‘Ubhuti wami’: A qualitative secondary analysis of brothering among isiXhosa men.

A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the

requirements for the degree of

Masters in Counselling Psychology

RHODES UNIVERSITY

by

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August 2013

Abstract

This project is interested in investigating the construction of the fraternal sibling relationship within the South African context from a narrative perspective. In particular, this study is interested in the ways in which middle aged isiXhosa men narrate experiences of brothering and how social class, as one particular context, mediates these narratives. This project is particularly interested in brothering within the isiXhosa culture and is concerned with both middle class and working class men within this cultural context. The project takes as its particular focus the meaning of brothering, and specifically how masculinity, intimacy and money or class influence the brothering practices constructed by the men in the sample. The project employs a social constructionist perspective, using a thematic narrative analysis to analyse the data. This project uses secondary analysis of data, as the data was collected for the primary use by Jackson (2009), Peirce (2009), Saville Young (Saville Young & Jackson, 2011) and Stonier (2010). The analysis reflects emergent themes of the importance of fraternal sacrifice, care-taking and sibling responsibility, honouring the family, and challenge to traditional masculinity. These themes emerged within the prior themes of masculinity, intimacy and class within brothering. The men spoke of keeping the family prosperous and united as an important duty in their brothering role. Affection was expressed more practically and symbolically, and closeness constructed through shared experiences, proximity and similarities. My findings reflect that family expectations, culture and social context had key influences on brothering, based on the men's narratives. Findings are discussed in relation to literature on brothering, masculinity and intimacy, and the influence of money in close relationships.

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Acknowledgements

I would like to express a deep rooted thanks to my supervisor, Dr Lisa Saville Young, for her tireless dedication and meticulous assistance throughout this project. I would also like to thank the participants for consenting to make their transcripts available for this study. A final thanks goes to Judith Mbewe, Patricia Maqetuka, Katlego Molaudzi, Phindile Mabasa, Mmaphuti Morolong and my Masters coursework colleagues for their encouragement and support throughout this project.

Chapter 1: Introduction

This project is interested in investigating the construction of the fraternal sibling relationship within the South African context from a narrative perspective. In particular, this study is interested in the ways in which middle aged isiXhosa men narrate experiences of brothering and how social class, as one particular context, mediates these narratives. This project is particularly interested in brothering within the isiXhosa culture and is concerned with both middle class and working class men within this cultural context. Culture in this project will refer to Visser's (2007) definition of the concept as:

> "Although a difficult concept to define, culture refers to the ways in which different societies understand their collective systems of meaning and meaning-making, as well as their collective ways of valuing and understanding the world in which they inhabit" (p. 67).

It includes "a collection of customs and traditions, written laws and life ways of all humanity.... It is dynamic, which means it is always changing" (Visser, 2007, p. 68). In addition to isiXhosa culture, there are other factors which influence the construction of brotherhood that are more distinctive of the South African context, for example 'race'[1]and the country's political past. While these will not be specifically addressed in this project, it is important to highlight that they are influential factors in the construction of experiences in this project's sample group.

[1] 'Race' being a socially constructed concept which is constructed differently in multiple realities. In this project 'race' refers to the colour of one's skin alongside the political, economic and social implications that come with the judgement of this classification (Duncan, Gqola, Hofmeyr, Shefer, Malunga & Mashige, 2002). For example, the oppressive implications that came with being classified and grouped as black in the apartheid regime.

In discussing the literature concerning the sibling relationship, social constructionism will be explored as the paradigm that informs this research project. The following topics will be reviewed: a) the sibling relationship across the life span focusing specifically on the adult sibling relationship, the sibling relationship within the South African context and the adult fraternal siblingship; b) intimacy amongst siblings; c) masculinity; and finally d) the influence of money and class on intimate relationships.

Chapter 2: Literature review

Social constructionism and siblings

A social constructionist perspective and specifically a narrative theoretical framework, informs the entire project so before exploring past literature on siblings it is necessary to provide an explanation of this perspective. Social constructionism can be viewed as either a paradigm or theoretical approach. A paradigm, Visser (2007, p. 38) states, is "a system by which one understands the world"; it is a shared frame or model which people use to see and interact with the world. These frames or models contain various underlying principles and assumptions that inform different methodological approaches, such as discourse analysis and narrative analysis (Burr, 1995; Visser, 2007).

In this project, social constructionism is taken as a paradigm that makes key assumptions that inform the narrative approach that I adopt. I will mention and explain the key assumptions and then I will locate them within a narrative approach later in the methodology section. According to Burr (1995), the first assumption social constructionism makes is a critical stance towards taken-for-granted knowledge. That is, everyday taken-for-granted knowledge generated over time is important as opposed to objective observations. In other words, knowledge is located in the everyday tasks of reality that are overlooked and disregarded by the positivists and empiricists. Secondly, a social constructionist paradigm locates knowledge in historical and cultural specifiers. The cultural practices and knowledge of a specific time period influence and are reflected in the reality constructed of that time. That is, the social context of a given time period influences and is reflected in a construction such as family. Family will mean different things in different cultures and different cultural practices will surround families and sibling relationships.

Thirdly, social constructionists argue that knowledge is kept alive by social processes. Visser (2007, p 42- 43) states that "our realities are created through language and that we construct

reality through social interaction". That is, reality is maintained in the re-telling of specific narratives and in the language used and discourses engaged in to re-tell these narratives (Burr, 1995). Lastly, knowledge and social action come alongside one another (Burr, 1995). In other words, the interpreted experiences do not just become shared common knowledge but also open up new and various reactions to these different interpretations of experiences. A specific social constructionist theory that informs this project is the Social Learning Theory founded by Albert Bandura (Kahn, 2009; Whiteman, McHale & Soli, 2011). Social learning theory emphasises that behaviours, such as brothering and 'doing' masculinity, are acquired through observation, reinforcements and modelling which are located in the social environment (Kahn, 2009; Whiteman et al, 2011). In other words, sibling relationships and their interactions are shaped by their social exchanges. The information they receive concerning how to be in a relationship with their sibling, how to be a man and how to show intimacy in their differing sibling relationships is not only located in their social environment but also informs how they construct their brothering, masculinity and intimacy (Kahn, 2009; Whiteman et al., 2011).

When applying the above-mentioned principles and assumptions of social constructionism to the sibling relationship it gives one the freedom to view the relationship as fluid and continually changing. From a social constructionist perspective, the meaning of such a relationship is negotiated and constructed between the people in the relationship (Edwards, et al., 2006). 'Constructed' referring to the process of how people come to give meaning to a specific reality, in that it is influenced by a number of interconnecting factors that the person interprets and communicates. Kahn (2009, p. 89) explains the term 'constructed' using a metaphor of the colour of one's outfit, "in order for the colour to exist a number of factors are at work and then interpreted for one to experience". If any of these factors change, the experience of the colour then changes also (Kahn, 2009). Therefore the experience of being a sibling is influenced by various factors such as social history; culture; social practices and scripts, family structures and division, which affect roles and positioning; and everyday taken-for-granted conversations and social interactions between the siblings (Edwards, et al., 2006). For example, siblings from different cultures with their respective historical social context will construct differing experiences of their siblingship (Edwards, et al., 2006).

Edwards et al. (2005) and Edwards et al. (2006) even focus specifically on the difference in experiences between classes. This will be discussed later in the literature review.

Sibling relationships across the lifespan

At this point I will explore the sibling relationship across the lifespan before focusing specifically on the adult fraternal siblingship. Several researchers such as Cicirelli (1995) and Sanders (2004) were influenced by the work of Goetting (1986), in tracking and providing an account of the developmental tasks engaged in across the life span of the sibling relationship, from childhood through to old age. According to this research the childhood and adolescent sibling relationships are the most intense phases, characterised by the negotiation of intimate contact, rivalry, care-taking and modelling.

In the early to middle adulthood phase, which is of particular interest to the current project, the relationship and contact patterns are described as being influenced by closeness (whether emotional or geographic), marital status, parental status, family structures (either size and/or order) and economic roles (Cicirelli, 1995; Goetting, 1986; Sanders, 2004). Goetting (1986), in reviewing literature on sibling relationships, found that financial aid was the rarest form of aid in the adult sibling relationship. In early to middle adulthood, the intensity of the sibling relationship experienced in the adolescent phase declines resulting in a passive, less involved concern of how the other sibling(s) is fairing (Goetting, 1986). Companionship and emotional support that were of a more involved nature in the previous stage are now replaced with a less involved concern as the siblings are more concerned with establishing their own families and building their individual lives (Cicirelli, 1995; Sanders, 2004).

However, the relationship may be rekindled in old age or when it comes to caring for the elderly parent(s) and the dismantling of the parental home (Cicirelli, 1995; Sanders 2004). Exchange of aid and direct services in the form of care-giving and emotional support may be very common in the later phase of the relationship (Sanders 2004).

These writings on the sibling relationship (Cicirelli, 1995; Sanders, 2004) offer an overview of the developmental tasks involved in sibling relationships that predominantly occur in western societies. There are several studies and writings that do, however, account for the influence of non-western cultures or communities describing different developmental sibling tasks (Cicirelli, 1994; Cicirelli, 1995; Nuckolls, 1993). For example, Sanders (2004) in writing on the sibling relationship also included a discussion of the cross-cultural perspective in sibling relationships. In the discussion he reviewed literature that highlighted the differences between different cultures. He found that in non-industrialised societies and non-western cultures contact, in the adult sibling relationship, was obligatory and more frequent; sibling caretaking more common; and sibling relationships were more important, as they aided in achieving marital and economic goals. This project is interested not only in how the adult sibling relationship may be reflected within a particular cultural context but more specifically in the meaning of these relationships among adult, black, isiXhosa speaking South African men. Before turning to the South African literature on masculinities and families, a more specific focus on the adult sibling relationship and particularly the adult fraternal relationship is necessary.

Adult sibling relationship

In this section attention will be given to the various perceptions that adult siblings have about their relationship(s) with their sibling(s), which includes satisfaction of the relationship and support given and received within the siblingship; the different motivations for ensuring that contact is kept; and the possible influence gender and culture may have on siblingship by comparing western and non-western societies.

Martin, Anderson and Rocca (2005) were particularly interested in the relationship between verbally aggressive communication, credibility, satisfaction and trust within the sibling relationship of participants aged 30 years and older. They were interested in these aspects as they perceived them to be indicators of satisfaction with the relationship and chosen contact in a life cycle period in which contact is voluntary (Martin et al., 2005). Their research indicated that credibility, trust and satisfactory communication in the relationship were negatively related to verbal aggression. In other words, participants felt more comfortable and satisfied in their sibling relationship if the relationship was absent of verbal aggression. This further supports the emphasis that Sanders (2004) made that warmth and more positive feelings about the relationship were significant in reducing conflict and hostility. Does this imply that siblings that have better communication styles would perceive their relationship as more intimate? This may be a possibility, however, in their study these researchers did not account for frequency of positive communication in the relationship (Martin et al., 2005). Moreover, they did not know if respondents were thinking of their current communication or childhood communication when reporting on this measure (Martin et al., 2005).

Myers (2011) aimed to investigate and identify the 'specific' reasons to the question: "why do adult siblings choose to maintain their relationships with each other?" A net total of 245 reasons were gathered in the study and seven categories emerged from a typological analysis of the reasons identified. These categories included 'we are family', 'we provide each other with support', 'we share similar or common interests and experiences', 'we are friends', 'I love my sibling', 'we are relationally close' and 'we live close to each other'. The results reflected that from the seven categories, siblings, in essence, choose to maintain their relationships for either one of two reasons, namely for circumstantial reasons (obligatory reasons) which is identifiable in categories such as 'we are family', 'we live close to each other' or the reason is purely volitional (voluntary reasons) or choice. The obligatory reasons may stem from various factors such as culture, family systems or even parenting styles. While those who volitionally chose to maintain their relationships may have done so because

they regard their relationship with their sibling in a more esteemed light, similar to that of a peer relationship and therefore choose to maintain it.

Lee, Mancini and Maxwell (1990) explored the influence of 3 predicators, namely emotional closeness, sibling responsibility expectations and geographical proximity, on the types of contact maintained in the adult sibling relationship (i.e. general contact, obligatory contact and discretionary contact). They found that emotional closeness was positively related to all the types of contact and explained that siblings who felt more positively about the other are more likely to want to spend more time with them (i.e. keep in contact with them). They also found that feelings of obligation were more influential in the possibility of sought out contact. A significant association was found between sibling responsibility and obligatory contact. Furthermore, it was also found that not having children implied greater feelings of obligatory contact. This result may be related to one in a study by White and Riedmann (1992) in which having children negatively correlated with perceived support owing to the amount of available resources. In other words, a sibling may feel that they are likely to receive less support and assistance from their sibling if their sibling has children as their sibling may allocate available resources to the care of their children above their sibling/s.

Cicirelli (1994), however, went on further to investigate the differences in the maintenance patterns in the adult sibling relationship between industrialised (i.e. modern urban societies with advanced technologies) and non-industrialised societies (i.e. rural areas and villages that are technological deprived or backwards). He found that in industrialised societies, sibling structure includes only biological siblings while in non-industrialised societies extensions in terms of the blood kin and sometimes even non-blood kin are regarded as part of the sibling structure, for example, cousin-brothers, adoptive sibling and so forth. This is interesting to note as the current project will be exploring data that was collected within the semi-urban Eastern Cape province of South Africa, a society in slow transition between the two polarities (Bank & Minkley, 2005).

Cicirelli (1994) also found that in both societies the responsibility of sibling caretaking and socialisation falls upon the older sibling but in the industrialised societies this delegation of responsibility is carried out primarily by the parents. In the non-industrialised societies, the adult sibling relationship is of fundamental importance, in that family functioning and the family's adaptation towards the larger society are determined within this relationship. That is to say, important family values, information and practices are passed down in sibling relationships and the family's social and financial mobility is also negotiated within this relationship. Co-operation in this relationship is also vital for the exchange of material and economic goods. In contrast, in industrialised societies precedence is given to the spousal and parent-child relationships over the sibling relationship. Therefore, this relationship has no monumental effect on family functioning and the family's adaptation towards the larger society as the parent(s) is/ are responsible for caretaking and the socialisation of the siblings.

