members of staff and church leaders were not present during the facilitation of focus groups.

Dear Diary…

During my fieldwork, it became significant for me to keep a fieldwork diary – it kept me connected to my research and logged my own experience and initial interpretations. Research diaries or the use of a diary during research fieldwork has been valued as central to the research process especially, but not exclusively, for those conducting qualitative research studies (Newbury 2001). It became a means for me to document observations, questions and thoughts for later dissection which may have been lost if not captured in that present moment.

I present my research diary and the way I use excerpts during my empirical analysis as a contribution to the research diary method. Not only are research diaries an appropriate method to use to capture ethnographic observations, but my diary also became a safe space to record unspoken responses to unfamiliar practices and uncomfortable rhetoric. Accounts of silent narratives were frequent during my fieldwork. The diary became distinct from a report or academic paper, as it offered a non-orthodox method of recording and capturing "the real inner drama" (Marshall and Rossman 1995 in Newbury 2001:15) I was experiencing. This extract (left) is taken from a diary I kept during my fieldwork. I share this image to demonstrate how research is a messy process and the informal presentation of the diary exemplifies this.
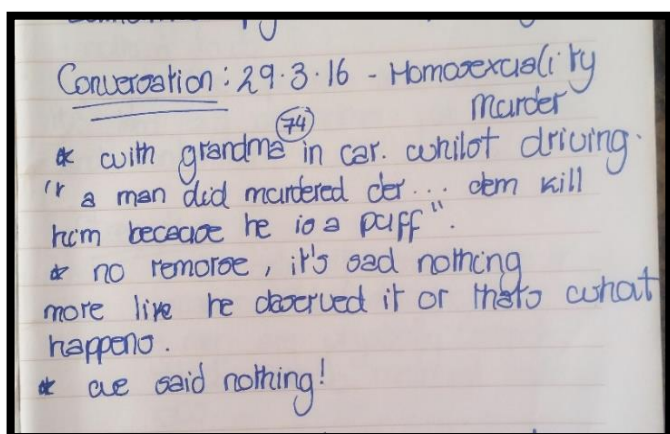
The written observations and unspoken thoughts shared were one of my first written narratives entered into my research diary. If not captured at that moment, it may have been lost in its entirety as

an introduction into cultural norms and acceptances of gender and sexuality in this region.

The purpose of using a diary as a method of research was not to appropriate components of visual or action research as writers Newbury (2001) and Young (1998) indicate, but to act as a comprehensive board to capture my immediate reaction made in an unfamiliar environment. In contrast to the objectivity traditionally expected in academic research, the use of a research diary encourages exposing subjective positions (Newbury 2001). Indeed, Newbury (2001) advocates for a *productive relationship,* beneficial for research, because of the interactions between subjective and objective aspects of research. Noted by Newbury (2001), there are no rules as to how research diaries or field notes should be compiled simulating experiences and thoughts. Nonetheless, my reflexive methodology is supported by Schön (1983) as the exercise of a reflective practitioner; where new knowledge is generated from the researcher as they deal with complex real-world situations, in real time.

Despite the ambiguity of the compilation of experience, Schatzman and Strauss (1973) offer a three-category model to capture the data. Explained, the three categories to implement as a framework when using a research diary into the field are: Observational Notes (ON), Theoretical Notes (TN), and Methodological Notes (MN).

ON are statements bearing upon events experienced principally through watching and listening.

TN represent self-conscious, controlled attempts to derive meaning from anyone or several observations noted.

MN are statements that reflect on the operational act completed or planned.

For the purpose of my research, I focus on the theoretical note model explored by Schatzman and Strauss (1973:101). I demonstrate this in applying my position of *researcher as researched* discussed in an earlier chapter (*see* p.104). My research diary aided me to present an accurate and chronological account of events that have been observed including participant interviews. This "substantive account" (Burgess 1981:76) enabled me to further elaborate on my observations, unpick my thoughts and formulate the foundational basis for my analysis and discussion.

The research diary as a "coherent central record of project ideas, and its use as a stimulus for reflective thinking" is advocated by Newbury (2001) as an interesting and, I would add, a positively progressive method used in
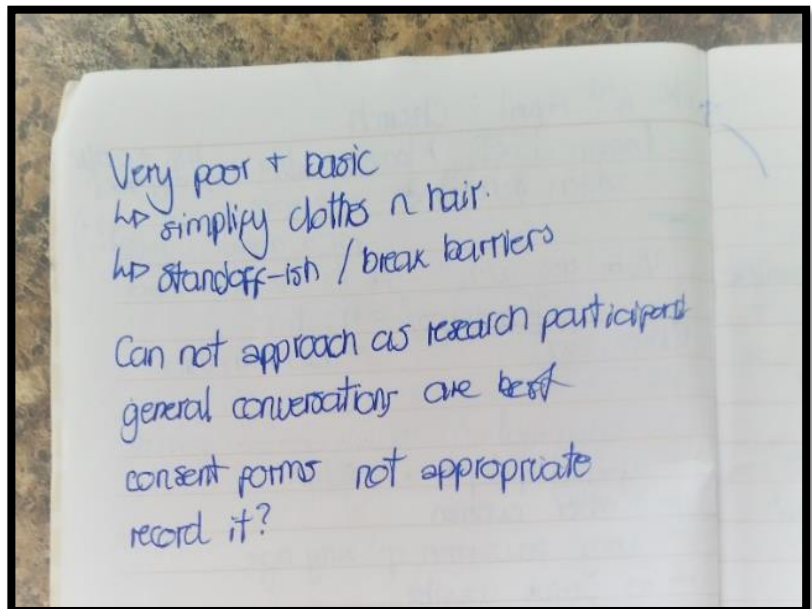
observational research. As an ethnographic piece, it was also important to not only capture how I observe but also document how the observed see the observer. Such methods cultivate a holistic account of the experience. This extract includes observations and thoughts that instructed my decision on how to engage and interact with local people. As evidenced, for this engagement the formal approach of written consent and paperwork was inappropriate for the setting I was in and the participants I wanted to engage with. Verbal agreements were captured on tape as an alternative.

Relatedly, the picture below is of a store in a local shopping strip selling groceries, clothes, and commonly required household items. The picture shows a man seated outside (right) and a woman seated partially inside. At this location, a conversation took place on gender roles with five elderly women one afternoon whilst doing their shopping. The image complements the diary extracts above as it adds context for why at the time, it would have been inappropriate to ask for written consent due to the informal setting and store activities. However, verbal consent was given by all involved in the discussion. I insert extracts and photography from my research diary as a plausible aspect of my methodology contributions as well as empirical analysis. Taking direction from Parr (2001) who was cited as one of the few authors to use direct extracts from her diary in her methodological account, I apply this method of openness and honesty to support the reader in their comprehension of my encounters, my understanding, and meanings.

Whilst my research diary offered me a sense of security, I was keenly aware that the use of research diaries can be quite problematic. A concern from using such methods emulates the earlier discussion around subjectivity of the photograph. As Prosser and Schwartz (1998:123) emphasise, the researcher becomes a functioning product of the research process. It follows then that the self-reflective subjectivity documented observation is a by-product of the researcher's position and perspectives based on

interrelationships with space and time. This can offer a corrective by exposing hidden histories and sharing experiences; however, it can also become a hindrance to the accuracy of what is captured. Nevertheless, the use of the research diary presents an additional data collection method that recounts the researcher's immediate interpretation of events. This, while unashamedly subjective, presents the authentic 'real time' reaction from the researcher and therefore, along with the other data collection methods, helps to construct a more rounded research story.

I also acknowledge confidentiality and anonymity may be difficult to uphold if the research diary is shared or lost. Taking these concerns into consideration, I purposely omitted any real names and identifiable descriptors from my notes. Confidentiality and anonymity are concerns addressed by Newbury (2001) in relation to maintaining the research diary as a private documentation. Newbury (2001) argues what is noted and the way it is noted may be unsuitable for mass sharing. Accepting this notion, as a damage limitation strategy, I exchanged real names and other identifiable criteria with codes such as P1 – young person – church.

Another concern and possible limitation whilst conducting my fieldwork was the cultural and academic guilt associated with objectifying groups of people, their ethnicity, and their characteristics. I often felt guilty for researching my fellow black people as subjects, confused as to the extent to which I should be identifying as one of them. I still felt an overwhelming sense of not belonging to an environment that I culturally belong to (Punch 2012). Capturing my feelings during such times of imposter syndrome, I share an extract from my diary that I wrote in poem format.

They say I am black.

They say I am a black dark-skinned woman.

They say I am a beacon for my community, a role model for young black women and hope for the progression

of blackness within society.

They say I am educated, articulated, and elegantly presented.

They say I am lucky for holding down a 6-year marriage, 12-year relationship to a 'Good Black Man'

Confused?

My darkness is challenged with lightness and met with segregation from my own people.

I am excluded due to the inclusions I choose to surround myself with.

I am mocked for my vernacular, given side-eye due to my dress and isolated for the level of education that I hold.

Spoken sins of envious negativity circle my life choices, identities, and expressions.

They say I am black, but black does not say me!

In retrospect, I believe the feeling and experiences of cultural and academic guilt positively added to my experience. It made me aware of my emotions and fears. It forced me to navigate through positions of discomfort. Having a diary to log and document these vulnerabilities and often muted controversially shared aspects of the fieldwork journey has captured an immediate realness of my research experience, enhancing the quality of my research account (Treweek 2000:128, in Punch 2012:92). Collectively, the research diary method provided me with a safe space for essentially capturing the immediate reactions of my experiences, which supports my analytical comprehension and evaluation. My research remains significant in providing a more

nuanced understanding of black masculinities – both for scholarly debate as well as for policy inclusion.

Focus Groups: a collective understanding.

Through holding focus groups, and arguably against the trend, I enabled black masculinities to articulate in a space usually set up for their resistance. Rather than be spoken about, by conducting focus groups, I offered black men an opportunity to acquire advocacy over their everyday lived experiences. The black man placed not as an object of knowledge but as a speaking subject revealing how "individuals discuss certain issues as members of a group" (Bryman 2012:501). In my empirical chapters, I demonstrate a shared group understanding of black masculine performances and expectations. Focus group methodology has been stated as a deceptively simple (Wilkinson 2011) way of collecting qualitative data. It usually involves engagement with a small number of people in an informal group discussion, 'focused' around a specific topic or set of thematic issues (Wilkinson 2011:168). It was this simple yet effective approach that I sought to incorporate into my research.

As mentioned earlier, I conducted nine mixed gender, cross generational focus groups. Each group participated in activities and discussions which helped establish the group's shared comprehension of black masculinity. Focus groups are mistakenly understood as interchangeable with group interviews (Bryman 2012). However, the capacity restrictions of a group interview are what differentiates the two methods. Unlike focus groups, group interviews place a wider compass of general thematic interests rather than explore topics in depth to generate a shared knowledge base. It is important to make this distinction for analytical purposes and for a collective and shared gender conceptualisation to be achieved. I chose to conduct focus groups to

challenge as well as share the potential risk in case the group was considered to promote homosexuality. Within a focus group we can see how people tell stories, joke, agree, debate, argue, challenge, or attempt to persuade (Wilkinson 2011:175). By allowing participants to "bring to the fore" (Bryman 2012:503) collective ideas, I avoided having to use non-normative language and, subsequently, immersed myself in observing and interpreting the symbolic interactions around the construction of meaning.

To capture as much diversity in perspectives during focus groups as possible, Kitzinger (1994) recommends applying large group stratification criteria. However, as suggested by Bryman (2012), the low levels of diversity anticipated in my research due to demographic and ethnic composition means recruitment of many groups would be an unnecessary task. I applied a similar logic to the sizes of my groups, keeping them between eight to fifteen people. My recruitment of participants came mainly from pre-established group selections. These included five adult (over 18) groups from religious institutions, community group gatherings and social street environments as well as four youth groups from both a Saturday school and secondary educational settings. Due to the familiarity of the groups, I take such pre-established public settings as a strength for my research.

All focus group facilitations were initiated with the same research question activity *'A man is?'*. The participants were given a statement 'A man is…' and asked to complete the statement however they saw fit. Explained earlier in this chapter, I did not state the racial identification of the man to be 'black', due to the stereotypical connotations I believed would influence the responses of my participants. I too have made in my section on data collection the argument that reference to race within a community dominated by a single racial identity is uncommon and may be deemed as offensive.

The question asked was purposely open ended to encourage participation in the subsequent conversational activity based around the statement responses. Below is an example of some of the responses from my participants.

The focus groups were semi-structured, and I took the lead from the participants on the direction of the conversation. The focus group discussions were recorded, transcribed, and translated by me. The empirical aspects of my fieldwork have been interpreted using an ethnographic thematic (content) analysis. Applying this method

led me to explore key thematic shared experiences established amongst the participants. It also enabled me to generate an analytical interpretation from the interaction between participants and the occurrence of commonality in their own gender performances. The conversation from the focus groups is used not only to identify participant's understanding and practices of gender roles, sexuality and expectations, but also to connect the intangibility of the literature to the contemporary social realities of that region (Green and Thorogood 2018:132; Kitzinger 1994). Engaging with the community using focus groups and continuing the ethnographic methodological approach to data collection supported answering all four of my research questions on black masculine gender (de)construction.