Gender and adult sibling relationships

A number of research studies and writings indicate that sister dyads enjoy a far closer and better sibling connection than male dyads or sibling relationships (Edwards, et al., 2006; Sanders, 2004; Van Volkom, 2006). Sisters are described as the "kinkeeper" (Matthews, Delaney & Adamek, 1989, p 59) of the relationship as they reportedly provide more care and assistance overall in families than men (Eriksen & Gerstel, 2002; Weaver, Coleman & Ganong, 2003). Sisters are also said to provide more emotional care, which is support in the form of talk, advice and comfort to their siblings, along with other forms of care and assistance, such as favours, loans and other active caring roles (Weaver et al., 2003). Weaver et al. (2003), however, propose that this difference may be influenced by or attributed to the product of gender socialisation, as the differing roles and information given to individuals concerning the performance of their specific gender (Kahn, 2009; Weaver et al., 2003). Other influencing factors may be family structure and culture, these will be discussed below.

Spitze and Trent's (2006) quantitative study investigated the differences assumed to be contributing to factors of contact, closeness and assistance in relation to the gender composition of the sibling dyad. Their results reflected that sisters have stronger bonds

between them and supported the results of prior research (Van Volkom, 2006; Weaver et al., 2003). This may again be attributed to gender socialisation as proposed above by Weaver et al. (2003). They, however, found no significant consistent differences in visiting habits as related to gender composition (Spitze & Trent, 2006). Although, they did find validating findings for differences in the type or form of support received or given in relation to gender, in that sisters provided more support in the areas of child care and emotional aid (Van Volkom, 2006) while brothers tended to provide more practical aid, such as repairs (Spitze & Trent, 2006). In other words, they found some differences in the forms of aid given in relation to gender. This may be explained by the cultural gender socialisation scripts that inform practices engaged in by the respective genders. However, with other types of aid that were more ambiguous and less gendered, such as providing financial aid it was noted that the siblings with greater family incomes provided more assistance than those with lower family incomes (Eriksen & Gerstel, 2002; White & Riedmann, 1992).

White and Riedmann (1992) conducted a study to investigate the predictors of perceived and actual social support among adult siblings. Similar to Eriksen and Gerstel (2002), they too found a significant correlation between gender and social support; siblings with a sister not only perceived more support from their sibling but also received more actual support and affection from a sister. More specifically, they found that the presence of a living parent also increased contact between siblings but it reduced the perception of support. They found that having adult children also reduced the perception of support. A positive correlation was also found between the level of education and family income with actual support, which means that siblings with a higher level of education and family income are able to provide more actual support. Furthermore, an interesting finding was that greater actual contact was found among minority group. This finding is interesting for the current project as it suggests that social class and/ or culture may be influential in the contact kept between siblings.

Summary

Going back to the paradigm that informs this current project, the literature above reinforces the assumption and underlying principle that social constructionism makes, that knowledge can be located in the everyday-taken for granted practices such as communication, and in how siblings go about maintaining the relationships with their siblings. The above literature also emphasises ways in which culture and social norms or practices, in differing societies, inform the negotiation and construction of sibling relationships.

More specifically, the perception of support or the actual support given or received influences how the relationship is storied or constructed. Gender, education levels, social and economic class, affective communication, whether verbal or non verbal and satisfaction in the relationship also impact on and influence the construction of 'siblingship'. The studies highlight that there are different ways, for different cultures and/ or societies, to maintain and foster contact or support between siblings. What is more interesting is that these studies indicate that culture and economic class play a role in how sibling relationships are constructed. This is particularly intriguing and insightful for the current project as the influence of cultural and economic background on the construction of 'siblingship' will be explored. With South Africa bearing more diverse cultures and still being relatively new to democracy, it is important to explore how siblingship is constructed within this specific context.

Adult Sibling relationships within the South African context

In this section I pay attention to the influence of the South African context on the construction of the sibling relationship. Then I proceed to delve into the adult brother-brother (fraternal) relationship.

Niehaus' (1994) paper, which studied household formation in a South African rural town in Qwaqwa, suggests that more co-operative relations between adult siblings are coming to the fore in the place of often disharmonious relations between spouses. In other words, at the time of Niehaus' study, living with a sibling was more common than living in the nuclear family system, particularly in the rural areas. Some reasons for these living arrangements are that migrant work was a popular form of employment; single mothers needed aid with their children; and housing shortages rendered the need for extended family household composition. This leads to the suggestion that the extended family system is preferred in this particular town. The work done by Siqwana-Ndulo (1998), in a rural area in the Eastern Cape Province, suggests that the family household composition is more along the lines of an extended family. She goes on to state that there is evidence that suggests that these extended families are not likely to change into nuclear families even with upward social mobility (Siqwana-Ndulo 1998). She also gives an account from census data suggesting that even urban black families are still living within the extended family (Siqwana-Ndulo 1998).

From the above studies, one notes that while extended family (Siqwana-Ndulo, 1998) and adult sibling relationships (Niehaus, 1994) are central in particular South African households, little research has been conducted on the meaning of sibling relationships in South Africa. Going some way to fill this gap, this study explores the meaning of brother-brother relationships in adulthood. The literature on this specific topic will now be briefly reviewed.

Adult fraternal sibling relationship

This phase in the fraternal sibling bond is of particular interest to the current project as the sample of the project will comprise of men in middle adulthood with at least one brother. The above studies have provided insight into the adult sibling relationship between various combinations of sibling relationships (i.e. sister-sister, sister-brother, brother-brother); however, they did not exclusively focus on the brother-brother sibling bond. Therefore, owing to the research on sister-sister relationships and little research on the fraternal sibling bond, this study's sample group comprises of men within the South African context. In this section the brother-brother sibling relationship will be focused on and further interest will be given to how affection is expressed in the all male siblingship.

Matthews et al. (1989) focused more directly on the fraternal sibling relationship focusing on how or if men maintain their fraternal bond. Though the study by Matthews et al. (1989) is quite dated, it remains relevant as one of the few studies on fraternal adult siblingship. Four subcategories of levels of affiliation emerged from the analysis of the questionnaires used to collect data from the sample (Matthews et al., 1989). Level of affiliation was tapped into from responses of questions concerning closeness to their brother, agreement with their brother and if they felt understood by their brother (Matthews et al., 1989). The responses were then grouped into the following four subcategories of affiliation; disparate (not sure and had differing views of their tie), disaffiliated (somewhat close), luke warm (neither extremely close nor not close at all) and closely affiliated. The largest percentage fell in the disaffiliated group with luke warm, with closely affiliated and disparate following respectively. These constructs were analysed in relation to measures such as age, physical proximity and contact. Results reflected that age and frequency in contact were unrelated. However, geographical proximity was related to frequency in contact and Lee et al. (1990) gathered similar findings. Similar results were also obtained for educational level and occupational status. That is to say, a positive correlation was found between level of education and income, and the level of affiliation; this too was reflected in White and Riedmann's (1992) study. From the measure correlation on level of consistency, Matthews et al. (1989) were lead to infer that crises and problems may be influential on the level of affiliation between brothers. Although they noted that there may still exist an underlying stability despite the inevitability of change (Matthews et al., 1989). More explicitly they inferred that in spite of the crises and problems that work to bring distance between the brother dyad, there is still a sense of stability in the relationship that maintains a level of consistency in the siblingship. From this study it is suggested that brothers generally provide each other and other siblings with less support than a sister would. However, support does not bear a reflection on their meaning of the relationship or how they express their emotions with each other.

Intimacy and closeness within fraternity

Affection and expression of affection in male relationships is considered a taboo in certain societies throughout the world and thus creates difficulty in conducting research in non-romantic male relationships (Floyd, 1997). Gender socialisation and expectations may be influential as men are socialised to limit emotional expression and exercise emotional restraint (Lynch, Brouard & Visser, 2010). Therefore it may add to the wider community's understanding of the negotiating and constructing of masculinity, to see how men negotiate issues of affection and love within their 'siblingship'.

Floyd (1997) was interested in the potentially positive aspects that the fraternal sibling dyads had to offer, as former research had emphasised the more negative aspects, for example the study by Matthews et al. (1989). He was of the opinion that scholarly explorations of the positive aspects of the fraternal sibling bond may aid clinicians and social scientists to gain an understanding of the influences that gender role expectations may have within the familial context (Floyd, 1997). He examined the correlation of age with the nature of closeness, liking and love among 59 dyads of adult fraternal sibling relationships (Floyd, 1997). Particular focus was on what would predict these three variables (closeness, liking and love) by exploring them in relation to five dimensions of relational development. In exploring these dimensions he was interested to see the correlation between two relational qualities; expressive qualities which concerned the quality and quantity of self- disclosure, i.e. talking and sharing of emotions and self; and instrumental qualities which concern more active and physical expressions such as being physically dependable and committed (Floyd, 1997). In his study Floyd (1997, p 201) followed a conceptualisation of closeness as "an equal function of the frequency of interaction, the strength of mutual influence and the diversity of shared activities". For liking and love he followed Rubin's (1969, 1970, cited by Floyd, 1997) conceptualisation which defines liking as "an attitude of interpersonal attraction toward another that involved admiration for the other, a sense of similarity toward the other, and the opinion that most people ought to like the other" and love as "an attitude one holds toward another that involves a desire to affiliate with the other, a predisposition to assist the other

when needed, and a heightened sense of importance or exclusivity about the relationship" (Floyd, 1997, p. 198).

He predicted that in terms of closeness, dependability would be in greater relation than self-disclosure. In other words, instrumental relational qualities and not expressive relational qualities would be better predictors of closeness amongst brothers. From previous research he predicted that liking would be dependent on predictability and instrumental relational qualities, while love would be better predicted by expressive emotional qualities. His results supported these predictions. In terms of the four research questions, his results reflected the following. The first research question asked which of the five dimensions would predict closeness, liking and love. He found that closeness was predicted by interdependence, which qualified as an instrumental relational quality. Liking, on the other hand, was predicted by commitment and predictability, while love was predicted by depth of self-disclosure and mutual commitment. Love was in fact predicted by an expressive relational quality and thus disconfirmed the previous research that informed his study as it delineated expressive relational qualities strictly to women.

The second question sought to find the variance of predictors on the constructs across the lifespan. Findings suggested an insignificant difference for all the constructs. The third question sought to examine how brothers' perceptions of these constructs are correlated to age. The results reflected similar findings to previous research that indicate that older siblings are less close as compared to younger siblings, while liking and love remained the same across all the age groups.

The last question was concerned with the differences that presented between the fraternal sibling relationship and other non-sibling male relationships. The descriptive results suggest that the fraternal siblingship is among the most fundamentally important same-sex relationship in the lives of men. In essence this study suggests that although the male and female sibling dyads materialize differently, the fraternal sibling bond is not totally devoid of

expressive relational quality, even if gender socialisation or roles and social proscriptions may dictate otherwise.

Martin, Anderson and Mottet (1997) were interested in the relationship between self-disclosure and perceptions of understanding amongst siblings as well as the variations that may be present in this relation according to gender. In terms of self-disclosure they looked at five dimensions: intentionality, amount, depth, honesty and positiveness (Martin et al., 1997). They found a positive correlation across all five dimensions of self-disclosure with perceived understanding among all siblings (Martin et al., 1997). They then further looked into the possible differences that may occur due to gender, across the four pairings of siblings (sister-sister, sister-brother, brother-sister, and brother-brother). Here they found a positive correlation across the dimensions of self-disclosure and perceived understanding among the four group categories. They also found that brothers in a fraternal dyad reported an insignificant relation between intentional self-disclosure and perceived understanding (Martin et al., 1997). However, honesty of self-disclosure had a greater impact on the relationship, further suggesting that expressive relational qualities can be located in the fraternal sibling bond (Martin et al., 1997).

Morman and Floyd (1998) examined the expectations surrounding the appropriateness of affection in fraternal bonds. They hypothesised that affectionate communication would more likely be condoned in situations where a sibling bond rather than a male union was the form of interaction, in a more emotionally charged situation than in a neutral situation and in public contexts as opposed to private contexts (Morman & Floyd, 1998). Moreover, they further hypothesised that affection was more likely in situations where the difference between emotionally charged and emotionally neutral contexts could be attributed to the situation in which the expression of affection occurred (Morman & Floyd, 1998). In other words, an expression of affection in either emotionally charged or emotionally neutral conditions were considered to be less appropriate in private situations (Morman & Floyd, 1998). Their findings supported all of the four hypotheses.

It is encouraging to note, from this study, that the fraternal relationship may have some allowance to display the expression of emotion. However, it is also interesting to note the 'strict' conditions under which such affection is allowed, even amongst brothers (Morman & Floyd, 1998). Even though certain cultures may prescribe and restrain affectionate communication between men, it is possible that the male siblingship might allow for a different expression of affection that is within the confines of society but is no less powerful than the expressions of affection between sisters. From these studies it would be interesting to explore whether intimacy and closeness in adult brothering is constructed in similar ways within specific South African contexts. Exploring the possible interaction between culture and gender in relation to the expressions of affection in the fraternal dyad would add to the understanding of cultural proscriptions, if any, on South African men.

Masculinity

Before exploring masculinity within the South African context, I would like to return to the paradigm that informs this project and unpack the social constructionist approach to masculinity. Kahn's (2009) book on masculinity is a very useful resource in understanding masculinity, as it provides definitions, origins and locations across various theoretical approaches to masculinity and even explores the crisis in masculinity across various theoretical frameworks. Kahn (2009) explains masculinity as a person's interpretation of their experience of the world and themselves and that it is through these experiences that a person builds (constructs) a reality of themselves. Furthermore, he explores gender as a discourse, which refers to the ways language is utilised by people to negotiate their understanding of their own and others' gender in differing contexts, and in understanding the origin of masculinity as a social construction. Ultimately he explains that masculinity is constructed from the language used in social interactions to convey information about it and also in its relation to the other. In other words, masculinity is constructed using language as it is constructed in relation to femininity and informed by social practices established as relative to feminine social roles and norms. The language used in constructing masculinities functions to reinforce the interpretations found in various social contexts, providing a reality of masculinity. For example, a man as a husband will be constructed from masculine social

scripts that inform and reinforce his experience in relation to the scripts of his wife, where the wife is constructed as an emotional source of support; he could be constructed as the source of logical and practical support and even financial support (Pattman, 2007; Spector-Mersel, 2006).