The Omnipresence of Research Ethics

Relating directly to the integrity of my research (Bryman 2012:130), full ethical approval was sought from and granted by the University of Birmingham as a necessity to conduct academic fieldwork. Even though professionally supported by codes of

practice and ethics guidelines from the British Sociological Association (BSA) and the Social Research Association (SRA), challenges still surfaced in relation to my data collection, placing a strain on my research capabilities. In this section I address the challenges encountered and share the approaches taken to navigate the ethical considerations of my research process.

My ethical exploration enlightened me to the assumed universalisation of research ethics based on the values of western(ised) research. Research values play a central role in any research process, but the question of whose values becomes a challenge to the research process and its integrity. As noted throughout this chapter, the inescapable character of researching subjectively and objectively constantly intrude on the formation of the research and evidently the conclusion it will offer. As informed by Bryman (2012), social research is never investigating within a *'moral vacuum'* – who he or she is will influence a whole variety of presuppositions that in turn have implications for the conduct of social research (p.149). This, I found, bore out in the methods I used as well as my interpretation of the data offered by the literature. To not succumb to such doctrines of western values shaping the ethical integrity of social research, I sought additional ethical guidance (recommended by Ryen 2011) from the University of the West Indies documentation on Policy and Procedures on Research Ethics. For example, additional clarity was given by the guidelines on working with children and young people as a vulnerable research group. Using this approach and adopting both western and country specific ethical guidance, I have been able to formulate and conduct my fieldwork abiding by all ethical codes of research and limit any conflict between country specific ethical practices.

The cultural sensitivity of my research topic became a challenge due to the associated assumptions regarding sexuality in Jamaica and other Caribbean islands. I am aware social engagement with topics of sexuality may cause harm or distress to participant(s) or myself. At large, gender as a topic of conversation is not a concern, however, homosexuality and other non-binary genders are culturally frowned upon and men having sex with men remains a criminal offence (*see* Chapter Two for information on Buggery). Ethical dilemmas can be argued as *emergent* and *contextual* (Ryen 2011:416), however for my research, prejudices towards homosexuality were commonplace in the cultural environment. As a limitation strategy towards cross cultural disrespect and potential harm, I purposely steered my questioning away from direct engagement with such discourse and consciously used non-abrasive language associated with same sex intimacies. Conversely, as a benefit to my data collection and ethnographic methods, I advocated openness to all topics of conversation, should they be presented to me. Taking this approach meant that I did not lead with questions on homosexuality or other culturally taboo subjects but if participants spoke about such topics, I equally did not limit them from continuing the conversation.

Informed consent from participants was gained via written agreement before travelling to Jamaica or, if unattainable, recorded verbal consent was given in person. When working with my youth participants, adaptations and simplifications of the original consent forms were made. However, for some observational activities, allowances were made for accuracy purposes. For example, to capture the experience of attending, what I perceived as a homophobic sermon during a church service, I used my research diary to document my truth. The Bishop was aware of my presence and gave full informed consent for my purpose of observing and conducting focus groups with parishioners. Though my observations did not gain a direct or full informed

consent of the observed, Punch (1994) argues to make written informed consent mandatory would mean the end of much 'street style' ethnography. I could go further, agreeing with Ryen (2011) to class fully informed consent about the research process as an ultimate illusion of social research.

Confidentiality and safeguarding concerns from working with potentially vulnerable men and high-risk groups such as young people also placed ethical limitations on my research. Confidentiality and the anonymity of participants were paramount to the success of my research methods. As such, in my empirical analysis, I anonymised participant responses as well as omitted any identifiable characteristics of individuals. In addition to this, the names of specific groups and classes in the schools and youth institutions have also been omitted. Such practices are taken from the Vidich and Bensman (1968) American town example where even though anonymised, individuals were identifiable due to other characteristics. Safeguarding concerns also informed the ethical principles around confidentiality of recordings and storing data records. Appropriate encryption procedures agreed by the University of Birmingham were followed to maintain confidentiality of the data collected. Additionally, such concerns were limited due to the 16 years of trained experience I have working with vulnerable and high-risk groups, enabling me to implement safeguarding procedures and policies if required. Participants were informed on the participation sheets and verbally in person about the confidentiality and safeguarding procedures I would implement during and after my time spent with them.

Researching any demographically diverse group has limitations and the construction of black Caribbean men is no exception. Research on similar topics of gender and sexuality such as *The LIVITY Study* (Anderson et al. 2009) and the research on *Hidden*

Voices of Black Men (Hunter and Davis 1994) have highlighted contestations and provided strategies for engaging with the black Caribbean community; both men and women. Anderson (2009) discusses how matters of distrust and sensitivity make it difficult for researchers to engage with black Caribbean communities on issues surrounding manhood (Hunter and Davis 1994), sex, sexuality (Lemelle Jr 2010; Lewis 2003; Roberts et al. 2009) and health (Serrant-Green and McLuskey 2008). I did not assume my research project would differ. To limit these challenges, I paired with a local male resident to act as a chaperone, breaking down barriers to community groups and institutions. Favourably, Anderson (2009) suggests female interviewers can be beneficial for the success of the research process and provide a critical reflection on positionality and reflexivity. He discloses that participants are more likely to be open to discussing sensitive topics with a female counterpart than a male interviewer. This is because the expectation associated with femininity suggests a woman researcher will be less likely to judge participant responses than their male counterparts.

Not a concern initially anticipated but retrospectively acknowledged was the emotional and mental impact the research would have on my own wellbeing. My research holds dear to me a personal cultural closeness. Still, my findings and fieldwork delivered me a realisation of how my life could have been much different if I had stayed living in Jamaica. It was at this junction where my methodological approach to share the researcher's experience and to use a research diary method became solidified as the appropriate choices for this thesis. Ryen (2011) suggests the ethnographer often finds him or herself squeezed between definitions of the ethical and the acceptable as well as the workable (p.422). I place myself in such cross-cultural complexities. Nonetheless, I pride myself in negotiating and renegotiating approved

and consensual methods to conduct this research and limit any harm to the researched and the researcher.

Conclusion

My thesis deploys a postcolonial intersectional framework as an appropriate method to conduct research on masculinities, specific to race. This chapter has explored the methods used to conduct my research (ethnography, research diaries and focus groups), with the aim of providing immersive and reflective evidence throughout.

To expose the hidden voices of black men (Gobo 2011), I conduct ethnographic research which captured the construction of black men and their experienced truths. As a complementary tool, I incorporate Pettinen's (2007) approach of using my personal observations, interpretation, and reflection as a substantial element of this research. I have discussed the significance of using a research diary method to record my immediate response to what I observed, encompassing the Theoretical Note (TN) model (Schatzman and Strauss 1973), which documents private conversations with myself on what I witnessed or plan to. The research diary acts as a soundboard for my own experiences, employing Newbury's (2001) methodology of experience becoming a part of the research. Mixed gendered and intergenerational focus groups are conducted to capture testimonial snapshots of black Caribbean gendered performances. The purpose of using this method, explained by Wilkinson (2001) is to identify how people tell stories, joke, agree, debate, argue, challenge, or attempt to persuade (p.175) as part of their interactions and understanding.

Stipulated previously, my empirical analysis is informed by McCall's (2005) intra-categorical complexities approach, which provides an appropriate platform for me to

conduct my study on black Caribbean masculinities. Aware of the rigour of academic research, I also include an understanding of the ethics, assumptions and challenges that arose during my fieldwork. However, as the following chapters will evidence, this did not prevent me from collecting rich data and provide an in-depth analysis of my findings and discussions.

Family and Household Cultural Norms

Thus far, this thesis has demonstrated how dominant ideological rhetoric, historical privilege, cultural hegemony, and heteronormative gender performances have ascribed onto society a systemic normalcy of imperialistic governance. Central through my research arguments, it is fundamental to not only expose the representational race related gaps in dominant literature; my thesis also demonstrates using a postcolonial intersectional methodological framework, how race can be included appropriately when examining masculinities. The following chapters explore the specificities of how masculinities are construed, practised, taught, and experienced when applying an intersectional lens.

What first led to an assumed simplicity of constructing a better understanding of masculinity, and more specifically black masculinity within the Caribbean, has become foundational pillars in deconstructing the conceptual binary of what it means to be a man. As a constructed gender performance, black masculinity is exposed as an example of how to deconstruct inherited colonial depictions of *other*. While considering the context and identifying potential circumstantial histories, the portrayal of dominant schools of thought on masculinity constructions become anecdotal when reviewed via a racial and culturally inclusive analysis. Additionally, as it will become evident throughout my empirical chapters, there are discrepancies between what is being captured in the literature and what are lived experiences of black Caribbean men. My empirical evidence finds that the universal acceptance of

non-normative masculine identities as othered is troubling and destructive. This research offers an alternative depiction of masculinity which adequately embraces race and documents non-normative gender performances as merely a cultural difference.

The following chapters will take on a different style of narrative to the content thus far, similarly to Pettinen (2007) who addresses observations in fieldwork as well as interpretations. I encompass into my analysis narratives of shared constructions of black Caribbean masculinities by my participants, including their reflections on marginalisation, to illustrate the struggle placed onto black male gender performances as another tool used to shape gender expectations. The literature explored so far in this thesis is used to support my interpretations of the data. I do not relocate my reflections chronologically, but rather amongst the themed chapters and discussions where appropriate.

Two recurring thematic areas were identified from the data and collective responses from the participants. The chapters are presented using statements, definitions, and conversations which demonstrate how participants construct and comprehend masculinity. To draw upon previous explanations (*see* p.111), I do not explicitly identify the race of the men and masculinities during my interactions as black, due to the racial dominance and geographical location of Jamaica. Dominant themes which emerged include *Family and Household Cultural Norms* and *Interrogating Sexualities: Religious Influences and Homophobic Values*. Amongst the participants who identified as being a young person, *Physical Physique* (internal and external) was also noted as a recurring identity of masculinity. However, for the purpose of this research, the exploration of the dominant themes stated above are key to my overall argument. The remainder of this chapter will focus on the family and demonstrate how cultural

norms are significant in constructing gender. The subsequent chapter will address matters of sexuality and religious values.

This chapter explores the notion of *family* as a staple foundation of most (not all) people's existence, relationships, and experiences of the world. Often represented within a westernised nuclear Pictionary definition, the family consists of male and/or female parental roles and children, whether dwelling together or not. Examined in my early introductory chapter, masculinity is dependent and influenced by the family. However, my thesis has not ignored the construction of white normative ideals that privilege the west and purposefully reproduced narratives of other in the form of the broken black family. To emphasise Fanon's (1967) proclamation, 'family is a miniature of the nation; the civilised' (p.142). Therefore, alternative family structures that fail to meet the constructed hegemonic imagery remain in search of acceptance and inclusivity.

Comparatively, I re-examine the construction of hegemonic masculinity, initially introduced in Chapter One in relation to the significance of family. This chapter illustrates a disparity between the uncivilised othering of black masculinity from the literature (*see* Fanon 1967; Said 1973; Spivak 1983; Young 2003) against the importance of male presence within the black family structure as evidenced by my participants. Instead, I present the contemporary postcolonial masculinities of significance black men have long sought, that offer an accurate representation of black Caribbean masculinities which are not reflective in the dominant literature. The (in)validation of black men in the domestic sphere will also be explored to address the weaknesses exposed via the initial postcolonial analysis of black male gender

performances. Through the expressive rhetoric shared by my focus group participants, I demonstrate how contemporary comprehensions of black masculine performances are constructed in response to colonial legacies and racially discriminated indoctrinations.

The overly inserted caption of '*provider and protector'* became a staple narrative within all participant groups during my ethnographic research. This section will unpick the binaries associations with this dual gendered conceptual meaning, including economic and financial aspects of provider and the associated male protectionist responsibilities. Subsequently, the relevance of spousal protection is addressed which resonates with current concerns and challenges on domestic abuse within Jamaican families noticed whilst collecting empirical data.

The lack of admission by participants on educational achievement as a pinnacle aspect of depicting a man, in relation to their masculinity, is an area of interest this chapter addresses. Again, as an identifiable disparity between the literature and lived experiences, that a man must be "of college education" (Goffman 1963) was not logged as a trait of masculinity by any of my participants, therefore questioning the legitimacy of the criterion for constructions of masculinity and potential bias of said knowledge. Such discrimination emasculates other masculinities via unattainable hegemonic criteria, exposing marginalisation and oppression. Adopting an intersectional approach to the study of masculinities supports my argument in identifying black men as *victims of privilege* (*see* p.28), as their "marginalisation has been eroded" (Coston and Kimmel 2012).

Interestingly, what became apparent after analysis were distinct and direct understandings amongst participants of *what a man is* and *ought* to be. Both male and female participants (none of the participants identified as transgender or other),

young and old, through their narratives and scriptures unknowingly to each other depicted a single masculinity. Similarly, to hegemonic constructions explored in my chapter on masculinities, a dominant masculinity was identified which is accepted within the community. Notwithstanding, other masculinities were recognised but only to slander and emasculate for purposes of comparison and hegemonic positioning. Not only is this a concern amongst global racial groups, but also within ethnic groups. Unjustly, gender constructions in Jamaica are a hindrance on the recognition and associated cultural norms for Jamaican and black Caribbean men in the diaspora. The remainder of this chapter demonstrates this domination, curious of the influence historical constructions of masculinity had on what is now discrimination of *others*.