Therefore as a social construct masculinity is viewed as fluid and constantly open to change (Kahn, 2009; Morrell, 1998; Spector-Mersel, 2006). Therefore, masculinity may be constructed differently across cultures, time periods (historically) and circumstances (Morrell, 1998). In other words, the changes that occur over time in the construction of masculinity are influenced by socio-cultural factors and these constructions influence society itself (Morrell, 1998). Furthermore, social constructionists propose that gender is a socially active and constructed activity and therefore refer to it as 'doing gender' (Kahn, 2009). It thus enlightens one to understand why, from a social constructionism perspective, gender would be discussed in plural form, as there are many existing realities and, specific to this project, masculinities (Kahn, 2009).

Due to research that suggests that gender impacts on the quality of the sibling relationship (Morman & Floyd, 1998; Spitze & Trent) and the research on siblings that points to the impact of gender socialisation (Spitze & Trent, 2006; Van Volkom, 2006; Weaver et al., 2003), it is essential that masculinity be considered in a study on brothering. Furthermore, how masculinity is constructed now among particular black South African men within their brother-brother relationship, in a transforming country warrants exploration. This shall be one of the factors to be explored in the current project, which is exploring the construction of masculinity within fraternal relationships amongst isiXhosa black men in South Africa.

Hegemonic masculinity

Hegemony, as explained by Donaldson (1993, p. 645) entails "the winning and holding of power and formation of social groups in that process". Specifically, the 'ruling' class will

establish and maintain domination over the minority classes (Morrell, 1998). Connell (2005, p. 77) defines hegemonic masculinity as: "The configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees the dominant position of men and subordination of women". For example, Stibbe (2004) in his analysis of Men's Health magazine found that the discourse of the magazine reinforces the construction of men as "bodybuilders" (p. 37), "meat eaters" (p. 39), "beer drinkers" (p. 41) and "sexual champions" (p. 46), just to name a few. Stibbe (2004, p. 33) also states that hegemonic masculinity is "reproduced through discourses that make it seem natural, inevitable, and morally right that men behave in particular ways".

Kahn (2009) gives an elaborated account of external and internal hegemony, which is when men comply with social norms and in doing so subordinate woman and marginalise non-complying men, respectively. Therefore other men will comply with the dominant practice to receive the benefits this form of masculinity comes with, even if they do not themselves agree with the practices (Kahn, 2009). Resistance to the 'ruling' masculinity is either pathologised, oppressed or stigmatised (Kahn, Holmes & Brett, 2011). Kahn (2009) further provides a description of the four components of hegemonic masculinity. Which include dominant masculinity, which is the "idealised and socially expected ways of being male" (Kahn, 2009, p. 32) and this form of masculinity is reproduced in various mediums of communication and interaction such as electronic media, and gives a construction of masculinity as competitive, aggressive, concerned with wealth and heterosexuality (Kahn, 2009). Complicit masculinity is masculinity that supports dominant masculinity but does not share all the perceptions of masculinity that dominant masculinity does (Kahn, 2009). However, supporting the dominant masculinity means that men in this category may get to enjoy the benefits of the dominant masculinity without conforming entirely to it. Marginalised masculinity refers to social groups that do not identify with the social identity of the dominant group (Kahn, 2009). This identifying factor could be on the basis of religious or cultural and ethnic identification. For example, in the apartheid regime and rule, 'races' that differed to the white dominant 'race' were marginalised. Lastly, subordinate masculinity refers to "experiences that are not only marginalised but also subjugated, meaning that these aspects of masculinity are viewed as denigrated forms of masculinity and not viewed as being legitimately what men do" (Kahn,

2009, p 36). Gay and transgendered males are an example of men that would be considered to form part of this category.

From the above, the current study wishes to explore how men construct their masculinities within the brother-brother relationships they narrate. With culture being an influential factor in brothering and masculinity it would be interesting to explore whether the group of men specific to this study are able to express differing forms of masculinity within their brotherhood. Does brothering reinforce or counter dominant masculinities?

African/ South African masculinity

The construction of masculinity in South Africa is influenced by cultural parameters (e.g. we host, to date, 12 official indigenous cultures in our country), the country's political context (e.g. the transition from the apartheid regime to democratic rule) and history, individual and collective economic classing (e.g. working, middle and upper classes and social mobility), respectively. During the apartheid regime, black men were described as lazy, incompetent and corrupt by the then ruling white class (Unterhalter, 2000). These descriptions were in contrast to the signifiers of a ruling masculinity, which were to be a financial provider, in a heterosexual marital relationship with children (Unterhalter, 2000) and this construction was viewed by non-white minority groups, particularly blacks, as anxiety provoking and pressurising (Lynch, Brouard & Visser, 2010; Morrell, 1998). However, the minority groups still strived towards it to express and prove their manhood (Lynch et al., 2010).

Unterhalter (2000) explored the autobiographical writings of anti-apartheid activists in order to locate constructions of masculinity in South Africa. In theorising masculinity, she was made aware of the difference history, race and culture may have on the construction of masculinity, particularly that the construction of hegemonic masculinity in South Africa was influenced by the "politics of racialisation" (Unterhalter, 2000, p. 162). However, despite the influence of these factors, two signifiers emerged as common in all constructions of

masculinity, which were autonomy and comradeship (Unterhalter, 2000). A theme of heroic masculinity emerged from the writings and was described as "giving oneself to the struggle" (Unterhalter, 2000, p.165). This construction of masculinity differs to the violent masculinity that too emerged from the era, in three ways. Firstly, where violent masculinity placed emphasis on the body as materialising the symbolic marks of the struggle, heroic masculinity was interested more in history, in terms of being part of the history that strived towards a better future for all (Unterhalter, 2000). Secondly, while camaraderie was of higher importance to heroic masculinity, violent masculinity was more concerned with a physical exhibition of one's masculinity. Lastly, where violent masculinity viewed physical violence against women as a signifier of masculinity, heroic masculinity viewed the 'sacrificial' neglect of women and children in the name of the struggle as a signifier for masculinity.

This provides an account of two differing yet similar constructions of masculinity emerging from the same time period. What impact may the African renaissance period or democracy have had on constructions of masculinity within sibling relationships? More specifically to the current study whose participants are middle aged men, how do they negotiate their masculinities within brotherhood in the context of radical political changes in South Africa over the past twenty years?

Money as a power relation within fraternity

The final complexity to be considered for this literature review is the relations of power tied to money and what sort of power dynamics class and money sets up between brothers, if any. Class which refers to the socio-economic status that one can be classified in according to their income, educational and occupational levels (Liu, Soleck, Hopps, Dunston & Pickett, 20004). What has been gathered thus far about non-industrialised societies is the preference and use of the extended family as a means to distribute resources throughout the family and to attempt social mobility (Connidis, 2007; Niehaus, 1994; Siqwana-Ndulo 1998). Also gathered was a positive association between greater income and educational or occupational levels and contact between siblings (Eriksen & Gerstel, 2002; White & Riedmann, 1992). In

the following studies the influence of class and its power relations within the siblingship will be explored.

A study by Heflin and Pattillo (2006, p. 804), investigated "the racial differences in the probability of having a sibling on the other side of the socio-economic (class) divide". They found that African-American siblings were not as likely as whites to have a sibling on the other side of the class divide that would be beneficial (Heflin & Pattillo, 2006). However, of more interest to the current study were the potential consequences that differences in class may have on the familial ties. They suggested the following: that having a sibling of a different class may mean that they are perceived as a possible source of financial aid or strain, as poorer siblings may exert more strain on the family or the more financially able sibling; that a sibling that crosses the poorer siblings class can be viewed as a source of various forms of capital, e.g. financial, social in providing contacts to encourage social mobility of the sibling or family; that kin from a differing class can represent a psychological strain or boost for the other sibling(s), owing to feelings of obligation and guilt (Heflin & Pattillo, 2006). This western study is relevant as it provides insight into the exploration of class and the power dynamics money may set up in the sibling bond, of particular interest would be in the fraternal sibling bond within the South African context.

Milevsky, Smoot, Leh and Ruppe (2005) investigated the familial and contextual variables in the emerging adulthood sibling relationship, of particular interest to the current project are the contextual variables connected to class and money. Their findings indicated that participants reported less communication in a sibling relationship where one of the siblings had financial problems (Milevsky et al., 2005). This may be particularly prominent with siblings that have children or living parents to take care of, as resources may not be sufficient (White & Riedmann, 1992). Furthermore, when compared to those who were unemployed, those who worked outside of the home had lower scores on sibling closeness and warmth (Milevsky et al., 2005). These results are contradictory to those by White and Riedmann (1992), which reflected that those with money or employment or even a better occupational status were more supportive of their sibling(s) (Milevsky et al., 2005). The sample group in this study were in the emerging stage of adulthood while those in previous research were in the middle

adulthood life stage, which may explain the different findings. It is important to bear in mind that the study by Milevsky et al. (2005) is a western study that reflects the more common voluntary or discretionary aid between siblings which is in contrast to the more obligatory motivational patterns of reciprocity towards siblings and family reflected in non-western contexts (Bozalek, 1999). Therefore, there may be a different interaction in terms of money and class between siblings in the South African context.

This difference can be seen to be further highlighted by the work of Connidis (2007), also a western study, which investigated how socio-economic inequality may affect the adult sibling relationships of two families. She held race constant as both families were white but were from differing ethnic backgrounds (immigrants and official citizens). The sample for each family consisted of a mother and four children and in both families the mothers were divorced but experienced differing material consequences from the divorce. The sibling composition in each family also varied in gender composition, class or socio-economic status, educational attainment, occupational status and financial resources. The results from her study reflected that the immigrant siblings, whose mother experienced harsher consequences from the divorce, the Elkin siblings, reported closer ties between siblings and were more involved. Although this is a western study its results are relevant to this study in that the siblings that were from a working-class background were found to report closer siblingship overall than the middle-class siblings. This was explained by the cohesion and solidarity formed in childhood, as "all the children had to help out" (Connidis, 2007, p. 495) when their mother went into the labour force. Connidis (2007) found that this difference influenced by class supported previous research.

Hunter (2010) discusses the power relations of money in heterosexual relationships between black isi-Zulu speaking men and women living in urban townships around Durban, Kwa-Zulu Natal. He focuses on transactional sex or what he terms the materiality of everyday sex, which is not a commodification of sex, but a coming together of money and sex which benefits all involved. The residents in the Mandeni and Durban townships he focused on spoke about this in terms of a gift relations exchange, where women's financial needs were covered by men in the form of gifts from their boyfriends. Hunter's research illuminates the

role finances may play in structuring intimate relationships in South Africa. Along similar lines, Saville Young and Jackson (2011) examined the fraternal bond of a particular middle aged, working class isiXhosa man in a case study and argued that the current context of unemployment and poverty in South Africa may be reinforcing hegemonic masculine practices within brotherhood through particular financial arrangements. In particular, they suggested that providing financial support to brothers leads to patriarchal, hierarchical, authoritative brothering practices which work to restrict the level of informality and equality in fraternities. Picking up from this research, this project hopes to further explore the meaning of money in men's relationships with their brothers, while also looking out for class differences between working class and middle class samples of isiXhosa men.

Summary

Owing to the little research that has gone into the fraternal relationship and even less in the South African context, the current project seeks to explore the construction of brotherhood amongst middle aged isiXhosa men with specific interest in the emergence of intimacy and closeness, and the construction masculinity within this relationship. As the sample will consist of men belonging to two class groups, a further interest is on the influence of money and within this relationship. Brothering as a social construct is viewed as fluid and open to change. It is constructed, negotiated and reinforced differently across different cultures, time periods and under differing social circumstances. Brothering is active and located in discourse and therefore can be reflected in very many different ways. It is influenced by and in turn influences gender, culture and class.

Chapter 2: Methodology

This project follows a qualitative method of study with a particular focus on secondary analysis of data (discussed below), while employing a thematic narrative analytic method. Merriam (2009, p.5) proposes that a qualitative project is "interested in uncovering the meaning of a phenomenon for those involved", which is the exploration of the subjective meaning of a situation or particular event/ thing according to all the individuals concerned. Therefore, in this project, the focus is on gathering an understanding of, and interpreting the subjective meaning of brotherhood, for particular isiXhosa men, and analysing how they construct masculinity and intimacy within these 'brothering' narratives (Merriam, 2009). The studies that are available on brothering focus more on the lifecycle of brotherhood and on western constructions of brothering (Cicirelli, 1995; Sanders, 2004). This project not only focuses on African brothering but is interested in exploring masculinity, intimacy, and the power relations of money in the context of brotherhood.

This methodology section of this research project focuses on the 'how' of the research. I elaborate on the narrative method which I will employ to analyse the dataset and I will describe how the data was collected. This section outlines the research aims, the theory of the research method, sampling procedures, data collection, data analysis and interpretation, and the validity, reliability and ethical issues.

Research aims

The aim of this research project is to use existing data to explore the narratives of middle aged isiXhosa men's experiences of 'brothering'. The broad research questions are: What is the meaning of brothering for these men? How is masculinity constructed within these brothering narratives? How does intimacy and closeness emerge through their stories? In addition, the project also aims to compare and contrast the men's narratives of being a brother across the working and middle class samples of isiXhosa men. In particular, the research is interested in examining whether economic context and the power relations of money impact on how particular isiXhosa men practice their 'brothering'. That is, how does money impact

on the brothering practices constructed by these men? How do these constructions of brothering compare and contrast between the two class groups (middle and working class isiXhosa men)?

Narrative Theory

Narratives are written, spoken or visual stories that are constructed or "worked upon" (Toolan, 2001, p. 4) to give an account of an experience such as brothering. The story is told with an intended sequence, emphasis and pace to convey across some meaning to the listener (Toolan, 2001). Therefore, language is a key aspect in the narration of the account as it contains the meaning intended of the account within it (Kvale, 1989; Mishler, 1986; Riessman, 2008; Toolan, 2001). Narratives are also prefabricated, in that they contain chucks or bits of a familiar theme or plotline that one has heard or seen before (Toolan, 2001). Narratives or stories also have a trajectory as they are designed or constructed to "go somewhere" (Toolan, 2001, p. 4). Furthermore, narratives have a spatial and temporal displacement element, in that they are ordered either temporally or spatially (Toolan, 2001). To sum up the above, a narrative or story is a written, spoken or visual account of an experience or event that is told in a discourse (language practice) in such a way that meaning is gathered not only from the content but also from the sequence (the way in which the story is told) the events are ordered in and from the roles given to the characters or actors in the narration (Toolan, 2001). It is important to note that while narratives are a construction of the teller, they represent the reality of the teller which is their narrative truth (Bruner, 2004; Riessman, 2008). Bruner (2004) views narrative truth as an account of an experience or life that is not exactly a right or factual account but still remains subjectively truthful. Historical truth, on the other hand, is viewed as a factual account of the past.

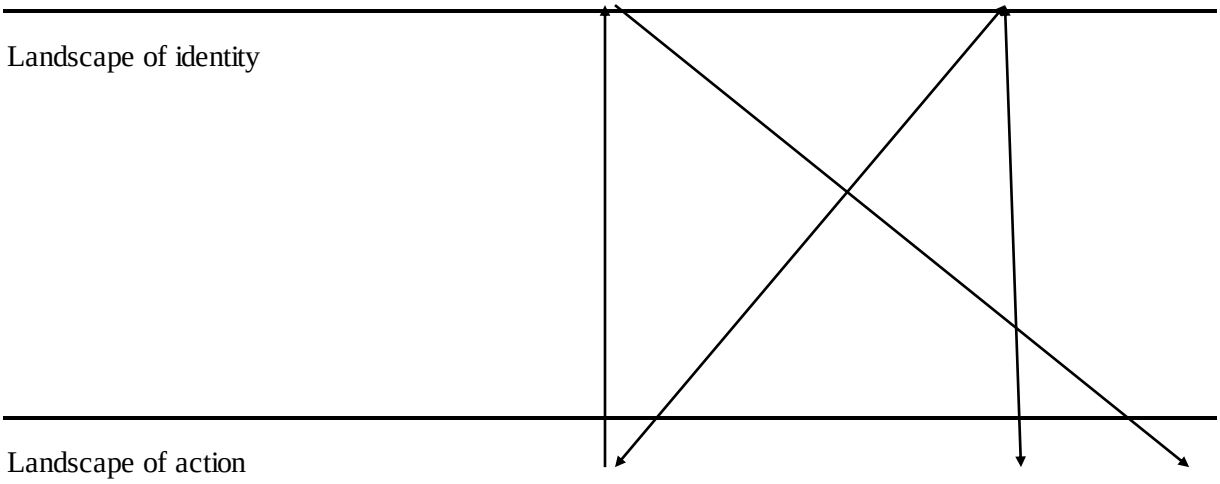
In a narrative approach, the plot of the narrative, which includes the content and sequence of the stories, is given priority. Furthermore, the historical and social context is seen to influence the construction of a thing or experience such as brotherhood (Polkinghorne, 1988; Riessman, 2008). For example, a narrative about a man fighting for a wage increase at the mines he

works at and of a woman considering minimum wage work opportunities in the city because her husband is facing retrenchment at the mines, tells of the historical and social influences of the Marikana mines strike saga (Riessman, 2008). In Cortazzi's (1993) explanation of literacy models of narratives, he explains that temporality (historical feature), causation (social context) and human interest (societal expectations) are key in a narrative. These factors make up the plot. In other words, the way the story was told, which is referred to as the sequence (Riessman, 2000, 2008, 2009) and events or the content of the story become the focus in analysis, while taking the historical and social context into account as shaping factors in the story construction. Language is viewed as a resource as it constitutes the negotiation of meaning between the interviewer and respondent (teller and listener) (Kvale, 1989; Mishler, 1986). The discourse of the speaker and the sequence it is narrated in is of importance as it unlocks the meaning of the narrative (Kvale, 1989; Mishler, 1986). The story, which comprises the theme (fibula) and genre (forma), that the narrator tells is connected and held together by the language (sjuzet) (Bruner, 2004). However, the interest is not in language structures but in how they are utilised to inform the meaning of an experience, such as brothering for a particular group of men.

White's (2007) writings provide an illustrative account of a spoken narrative. He proposes that a spoken narrative (story) is an account where the teller reconstructs for the listener an experience or life instance by moving between what White (2007) refers to as the landscapes of action and identity. The landscape of action holds the following information within it: the events, circumstances, sequence, time and plot (White, 2007). Whereas the landscape of identity holds the possibility of discovering the following: the intentional understanding (meaning), understanding of values, internal understanding and realizations, learning and knowledge (White, 2007). A narrative is told by describing and reconstructing the plot, events, time and circumstances of the story in a specific sequence, that altogether leads to the discovery of the meaning, values and intentions of the account (See figure 1) (White, 2007). For example, a story about bravery can take the following construction, two children are called into the principal's office for fighting in class, upon asking what the fight was about the principal discovers from one of the boys' account that he was protecting another smaller child who is being bullied by the other child in the office. This boys' account tracks how the bullying started and how it continued in the classroom as well and how at the present moment

it was becoming difficult to ignore. Applying this to White's model, one can see how the story unfolds from the plot and events described in a particular sequence to bring across the meaning and values represented in the story.

Figure 1 Mapping through landscape of action and landscape of identity



(White, 2007)

At this point I shall elaborate the underlying principles of social constructionism within narrative theory to apply them to brothering. As discussed above, narratives are the written or spoken stories that are used to convey our experiences and their meaning to ourselves and others (Riessman, 2008). This is located in two of the key assumptions of social constructionism: that knowledge is sustained through social processes such as dialogue or writing and that social constructionism is interested in the taken-for-granted knowledge of everyday experience (Burr, 1995). For example, brothers create their relationships through the dialogue and messages they get from their social world about being a brother as well as how they communicate their brothering to each other (Edwards et al., 2006). In this project the narratives are in the form of written transcriptions of the told stories of particular isiXhosa men (Polkinghorne, 1988; Riessman, 2008). As a result these stories or narratives, according to Polkinghorne (1988, p. 14), "set to create or construct identities, culture or relationships rather than just represent them". This links back to the social constructionist assumption that knowledge and social action fall alongside one another (Burr, 1995). These men's descriptions of their brothering set up the type of brother they are or how they would possibly like to be. In other words, these narratives told of experience do not merely represent the

experience of these men but also shape or contribute to their construction of themselves as brothers and their construction of their fraternal relationships. The narratives provide motivation to 'being' as a person or in a relationship or even in the construction of culture. Therefore, a narrative methodology seeks to investigate these men's storied experiences of brotherhood. Predominantly, in the way they order the events and actions in their lives, in a way that they can be made sense of (Riessman, 1993). The men's use of language and the influence of their particular social and cultural contexts, as they shape their narratives, are also taken into consideration by the researcher (Riessman, 1993). Throughout the literature review, I have argued that brothering practices and experiences are socially constituted and located within their specific historical and socio-cultural contexts (Polkinghorne, 1988; Riessman, 1993). Certainly, from a narrative perspective, Gergen (1994) proposes that the context of a term's usage gives that term its meaning. Therefore, when analysing the narratives around brothering of these isiXhosa men, from a narrative perspective, it is important to consider the context(s) in which the narratives are embedded (Hibberd, 2005). These may either be historical (even political), economic or socio-cultural, or a combination of them all (Hibberd, 2005). This forms part of an underlying assumption of social constructionism, that knowledge is culture specific and historically located (Burr, 1995). This project has a particular interest in the influence economic factors may have on the experience of brothering.

Secondary analysis

This project employs the means of secondary data analysis, which involves using previously existing data or datasets from other research projects on the same topic of study, to either answer a new question or to expand on the same question from a different perspective (Heaton, 2008). The dataset for this project comprises of the transcriptions of interviews with 22 isiXhosa men. The dataset for this study pools together the data from four previous studies, one post Doctoral study by Lisa Saville Young (Saville Young & Jackson, 2011) and three Honours studies (i.e. Jackson, 2009; Peirce, 2009; Stonier, 2010) supervised by Lisa Saville Young who is also supervising this study. There are 11 interview transcripts from Saville Young's post Doctoral research and these interviews are specifically from the

working class group. In the middle class group there are also 11 transcriptions that are sourced from three previous studies: specifically, 4 interview transcripts from Jackson (2009), 4 transcripts from Peirce (2009) and 3 transcripts from Stonier (2010) are used. These previous studies were all interested in the experience of brothering for particular men, with a focus on masculinity and intimacy.

This project takes the form of a synthesis in combining datasets to expand on the questions asked in the primary studies. In other words, I will be using the existing data to expand on the experience of brothering for isiXhosa men with an additional emphasis on the economic context. Economic context referring to how the power relations attached to money may influence the construction of the fraternal relationship. In exploring the economic context I will be comparing and contrasting narratives from two different class groups.

An advantage of using secondary analysis is that the data collection process has been by-passed, providing the researcher with more time to focus on the data analysis process (Kiecolt & Nathan, 1985). Further advantages of using secondary analysis are that there is less expenditure on resources such as time (for example time to prepare and collect data) and money (for example funding) (Kiecolt & Nathan, 1985). Using secondary analysis also allows for discovering new information from a different perspective (Dale, Arber & Procter, 1988; Kiecolt & Nathan, 1985) which is what this project is aiming to achieve. Using secondary analysis also provides the researcher with a large sample size to pool information and even a sub-cohort from (Dale, Arber & Procter, 1988).

There are, however, disadvantages in using secondary analysis, which include what Heaton (2008, p. 40) refers to as the "problem of not having 'been there' ", therefore creating a dependence on the primary researcher to provide rich enough descriptions in data as the researcher would have missed out on the social interactions which influence data to some extent (Dale, Arber & Procter, 1988; Hakim, 1982). Furthermore, the data collected by the primary researcher may limit the creativity of the secondary researcher, in that the possibility of discovering new information from the data is compromised owing to limited information.

Sampling and participants

As mentioned above, 22 participants are included in the project and were recruited and sampled by previous researchers. All the participants were located in Grahamstown and the immediate surrounding areas and were all isiXhosa middle aged men (35-65 years in age). The participants were sampled using purposive and snowball sampling methods (Babbie, 1998). According to Babbie (1998), purposive sampling requires that participants meet specific criteria in order to participate in the data. For the purposes of the primary studies, the specific criteria were that the participants were isiXhosa speaking, middle aged, from either middle or working class backgrounds and with at least one biological brother. These particular criteria for the sample was required as the researchers were interested in gathering data within the black South African context (isiXhosa speaking) and from a group of males that had not been studied as much as the over represented student population in research. Furthermore, middle age is a period in time that shows a reflection of significant change that has occurred in the life of a person, such as leaving the family home, having started their own families and so forth. The working class group is a group that also falls into the under-represented group in research studies. In addition, it was required of the participants that they were able to converse in their second language, namely English as it was not possible in the time scale to conduct interviews in isiXhosa and then have them translated into English.

"Working class" was operationalised to include labourers with a secondary school level of education but the attainment of a Matric qualification was not a restriction. These working class participants were employed and earning between R 3000 –R4000 per month. "Middle class", on the other hand, was operationalised to include those with some form of tertiary level education and those who were currently in a professional job which required a specific qualification or highly skilled ability (Jackson, 2009; Peirce, 2009; Stonier, 2010). In the datasets the stratification of class entailed the use of objective indices, which are indices of education, income and occupation. Liu et al. (2004) are against this form of stratification pointing out that this form of stratification does not take into consideration people's saving patterns, credit or loan patterns or consumption patterns. Certainly, given the recent legacy of apartheid in South Africa, all participants come from working class backgrounds; however,

the criteria used to sample the men did lead to the recruitment of men from noticeably different classes. For example, Isaac is a 47 year old man who grew up in a working class family, his mother was a housewife and his father worked for a gardening company. He left high school at standard 8, owing to financial reasons, and thereafter was employed in a succession of low wage jobs. Isaac is currently employed as a gardener. Paki, on the other hand, is a 41 year old man who grew up in a working class family. He completed his high school education and also completed his Senior Primary Education Diploma and is a professional within the municipality. Although these men grew up in similar economic context (working class) they are currently positioned in differing economic contexts (working class and middle class, respectively). Pseudonyms are used throughout the project to protect the anonymity of participants (See Table 1 and Appendix B). The participants' ages ranged from 29 to 53 years in age with the average age range falling between 41 to 45 years of age. The average age of participants was approximately 45 years in age. The average number of full brothers that the men indicated, in their information section, was approximately 2 full brothers.

In addition to purposive sampling, the snowball sampling method was used in the primary studies in order to recruit suitable participants. Snowballing sampling entails that the initial participants provide the researcher with other possible participants that can be recruited for the study (Babbie, 1998).

The sampling strategy in this project, which uses existing data, includes using only the first interviews conducted by all the primary researchers, as the post-Doctoral study by Saville Young involved conducting a second round of interviews. These second, follow-up, interviews are not included in this project's sample as the interviews did not yield information that contradicted or expanded on the first set of interviews. Furthermore, analysing data from first interviews only is considered a more consistent approach.