A man is…?

"A man should be the head of their household."

This is a response by a twelve-year-old female participant who shared her viewpoint of a man's position in the home during a focus group discussion. Admirable of her reply, yet noticeable in the statement, is the use of the term *should*. Similar to my own narrative shared in my introduction about generational learning of black men as well as the purposefully constructed expectations of the absent black man, the successful legacy of colonial indoctrination cannot be overlooked. *Should,* used to indicate duty and obligation in a criticism of corrective action, its purpose in a young female's expectation of a man – or lack thereof – is concerning. In reflection, the chosen verb *should* indirectly (I cannot assume whether it was purposeful) emphasises that what this young female requires as a criterion for a man, is not always so.

The fixture of a man's position within the family, according to her expression, is more of an ideal rather than a fact. This statement was not unique among the responses received from participants. Similar expressions of *should*, *supposed to* or *expected* were plentiful, more so amongst the young people's focus groups than the adult groups. Unbeknown to this young individual, her infant prescription of a man is a legacy of narratives indoctrinated into the young minds of her cultural as well as generational peers across the Atlantic in the diaspora.

In the first half of this thesis, I discussed the realities of black Caribbean family stereotypes being taught in British academic textbooks. To recap, the text spouts "In Caribbean families, the fathers and husbands are largely absent, and women assume the most responsibility in child rearing" (HuffPost 2018). Although unsettling to read, I cannot help but connect the historical legacies I discussed during my literature reviews on slavery and colonial constructions of the absent black father with what are now societal expectations, thus presenting me with analytical evidence of how race, via time and space, remain imperative in dominant constructions of masculinity and expected gender performance debates.

Interestingly, historical literature, racial theorisation and ethnographic elements of my research (*see* Beckles 1996; Chevannes 2001; Collins 2005; Feber 2007; Murray 2009) offer a better representation over dominant historical narratives on what is referred to by the hegemonic cultural as absent black fathers. Taking reference from my participants, a black Caribbean man is understood through the following notions:

> *"To keep a family safe and be brave" [male, aged 17, school setting]*

> *"A leader for their family" [female, aged 16, school setting]*

"What you are brought up to see portrayed in your family and families around you" [female, 18+, church setting]

Family responsibilities, strength in unity and the upkeep of tradition and values are pinnacle to the black Caribbean family. Unfortunately, as explored earlier in this thesis, domestic colonial structures and agencies were identified as a method used to uphold segregation between male and female slaves. This execution obtained gendered dependence and infantile reliance on the hegemonic male, the slave owner. A quoted extract taken from the doctrines of Willie Lynch (2009) about black male slave's states:

"...will raise him to be mentally dependent and weak, but physically strong; in other words, body over mind" (p.35).

In line with the quote above, the collective responses given by my participants (The Man Box.) display attributes and characteristics listed during a group exercise on completing the statement *'A man is...?'* (*see* Methodology chapter). Segregation of a male from his gendered binary and emasculation of black men via sexual violence on him and his dearest (spouse and children) became a culture in slavery necessary for the longevity of colonial rule during this period. The objectification of black male bodies and suppression of his psyche remain present in personal and subjective constructions of masculinity, introduced in Chapter Two of this thesis by Fanon (1967), are also exposed by the participants in my field research. Furthermore, these practices are still paired with disappointment and unachievable expectations. My research demonstrates how black men are casualties of colonial legacies and a victim of constructed identity politics encompassing his being. Across nine focus groups,

various responses referred to the physique (internal and external) of a [black] man as strong, muscular, tall, etc. – see The Man Box below.

The Man Box

(Attributes and Characteristics of a Man)

What a man is	Themes
Strong Healthy	Physical Physique (*Internal*)
Handsome / Good looking Nice hair Tall Bright smile Muscular Deep Voice Facial Hair Must have balls (testicles)	Physical Physique (*External*)

This list is cumulative of the responses given by my participants (*see* appendices 2 and 2) and condensed into singular or themed concepts. Noticeably, there is an omission of any associated attributes in relation to sexuality, creed, employment status, creativity, or educational achievement. Each is listed in Chapter One as accepted and expected socially constructed definitions by Goffman's (1963) white westernised conceptualisation of masculinity, demonstrating a racial difference in constructions of cultural masculinities which are often ignored in dominant discourse but used as a

measurement of hegemony. Depicted as ideal racial and cultural attributes, black men do not reap the hegemonic privilege of white westernised men. Similarly, evident in the full list of responses (appendices 1 and 2), participants surprisingly offered few responses in relation to defining characteristics such as humour, bravery, confidence, etc. Though subtle, there is a significant emphasis of attributes which worryingly expose a disconnect between body and characteristics of the mind. Little was mentioned on the mental strength of a [black] man, which coincides with the lack of acknowledgment on the importance of the black male psyche (*see* Fanon 1967, 2001) explored in Chapter Two.

Hegemonic constructions of masculinity instigate an othering of men whose physique or mental strength does not meet dominant expectations of black masculine gender performances. Responses from my participants echoed similar criteria used during colonial rule to cleanse the strongest slaves from the weaker during the transatlantic slave ship purge. It was also used on slave plantations to establish hostile breeding programmes required to establish sustainability.

"A man is supposed to be a strong ..." [female, aged 15, school setting]

"A man is rough and tough on the outside but soft on the inside" [female, aged 15, school setting]

"A man is not shaped nor act like a female" [P1: male, 18+, community setting]

Included in most definitions of masculinity, the physique of the dominant male is present. However, I make this focus in my discussion on black masculinity due to the continual exploitation of black male bodies – not only through violence and punishment, but also to humiliate and intimidate (*see* Fanon 1967). Such

subjectification is comparative to the alpha male discourse explored in Chapter One with socially constructed dominant norms of gender performance remaining a benchmark for hegemony in black masculinity. Whether informed by western ideals or personal desire, the participants' depiction of a man creates a culture of hyper-masculinisation often leading to intersectional performances of toxicity.

Provider and Protector

My research identifies the notion of being a provider and a protector as a common theme amongst my participants; not specific to a particular participatory group but a shared conscientiousness of what ought to be. Below I share direct quotations from my participants that demonstrate their understanding and expectations of the male gender group in relation to this theme.

> *"a man is supposed to be a leader, a provider, a caregiver and a lover" [female, 18+, church setting]*
>
> *"...a good provider" [male, aged 16, school setting]*
>
> *"a man should be the head of any household" [female, aged 17, church setting]*
>
> *"a man is a human being, normally strong, protective and loving" [female, aged 16, school setting]*

These associated attributes of provider and protector present a superhuman exploration of black men to be encompassing of all protectionist traits and residual strength. Not solely a legacy amongst Jamaican men, but a societal expectation across the globe, I interpret this shared conceptualisation of masculinity as a typecast of black men by other black people. Likewise, expectational responses from female participants are also significant in constructing black masculinity. These damaging materialistic

ideals place burden on black men from two fronts, if not three, if I include the expectations from wider society. To share a response from one adult female participant, constructing such an expectational identity is justified as follows:

> *"yeah protector [...] because I, for instance [...] erm [...] you get in trouble wid persons on di road, the first ting you is going to say is either you've going to tell your father and if your father is not around, you is going to tell your brother. So, this is where you think of a man as a protector." [P3: female, 18+, church setting]*

The statement shared was spoken with certainty, confidence, and belief. Recalling colonial legacies and acknowledging stereotypical nuisance on the 'absent black father' explored in the introduction fails to identify the significant role of black men in the home. Interpreted differently from Goffman's (1963) definition, the male presence within the home is not defined by a legal partnership (husband or civil partner) and neither is the father role within the home identified as only biological. Instead, my participants demonstrate an alternative interpretation and reality to the dominant norm which values the masculine *father-like* figure more as an expected request from this community. Furthermore, dominant narratives on masculinity fail to acknowledge alternative family structures, which include single parent households whether that be mother or father. Nevertheless, the historical dependence of provider and protector, explored earlier in this thesis (*see* Beckles 1996; Chevannes 2001), has achieved indoctrination of this expectation onto black women. For this reason, manifested by my participants, black women remain dependent on alternative male figures as sons, brothers, etc., to fulfil the expected requirement of provider and protector.

Similarly, to the previous discussion on *what is a man?* the term *should* was again brought into conversation when discussing notions of provider and protector by female participants. Emphasised, the remark *"provider and protector […] should be a provider and protector"* was followed by group laughter, muffling, and interruption. It led the group into further discussion on what *is* and what *ought* to be included in the conception of a man. The *should be* context of a man symbolises acknowledged doubt, yet acceptance of reality. Comparatively, it was compelling to witness how expectations and displacements of male figures within the home filtered through the understandings of my youth participants, both from the school and church settings. With a *should* expectation of black men, my analysis exposed the lack of detail in the responsibility of provider and protector. The shared yet oblivious responses from my participants incurred an additional question of how this gendered responsibility is performed. This revealed a disconcerting reality in which for black men, dominant constructions of masculinity are merely an expectation not expected to be achieved.

Noticeably, the words *father*, *dad*, *husband*, or *partner* are missing from the accumulation of responses given by participants on *a man is…?* Conversely, there is little room for black men to be considered *father* due to the archetype: he is only expected to sire offspring using his superior reproductive powers (Ferguson 2000). Exposed as a strategy to sustain slavery (*see* Lynch 2009), black men are not expected to be *husbands*, but rather a stud or breeding machine (Beckles 1996; 2006) moved on from female to female, encouraging sexual recklessness. Aptly, my section on the Negro Marriage in Chapter One explains the reluctance for slave masters to permit black slaves to formulate family partnerships. Instead, through indoctrinations, sexual fluidity in sexual partners was encouraged for the benefit of breeding. Black male

slaves were deliberately stripped from their spouses, offspring, and community to be dehumanised and used for their bodies and sexual organs. Segregation of black men from black women was successfully achieved, benefitting the economic capital gained from maintaining worthlessness. Bearing this in mind, before black men navigate or venture into a domestic sphere, restrictions and limited expectations have already been placed on to his being from society, his gendered binary and, damagingly, himself. But when a prism of restricted expectations primitively exists surrounding a particular body, must it not be extremely difficult to achieve the expected? Similar to Fanon (1967) and my debate on theorising race, I further argue the complexities of unaddressed absence, recurrence of feeling empty and experiences of yearning pain. I equate these additional expectations as constructed devaluation tools of the black male psyche, leaving black men in constant search of their male identities.

Continuingly, concurrent amongst the young respondents was a shared discontent to accept a type of behaviour or lapse in responsibility in the form of abuse. Three participants stated:

> *"An abusive male is not a real man"* [female, aged 15, school setting]
>
> *"A man should not be abusive"* [female, aged 17, church setting]
>
> *"A man is an arrogant species that should be a respectful leader but at times they abuse that"* [male, aged 16, school setting]

Though supported by a shared understanding across all participant groups and welcomed by me, a man should *not* be abusive; it was not made clear who these attitudes against domestic abuse were targeted towards. Supported by the governments' campaign 'Keep Children Safe', domestic abuse, child abuse and abuse against non-conforming gender identities are not shy of Jamaican borders. Yet, the

problem is being underrepresented due to the lack of accurate data captured. It was reported in 2016 by the Office of the Children's Advocate (OCA) only one in 10 adult Jamaicans are reporting child abuse, despite knowing about it. At the time of my visit the Jamaican government were shining a light on the matter and implementing much welcomed interventions. Differently, masculinity not related to abuse within the home is an area least researched by gender scholars (Longhurst 2000). Instead, mostly recognised are the constraints of publicly enforced hegemonic masculinity, whereas in private spaces of the home, and of men's groups, men were more able to negotiate alternative masculinities (Smith and Wincher 1998:327, in Longhurst 2000:442). Unfairly, these masculinities are not documented, performed publicly nor acknowledged by dominant discourse, thus often deemed unworthy of attention in masculinity scholarship.

In reflection, the data collected did not make it clear whether to be head of the household, a provider and protector, requires a man to have a static presence in the home; to live there daily, or whether this role could be fulfilled from a distance. Subsequently, my examination highlights further ambiguities in the responses and therefore the expectation of men by the participants. It was not clearly stated in any of my focus groups exactly what the man should be providing and from what protection is required.

Unfortunately, the absence of precision in the entailment exposes a vagueness in the shared gender identity and expected performance of black men. The premise of provider and protector in the domestic sphere is a consequential determiner of colonial histories. Due to legacies of absence, black men have adapted this responsibility to evidence their manhood via alternative expressions of providing and

protecting from near (inside the home) or from afar. Black men have been known to and accepted to perform these responsibilities to more than one family simultaneously. A man can have children in one household, provide and protect them whilst having another child in a different home, providing and protecting also. This penetration into gender stereotypes is also a continuation of old legacies on the absent black father. Together they conjure a negative stereotypical presence onto black male bodies, encompassing self-devaluation as well as absentness. Black men struggle to acquire any sought-after criterion required to experience hegemonic masculinity, evidently being placed in a space of determination to achieve but never to fully accomplish self-repatriation of their original, pre-colonial masculinities.

Gender but no roles

The foci on the black body have been achieved via millennia of objectification on both men and women. Stripping black men away from their spouses and offspring historically constructed a female existence of expected single parenthood conditioned as the cultural norm. Unbeknown to its recipients, the stereotypical structured foundations of black masculinity have created a typecast for not only what society expects from black male bodies, but also what black men negatively associate with themselves. In conversation with six women who all identified as over 70 years old, they shared their concern and requirement:

"we need these men to help grow dem bwoy [boys]*"*

The discussion pondered around the similar concern of absent fathers and the need for youth in the community to see and be raised with father types in their lives. There was hope this would make a positive impact on their aspirations, achievements, and

self-worth. Significantly, the women voiced a concern stipulating that the legacies of the past continue to be a hindrance on present gender developments.

"Dem [they] hav it hard. No job! No purpose!" [female, 70+, community]

"Dem [they] [h]angry to di [the] world" [female, 70+, community]
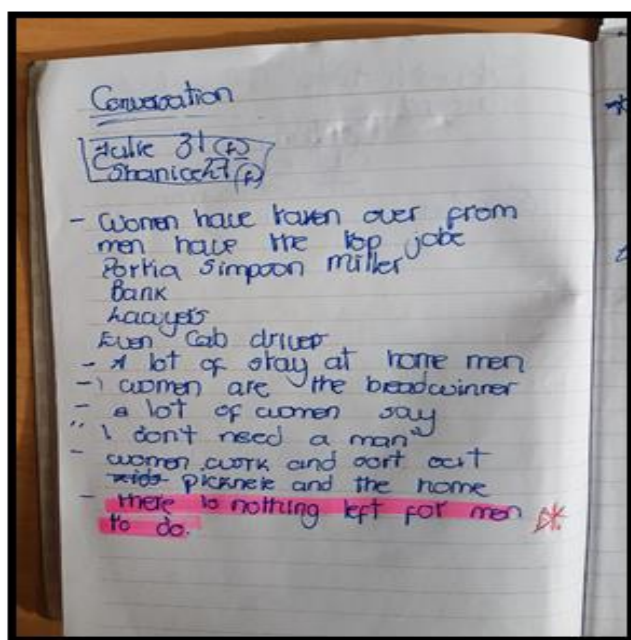
The image on the left is an extract from my research diary notes during a conversation between myself and two women who identified themselves as 31 and 27 years old. Visible from my notes, the discussion also explored gender roles, similar to the discussion with the group of over 70-year-old women. However, this conversation differently portrayed a generational change in that women have become independent from both their male counterparts but also from the historical slave (land) owner. It was explained how women are now the 'breadwinners' within the home and have acquired higher positions of employment such as bankers, lawyers, and cab drivers. What became apparent during the conversation was how this progression occurred whilst taking care of children and the home. It was stated:

"I don't need a man!" [female, aged 18+, community setting]

Avoiding the stereotypical Hollywood attitudinal characteristic of male bashing, this statement was presented with sincerity and acknowledgment of success. Such

narratives resonate with earlier discussions presented in my introductory chapter on origins of finding my own feminism and discovering the self (*see* Ahmed 2017). As the conversation persisted and the status of gender roles was depicted, it became clear that for young women in this community, the domestic role for men is becoming scarce, if not redundant.

The impact of male redundancy, alluded to by my participants, is visible through gender socialisation and gender privilege. Often black Caribbean boys are given an assumed gender role within the home of power and authority in the absence of their father. Explored in my theorising chapter, Kangethe et al. (2014) speak upon the 'inheritance mentality' prescribed to boys and young men as a succession continuing family lineage. As a direct connective to colonial doctrines of 'The Negro Marriage', absent fathers' and sons' positions of privilege (over daughters) are inherited cultural gender identities in black Caribbean communities. Consequently, Kangethe et al. (2014) state how inheritance mentality has a negative effect on the retention and academic performance of boys in school. Still, "black boys lack strong men in their lives to look up to" (Kangethe et al. 2014:291). Therefore, who and how are these boys constructing their understanding of masculinity, with no visual example in their homes?

Interestingly, the colonial histories of the Caribbean and its social constructions were not mentioned as a discussant topic from any of the participant groups. The consequential perspectives produced by academics were not directly served by any participants as a symptom of colonialism or spoken of in correlation with slavery. Instead, the absence of colonial influence on participants' thematic identification of family and domestic responsibilities is interpreted as a substantial omission in my

analysis. In retrospect, the research findings show this social constructed humanistic requirement for a man to be central to the family home can be viewed differently dependent of race, culture, religion, etc. Therefore, we should not take acceptance that certain hegemonic western behaviours are desired globally, but the identification of alternative race-related cultural hegemonies must be highlighted in masculinity research and debates.

Educational Disconnection

Identified as an omission by my participants when defining masculinity, his family and domestic responsibilities, was a significant lack in acknowledging education as a construction of masculinity. In my masculinities chapter, Goffman's (1961) definition of a man is extrinsically associated and supported by education. Confusingly, education, smart, or academic were not attributes or characteristics identified as *a man* by my participants. Consequently, this raises the question of how can one be expected to provide and protect if they do not have the educational resources to do so? When the concepts of provide and protect are presented by my participants, in what sense and with which provisions are men expected to achieve this? Economic, educational, safety, etc.? Again, this leaves the ambiguity and therefore pathway to underachievement of these expectations' probable.

What is evident by the definitions collected from my participants is that education, or in more accurate terms, "a good education" (Goffman 1963), was not stated as key to the construction, understanding or requirements of defining a black man. Worryingly, this remains problematic for Caribbean black boys globally, as stated in my previous chapters, who in a state of underachievement Kangethe et al. (2014:291) share findings in their study of gender socialisation that have an impact on boys' (and girls') academic

achievement. Their study highlighted how respondents scored mothers (62.2%) to be the most influential person, followed by teachers (54.6%) and then fathers (49.25%). The omittance of education identifies the difference and therefore segregating factors of hegemonic and socially dominant masculinities across the globe.

However, it also emphasises the social conditioning of education as key to validating achievement. It also synthesises education as foundational of books, schools, and academia. Again, alternative methods of achievement or acquirement of knowledge are dismissed by the dominate hegemonic cultures insinuating failure. Below, I share another diary extract which demonstrates why, in its most simple terms, the acquisition of dominant knowledge must always be questioned.

Uneducated Innocence!

As I sat on the airplane, embracing the luxury of flight to another land, creatively another world, I reminisced on the journey, experience and development Jamaica had placed on my being. Not only my being but the being of those closest to me, my four-year-old son, Patrick. Like a broken tape recorder, I kept playing a momentous memory I came privileged to share with Patrick. One I would never forget, I would never shelf, and I would vow to make a change.

During our usual midday family stroll down country lanes, pebbles, and sand beneath our feet, with the sun belting on to our heads and our bodies struggling to regulate its individual cooling systems, my son asked me a question. A question that would govern my continued parenting style and my own personal acceptance of knowledge as power.

"Mummy" Patrick said with an angry yet infantile face. He always called me this no matter what the conversation, no matter what the confliction. Hearing this call many times throughout the day, every day had by now warranted an unimportant acknowledgement of who he was referring too, me.

I answered him slowly not knowing what abundance of questions would be released from his mouth, *"Yes Patrick"* Patrick stood strong with his arms crossed, still harbouring that glare of

frustration and confusion mixed with vexation. I, not really paying attention, he looked up at me and asked,

"Why are the cows being naughty? They are not behind the fence!"

Attention! He had my full attention with a statement so incorrect, uneducated but for him innocently true. I said nothing but looked at him. He continued staring at me, waiting for me to answer, waiting for his mummy to respond with an articulated supportive response of disappointment that the animals known to him as caged, obedient, and lifeless at times were not doing what he only knew them to do. He was not wrong nor incorrect just uneducated and misinformed.

He was referring to the herd of cows walking freely passed us, stopping here and there to graze. Whilst taking part on our Jamaican daily walks we had repeatedly strolled passed goats, chickens and cows wandering around minding their own business, but I had taken it for granted. I had taken for granted my awareness and knowledge of animal habitats. I had forgot about the education our children are forced regarding socialised constructed realities and the lack of education available regarding truth.

Paused. I found myself in a state of sadness due to my hesitation to answer such an important observation without causing damage towards all what he been taught to understand. How had I confiscated this knowledge from his pool of truth? I had been content with the constructed education of restrictions and dishonesty I once had become victim too. I did not want to miss an opportunity to re-educate my son with truth and appropriate understanding. But also, did not want to cause him more confusion.

I explained to my son in the only way I knew how; maternally, ethnically, and even academically. I explained to him the animals were not naughty. They were not being disobedient nor were they intentionally not listening. I explained at home we keep the animals behind fences and locked up because we don't know how to live with them, respect them so in some cases we are scared of the strength within these animals. I wanted to show him that this is how animals are supposed to exist. This is how they should spend their days roaming, eating, and resting. They are happy. He looked small, child-like but satisfied with the explanation I had shared with him and his understanding on the matter.

It was at this moment, this very moment on the plane, replaying this conversation silently in my space, yearning to return home, back to my comforts and life of westernised luxury that it dawned on me. It was like a cloud. A dark shadow like cloud wrapping around me. I have allowed my son to become uneducated in the realities of life whilst being cultivated in the constructed realisms of his surroundings. Ironically, up there in the clouds, amongst white pure fluffy cotton balls of heaven, I made the conscious decision that this would be no more. What other aspects of his knowledge has fallen victim to untruthful education. Food, wealth or even the self. I would no longer allow my son to remain uneducated in what has been hidden. Yes, he will continue to conform, participate, and succeed in the institutional structured systems of westernised criterion for success. But I will inject realness, honesty, and truth in support of his development and holistic development.

His innocence must not become ignorance!

I share this extract from my research diary to summarise and symbolise my reflective understanding of gender constructions inclusive of race and culture. Like the uneducated awareness of truth by my four-year-old son, I too believe dominant westernised discourse on masculinities fail to divulge the constructed discriminatory realities of hegemony and subordination. The difficulty to re-educate society on how black men have been caged for hegemonic masculinity to prosper, not only physically but also mentally, lies in the fact many people have forgotten these cages are in fact socially constructed and can be dismantled. The deconstruction of black Caribbean masculinity presented in this thesis exemplifies the essential inclusion of race in masculinity debates. Not only has my approach provided black men a platform free from dominant gender ideologies, racism, and colonial legacies, but it also offers society an enhanced understanding of black male experiences in Jamaica and across the diaspora, denaturalised negative stereotypes and changing perceptions of racialised gendered bodies.

Conclusion

This chapter has exposed, through ethnographic observation and focus groups, a requirement of black masculinity as an evolved concept of what ought to be versus what is. My participants have demonstrated the simplification of identifying a black man and highlighting what expectations they place onto his body. However, what history has demonstrated, and reality has exposed, are the multi-complexities that shape and govern the expectations and therefore limitations of the black male body.

This chapter has exposed via participatory engagement and observations the impactful influences colonialism continues to have on the construction of black masculinities and the shaping of his expected gender performance in society. When asked to define a [black] man, my participants collectively isolated physical attributes of strength and bravery to determine his identity. Additionally, notions of provider and protector also surfaced as a vital protectionist trait for male normalcy. Such characteristics and attributes come at an expense for black men's hegemonic position within society. He struggles to accomplish his expected masculinity due to preordained constructions of his being which he is not expected to achieve yet racial and cultural norms expect he must try.

In this chapter I have explored the notion of a superhuman premise of the black male presence. Such performances demonstrate domestic responsibilities from a distance which not only have been expressed by my participants as expected, but they too have also evidenced this performance of responsibility as acceptable. Using notes from my research diary, I have evidenced the positionality of black men via my discussions and observation of their role and lack of requirement. Presenting the narration of two females exposed the struggle of black men to identify and secure a position in their

community – a position that was stripped from them centuries previously, but of which they remain in search.

The exclusion of educational accomplishment or attainment, I stress, is a concern in the construction of black masculinity. In this chapter, I have examined the academic failure of black males discussed in my literature review. I have also explored the potential reasoning behind such expected gendered behaviours. I end this chapter with a reflective piece of writing I wrote whilst in Jamaica experiencing the realities of colonial constructions and legacies. The piece offers an innocent perspective of what history has done to our understandings and valued cultural norms. The importance of education for our most vulnerable bodies is significant in the reconstruction of the black male body. My section on education highlights the need to educate a generation not just inside the classroom, but also within society. I hold the understanding that the social constructions of black masculinities not only have legacies intended to oppress black men, but also hold racially charged stereotypes that continue to place black male gender performances at a disadvantage. My following chapter explores black male gender performances through a gaze on sexualities. I explore controversial narratives from a biblical perspective and discuss the impact of such normative dichotomy on black men and their gender performances.