Table 1:Table of participants' demographics

Name	Working class	Middle Class	Age	Number of brothers
Thobela	*		36	2 full brothers and 1 half or stepbrother
Buyile	*		38	1 full brother and 1 half or stepbrother
Zolile	*		46	2 full brothers and 1 half or stepbrother
Khubone	*		29	3 full brothers
Thami	*		43	4 full brothers
Siya	*		38	4 full brothers
Joseph	*		45	6 full brothers
Asanda	*		49	1 full brother and 5 half or stepbrothers
Isaac	*		47	2 half or stepbrothers
Mandisi	*		45	2 full brothers
Sakhe	*		41	2 full brothers
Xolani		*	31	2 half brothers
John		*	32	2 full brothers
Sibusiso		*	33	1 full brother
Mandla		*	41	2 full brothers
Thandiwe		*	34	1 full brother and 1 half/step brother
Paki		*	41	3 full brothers
Sizwe		*	37	7 full brothers and 1 half/step brother
Unathi		*	42	4 full brothers
Mdena		*	46	2 full brothers
Simphiwe		*	48	1 full brother
Zwelethu		*	53	3 full brothers

Data collection

The data used for this study was collected through the use of semi-structured interviews with the participants and these were professionally transcribed. Semi-structured interviewing was employed in the primary studies owing to its flexibility in allowing the participants to construct their meanings with the guidance of the researcher, allowing for a rich and thick description of brotherhood for these men (Merriam, 2009). Semi-structured interviews allow for flexibility in that the interviewer follows the participants' interests, allowing them to construct their narrative at ease (Smith, 2003). That is not to say that participants have complete reign as the researcher makes use of an interview schedule to guide but not dictate the interview and is also free to probe the participant when interesting areas emerge (Smith, 2003). A semi-structured interview gives the benefit of building rapport and/ or empathy to create an informal setting while still employing features of a formal interview such as the fixed roles of the researcher and participants and the availability of the interview schedule (Smith, 2003; Willig, 2008). From a narrative perspective, the narrative that emerges from a semi-structured interview is conceptualised as jointly constructed by interviewer and respondent (Mishler, 1986). Thus, meaning is understood to be reconstructed in the speech activity of the interview, as a shared understanding between the parties is strived for (Mishler, 1986). Furthermore, the sequencing of the respondents' narrative is also open to a reciprocal change (Mishler, 1986). That is to say, if there is any change in the sequence of the questioning, it is probable that there will be a change in the respondents sequencing in responding to the question (Mishler, 1986). Thus, the narrative is not viewed as belonging solely to the participant.

The data for this project consists of 22 transcripts from semi-structured interviews conducted by four interviewers each with their own interviewing styles (see Appendix A: interview schedule). Each of the interview schedules were developed with the intention of interrogating the meaning of the fraternal relationship for particular isiXhosa men, with a particular focus on the construction of intimacy and masculinity. The interview schedule was used as an instrument to probe into the constructions of brotherhood and the ways in which hegemonic masculinity is maintained, reinforced or subjugated through fraternal bonds. The interview

schedule allowed the participants to construct a narrative, each with their own plots, themes and sequencing, of their brothering within the South African context.

Data analysis and interpretation

I employ thematic narrative analysis to analyse the dataset. Thematic narrative analysis is a form of interpreting the narrative content of interviews into categories of prior and emergent themes (Riessman, 2008). In other words, in this project the narrative content of brotherhood will be categorized into prior themes of masculinity, intimacy and economic context. In addition to these prior themes, the analysis will explore any emerging themes that may surface.

For this project, the stories that are analysed are of men's accounts of their brothering experience. In handling this analysis I read each interview in isolation, one at a time, carefully noting the main points, events and themes in each paragraph (Riessman, 2008). The sequence, which is the way or patterning in which brotherhood is constructed and talked about, the way in which the account unfolds, is also of importance and was heeded to as well (Riessman, 2000, 2008). For example, will brotherhood be constructed within a heroic plot where rescue came in the form of financial aid, physical protection or emotional aid? Or was the plot of a tragic loss where failure was highlighted in the form of financial breakdown or distance? Recurring themes within the same interview were noted (Riessman, 2008). After having done this for all the interviews, I then looked for any common patterns or recurring themes and sequences across all the interviews and placed them into thematic categories which were used in argument of prior theory (Riessman, 2008). When the interviews of the two groups, that is middle and working class men, were compared and contrasted, attention was given to: a) prior narrative themes of money, masculinity and intimacy and b) the sequence of these narratives (Riessman, 2000, 2008).

Therefore, in order to identify the sequence, the narratives of the men concerning brotherhood were read and re-read individually (Riessman, 2000, 2008; Seidman, 1998).

Each narrative was taken to be a sketch or painting, the entire structure of the painting was held in place while zooming into specific areas that reflected the emerging themes of interest, then pulling out these specific aspects that highlight repeating patterns across the sketches to provide evidence for the claims made by theory concerning the paintings. Thereafter, excerpts of speech that were of interest in relation to masculinity and intimacy in brothering and more so to economic context in brothering were identified (Seidman, 1998). These excerpts were organised into prior thematic categories of masculinity, intimacy and economic context (Riessman, 2000, 2008; Seidman, 1998), while still preserving the sequence of the narrative (Riessman, 2000, 2008). The excerpts of text themselves are included in the analysis according to their thematic category to support or refute theoretical claims. Importantly, their biographical structure, which is the storied form, are maintained to maintain their sequence (Riessman, 2008). The language, punctuation and grammar of the excerpts themselves were cleaned-up to maintain the integrity of the participants, as the participants are conversing in a language other than their first language (See in findings chapter). Further, this was done to achieve flow in reading the excerpts as they were transcribed. Similarities and differences in the thematic category of economic context of brothering and in the sequence of narratives, both individually and between the two classes were given particular consideration in the analysis (Riessman, 1993, 2008). In interpreting the data, the main question to be asked, according to Seidman (1998, p. 110) is "What have I learned from analyzing the interviews?" In answering the question I focus on the following: what I have learned from these men a) about their masculinity within the context of brotherhood, b) about their expressions of intimacy in their brothering and c) how their economic context impacts on their construction of brothering.

Validity, reliability and ethical issues

Within the sphere of qualitative research the two concepts of validity and reliability prove to be rather complicated, as the researcher is dealing with subjective realities such as 'brothering' and not concrete objects. Lincoln and Guba (1985) establish the criteria for trustworthiness in qualitative research as credibility, transferability, dependability and conformability. Riessman (2008) views trustworthiness in terms of coherence, persuasion and

presentation. Furthermore, there are two levels that concern matters of validity: the trustworthiness of the story told by the participant and the trustworthiness of the interpretative work or analysis of the researcher (Riessman, 2008). Lincoln and Guba (1985, p 296) view credibility as, the qualitative substitute for internal validity, involving two tasks: a) to "carry out the inquiry in such a way that the probability that the findings will be found to be credible is enhanced" and b) "to demonstrate the credibility of the findings by having them approved by the constructors of the multiple realities being studied". They also suggest several procedures to meet the two tasks, as such activities that increase the probability that credible findings will be produced; these are prolonged engagement and referential adequacy (Lincoln & Guba, 1986). Prolonged engagement involves spending sufficient time with the data to achieve a specific purpose (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Lincoln and Guba (1985) propose that credibility can be increased with prolonged engagement with the transcripts. For Riessman (2008) credibility is a matter of coherence, coherence of the participants' narrative and of the researcher's analytic work. Coherence of the participants' narrative can be achieved and strengthened by forging links and making connections between personal narratives and social and/or political contexts (Riessman, 2008). Coherence for the researcher's analytic work, on the other hand, can be strengthened by linking pieces of data to make them meaningful and thematically coherent, where individuals' accounts converge and diverge thematically in some places (Riessman, 2008). An example could be the above mentioned example of the mine worker and a mine worker's wife and how their accounts can be considered coherent alongside the social context of the mine strike saga at the time. Whereas the researcher's coherence may discover some converging themes in several individuals' accounts it may also discover a splitting in other areas. Again in the example above, a researcher may find a converging theme of economic struggling in terms of employment but a split in terms of the social expectations of gender roles as care givers.

Dependability and consistency are viewed by Lincoln and Guba (1985, p298) as the quantitative equivalent of reliability, which is "demonstrated by replication, if two or more repetitions of essentially similar inquiry processes under essentially similar conditions yield essentially similar findings". However, in qualitative research dependability makes allowances for factors of "instability and factors of phenomenal or design induced change" (Lincoln & Guba, 1985, p. 299). It takes into consideration fatigue, the fallibility in the

construction of memory and the differences in interpretation of events (Lincoln & Guba, 1985). Riessman (2008) views persuasion as a way of ensuring that the data represented is genuine, plausible, reasonable and convincing. Owing to the fact that narratives are an interpretation and a reconstruction of an individual's account of an experience (their truth and reality) expecting to find similar findings when repeating the process of inquiry is rather impossible. Interpretations and memory are constantly changing due to the influence of context in memory. In other words, the change in context, be it the location or audience, creates a change in the narration of an experience (Mishler, 1986). However, there are ways of strengthening the persuasiveness of the researcher's analysis; such as inserting theoretical assumptions to act as evidence for the particular accounts, providing rich, lengthy descriptions of the particular account and documenting decisions and inferences made throughout the research project.

Transferability is the equivalent of generalisability or external validity in quantitative research according to Lincoln and Guba (1985). They deem this to be impossible in a strict sense in qualitative research as one would be dealing with the subjective and phenomenological realities of the respondent(s) (Lincoln & Guba, 1985; Riessman, 2008). Lincoln and Guba (1985) make it explicitly clear that it is not the responsibility of the primary researcher to provide an "index" (p. 298) of transferability but rather that they provide a rich and thick description of the time and context of data in order to make it feasible for the secondary researcher(s) to consider possibilities of transferability. Rich thick descriptions of the data are of priority for this project not only for possible future research but for the interpretation and analysis processes themselves. Riessman (2008, p. 195) views transferability as being aided by transparency, which involves a) "making explicit how methodological decisions are made", b) "describing how interpretations were produced, including alternative interpretations considered", and c) "making primary data available to other investigators".

Reflecting that the integrity of the participants was maintained is also essential in achieving trustworthiness and dependability of the study. In other words, it is necessary to reflect potential risk to, informed consent, and confidentiality and anonymity of the participants. To

further ensure the trustworthiness and dependability of the study, I applied for and received ethical approval from the Psychology Department's PRER Committee at Rhodes University. The risk level according to Rhodes University's requirements was rated as orange, reflecting that the project involved standard social and/or psychological studies of an individual or groups of human subjects not considered "vulnerable" or with potential to cause distress, embarrassment or offence. In other words, mild risk was considered for the participants as their identity remained anonymous as pseudonyms were given by the primary researchers and their identities were not divulged to me. The participants also consented to participate in the original studies and they gave permission for their interviews to be stored by the principal supervisor to allow for access for future research. Confidentiality and anonymity are maintained as the names and identifying details of the participants were not divulged to me. The transcript (See Appendix B) included as an addendum, shows how the participants identity was protected and replaced with a pseudonym. It also shows how carefully the identifying information was handled to keep the participants' identity anonymous. This process was applied to all the transcripts in the study. This exemplar transcript also provides an example of the analytic and interpretive process employed to gather information for the findings and discussion sections.

Chapter 4: Findings

In the following I will present my analysis and interpretation of the dataset. I will paint a portrait of brothering paying particular attention to issues of masculinity, intimacy and money as a power relation within brothering, based on the men's stories. The influence of the isiXhosa culture is a predominant factor throughout the men's constructions of brothering. Time and social context also played an influential role in the narrated construction of the men's reality. I present my analysis and interpretation in the following subsections: brothering and financial provision, discussing provision and sacrifice; affection and closeness, discussing conflict and what was indicated as aids to closeness; challenges to traditional brothering; and sequence and meaning.

Brothering and financial provision

Men occupy various masculine roles in their lifetime, i.e. son, husband, father and uncle, just to mention a few. Moreover, these individual roles have many dimensions and layers to them. For example, a brother may portray differing roles in being a brother in a brother-sister dyad as opposed to being a brother in a fraternal sibling dyad. Before discussing the construction of masculinity within brothering I will first provide a backdrop for the formation of the masculine role according to the cultural expectations that these men spoke of. According to the men's stories, in isiXhosa culture it is mandatory that men of ranging ages go for the initiation process when the time is right for them. This may be determined by age and sometimes the availability of funds. This process takes place in the bush or mountains away from the community in isolated areas (and is colloquially referred to as the 'bush' or 'mountain') and over the course of a few weeks. It is a type of circumcision school but also serves the purpose of grooming boys in the traditional ways of becoming and being a man. Only men who have experienced this process know precisely what happens there and are entirely forbidden to talk about this experience with women and men who have yet to go to through the process. Men are taught of the ways of being a man and of the qualities of

manhood. Qualities such as, as stated by the participants, being "a leader", "a provider", being "independent", "responsible" and "accountable (or dependable)", "strong" and "courageous", "respectable" and "dignified". Their title and certain elements of their persona change as well. They become 'Bhuti', a man who is respected and honoured. Bhuti is responsible; he does not stay out at all hours of the night leaving his wife and children at home. Isaac, a 49 year old working class man, for example, said: *"Even like. If I knock off here like half past four I can't arrive at home (at) seven o'clock or six o'clock. It's impossible, now I'm supposed (to), at least (at) half past five. I knock off here at half past four. I'll be there at home half past five, so that I know what happened during the day you know."* (Isaac: p. 30, line 983- 986). Bhuti is faithful to his wife and children, steering clear from extra-marital affairs, as Thami, a 43 year old working class man stated: *"A good man is a person who is looking after his family and who doesn't cheat, someone who doesn't cheat"* (Thami: p. 17, line 543- 544). His duties entail lifting up the family and the community at large. Bhuti is strong and courageous. He does not show emotion or cry, as John explained: *"Yah it is. It is the same you see. It's a, it's a sign of weakness to show feeling, you see, you cannot show (or) be too concerned, you might raise a few eyebrows if you are a man and you are too concerned, you see, unfortunately that is the position, you see, and now we find ourselves caught in that, in that you cannot be a girl, you are a man, you must not cry, you must not show feeling, you cannot care too much, you see, so those are things which are there now."* (John: p. 11, line 341- 346). Bhuti is respectable and dignified; he is always treated with respect and treats others with respect. As Paki, a 41 year old middle class man, explained that from the initiation school, males learn or "are told" how to behave and hold themselves with dignity, "they must dress and talk properly" (Paki: p. 12, line 375- 377). The men's narratives construct Bhuti by drawing on discourses of hegemonic masculinity, constructing a man as responsible, hardworking and strong. In addition, Bhuti is constructed as a man who provides for his family, his parent(s), brothers, sisters and even some extended family members. For example, Zolile, a 46 year old working class man, explained how his salary gets divided three ways after deductions. He explained the split as follows: *"Yes between two families as well as there are others that were left by my father, they are my brother"* (Zolile: p. 2, line 48- 49). Zolile's narrative demonstrates how financial provision is constructed as an essential role played by isiXhosa men. Furthermore, the men's narratives prized an independent man, such as Simphiwe's brother. Simphiwe, is a 48 year old middle class man who believes that a man should be able to stand alone, as their own entity and apart

from their family in terms of business. He describes his brother as a 'man' because even though his brother does not have a job he still makes a living (as he is self-employed running his own spaza shop) providing for his family and does not rely on Simphiwe for assistance and money (Simphiwe: p. 16-17). Throughout the men's narratives, self sufficiency and financial provision for the family were constructed as central to masculinity. A 'real' man is not knocked down by obstacles such as lack of employment but instead he fights to keep his family afloat without continuously asking outsiders for a hand. He puts his family first and fights to uplift them.