INTERROGATING SEXUALITIES: CULTURAL INFLUENCE AND RELIGIOUS VALUES

The exploration of black Caribbean masculinity continues in this chapter with an interrogation of the hypersexual gender identity associated with black men. Encompassed in the notion of hegemonic masculine criteria and cultural influence, a constructed existence of sexualised fetish and desire (Fanon 1967) is assimilated to black masculinity, globally. Explored in the literature (*see* Chapter One), a colonial legacy of backwardness and sexual rampant behaviours glorifies black male bodies over their mind, expected and accepted by society. Likewise, my previous chapter exposed a shared dominant masculine performance identified by my participants (*see* Chapter Five) which constructs a gender identity in search of hegemony yet scripted as *other*.

Still, there remains a disconcerted ignorance toward the identity of other masculinities between different races and within specific racial groups. Homosexuality as an identity of some masculinities is neither celebrated in Jamaican culture as a desirable dominant masculinity trait nor accepted in part. Fuelled by colonial legacies and religious homophobic rhetoric, homosexual sex remains an illegal practice in this region under the Offences Against the Person Act 1864 (*see* p.74). In this chapter I open a dialogue to explore representations of sexualities within Jamaica and offer a comprehensible analysis of cultural influences and debates.

Furthermore, I examine cultural norms seated at the foot of conventional functionalist values. Observed, the centrality of the 'The Church' in Jamaican culture is challenged by narratives from the participants and observations from my time in the country. I acknowledge the potential bias or directed responses of a discussion on religion inside a church setting. However, due to the importance of the church in Jamaican culture, my presence in this space was warranted to provide an inclusive representation in constructions of black Caribbean masculinities. An exploration of religious underpinnings and legacies will be highlighted as an introduction into my discussion on discriminatory practices and criminality. I discuss interventions from the government to combat homophobic discrimination but elicit evidence which demonstrates legal changes will struggle to impact the dominance of heteronormativity in this region. Conversely, in a bid to provide comprehension on this debate, an alternative interpretation from the dominant discourse is sought. Fundamentally, I demonstrate how religious cultures built from colonial legacies cast influence over further discriminations onto black masculinities as *other*.

Hypersexuality: A new racism!

To resonate my previous discussion on black sexual politics (*see* p. 95), black men are commonly labelled hypermasculine and/or hypersexual. These stereotypes have come to define them (Sharpe and Pinto 2015), as an embodiment of their gender identity. These racialised notions of hypersexuality, though idolised, prompt fear of perceived sexual savages (*see* Ward 2005). Centrally positioned, black male sexuality has remained a self-devaluation tool; a fetish for the perceived strength of his penis but emotionally castrated to limit his mental being. This stereotype is riddled with paradoxes as in many cultures it is the accumulation of sexual conquests and procreation (Kimmel 2001) which are illustrious of hegemonic masculinity.

The sovereignty of masculinity and importance of acknowledging different masculinities is supplementary to my research question on constructions of black Caribbean masculinity. It led me to identify complexities in trying to establish a shared baseline for my analysis. Debates surrounding ableism (Gill 2015; Wolbring 2008), whiteness (Hintzen 2003), and the global north all share ground with the complexities in trying to explore black male sexualities within this field. Arguably, discounted in favour of employing a more essentialist understanding, concepts of black masculinity often adopt a straightforward binary gender dynamic of a man and woman. Yet other intersections such as class, religion and sexuality are rarely acknowledged. Habitually, for both men and women scholars, such binary standards of research are valued yet criticised, still they are widely practised. Poststructuralist and social constructivist schools of thought acknowledge the social construction of masculinity (*see* Raywen Connell and Michael Kimmel). As notions paramount to understanding the construction and deconstruction of gender positioning, masculinities and alternative masculine identities must be included.

Initially, the data I collected for this research presented little evidence of construction of any hypersexuality amongst my participants. However, informed by Pettinen (2008), a change in my "analytical tone" – in applying a postcolonial, intersectional lens, emphasised an alternative perspective in my analysis and discussion. Again, discrepancies arose between scholarship on the sexuality of black men against the responses from my participants. Out of the nine focus groups conducted, there was no mention by adult or youth, male or female, of hypersexual or promiscuous sexual behaviours being identities of character constructions of [black] masculinity. Globally, there remains a dominant stigma which casts hypersexual behaviours upon black

Jamaican men (Collins 2005; Lemelle Jr. 2010). Puzzled by this conundrum, I pondered why the literature would present such hyper stereotypes if this in fact was not an accurate representation of the lived experiences of Jamaican men. I questioned whether my presence had influenced my participants' reluctance to discuss sexual behaviours which went against the LIVITY Study by Anderson et al. (2009) who explored alternative research designs and processes for the study of culturally sensitive topics with black communities, such as sexuality. The study found when discussing matters of sexuality, black men favoured women researchers rather than what they perceived as their peers, other black men. Or maybe it could be conflated to the location of the focus groups as inappropriate for this discussion, or the gatekeepers of the groups exercised indirect controls over the environment. Whichever the reason, I did not probe at this omission, mainly because I did not notice it as such until I was coming to the end of my data collection. Also, I was aware of my subject presence and did not want to influence the conversation. Instead, the omission was noted in my research diary for later reflection.

Eventually, the notion of hegemony, power of knowledge and constructs of the other dawned upon me. As noted by Tickner and Sjoberg (2006) "…in whose interest and for what purpose is knowledge constructed?". In the case of the hypersexualised black men, I argue this notion is another tool used by the master to construct colonial representations of *other*. The hypersexuality of black men is a perception by the dominant white hegemonic race as abnormal over-sexual aggressive behaviour. However, using my postcolonial intersectional methodological approach, this objectified construct of 'too much sex' could in fact be misunderstood as a sex behavioural norm of the Jamaican culture. If true, a specific identification by the participants of 'normal' sexual behaviours would not warrant a discussion. Identified

by Kempadoo (2009), "Caribbean sexuality is both hyper-visible and obscured" (p.1). Similarly, to my findings there is a normalcy of black Caribbean sexuality which is unfairly shadowed by the constructed notion of hyper-sexualisation identified by scholars (*see* Lewis 2003; Nurse 2004; Reddock 2004; Seaton 2007; Ward 2005). Despite what seems an abundance of reports, conference papers and global stereotypes on black male sexuality, there are in fact few existing studies on the sexualisation of black men, beyond homosexuality or ill health (HIV/AIDs).

A significant aspect of 16th Century black slavery and a prominent feature of Caribbean (and African) culture, music remains a powerful tool in expressions of identity and provides an additional style of representation for many black people. Forbes, in her contemporary book 'Music, Media and Adolescent Sexuality in Jamaica' (2010), acknowledges media as another social agent with massive influence over the youth of Jamaica, in particular. Forbes (2010) argues how music as an ontological tool has become a source and indirect pathway into the gender socialisation of young people within this community. Dancehall and reggae music, often deemed controversial to many outside observers, is argued by Forbes (2010) to disseminate messages that can be misrepresented, distorted or pertinent to dominant hegemonic norms. Cultural displays of sexuality via different mediums can be argued as a gateway for ill-informed misrepresentations of other cultures to infiltrate dominant portrayals of race. Forbes (2010) continues to argue the "X-rated and predominantly unfavourable presentation of Caribbean culture" (p.3) is often cleverly presented by music video producers displaying a 'slackness' of soft pornographic and heavy secular depiction of sex and sexuality which can be deemed inappropriate for its intended audience.

*"Sexualised portrayals ensnarl males and females in acceptance of this normal, acceptable, worthy of emulation and representative of the 'good life', setting the scene for risky sexual behaviour and sexually transmitted infections." (*Forbes 2010:6)

In disagreement with Forbes (2010), dancehall music can also be perceived as an outlet for working class black women to express their sexuality (Sharpe and Pinto 2015), amongst other things. Irrespective of young people, their gender identities and construction of oneself, both boys and girls are mistakenly yet repeatedly socialised to conform to the stereotype and use whichever accessible media agent as a citation for who they *ought* to be and how they *should* behave.

Similar arguments have been made about hip-hop and rap music. Song lyrics and music video productions may be interpreted adversely as a conditioning to captivate young people. Nevertheless, if similar cultural acknowledgments are applied to alternative genres of music, a comparative generational understanding can be sought on gender identity. Hopkinson and Moore's (2006) unique approach to the masculinity research agenda presents a contemporary analysis into black masculinity in the hip-hop generation. Hopkinson and Moore, two female authors, provide an anecdotal insight into not only black masculinity within a hip-hop era but also the relationship this gender performance has via black women's perspective and associated identities: father, partner, employment, etc. Their book provides both honest reflections and impressions of black men. Sought-after shared common experiences highlight 'recurring spirals of silence' which have enveloped black men who fall outside the established narrative (Hopkinson and Moore 2006) of not only black masculinity, but masculine ideals.

Black Caribbean men's sexuality is objectified and considered as something to be studied rather than a racial and cultural norm via which black Caribbean men negotiate their romantic-erotic lives. Collins (2005), in her book 'Black Sexual Politics', explains the need for a new black gender ideology to erase the colonial legacies which equate to hyper-sexualisation. The decision to title my thesis *'The Politics of Black Masculinity'* all comes down to this very moment where I can demonstrate and I do argue, black men and their masculinities are themselves victims of constructed stereotypical racialised sexual politics – a construction that preliminarily fuelled the historical othering of this gender performance and continues to ignite contemporary fears, as well as the sexual desires (Collins 2005; Lemelle 2010; Lewis 2003) of/for black men. A new racism!

The Church as a vessel

To understand sexuality as I have explored, we must look at the question of religion, the Church, and homophobic values which together continue to shape sexualities in Jamaica. The *'Church'*, acting as a vessel, perpetuates a moral and social distance between hypermasculine accepted gendered performances and attitudes to legally supported unaccepted sexualities. Even though quantifiable as plentiful, the Church and its individual denominations remain divided. As mentioned in this introduction, the Church in Jamaica has secured its functionalist role of centrality and "they continue to preach a conservative gender ideology" (Collins 2005:45). As a pillar of black Caribbean culture, directed social norms and expected values, the Church, however intentional, has become "the organisational and cultural matrix from which many black social institutions and forms of artistic expression emerge and have been sustained over the past 250 years" (Ward 2005). With such a strong position in the

community, it is surprising to me how the Church remains unevolved and is used in order to prop up outdated buggery laws as well as govern social norms.

Religion and the affirmation held by the Christian Church of whichever denomination is considered the most visible institution (Olsen 1999) in Jamaica.[22] The assistance and guidance the Church offers its followers is valued immensely across the country, especially in troubled times and periods of despair. Controversially, Jamaica has been given a place in the Guinness Book of Records for having the most churches per square mile than any other country in the world. However, such claims have been refuted to suggest numbers may be inflated internally (Rev. Chisholm 2012), presenting "merely a romancing of an urban myth, loving up another hand-me-down fireside tale" (Riley 2004). Not claiming to be an expert in theology, but reporting on the data collected, I can however acknowledge the substantial influence the Church and religious teachings have on the gender norms in this region. More specific to my research and in exemplary format, the Church has been proclaimed 'empowering' (Ward 2005) to the physical and psychological well-being of black people during slavery. Used as a sanctuary for the body as well as mind, many people across the world turn towards religious teachings in search of hope and guidance. During the first church service I attended with my hosts, the bishop shared biblical verses that are generally used to motivate, support, and guide the congregation during times of hardship.

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[22] I acknowledge Rastafarianism as having a popular religious following in Jamaica which also has influence on the construction of masculinity in this region. However, I did not seek nor identify any research specific engagement with this belief. Therefore, it falls outside of the scope of my research.

"Watch ye therefore, and pray always, that ye may be accounted worthy to escape all these things that shall come to pass, and to stand before the Son of man." Luke 21:36 KJV

The teaching of the Church also offers a directive on contemporary concerns such as violence against women, gun crime and discrimination. During service, the Bishop gave appearance to such discussions as also a concern of the state. At first it was refreshing to witness the support of the Church in fighting these national and community issues. However, what became apparent during the proceedings were the inconsistencies and at its extreme what I interpreted as indoctrinations which were taking place with little objection or challenge from the congregation. It was bellowed by the Bishop for the congregation to "S.T.O.P. - *study, trust, obey and pray"*, as a response to some of the issues affecting the community including the increase in state violence. It was confirmed via his narrative that a person who commits violence, especially against women, is not a person that studies the Bible. In such a case they must study the word of God, trust what they have read, do as instructed/obey, and pray. Continuing with the sermon, the Bishop explained:

"reading the Bible gives you a breadth of knowledge unlike no other."

Such accounts of insightfulness were welcomed by the congregation. Perplexing for me, the Bishop continued to share:

"chemistry, rubbish! Physics, rubbish! These things you do not need when you have God's brain."

Unsure of the direct meaning of such rhetoric, but aware of the agreed certification from the congregation, I continued to listen intently. I became plugged into the authoritative relationship between the congregation and the words of the Bishop. As I continued to observe the performance silently, I noted my thoughts and later my reflections. Below, I include an extract from my research diary which illustrates not only what I noted, but also how I was able to use the diary in as a tangible research tool. What I share as part of my research is not only my analysed interpretations, but also the methods I used to document my research observations. Mentioned earlier in my methodology chapter, my research diary allowed me to capture my immediate reaction whilst still in the environment (Newbury 2001). I share an extract from one of my Church attendances experiences below.