Care-taking in the brotherly role was described by the participants as coming in the form of both practical (i.e. financial, providing housing, providing groceries or food and providing transport) and emotional care (such as talk and advice giving). However, from the stories of these men, care-taking generally came in either financial and/or other forms of practical aid. For example, Siya a 38 year old working class man, when he spoke about the frequency of contact with his brother said: *"Firstly I see if maybe I've got some problems, finance problems, just call him and (say) 'I want to see you, I got problem like this and this' and that is maybe when (I) want something (for) my mother, we go and discuss about some things, something like that"* (Siya: p. 4, line 129- 132). Financial aid from his brother was what Siya pointed to as one reason to initiate contact with his brother. Thami, a 43 year old working class man told of his brothers generosity and said: *"By the time I was married we didn't have a place to, a shelter where we, I was still living at home with my family. He has another RDP house in Extension six, I been explaining to him that I want that house to build it to be mine and he, I wasn't aware he was going to react by that time, he sent his wife to me and take my clothes to go and stay there, I felt like ay this is a brother to me"* (Thami: p. 18, line 578-582). In the above extracts, the construction of hegemonic masculinity is exemplified in brotherhood as the men construct themselves or their brothers as playing the role of providers, most centrally, financial providers for one another.

Analysing the men's narratives, it is clear that both age hierarchy and gender play a role in designating the burden of financial provision within the sibling relationships. According to the men's stories, culture dictates that when parents are no longer able to provide for the

family, the eldest brother must take over the caring by providing for their siblings. Mdena, a 46 year old middle class man explained how his elder brother provided for him while he was in school, as he said: "*I owe a lot to him because true to our culture, as you may be aware, when the parents can no longer carry the family, the eldest brother or eldest sister or whoever is fortunate within the family, because of different circumstances, you know carries the family and that was largely the case with my brother.*" (Mdena, p. 3, line 104- 108). From the narratives of these men, I understood that it is mostly the elder brother and quite rarely the elder sister who will step into the role of provider when parents are no longer able to. Significantly, Mdena's narrative constructs some flexibility in who provides for the siblings, including 'whoever is fortunate in the family'. Joseph, for example, a 45 year old working class man explained how he, and not his elder brother, had stepped into the role of family breadwinner and provider because he was working and was the only one who could provide for the family, he also provided for his elder brother (Joseph: p 3). Men from both socio economic groups narrated how they as the older brother had stepped into the care-taking role of their siblings. They had the responsibility of providing for food, clothing and school fees for their younger siblings. Some of the men gave accounts of how they benefited from their brothers stepping in to provide for them. As such, these narratives maintain and reinforce a construction of hegemonic masculinity within brothering.

In comparing and contrasting the narratives across the two socio-economic class groups (working class and middle class) I found no major stories to indicate contrast in brothering practices in relation to money but found similarities instead. I came to understand that a significant factor that could possibly account for these findings is the similar class background the men storied of their childhoods. In other words, the men were all in middle adulthood, which meant that they grew up in the height of apartheid when most black people in this country lived in a working class context. A further influence that accompanied their childhood working class context was the importance of the value of the family unit and family mobility. That is to say, in addition to the impact their childhood working class background had (which includes struggles of parental separation and lack of resources) on their will to survive, the teachings, principles and values surrounding the power of money in holding the family together and uplifting it seemed to have been related to a working class background. Though the men in the middle class group crossed the class line in adulthood,

they too identified with the working class men, in that they regarded the principles and values of family progression highly.

Paki, a 41 year old middle class man, noted the power money has in relationships, as he said: *"Money also can divide you, whether your brothers, your sisters"* (Paki: p. 13, line 413). One man, John, a 32 year old professional, noted the difference in his relationship with his younger brothers and how this also related to money. John trusted his youngest brother Surprise more and this manifested in the way he freely gave Surprise money knowing that Surprise would stick to the agreed purpose of the money. He narrated a shopping experience and said: "*we went shopping for shoes, you see, I bought each (a) pair of shoes, you see, and even there you can see the relationship between me and them, what happened, I, I insisted that with Jabu, he buys the shoes whilst I'm there, you see, now he's (the) older one, you see, I was always at him to make sure that he does the right thing, you see, he does not try and save as much money as possible, you see, and get up to no good, (he) need(s) reminding, you see, so I make sure before I left he get the shoes, really, but Surprise, he was more difficult to get the type he wanted, you see, but I had no problem in that, I gave him money to go on his own, you see, and look for the shoes, even though he's the youngest,"* (John: p. 15, line 467-475). John's actions and relationships with his brothers in relation to money are influenced by trust, and trust and responsibility in turn affect his relationships with his brothers. In this case money, and more specifically trusting his brothers with money, influenced his construction of their relationship. It aided his relationship with Surprise but also strained his relationship with Jabu.

Zolile, a 46 year old working class man told of how his salary goes towards supporting his marital family, as well as his mother and sisters and also his brothers. Prior to that he spoke about his relationship with his biological siblings and said that: *"Yes, I'm not very close to my sister because of the many affairs like since I'm not staying with my mother I'm staying with my family so I teared myself away from them but when they are having a problem like a funeral or wedding that put them in the problem they.. (I. They come and ask you?) Yes they are coming to me and ask that I help them, I'm always willing for that, so what I'm trying to say is that the step siblings are acting more than the ones that are..."* (Zolile: p. 2- 3, line 67-75). This again highlights the importance of care-taking and family mobility regardless of the quality of relationships between siblings. It illuminates that the family and its development as

well as honouring your role as the eldest sibling comes first. The importance of money for the family can cross emotional barriers.

Whereas, Sibusiso, a two time graduate recounted how he was separated from his brother when they were toddlers and how he grew up with more privileges than his brother. So in their adulthood after having been reunited, he (Sibusiso) told himself he would provide and do nice things for his brother because his brother suffered while growing up (Sibusiso: p. 11). He even goes as far as paying off his brother's debts whenever he returns home and would do so willingly even though it frustrated him at times. He doesn't let money come in between his relationship with his brother (Sibusiso: p. 17- 18). I understood Sibusiso's willingness to pay for his brothers debts and to provide for him not only as taking responsibility for aiding his brother's progression but also as a means to compensate for the discrepancies in their upbringing. However, in providing for his brother in their adulthood, Sibusiso still honoured his duty as an elder brother and does not allow the quality of their relationship to deter him from his duty. Therefore, I came to understand that providing for the sibling(s) may not just be a sense of duty but also a sense of honour as it was entered and pursued irrespective of influencing emotional factors.

Some men even shared that they felt money and providing for one another strengthened their fraternal sibling bond. With Mandla, a 41 year old middle class man, sharing that he felt closest to his youngest brother as his brother was still dependant on him financially and as it gave them the opportunity to spend more time together (Mandla: p. 5). Unathi, also a middle class man, said that being able to provide for and support his brother brought them closer: *"in fact what made our relationship to be more strong is that when he was still at school, I was doing some piece job at Old Mutual, you know, so he was normally phoning me and (saying) 'hey can you help me because I've got a shortage of groceries'"* (Unathi: p. 7, line 214- 217). His brother felt open and free enough to ask for financial aid.

Some men even spoke of experiencing some strain in their relationships with their brothers, for various reasons but did not allow these strains to deter them from helping their brother. For example, Siya, a working class man, shared how free and open he felt in approaching his brother for money. Though they would experience slight conflict as a result of money, he still felt open to asking and even giving money to his brother(s) (Siya: p. 24-25). Joseph, on the

other hand, a 45 year old working class man, shared that he did not particularly enjoy close relations with all his siblings for numerous reasons but said that if they came to him in need of financial help and he was able to help, he would do so (Joseph: p. 6). This highlights my general finding, from these men's stories, that they did not allow money to be an obstacle in their relations with their brothers.

Asanda, a 49 year old working class man, told that he felt good not only to help his brother financially, but also because his brother did not feel embarrassed to ask for help either. This again highlighted the positive influence the men ascribe to money as a power relation, choosing to view it as a binding agent as opposed to a destructive mechanism to family ties. Xolani, a 31 year old middle class man in narrating the shared similarities and differences between him and his brother recounted how they were not a very well off family while they were growing up and how they lived in one of the poorest areas. Although, he went on to say: *"we all had one dream, we still have one dream of getting out... gonna change things in our family..."* (Xolani, p. 6, line 127-128). Here the narrative of deprivation also works to construct an image of a family united in their desire to better their lives.

Fraternal sacrifice

At times in order to step into the care-taking and provider role or to ensure the survival of the family and family mobility, a sacrifice was needed. Men in both socio-economic classes described experiencing sacrifice, either having made a sacrifice or benefiting from a sacrifice made by their brother/s. The sacrifices came in varying forms but the most common sacrifice was to leave or drop out of school or not to pursue a tertiary education in order to find employment and help younger siblings in completing and pursuing their education. I generally noted that brothers were mostly described as the ones who made the sacrifices. These acts of self sacrifice frequently resulted in the younger brother constructing a narrative of indebtedness to their brother/s, as Mdena stated: *"I owe a lot to him, because true to our culture, as you may be aware, when the parents can no longer carry the family, the elder brother or eldest sister or whoever is fortunate within the family, because of different*

circumstances, you know carries the family and that was largely the case with my brother" (Mdena: p. 3, line 104- 108).

One example of sacrifice emerged in Buyile's story, a 38 year old working class man who narrated his self sacrifice. He explained how he delayed his tertiary education in order to take care of his ill mother and then again after his mothers passing, he (Buyile) decided to give his younger brother the money that was saved for his tertiary education to afford his younger brother the opportunity of furthering his education. I came to understand that such actions were of a truly sacrificial nature as education was also regarded as very important for these men, as a tool to enable family mobility. One brother sacrificed his chances to aid his brother. In referring to the sacrifice he made and what he had hoped to achieve from it Buyile said: *"Ja, ja. So he's one of... I just wanted someone who's going to take that family up, you know. And then he did it for us, you know."* (Buyile, p 22, line 578- 579). In Buyile's narrative, there is a clear prioritising of family mobility through the advancement of one family member. Buyile also explained that he held no regrets over the decisions and sacrifices he made because he strongly believed that his brother could better enable their family's mobility, if his younger brother was given all the opportunities to educate himself. Moreover, he described the benefits that eventually resulted from his sacrifice, he said: *"Because if I need transport, little things, which I'm not the owner of transport...I say hey I don't have money to go to the taxi can you come down and get me here"* (Buyile, p. 6, line 129- 13). With Buyile's brother benefiting from the sacrifice, it later becomes his (Buyile's younger brother) responsibility to make sure that the entire family reaps the results of the sacrifice, when he holds a better financial position in the family. This was often the case in the men's stories, in that, where a brother made a sacrifice for his brother, the brother felt the need to repay or return the sacrifice in some way as an act of appreciation. As Mdena, mentioned above and further stated: *"I suppose I paid my dues in that respect because in um, two thousand and six I succeeded to persuade him, you know, when he was jobless, persuaded him to consider you know, pursuing the security courses, you know, your securities ADT and so on (I. sure). He did that and within a few months thereafter was able to secure a few contacts and you know, enable him to work, which is what he is doing now. So in a sense it was payback time"* (Mdena: p. 3, line 131- 137).

As already mentioned above, Sibusiso, on the other hand, a teacher narrated how he felt obligated to take care of his brother but for different reasons. Sibusiso and his brother, Thula, were separated when Sibusiso was a toddler and was taken to his maternal family after his mother passed on and ties with his father and brother were cut off. He had a more privileged upbringing than Thula, as he was raised by his maternal family and also by a white missionary family. He missed a lot of years with his brother and father and only got to know them later in his teenage years. In narrating his story about how he provides financially for Thula, he said: *"That's why now I will make nice things for him, ah because of that, because of that kind of an up-bringing, he didn't achieve at school, and also community wise but because he's also a lovely person,"* (Sibusiso: p. 11, line 352- 355). He spoke of getting angry when he thought of the way things could have turned out so differently and how he would have liked to grow up with his father and brother. Compared to the meagre resources Thula had, Sibusiso enjoyed an array of resources and would use them to help his brother where he could. Even though sometimes he felt frustrated when he had to pay for his brother's debts, he still does it willingly and lovingly.

Sacrifice and care-taking, however, did not always fall on the shoulders of the elder brother. Joseph, a 45 year old working class man also narrated his experience of self-sacrifice, as he said: *"Younger. I was……after school, I have to go to to, to……..I have a job after school. I have to go and work after school. After school, so I decide my father is no longer with us so I decide to leave school, and work full-time. It was a take-away."* (Joseph: p 3, line 70- 73). He sacrificed furthering his own education to protect and provide for his siblings education, even his older brother.

The role of care-taker by the eldest brother brings a significant amount of pressure with it. The men who had to step into narrated stories that maintained and reinforced this expectation. Furthermore, many of the men drew on the discourse of hegemonic masculinity constructing male financial responsibility as fair and appropriate within their fraternal relationships as well as within the broader family unit. As Mdena, explained: *"if I recall, correctly...my first year in teaching, you know, ...I took the responsibility you know of footing the bill um, you know, and that was, that was to be the beginning of this transition (I. okay) from him taking care of*

the family to someone who was at a slightly better position (I. sure) yah." (Mdena: p. 5, line 223- 228). He explained that when he got his first job the role of financial caregiver transitioned, as it then became his responsibility to provide for the family as he occupied a better financial position with his tertiary qualification. Hegemonic masculinity constructs financial provision as part of being a man.