The Hills Have Eyes

Sitting here surrounded by something I have experienced time and time again; I cannot help but identify the similarities of the simplification of sand with what I thought was going to be a simplification of attending a church. The sand was red. It was unusual to me. It did not have a tinge of red but indeed was fully red. Something I had touch and played with many times in my life but never experienced the visual sensation of sand that was this colour. I had oppressed the complex processes of sand and it's dunes of momentous equations in exchange of complacent knowledge of just being.

Comparatively, I reflect on my current position as I write. I have attended church on many occasions, my church, other churches but this experience was different. I have never incurred teachings from scripture interpreted to foster discrimination on to others. It shocked me, slightly confused. I am hurt!

I must not park away the complexities of where I am. My time and space. My positionality and subjectivity. Is this an East meets West thing or a North, South religious divide? Or merely a cultural reality that is often forgotten or conveniently lost in the history of difference. Christianity holds an authoritative position amongst religiosity however what is often blind sighted are the cultures attached

to the teachings. I must view the bible and the vessel that carries its word, the church as merely a difference in interpretation.
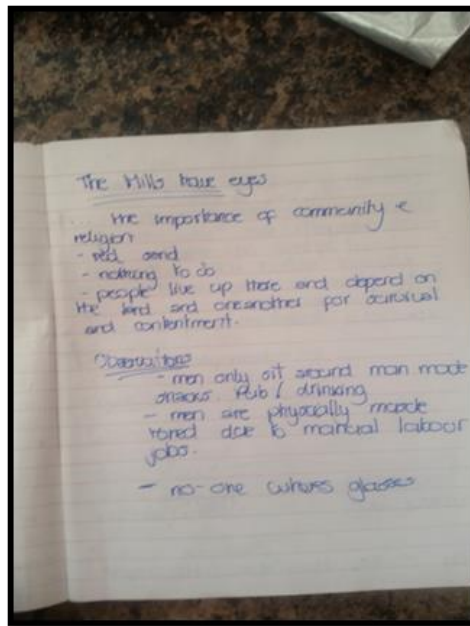
The influence and embedded centrality of the Church also became evidently clear through the responses of all my participant groups. Each group shared the cultural understanding of a [black] man being in God's vision:

> *"A man is a person that is created by God with a responsibility each as to love God..."* [male, aged 115, church setting]
>
> *"Made from God's image..."* [male, aged 12, church setting]
>
> *"A man is a magical creature made by God."* [male aged 15, school setting]
>
> *"...the person that God decides him to be..."* [female aged 18+, community setting]

The cultural hegemony within Jamaica is crucial to the legacies of the land. To understand the people is to embrace the culture. Conversely, I questioned during my analysis of service and participant response whether religious culture has become a

hinderance to embracing different ideas of gender and development in this region. In Jamaica, the Church remains central to the community and their practices. Unknown to me to be righteous or merely a force of habit, if the Church has been Jamaica's security and stability through centuries of racial oppression, exploitation, and dehumanisation, why should this expression of cultural functionalism change?

The extract below is from my research diary. It illustrates how the embedded religious culture along with doctrines passed down as a legacy of colonialism in Jamaica influence and hinder any acceptance of alternative constructions of gender.

_____

Grandma's words of wisdom?

Thankful to have arrived in Jamaica safely and ready to lay my head down for a few hours. I had been travelling from door to door for approximately 17 hours. I need to rest. The roads to my new home for the next four weeks were bumpy, unfinished, and rough. The air was heavy, humid yet pleasing as it identified my arrival in what will become my research environment. Mixed with the thrill of acquiring my destination came a cultural smack in the face. Not from the poverty I was witnessing, nor from the non-ethnic diversity I was unfamiliar with, not even from the heat and humidity that was limiting my body functionalities. This eye opener, the cultural and as I come to find out later, not generational directness of discrimination rested upon the lips of my host. A 74-year-old women, born and raised in Jamaica and in the very location I would call home. After a journey of continuous exchanged pleasantries, as we were approaching her house, she without bothers uttered.

"A man did murder der…dem kill him cus em a puff"
[A man was murder there…. they killed him because he is gay]

I waited. I waited a little longer. I was waiting for the expecting following sentence of 'that was wrong' or 'what a shame' or something with a connotation of remorse or sorrow. But no, instead I was met with a harrowing; **"Em deserve it!"** [He deserved it]. Wow! What a smack in the face.

In retrospect, disappointingly of me, I said nothing.

I share my reflection of this conversation as a significant benchmark against many conversations I endured throughout my duration in Jamaica. The acceptance of homosexuality, I believe, is a discussion personal to the individual. However, what I strongly go against is the inciting or supporting of violence or discrimination of another due to their or any alternative difference. This experience alerted a curiosity that would replicate similar encounters as my fieldwork expanded.

Language as a focus has also become of interest to masculinity discourse in relation to gay masculinities and depictions. Evidenced in my thesis, heterosexual black Caribbean men define their masculinity against gendered binary societal norms, perceived homosexual behaviours and feminised actions. As stated by Edwards (2005) in his chapter on Gay Masculinities, Queering the Pitch? "… gay masculinities are a contradiction in terms: Gay negates masculine". Edwards provides evidence on how language over the past century in its fullest has demonstrated how homosexuality has been given a stereotypical label, as scarcely connected to heterosexuality as possible. This chapter provides ample examples where language is used as a cultural foundation to uphold cultural influences and religious values via language and negative associations.

Whilst attending a second church service I found myself in an uncomfortable position of subjectivity yet forced to immerse into the space via my suppressive silence. I chose to note my expressions safely and to remain respectful of the space. Again, the extract below is taken from my research diary which demonstrates how useful this tool became during my fields and how I contribute to the advocacy of this method for ethnographic sensitive research. I share in this image my observations, thoughts and feelings which, without the research diary, I would not be able to capture "the real

inner drama" (Marshall and Rossman 1995, in Newbury 2001:15) which was happening in that moment.
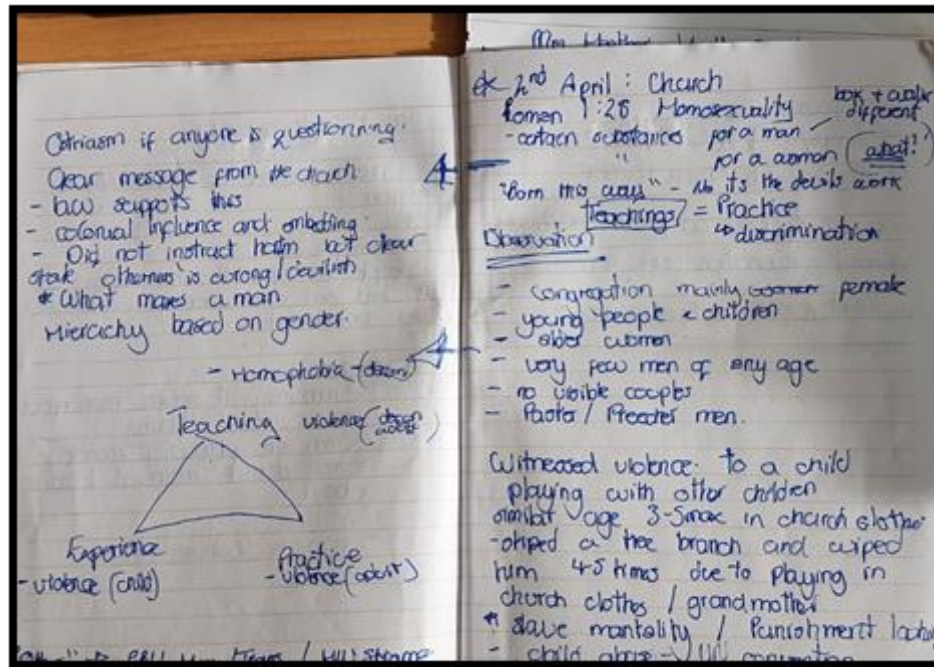
The second sermon I attended also addressed homosexuality during the service, a controversial discursive topic which is not alien to me. However, during this particular encounter, I was extremely aware again of my positionality and the space I was occupying. During the narrative, the Bishop drew influence from biblical scriptures.

> (26) For this cause God gave them up unto vile affections: for even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature: (27) And likewise also the men, leaving the natural use of the woman, burned in their lust one toward another; men with men working that which is unseemly, and receiving in themselves that recompense of their error which was meet. (28) And even as they did not like to retain God in their knowledge, God gave them over to a reprobate mind, to do those things which are not convenient. (29) Being filled with all unrighteousness,

fornication, wickedness, covetousness, maliciousness; full of envy, murder, debate, deceit, malignity; whisperers, (30) Backbiters, haters of God, despiteful, proud, boasters, inventors of evil things, disobedient to parents, (31) Without understanding, covenant breakers, without natural affection, implacable, unmerciful: (32) Who knowing the judgment of God, that they which commit such things are worthy of death, not only do the same, but have pleasure in them that do them.

<div align="right">Romans 1:26-33 KJB</div>

Scripture is often said to be interpretive, however particular attention was given to the verses underlined in black, associating it directly to homosexuality being the work of the devil. Ward (2005) voices that "black churches in the USA constitute a significant force of homophobia that pervades black communities" (p.493). He continues to expose anti-homosexual rhetoric as filled by theologically driven homophobia encompassed with Black Nationalism (Ward 2005). The anti-gay attitude strung likeness with my earlier encounter shared above and some responses from my participants.

"A man is not a female" [male, aged 17, school setting]

"What isn't a man? A woman" [P5: female, 18+, church group]

"A man is not shaped nor act like a female" [P1: male, 18+, church setting]

"what should not be, should not be in this present society [that] is not the case…" [P5: female, 18+, church setting]

Commonly, binary gendered associations were the pillars of the rhetoric shared with my participants which stood tall in verification provided not only by the Church, but

the state. The responses from my participants echo a rejection of femininity by society whose comprehension equates 'real-men' to hold no stereotypical feminine traits. In reflection, such responses construct a type of hegemonic masculinity within Jamaica that is only attainable by the few and oppressive towards the many.

In partnership, the Bishop's sermon felt more impactful due to the space the narrative occupied and the performance that was delivered. I noted my awareness of the congregation, made up mostly of women, children, and young people. I could not help but wonder about the influence and potential oppression such discourse may be inflicting on to someone, anyone sitting in that space. This experience examined my understanding of homophobia in Jamaica as a constructed message from the Church shrouded with fear of difference. The idea of masculine otherness, and for the sake of my research homophobia, I argue is wrongfully associated with the devil. During colonialism, the slave master I would imagine to be cast as devil-like inflicted rape on many black men as a weapon used to intimidate, control as well as humiliate. I am not providing an excuse for discrimination or violence but rather exploring an understanding for anti-gay attitudes and offering an alternate approach of systemic constructions of fear.

Comprehensively, Collins (2005) argues, the organised institution of marriage is "designed to discipline the population to accepting the status quo" (p.96); heterosexist. Contemporarily, the social space offered by the Church provides platforms to display peacock-like expressions of hypermasculinity and "opportunities for projecting male dominance" (Ward 2005:498) associated with many cultural constructions of masculinity. The influence of the Church within black communities is omnipotent to many churchgoers which is significant if you are to comprehend the extensive

homophobia linking historical sexual exploitation and religious beliefs (Ward 2005). The Church holds centrality in what is deemed as not only morally but legally supported homophobia.

The current version of black maleness is captivated in hegemonic masculinity and male dominance. Substantially, [we] run the risk of limiting our social growth and stunting our emotional abilities if we continue to institutionalise men's dominance over women and subordinate other masculinities. "Non-hegemonic masculinities fail to influence structural gender arrangements significantly because their expression is either relegated to hetero-social settings or suppressed entirely" (Bird 1996:120).

Again, this type of directed beliefs and values plays homage to the teaching of the Church, as evidenced in my research diary extract below. Additionally, I observed and was included in daily conversations that stressed positionality on homosexuality and exposed exactly what the people I engaged with believed should be the consequence for such sexual intimate behaviours. The extract below, taken from my research diary, is a noted conversation I had with my grandad-in-law whilst driving back from an outing, alliterating the presence of the research diary as a tool most appropriate for such circumstances that helped me capture the now moment.