The men also spoke of being expected to venture home around the time they get their salaries each month to contribute to family expenses, groceries and so forth. For example, John a middle class professional shared it as follows: *"I get paid on the fifteenth so I had money, on a Saturday, it was on a Friday, I got paid on Friday, and the Saturday, on Friday night I took a City to City bus and went to Queenstown, yah, I went to Queenstown and the following day, in the morning we went to town, you see, it was myself, my mum, my dad and my daughter, yes we brought her that morning, and so we went to town and my niece, my sister was not … but she has a three year old baby girl, so we went to town, then after I did the shopping for my parents, they nagged us and they, me and my two brothers remained behind, we went to a shopping for shoes, you see, I bought each pair of shoes,"* (John: p. 14 & 15, line 459- 468). Even though these men narrated the obligatory nature of this responsibility, this obligation was constructed with a fair amount of pride. Taking care of and providing for their family and siblings is constructed as an honour and an act of showing appreciation to their parents. Though the role came with pressure, it was constructed as necessary in order to ensure that the family progressed and was taken care of. Perhaps taking care of the family is perceived as an honour as there is a sense that it is expected by the family and that brothers are judged by how they help their family and not only by how they can survive independently. Moreover, care-taking through financial provision, as expressed by these men, provides an opportunity to demonstrate affection through culturally appropriate mediums. Asanda, for example, a 49 year old working class man, told of how his brother had taken care of him and his sister while they were still in school. In adulthood Asanda expressed that they (him and his brother) enjoyed a reciprocal care-taking relationship, even though Asanda did most of the care-taking and providing as his brother was out of work. However, when his brother was able to help him out he did not hesitate to do so. In general I interpreted these acts to be acts of love, care, support and for the benefit of family mobility. Asanda's feelings about providing for his brother illuminate this perception. In replying to a question of whether he thought his brother

felt embarrassed to ask for money for his children, Asanda said: "*No, I'm happy for that. I'm happy for that because I need my brother's children must go to school because if (they) (do) not go to school……..they do wrong things."* And later saying *"And then I do not want my brother must go and break something…..you see, that's why I gave him the money.*" (Asanda: p.5, line 143- 147). I understood his statement as expressing concern and an eagerness to help, which in turn reflected love, care, support and affection.

Affection and closeness

Intimacy among men is a difficult concept to explore as it is considered taboo in numerous cultures and societies the world over, as gender socialisation for men requires limited emotional expression and exercising restraint in demonstrating physical affection (Lynch et al., 2010). I shall discuss intimacy in relation to affection and closeness as expressed by the men in their stories. The men in the project shared their experiences of closeness within their fraternal sibling relationship, understanding it as the quality of their bond with their brother. They also shared experiences of affection in their relationship with their brother understanding it as expressions of love, appreciation and care whether it was physical, verbal or symbolic. Care-taking in the form of emotional aid came in the form of various activities that reflected affection and closeness such as sharing personal matters with a brother and giving and receiving advice from a brother. Below I will explore the men's understanding of closeness and affection and their interpretation of these concepts within their brothering relationship. That is, how the men negotiated affection within their brothering to align with social expectations of affection in male-male relationships.

From the men's stories the isiXhosa culture bears no exception to viewing physical intimacy and affection in male relationships as taboo. Mdena, a middle class man explained this by saying: *"African patriarchs tend to be reserved when it comes to expressing their affection"* (Mdena: p. 8, line 398- 399) and he went on to say: *"we tend to be symbolic in expressing appreciation and affection"* (Mdena; p. 9, line 406- 407). I understood this symbolic nature to refer to practical expressions of affection through actions and gestures rather than words.

The practical support offered by brothers has been explored in detail in the previous section. Siya, a working class man questioned the show of affection in recent times, saying: *"What's the meaning of a hug, in the old days our elders didn't hug, the elder one you see, (shake) hands, but now what happened because of change, it's a change , that's why the questions"* (Siya; p. 13, line 431- 433). Siya told of the traditional expectations of affection between men, as men were more reserved in their interactions and would limit intimacy to handshakes when greeting one another. He noticed a change in this physical restraint, commenting that he has noticed some brothers hug one another, even though he believed that this practice was more prominent amongst whites and coloureds. This change for him was unsettling as he was not accustomed to it and did not understand the meaning of a hug. Generally the men shared similar beliefs and practiced showing affection within the brotherhood through culturally appropriate ways such as shaking hands as mentioned by Siya.

The men's stories also included narratives that told of their alternative constructions of expressing affection and how they demonstrated their closeness with their brother. For example Mandisi, a 45 year old working class man shared how his brother was there for him (to comfort him) when his first wife passed on. His brother encouraged him to cry but explained that the crying was not to be around people, as he said: *"No, not like that because you don't make a noise when you cry. Just get into your room and sob there and you know….and .cry tears out, but don't make noise,……because men don't make noise. I tell you that. No don't do that. Men (don't) do that"* (Mandisi: p. 20, line 651-654). In this powerful narrative, the extent to which fraternity is the conduit for hegemonic masculinity is very clear as Mandisi's brother berates him for making a noise when he cries because "*men don't make noise*".

Xolani, a professional with a university qualification, shared that he shows his brother affection by watching movies with him, taking him shopping and buying him gifts but he felt that just being there for him was the most important thing (Xolani: p. 11). Whereas Zolile, a 46 year old working class man, shared his life changing account of how his brothers staged an intervention to address his negative lifestyle and convinced him to change (Zolile: p. 9-10). Some others told of how they visited each other and how they helped each other solve their problems. It is important to note that what the men reflected as intimacy and

demonstrations of affection and closeness within their brothering, were indeed more practical expressions rather than expressive forms. As Unathi, a 42 year old working class man said: *"No I've never say it open what I feel for him no but the practicalities do show that, hey you know that, that."* (Unathi: p. 12, line 394- 395). Here Unathi is narrating a practice of affection that is in line with hegemonic masculinity, where men are comfortable doing rather than being.

Nevertheless, some of the men also spoke of trusting and confiding in their brothers. For example, Thami, a 43 year old working class man, explained how he confides a lot of things in his brother, even matters like romantic relationships. He said: *"Each and everything, even if I've got something to sort out, he's the only one I have to run to (and say) 'man I've got this problem, how can I solve it?' Even when I separated from my wife, I went to him (and) explained everything, he's the one who told me don't do this, don't do that, just leave her."* (Thami: p. 14, line 446- 455). This, for me, demonstrated their perceptions of closeness in their brotherly bonds as they felt comfortable within the siblingship to venture into self-disclosure.

Narratives of fraternal conflict

While the interviews held many narratives of closeness between brothers, there were also narratives of conflict. Many of the men constructed a narrative of secrecy around the altercations and disagreements between brothers. Zolile, a 40 year old working class man said: *"Because once you take it that something is wrong from inside your family, to the others most of them will tell the others that are not related to you, then they will be laughing (at) you, (at) your problems,*" (Zolile: p. 7, line 22- 231). The construction of ridicule and mocking from others at the display of fraternal conflict here is striking. Many of the men constructed fraternal conflict as something that was dealt with privately within the family and only with people who could be trusted. As Asanda, a 49 year old working class man recounted his experience of conflict with his brother: *"We shout you see? shouting then go around the house (with) my brother and the people…….I'm scared for that, when the people, I say (to him) no come, come inside the house we talk don't shout..."* (Asanda: p. 10, line 334- 336). Again here, Asanda constructs fraternal conflict in view of others outside the

family as something to be avoided. Furthermore, many of the men argued for the value of speedy conflict resolution in the fraternal relationship so that outsiders would not know that there were problems between brothers. Perhaps this was implemented to keep the family's reputation and presentation to the community intact. Perhaps this was also implemented to maintain the honourable and dependable picture of the family to the community or to create such an impression of the family. Moreover, it could be that this may all have been done to achieve a better social standing in the community that opens up opportunities for respectable positions within the community for the family. In essence, we might understand the importance of close fraternal ties and hidden fraternal conflicts in terms of social capital, particularly in the context of disadvantage due to the impact of the apartheid regime on black families in South Africa.

Similarities, shared experiences and proximity

In exploring the men's stories, I came to note that one of the influential factors in closeness in the fraternal bond was the experience of perceived similarities with their brother. Perhaps the sense of identification and familiarity improved the quality of their sibling bond. In other words, in relation to siblings (brothers), similarity seemed to foster a sense of familiarity, identification and closeness in the relationship. For example, John, a professional, when describing his brothers presented his middle brother, Jabu, as rather different to himself but his youngest brother, Surprise, to be very similar to himself. He said: *"Okay, with Jabu, he's a totally different from all of us at home, you see, I think he's the loudest, in terms of his character, he's different. Very loud and very forceful, if he wants something, he wants it, and to me now, it's like strange, and most of the time I don't believe that he's realistic. He is totally different from the others and Surprise is quiet, he's more like myself, he's quiet, though he's younger than Jabu, but most of the time I cam reason with him better than I do with Jabu, and even when I leave I tell him that he must look after the house than his older brother. You see, because he's more current than him. He's a. he's in that he's quiet I think he's like me but I trust him more than his older brother."* (John: p. 7- 8, line 229- 237). He further added: *"so you can see the dynamics I was telling you before, my more closeness in terms of trust to Surprise, the youngest , you see,"* (John: p. 15, line 489- 490). Even though

he found this strange because culturally he was expected to be closer to Jabu as they are closer in age and he would have to teach Jabu the family's ways and traditions (John: p. 17, line 531- 546).

Shared experience also increased the closeness felt in the fraternal sibling bond. Some of the incidences or experiences spoken about included death, experiencing and grieving the loss of a loved one. As Buyile, a working class man, who put his education on hold to care for his sick mother before she passed away, told that her passing brought him and his brother closer together (Buyile, p. 1). Similarly Mdena, a middle class man shared that: *"Yes, unfortunately that tends to be the case when there's death, a tragic incident in the family"* (Mdena: p. 10, line 458-459) then went on to say that: *"things like that, but, uh I mean the point I'm making is that brought us closer as the family, and I can recall that there were those very tragic moments where we could experience being close, because we faced with the task of delivering a, a, what you call it some official funeral"* (Mdena: p. 10, line 476- 480). Two men in particular both shared unique experiences with their brother which they viewed as something that brought them closer, as they shared the same date of birth but were born in different years. Buyile, being one of them as he shares his birth date with his younger brother whom he regards as his twin (Buyile: p. 3). Thandiwe, a professional with a university education, being the other one, as he and his elder brother share their birth date and celebrate it every year like tradition together with their wives (Thandiwe: p. 8).

Some of the other men indicated the initiation process as a common shared experience that aided closeness. As the process is mandatory and only men are allowed to discuss the experience with each other. Some of the men felt closer to their brother after they themselves had experienced it or after their younger brothers had come back from the bush. For some of the other men geographical distances played an influential role in forming a close bond in their brother-brother relationship. Siya, a 38 year old working class man expressed how the physical distance between him and his brother lead to a drift in their relationship (Siya: p. 3). Others viewed physical proximity as aiding their relationship and fostering closeness. John, for example, a 32 year old middle class professional recounted feeling closest to his youngest brother when he (Surprise) came to live with him for a few months and they did everything

together (John: p. 22). For some men, daily contact (whether physical or telephonic) with their brother or remaining in close contact (by communicating and meeting to plan family rituals and celebrations) aided the fraternal sibling bond as some even preferred living with their brother. For example, Paki a 41 year old working class man told of the close relationship he enjoys with his siblings and parents, which is aided by the frequent contact they have. They even remind each other to call and check up on each other (Paki: p. 3, line 68- 82). The ways in which these men expressed negotiating affection and closeness within the brothering illuminates the possible challenges to expected and prescribed brothering practices which I will now go on to explore in further detail.

Challenges to traditional brothering

While cultural practices, according to these men's stories, dictate certain masculine scripts, modernisation and change over the years has influenced some men in their perceptions and practices of masculinity. Scripts refer to the guidelines in which men are told to act in relation to their specific masculine role (Spector- Mersel, 2006). Some of the men found it easier to contest and actively challenge some of the more traditional practices of masculinity while others found this a more daunting and difficult task. Complicit masculinity, as defined by Kahn (2009), is masculinity that supports dominant masculinity while at the same time not sharing all the perceptions that dominant masculinity does. For example, John the 32 year old middle class professional expressed how he believed that the constraints and limitations placed on communication and affection within the brotherhood by traditional masculinity were not beneficial or conducive for a united brotherhood (John: p. 11). He passionately explained that there are cultural principles that limit free and open communication about personal matters, relationships and sexual behaviour within the brotherhood. He further stated that the showing emotions and even crying is traditionally viewed as a sign of weakness (mentioned above). He ultimately said: *"It's the culture we have now, a culture which I believe we should not be having in the absence of the support structures which were there, which have been dismantled now. So we don't talk, we don't talk about serious issues like that, I don't even know their girlfriends, I don't even know their girlfriends and the like, you see."* (John; p. 11, line 346- 351). He further went on to explain that he did not probe about his brothers relationships as they respected him as the elder brother and refrained from such talk. He also said: *"That I do not know these things, you see, they don't want me to know they*

are engaged in these things, you see. I don't agree with that way of doing things, but if I am to probe them, to ask them who their girlfriends are, it's like, I'm going to be regarded now as being curious and sticking my nose where it does not belong, you see." (John: p. 12, line 364- 368). While John expressed concern over the dangers of limited and restricted communication in the fraternal sibling bond, he did not actively challenge them by acting against the restrictions. He maintained the expected and socialised (dominant masculinity) restraint in the brother sibling bond by not probing into private relationship matters and by briefly discussing matters he felt were important. Following Kahn's definition of complicit masculinity, John generally supports and practices dominant masculinity but also does not share all the perceptions of dominant masculine practice, particularly those of showing restraint and limiting communication and emotional expression in the fraternal siblingship.