The narration shares how he believes homosexual people should have their throats cut. He states, "Jamaicans do not like those [homosexual] types of things". Over the weeks preceding this exchange, I started to grow a tolerance for similar opinionated conversations. Very much still aware of my subjectivity, I embraced my experience and engaged in reflectivity on the catalogue of conversations and observations I was exposed to during my visit. It is exceedingly difficult and almost strange to try see an

alternative, non-westernised perspective on homosexuality. Not that all people who live in euro-American countries are anti- homophobic. However, when the state is against homophobic discrimination, I believe it is easier – not perfect – to exhibit freedom of existence.
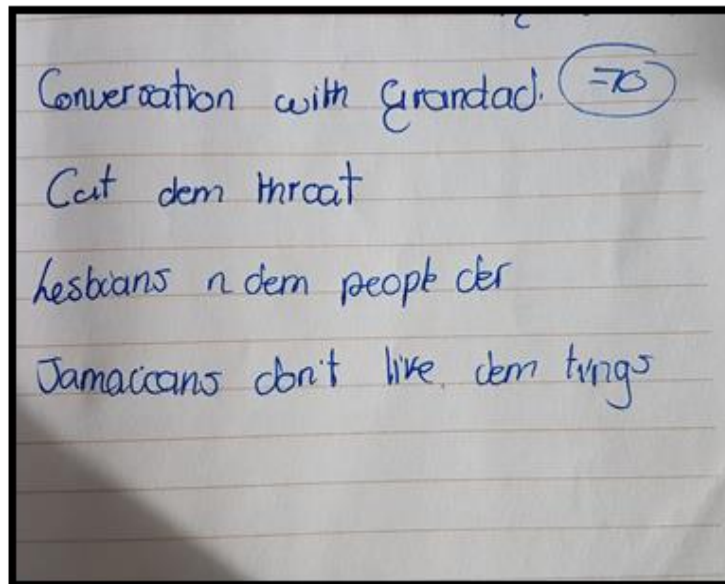
It does not mean they are incorrect or bad people; it merely means we have a difference of opinion. Fundamentally in this discussion, it is imperative that we remember where this opinion came from. The role of the colonisers in importing homophobia needs to be identified and addressed appropriately. Conversely, human rights activist Maurice Tomlinson would disagree with my interpretation, arguing it is merely an excuse towards change. Tomlinson (2015) is well known for challenging the country's laws criminalising buggery and other consensual sex between men as violating numerous rights guaranteed in Jamaica's constitution. "Violators of the norms of hegemonic masculinity typically fail to produce alterations in the gender order; instead, they result in penalties to violators" (Bird 1996:130). Such penalties not only come in the form of criminalisation, but also protrude into health implications, prevention hindrances and access to treatment and services. The report explains how "this climate

makes the country a hostile place for gay Jamaicans" (Tomlinson 2015:2). The arguments and often attempts to conflate decriminalisation of same sex is misguided and illogical (Tomlinson 2015:5). The identified oppression experienced by homosexual men warrants focussed attention that my thesis does not offer, nor will I devalue the complexity of this debate by squeezing it into a few paragraphs. What I would like to emphasise is the widespread nature of anti-gay attitudes throughout my fieldwork that not only cross genders, but also affect youth development and progression.

Whilst in Jamaica, a UNICEF (2016) survey report[23] was released on the discrimination experienced by young people in the region. The extract inserted is to demonstrate the scale of the campaign and the tactics used by UNICEF to appeal to young people and reach as many as possible. The 'Respect Jamaica' campaign identified, in addition to other discriminations, "sexual orientation leads to the worst form of discrimination in Jamaica". It was reported that young people especially fall

victim to this discrimination more commonly if they cross more than one intersection. The example of being a gay, young, working class boy from a single mothered household would experience discrimination on a greater scale than their counterparts, mainly due to

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[23] The Respect Jamaica/UNICEF survey was conducted between 29th February 2016 and 3rd March 2016, with 3,0124 respondents.

their sexuality. Such narratives were echoed amongst my participant focus groups on our discussion of what it is to be a man.

The responses from my youth participants reflected similar attitudes surrounding homosexuality and insinuated awareness of an anti-gay gendered culture when questioned about what a man is not.

> *"A man is not weak"* [male, aged 16, church setting]
>
> *"A lady"* [female, aged 14, school setting]
>
> *"Someone who is not attracted to men"* [female, aged 15, school setting]
>
> *"Should not behave like a woman"* [P1: male, 18+, church setting]

Masculinity is constructed through a rejection of femininity, however as identified by the responses from my female participants, femininity *is* significant in creating black masculinities and their impacts of gender roles within the private and public intersections of manhood (Hines and Jenkins 1999:1). Women have a significant influence on the masculine norms of a culture, geographical location, time, and space. I received many responses on similar grounds by the young people which made it easier to visualise the unity in cultural attitudes and identify where such perspectives originated. Rational comprehension may agree "what it means to be a man is to be unlike a woman" (Kimmel 2001:9319). Gerson (in Kimmel 1987:115) argues that:

> *"Women's views of men and men's view of women develop out of a rapidly changing social context that is rearranging the opportunities and constraints faced by both sexes and altering the balance of power between them."*

I interpret this statement as an acknowledgment of a wider caste of women who are asserting their independence from men. However, the legacies of men being breadwinners still resonates but, in many cultures, men are no longer a given requirement or need for survival. What was never presented nor did I bring the topic forward was the potential idea of firstly having feminine men and masculine women. Additionally, the discussion did not steer towards topics of transgender. For my own safety and to remain immersed in the community, I did not invite such discussions.

The power and influence of the Church is clear from my observations and participant exchanges. The importance of religion on the community is significant for the unity needed for progression, not only in gender development but as an entire population. As a patriarchal institution, the Church has given and continues to provide many people with guidance in mind and body. Sadly, what I have witnessed is a governance via the Church that I find contradictory in relation to love, forgiveness and acceptance of all that scripture teaches. Gender has been defined as "a set of socially constructed characteristics describing what men and women ought to be" (Tickner and Sjoberg, 2006:186). Acquisition of this knowledge, as well as the appropriate application, together bring power to groups able to attain those specified gender characteristics partially or momentarily. Like Demetrious (2001, in Dean 2013:536), I find this practice a demonstration of how in Jamaica, to uphold or achieve hegemonic masculinity, a group of marginalised dominant men subordinate other masculinities causing further oppressions.

Our collective diasporic histories are indeed a strength, yielding many cultural innovations. Yet to expand, we also need to move away from our darker legacies of our ancestral indoctrinations to build resilience towards global challenges and prosper. In

reflection of the literature and the gender socio-culturalisation of black men exposed in Chapter Two and my empirical chapters, I argue the relationship between religious-based homophobia and being a 'real man' are wrapped in complexities of unaddressed absence, recurrence of feeling empty, and experiences of yearning pain, which are additions on black Caribbean men in search of manhood and their male identities. Furthermore, questions of fear as well as anxieties over not meeting the societal expectation on procreation also bring familiarity to Fanon's (1967) exploration of similar microaggression and pressures by valuing oneself via means of discrimination. Or is it as Rigley (2004) questioned, "are we too caught up with being religious, that we've forgotten to be truly Christian?"

Conclusion

I conclude this chapter with a contribution towards masculinity studies. Taking away agency from black masculinity as being part of the debate has resulted in a conceptualisation of gender, constructed to subordinate gender performances. The knowledge constructed about black Caribbean men has demonstrated that it is, in fact, simply a gender construction which unfortunately positions black masculinity as sexualised beasts.

The central role occupied by the Church has been identified as a pinnacle factor in Jamaican culture and governance. Often teachings are credited via biblical scriptures and as evidenced in this chapter, the matter of homophobic discrimination has legal guidance. Using quotes from my empirical data, I share perspectives from my participants that evidence religious constructions of masculinity shrouded by cultural hegemony. Furthermore, this chapter delves deeper into the attitudes and behaviours towards specific expressions of masculinity: homosexual constructions of man that

continue to be presented as the devil's work. I have shared responses from my participants echoing the values of the Church and validating the interpretations of certain biblical teachings. My positionality on this issue has been exposed as I attempt to provide alternative comprehension and understanding on a topic that in many parts of the world would be deemed as discriminatory.

Overall, I find the current attitude within Jamaican culture on homosexuality frustrating. Not because I am one to suggest error in their perception, but rather due to the legacies left that encourage such segregation amongst one another. Religion and the Church have become the vessel to extract such normative dichotomies rarely challenged or sought for cultural hybridity.

CONCLUSION

(RE)CONSTRUCTING BLACK CARIBBEAN MASCULINITIES

Engaging with and demonstrating an alternative approach to addressing and including race in masculinity studies has been the core contribution of my research. This thesis has provided a critical reflection of dominant European colonial histories which have shunned the legacies of the *other*. I have applied a postcolonial theoretical framework to the construction of masculinity and demonstrated, using an intersectional methodological approach, why and how race can and should be significant in masculinity debates. It exposed the flaws in dominant constructions of male gender performances and highlighted the omissions, if not ignorance towards, addressing other masculinities. I used black masculinity as an exemplar of this critique, giving specific attention to the constructed inferiority placed upon black men as subhuman, animalistic, unintelligent savage's incapable of self-government (Beckles 1996). This deconstruction of the gendered whiteness indoctrinated onto the concept of man is an attempt to purge the *other*. Similarly, to Audre Lorde, I question what alternative masculinities have emerged from under the boot heel of patriarchal conventions (Ouzgane and Coleman 1998). My thesis has offered comprehension, alternative perspectives, and a platform to racialised masculinities missing from scholarship. This chapter will revisit some of the key debates and contributions of this thesis. I guide this discussion and confirm my position by answering the initial research questions asked on page 26. This chapter concludes by inviting further discussions, future research, and direction in this debate on researching masculinities.

The idea of hegemonic masculinity as an aspiration for *all* men, but not achievable for many, was initially identified during my literature review as a notion expelled via dominant schools of thought (*see* Chapter One on Masculinities - poststructuralism and social constructivism). Conversely, as evidenced in both my empirical chapters, the identified aspiration has also been proven to be a core aspect of valued masculinities amongst my research participants. Despite the presumed notion of defiance, my participants illustrated their conformity toward dominant hegemonic gender constructions, often at the expense of oppressing others, including women. To inform my research question 4, it is now time for that identity to be positively reclaimed, acknowledged, and celebrated. Johns (2006) reminds us "we still need liberating from the debilitating mental shackles". Now physically taken off, as asked as part of my research question 3, black people continue to receive the exemplary treatment of racial inequalities through their compliance with colonially embedded social stereotypes and restrictions. Too often are negative or stereotypical attributes of black men given attention. The institution of [American] slavery stripped the black male of his identity (Houston 2014:19). Therefore, my thesis demonstrated with a foundational focus on history how such discussions on black masculinity can acknowledge a contemporary silhouette of black masculinities.

Respectfully, the marginalisation of black men was highlighted, which I demonstrated throughout my thesis. However, as Butler (2013) proclaims, "it should be achieved without marginalising the experiences of black women in the process" (p.486), which I of course agree with. This notion of what Cooper (2006) labelled *compensatory subordination*, I explore on page 126, due to an increase in the magnification of oppressions, black men's experience of multiple forms of subordination manifests negatively on to black women. My thesis, lending intersectionality as a methodological

approach, discredits such simplifications and continues to illustrate the complexities of black male gender performances and their inequalities.

As a direct response to my research question 4, the rooted yearning for uniformity, I traced back to colonial practices in Chapter Two, however, the data from my fieldwork did not demonstrate a desire for an alternative hegemonic masculinity in which I presumed. Instead, the data claims, during this fight to the top, stereotyped gender performances play an important role in constructing accepted black Caribbean masculinities both in expectation and discriminations. These expectations placed on to black men from a young age (Sewell 1997) as explored in Chapter Two, are encompassed on notions of hyper-sexuality (*see* Black Sexual Politics) and hypervulnerabilities (*see* page 91) which together constructed a devalued identity of body but no mind.

In continuing to answer research question 4, my thesis demonstrated how postcolonial experiences within the Caribbean have constructed a [black] masculinity that is violent and discriminatory against the other. My discussion on this topic also informs research question 3, as it has identified a hierarchy of man within the black community which has been erased by colonialism, an inferior construction of the native being (Thame 2011:77). Untold, such structures have embedded consequential behaviours, sexual and aggressive, onto black men as an accepted gender performance which demonstrates their desired manliness. In the introduction of my thesis, I presented current injustices which are shaping black masculinity not only outwardly, but also inward. Concerns of violence, criminality, educational backwardness, and self-devaluation are a reality of performed scripts, incited by Mosher and Tomkins (1988), which I introduce on page 65, which continue to damage the legacies of black male

genders at the hands of white male superiority. It represents a scavenge for inferior citizens to achieve manhood but also humanness. The notion of attempting to embrace one's identity whilst confirming to the societal expectations of another I discuss in Chapter Two, which has been labelled by Cooper (2006) as bipolar masculinity - a split bipolar black gender performance. This dual gender performance demonstrates the complexities of black masculinities presented as noteworthy research. However, the interest in this topic rarely gains the attention of dominant masculinity discourse.

The empirical chapters of my thesis also address research questions 2 and 3 on the impact and experiences of constructions of masculinities, in where I demonstrated how black masculinity is constructed inwardly, amongst black Caribbean people themselves. This identified a thematic analysis of the importance of family and household cultural norms (p.166) and invited an interrogation into the sexualities and cultural influences of this community (p.189). I also identified racialised stereotypes which upheld constructions of colonial legacies on blackness, fear and fetish. Developing a similar position to Levant's (1992) 'Reconstruction of Masculinity', social constructions of black masculinity have collapsed before they have been systematically deconstructed (p.384). To bring this discussion forward and attempt a reconstruction of black masculinities, I advocated for a focus on the complex strands of black masculinity which should be used to positively reconstruct a level of self-governance and development for freedoms of identities.

In correlation to the exposure surrounding black masculinity conformity, my thesis exposed contradictory voicelessness imposed via black male sexism. Experiences, which when argued by Johnson (2016) are said to be under-theorised by gender studies scholars. This omission has created what Johnson (2016) deems a

misinterpretation and ignored form of misandrist sexism toward black men (*see* p.136), which informs both questions 3 and 4 for my research. Additionally, there remains a limited research focus on homosexual communities or links to black male violence and incarceration which rarely equate to providing an accurate depiction on the impact of race and the gender performances of hegemonic masculinity.

Specific to my research on black Caribbean masculinities, further oppressions are ignored due to the geographical location of the identified blackness. Informed by my literature review (see Chapter One), geography is an important factor of gender constructions. Despite this, Valentine (2007) acknowledges the minimal attention intersectionality has given masculinities over time and space. Gender images support racial domination, but racial domination can hardly be attributed to gender inequality. Black men's inferiorities are often promoted through constructions of hypersexuality (Collins, 2005) and comparatively via representations of black women through sexualised images such as Jezebel or welfare queen (Collins 2005). In line with Feber (2007), this representation and treatment can be equating to a new form of racism, a topic which I explore in Chapter Six (*see* page 190). In continuing to address my research question 1., black Caribbean feminists (Baksh-Soodeen 1998; Eriche 2018; Mirza 2009; Reddock 2007) also express a feeling of voicelessness as women and intra-category discrimination based on their race and class. Comparatively, black women have been identified as oppressed more than black men due to their triple-compounded identity – Black, Women, and Working Class, whereas black men only suffer a dual context (Johnson 2016). However, my thesis demonstrated comparisons build from racialised genders, are not the focus of my research nor are they beneficial to the development of race relations and progression. Along with black women, not only is black male marginalisation and oppression a geographical matter, but it is also

a historical, structural, and indicative factor as to why gender – black masculinities specifically – require examination via an inclusive intersectional lens.

Contrastingly, Johnson (2016) argues the method of data collection, whether qualitative or quantitative, makes a difference to the degree in which the oppression of black men and women are measured. Not to incite a comparative disagreement of oppression, I note Butler (2013), who asks, "is it possible to specifically support men in a way that is not anti-feminist?". My thesis is a response to his question – yes! If you focus interventions on the progressive development and support of marginalised [*black*] men, not *all* men.

As a key theme whilst exploring the literature, hypermasculinity is explored to expose engagement in exaggerated sexual behaviours. To answer my research question 3 and 4, my thesis explains how these exaggerated performances are linked to competitive characteristics of constructed masculinities. I also explore the notion of such behaviours as being a defensive response or reactionary masculinity to racism and classism (see page 61-62). Conversely, the measurement of a person's masculinity, or any gender identity performance, I find somewhat offensive and humiliating to the persons and identities analysed. My unsettlement arose in the context of the person being analysed as a *subject*, a thing to be studied.

This experience of measurement and subjectivity, connected to research question 3, I evidence in my examination of the *ideology of machismo* (Mosher 1991:199). My discussion of this topic exposed a warranted validity of the *erotic* and *physical* aggressive (Mosher 1999:199) behaviours associated with hypermasculine gender identities - black men. These inventory measures used to study others, are problematic

and a hindrance to the development and acceptance of all genders as its categories, subordinates, and creates pockets of further *othering*. As noted in Chapter One of my thesis (*see* page 67), I demonstrated using Seaton's (2007) perspective, an understanding of how hypermasculinity can be explained not as an ethnic phenomenon, but as a 'hypervulnerability' - a cultural norm of urbanisations (p.367), would be an appropriate labelling of the experiences of black men. If viewed differently by dominant voices in this field, the discourse and negative narratives surrounding black men's masculinity could be represented instead as Yosso (2005) identifies, as a type of Social Capital. By way, the conditioning of discrimination based on *'other'*, the feminisation and inferiority of those unable to meet the hegemonic criteria of the time and space, as well as the subjectification of dominance over women through rape and absent fatherhood has created a modern-day black masculinity based on colonial foundations and stereotypes rich in experience. Therefore, in answering question 2 of the research, my thesis demonstrates, by including race in masculinity debates, black men can tend to the wounds ignored by social constructions and provide an informed account on the impact of marginalisation's, initiating an attempt to reconstruct a new representation of black masculinities.

Key Claims and Contributions to Research

In this thesis, I make four key claims to my research findings on: the reproduction of white privilege through dominant literatures, intersectionality as a methodological approach, the importance of family and household in the construction of black Caribbean masculinities, as well as the misrepresentation of sexual behaviours deemed as negative, which together present my positioning in this debate. Conducting an in-depth exploration of the literature surrounding masculinity exposed a dominance by social constructivists' school of thought. My examination of colonial

legacies, space, and time uncovered white gender privilege and flaws in dominant literature. Consequentially, I illustrated how using an alternative, more suited theoretical perspective such as postcolonial theory provided a more accurate representation of black masculine histories. In so doing, I demonstrated the significance of adapting an intersectional methodological approach to analyse black masculinities. By addressing the challenges using this approach I also offered an alternative analysis of gender performances rarely used in research on black men. My adoption of intersectionality provides an opportunity to move forward the debate on black masculinities in dominant westernised scholarship by not only identifying black men in part as a marginalised group. But also, acknowledging such marginalisation as discriminative if not oppressive (*see* Ferguson 2000; Glave 2005; h*ooks* 1989; Ward 2005).

The empirical findings of this research rest upon two key themes: gender norms and sexuality. These themes speak directly to answering both question 3 and 4 of my research. Both place emphasis on the disparities between what is noted as scholarship on masculinities against shared experiences of black men in Jamaica. My findings present the importance of family and the household in understanding cultural gender norms which the conceptual practices of provider and protector emulated from colonial history are upheld as a systemic principle for manhood within Jamaica. Using education as an example, I argue how current constructions of masculinity in Jamaica are in fact a potential hindrance to the development of gender equality in this region.

My research has identified, in unison with compulsory education, religious teachings remain central to the understanding and practice of cultural values and societal gender norms. Concepts of provider and protector equate to perceived manliness, with

education often suffering as a consequence of systematic disadvantages, inaccessibility to resources, and occasionally a disinterest for levels of conformity. Religion in Jamaica must also be acknowledged for the influence and construction of attitudes, and at times discrimination of "the other", in this culture - including but not limited to views on homosexuality. Such perceptions lead to a cultural practice of sexual (mis)conduct that validates a particular type of heterosexuality, usefully noted in addressing my research question 3. Controversially, sexual behaviours of many black men are perceived as hypermasculine, aggressive yet desired. This dual stereotype of feared yet fetished, politicises the sexual identity of many black men which equates a perceived sexual hegemony for black male gender performances.

My other core argument surrounds the controversial understandings of sexuality, sexualised exploitation, and black sexual politics as a cultural hindrance upon black men questioned (4) in the role of legacies of colonialism. I exposed notions of hyper-sexualisation as a historically rooted gender construction evidenced within the literature but disproven in my empirical analysis. I also provide an evidence-based depiction of black Caribbean masculinity in both my empirical chapters which addresses research question 3, that is not hypersexualised to please the narrative of the dominant culture but encompassed in cultural norms. I unmask the powerful influence of the Church's presence and evidence how some teachings construct expected gender performances, pushing forward a dominant masculinity in Jamaica. The colonial legacies rooted in religious teachings are a vessel for homophobic values exhibited within black masculinity. I therefore argue, in line with informing my research question 4, colonial legacies place a fear of forced sexual behaviour and alternative sexualities that drives a homophobic attitude, witnessed during my fieldwork.

This thesis contributes towards theoretical advancement using postcolonial theory and intersectionality methodologies on the examination of race in masculinity studies. Postcolonial theoretical perspectives contribute substantially to the study of masculinity as it exposes differences, specific in time and space, of masculine productions and performances of gender. Taken from an intersectional lens, the study of masculinities requires the simultaneous consideration of not only gender, but other interrelated oppressions, to "illustrate the oppressions of race or culture" (Ouzgane and Coleman 1998:4). Therefore, this thesis calls attention to the connectedness of gender and race, which I argue dominant perceptions omit from masculinity discourse or include inadequately. This research offers comprehension on the modified forms of black masculinity, produced in the hybrid societies of postcolonial spaces. In so doing, my research contributes a foundational exploration on how black men define themselves beyond conventional notions of masculinity. The perspectives presented by studying marginalised and subordinated masculinities support a critique of hegemonic masculinities in which my thesis illustrates why race, specifically black Jamaican and Caribbean men, is worthy of scholarly debate whilst moving the discussion forward within the field of masculinity studies.

Future Research on 'The Politics of Blackness'

As a continuation of my thesis and the significance of race in masculinity debates, I invite expansionary research into the Politics of Black Masculinity via a political economic lens. During my thesis, I have alluded toward the phallocentric ideology that surrounds itself with the black male body, specifically his penis. Recognising blackness as consumable and marketable (Clennon 2013) offers research potential and links to

an examination of the ideals of a feared black male gender and the exploitation of his revered body as capital.

The grave breadth and depth of negative experiences owned by black men has shaped a million-dollar industry (Martinez et al. 2010, in Butler 2013). The lucrativeness of black masculinity comes in the form of bias ideologically required for current structures of power as well as economic viability in relation to interventions. Similarly, black male gender performances historically have played victim to marketisation in the form of exceptionalism through slavery, manual labour, incarceration, drug addictions, low educational attainment, and poverty.

In developing this area of research, I intend to examine the influence and impact wider bodies such as the media and educational institutions have on black masculinity performances, exposing the daily exploitative reality of black men. Black sports stars exemplify contemporary masculine potency, but they too are the bodies and associated gender performances excluded from hegemonic privilege (Connell 1995:80). This notion of *false consciousness* surfaces as black men yearns for acceptance, believing their marketability and universal consumer desire is a green light toward hegemonic accomplishment; mass consumerism built on a black promise of an unattainable utopia (Clennon 2013). The fetishisation of black men and desired bodies, exposed initially in my thesis by Fanon (1967), I argue to be a patriarchal derailment of positive black masculine progression and gender development.

This thesis has evidenced how and why black men struggle to achieve a 'life lived' as stated by Chevannes (2001). Colonial histories and patriarchal terrorism have coupled the black male gendered existence primitive, erasing opportunities, full of future

insecurities. The obsession with black males' gender performances is based on an ideal of a subject to be studied; a historical fascination of his being, but more importantly, a mission to suppress his threat. The construction of black masculinity has been centuries in the making. It is embedded in all psyches that black men remain categorised as a *black man*.

This thesis offers support towards an emancipatory goal. It would be foolish to expect meaningful change overnight. However, the mere acknowledgment of such structural differences and influences offers a new beginning but are still a challenge towards change. I explore black masculinity as a cultural response to hypervulnerability and a symptom of victimisation, due to the conventionally accepted cultural norms of hegemonic masculinity. It is vital that such premises are acknowledged and embedded in our comprehension and debates on masculinities.

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Appendix 1:

Jamaican Fieldwork Data Collection

Mixed Adult Group: Community Setting - 10th April 2016

Activity 1: A man is…?

1. A man can be a motivation
2. A man is a sperm donor
3. A man is a person that God decides him to be, head of the house to follow him to guide his family after God.
4. A man is a masculine gender dat provides and protects for his family

Activity 2: The Man Box (Attributes and Characteristics of a Man)

What a man is	Themes
-	Physical Physique (*Internal*)
Provider Protector (eg; Ln 66-69) Head of household	Family / Domestic Responsibilities
--	Personality / Attributes
-	Work Ethic / Economical
Guide his family after God	Religious Influence
Masculine / Masculinity	Gender Binaries
Must have balls (testacies)	Physical Physique (*External*)

Activity 3: 'Other' (outside of the man box / what a man is not)

- A woman
- Shape nor act like female
- Feminine

Additional Comments / Observations

Brought up to see man portrayed in your family and friends around you – *Ln 56*(constructed)

Culture – *Ln 59*

What should be, should not be in this present society that is not the case – *Ln 82* (Sodom and Gomorrah: Book of Genesis) Transgender people – Ln 95 – 118 – binding of breast and genitalia. Taking on stereotypical female characteristics, behaviours, dress sense

Appendix 2:

Jamaican Fieldwork Data Collection

Young People: Church Setting - 9th April 2016.

Activity 2: The Man Box (Attributes and Characteristics of a Man)

What a man is	Themes
Strong (x8) Healthy	Physical Physique (*Internal*)
Protector Shield Head of household (x2) Leader	Family / Domestic Responsibilities
Respectful Loving Sexy Responsible Careful (x2)	Personality / Attributes
Hardworking (x2) Working Professionalism Building Skills (x2) Talented Ambitious (x2)	Work Ethic / Economical
A man of God	Religious Influence
Masculine behaviours	Gender Binaries
Deep Voice Muscular (x2) Handsome Facial Hair	Physical Physique (*External*)

Activity 3: 'Other' (outside of the man box / what a man is not)

- (Not) Feminine
- Not Weak
- Careless
- A Lady
- Animal
- Someone who has a vagina / breasts
- Abusive male (not a real man)
- Not a real man if a trick
- Someone who isn't attracted to men