There were, however, some men who actively challenged traditional masculine scripts by helping their wives with some household chores. Asanda, a 49 year old working class man was such a man as he told a similar story about his brother, as they sometimes did laundry and cooked to help their wives and to give them a break (Asanda: p. 13 & 16). He said he found men that made their wives do all the chores to be lazy (Asanda: p. 17). With some of the men, however, chores such as cleaning their parents home and maintaining the house were done not necessarily to challenge or protest masculine traits but to bond with their brother and show appreciation to their parents. However, the acts themselves whether intentional or not highlight a challenge to traditional dominant masculine traits. Moreover, they illuminate the negotiation of masculine traits and the existence of various facets of masculine traits which open up the possibility of other hegemonic masculinities within traditional societies. Modernisation and acculturation are influential in this renegotiation, as people construct their lives and daily experiences in accordance with their social reality (Burr, 1995; Stevens, 2011). Perhaps owing to the progression of society, economy, technology and living standards in general, men, particularly the men in this project, find that the reality of their fraternal sibling bond requires progression as well, in order to align with their daily reality. Previously, when a man could not show love to his father, he currently finds himself accepting expressions of love from his children (Mdena: p. 9) and in accepting these he may perhaps renegotiate his relationship with his brother.

Traditional brothering practices, as told by these men's stories, said that brothers should take care of one another and the family; that they should not talk about personal confidential matters; that they should honour and show due respect to one another; they should resolve their conflicts swiftly and in private; and they should not show overt affection. One way that the men expressed a deviation from the expected script of brothering was describing their brothers as their confidants. According to the men's stories, in the isiXhosa culture, a practice to socialise men at traditional ceremonies and gatherings is called age groupings. Age groupings are important not only for men to socialise in but also in the passing down of important cultural knowledge. Furthermore, men are expected to discuss personal matters within these age groups. John a 32 year old middle class professional explains how traditionally the age groupings served purposes of passing down knowledge and as a support system for men in the varying age groupings. He explained that men would rarely communicate with men outside of their same age group. However, he noted that modernisation had been influential in the falling away of such practices and several of the men stated that they shared personal matters with their brother/s from fear that friends would share their secrets with others. So when asked whom they trusted more between their friend and their brother, the men generally responded by saying that they trusted their brothers more and could confide in them.

John said the following in connection to communication between him and his brothers: "*No we speak about a lot of things, you see, but in other things we're also influenced by our culture, we don't talk too much about thin(g)s like sex and that so as a result even when I tell him about condoms I, it's going to be rushed, 'hey use condoms' I'm not opening a debate about this or a conversation about this it's just in passing, you must be careful, you must be careful, you see, I don't get to sit them down and say you must be careful because of ABCD"* (John: p. 8, line 259- 264). He noted that trusting in friends (peers/ age mates) had fallen away in the wake of modernisation but had not been replaced with open communication between brothers, as he said "*So since, even what now seems to be a culture of not talking about these things, this culture of not talking of these things with our brothers, what I say is that (it) would not be the case had we stuck to our traditions as they are, you see, because most of the things now which we see today, and regard as the culture and the tradition, of the Xhosa people, if you look back and trace their history, you find out that those things were not like that before. The culture that we have now came about because we abandoned those*

things you see, and yet we did not take the western way, all of it, you see, so now we are just caught between our culture and the European culture, you see, because if we adopted the European way of doing things correctly and only, we would be having the support structures which the white people have. But because we didn't take their cultures as it is , though we just abandoned ours you see, now we are left now, without a support, that support system, you see, we are left now without a support system. And that has, we see the result, we see now we are losing a generation, there are many things which are happening which should not be happening." (John: p. 10, line 311- 325). John expressed his concern for the fallen away practices of his culture, which he felt left a gap in their culture and left them vulnerable to social threats without systems of support. He explained this as connected to the gap in communication between him and his brothers, as they did not discuss things such as personal romantic relationships and sexual behaviour. He found this troubling as it meant that his brothers were open to being exposed to misinformation about and threat to life changing sexual information.

He further felt that this left restrictions on communication between brothers where they were not able to talk about some sensitive and important issues, as he said: *"You see, we had a system in place to give this things, we had those passage rituals which are no longer now, conducted in the manner which they were conducted before, which are no longer now delivering these same benefits as they did then, you see, so as a result now are just, yah, we don't address serious issues you see."* (John: p. 10- 11, line 327- 331). Perhaps John was so concerned about this gap in information as it left younger brothers misinformed about certain serious issues as they are not told facts but opinions and here-say. This is also related to men not trusting their friends with personal matters, as they found them not to be loyal. Isaac, for example, a 47 year old working class man in sharing his distrust in friends said a friend would probably gossip and tell others of one's misfortunes. This relates back to the fear of ridicule and ruining one's reputation, in entrusting a friend with personal issues. The men shied away from confiding secrets and private matters in their friends who were constructed as disloyal friends. It was to their brothers that many of these men turned.

Zwelethu, a 53 year old middle class man in constructing the close relationship he enjoyed with his brother explained that he and his brother confide in one another about everything and said: *"Even his extra marital affairs he would not hide"*. I understood Zwelethu to have perceived the open communication with his brother as an indication of trust. Joseph a working class man also expressed the same sentiments about being able to trust only his brother about information pertaining to his marriage.

Confiding in one's brother also brings to the fore another emergent theme of challenge from the narratives- mutual advice giving. IsiXhosa culture dictates that men can only get advice from their elders and thus maintained communication restrictions between brothers. However, this practice was also challenged in these men's constructions of brothering as they not only talked about and discussed personal matters with their brothers (younger and older) but they also received and gave advice to one another. For example, Zolile a 46 year old working class man narrated his relationship with his full and half siblings. In expressing his appreciation for his younger brothers, he described how they arranged an intervention that addressed his negative lifestyle at the time. He told this as follows: *"Because they saw that hey their big brother is going down, they are going to lose him, because I was fighting I was doing ……. I was gone to the jail so I, so they came to me accompanied by my parents, and my mother and their mother as well, so I understood then, but I understood why they are coming to do this, and then you see I have no choice, I had no choice then I had to listen even though they are younger, and I'm thanking them you see because I am the man I am now because of them, if they were not, if they didn't tolerate continuing coming to me they would have lost me"* (Zolile: p. 9- 10, line 308- 314). They advised and convinced him to change and this showed him that they truly care for him.

Paki a 41 year old middle class man narrated the close relationship he had with his younger brother. In his narration he explained that in their culture the elder brothers are referred to using the title 'Bhuti' once they return from the bush. However, to emphasize their bond and the quality of their relationship his younger brother still referred to him solely by his name without using his title. I understood and perceived this to be a challenge to their cultural practice of using titles and stern formal structures in their brothering. They had constructed

their brothering in a way that is open and mutually beneficial but it retained the element of respect within the relationship. He stated that: *"Because much I was older with him, with the two years, but he wasn't so important to me, no not at all so important to me, we were calling one another by our names, and I've accepted that we're friends, yah, I mean in our culture your older brother, you would say Bhuti to him, you know, cause ……. But it wasn't like that."* (Paki: p. 21, line 675- 678). I found this interesting as Paki and his brother, in constructing greater intimacy in their brother-brother bond asserted equality in this aspect of their relationship. However, when it came to other aspects of their sibling bond they maintained the more traditional brothering practices of not discussing personal matters, as he said: *"Let me speak about it, in our case, with our problems with our girlfriends, no we are not talking personal things"* (Paki: p. 23, line 733-734). While how Paki and his brother construct their brother is interesting, I noted that they only have an age difference of two years between them. Perhaps the age difference between brothers is also influential in challenging such a practice, as they could feel like they belonged in the same age and age (peer) group.

Sequence and meaning

This task of thematic narrative analysis does not simply require discussing the content of the research material (transcripts) but also requires a portrayal of the sequence in which the narratives are told (Riessman, 2008). The sequence holds the plot and meaning of the narrated events (Riessman, 2008). Unterhalter (2002) writes about the heroic masculinity that emerged from the autobiographic writings she studied. She describes it as a "giving of oneself to the struggle" (Unterhalter, 2000, p. 165). In analysing the narratives of the isiXhosa men in my project, I have come to understand brothering in a similar light. In that these men constructed their brothering in a heroic sequence or plotline. A sequence that follows a plot of humble beginnings in the form of a lack of various resources; tragedy, the passing of a parent or a loss of parental income; self sacrifice, where the eldest brother steps into a provider role, the most financially able sibling provides for the family or where a brother gives up their education, money or dreams to care and provide for the family; and conquering, where the family begins to realise prosperity through the joint actions of the

family and they care, provide and support each other. For example, Buyile, a 38 year old working class man, told how their mothers passing brought a lot of change in their family and how it drew them closer. They had humble beginnings in childhood with their mother working in a soup kitchen. When their mother fell ill he gave up his university education to take care of her and when she passed away he gave his brother his tertiary funds to allow his brother to study further. He shared that him and his siblings continue to support one another as they all have jobs and his younger brother is doing really well and achieved his (Buyile's) dream to build up the family. Mdena, a 46 year old middle class man, recalled how his brother put him and his siblings through school when their parents were no longer able to care for them. His brother put furthering his career on hold to help them. Mdena is appreciative of his brother and helps his brother where he can. He explained the situation as follows: *"And that's what my brother did, which is my point, my brother did it and I'm forever indebted to him for that (sure,) because his path his career, well if you like his career (at the) moment (was) largely influenced by the fact that he dropped in standard eight. So much that as I'm talking to you, he's a security guard (okay) um, I suppose I paid my dues in that respect because in um, two thousand and six I succeeded to persuade him, you know when he was jobless, persuaded him to consider you know, pursuing the security courses, you know your securities ADT and so on"* (Mdena: p. 3, line 127- 134). They have experienced not only their parents passing away but also two siblings and he feels that all these events have brought them closer.

It's a heroism of self sacrifice, protection, providing and guardianship of siblings and family. Their struggle, however, is of a different kind. It is a struggle towards family unity and mobilisation. It is either experienced as being given or received. From the men's stories I came to understand culture and the socio-political context of apartheid as being vastly influential in their constructions of brothering and so was the influence of modernisation. Much of the participants' cultural expectations were embedded and reinforced through their brothering, such as providing for the family. While it is still important to provide for the family, there seems to be a move from living within the extended family to living in nuclear family composition but still supporting and providing for the extended family. Providing for the extended family at various levels ensures the mobility and survival of the family. Furthermore, such changes and adaptations have lead to brothers striving towards closer and

more mutual relationships amongst themselves. In striving and seeking more mutual relationships, it is not so much a move from hierarchy to equality but more a move to mutual respect between brothers. Mutual respect in terms of resolving conflicts in an amicable way (Paki: p. 19, line 624) and giving each other the opportunity to voices each other's views and listening to each other, where the elder brother's word is not the final say without having heard out the other/s views. For example, Unathi, a 42 year old middle class man, in response to the interviewer asking about the respect afforded to the older brother by the younger brother, he says: *"Yes but at the same time the older brothers mustn't always take an advantage because of their elders"* (Unathi: p. 19, line 616- 617). He then proceeded to say: *"There must be, in fact those common respect, you know,"* (Unathi: p. 19, line 621). Brothering involves respect, honour, sacrifice, love, care- taking and protection. The historical context of the narratives the men spoke about could be understood as contributing to the heroic plot of their stories.

Brothers against apartheid

In the isiXhosa culture, according to the men's stories, the family unit is held in great regard, whether nuclear or extended. The progression and mobility of the family was consistently held up as important for the participants. Reflected in the men's narratives were varying struggles that the family faced while growing up, particularly lack of resources, parental separation and dispersed families. In the face of these childhood difficulties, the men frequently gave priority, in the present, to attaining and maintaining family mobility, and to portraying a united family to the community. Family mobility means the improvement in financial and/ or class status of the family. An example of such a story was narrated by Simphiwe, a 48 year old middle class man who described his childhood as starting with humble beginnings, as his family had little money. He was separated from his parents at a young age to live with his grandmother and sometimes uncles in the townships as they had more resources, while his parents stayed on the farm. In addition, his parents also had some marital troubles in the period that lead to him and his siblings being sent to live with their grandmother. At times he would be separated from his siblings because his grandmother did not have enough money to care for all of them and would thus be sent to live with his uncles for some time. The socio-political context in which these men grew up, the apartheid regime, is a large influencing factor in the struggles narrated. The men spoke of hailing from working

class backgrounds with meagre financial resources for the family unit. Furthermore, a large portion of the workforce during the apartheid regime was required to leave their nuclear families and this resulted in families needing to pool together to support and provide for each other. Simphiwe explained it as follows: *"Yes, yes that is very common among, amongst Black people, well I would say that is, that is hereditary you know, it is coming from, I don't know where, cause, you would recall, you know, if I can just make a relationship, relate to the current political situation in South Africa, (I. okay), where it is coming from, from the apartheid era, you know, the things that were done then were very much unsavoury to the people, people were very much oppressed, as I told you we had to have permit even to go to next, to the next house you know, otherwise we would be caught up by the police, you know, put into a van, taken to jail, things, um, those kind of things made people to grow up knit, kind of in a knit environment, you know, they inter, they intertwined environment (I. yah) and sort of back up each other. (I. okay) so really all my other brothers, that is my brothers, my father's brothers sons, (I. yah), I relate well with them, of course they are far from me, they still, we, do you got this kind of thing called respect, when, you know, your older brother, you call him Bhuti, you know (I. okay) so all of them will actually call you like that, and all of them will be supportive of what you are saying and all of them, if one (of) them is doing something, and you have to reprimand that one, in front of the others so that they can learn from that. So it's that kind of culture that we grew up with,"* (Simphiwe: p. 11, line 509-526). In the above extract, Simphiwe enlists the influence of the apartheid system on the quality of his relationships with his brothers. He also describes the importance of the extended family, brothers and cousins rallying together to support one another.

Brothering in adulthood – prioritising the nuclear family

During childhood the men described the extended family composition as aiding their financial and residential problems (Simphiwe, p. 11, line 509- 524), while also constructing a positive spin off of poverty and oppression – closer relationships as brothers and a large extended family support system. However, in adulthood their narratives described a different phenomenon – preference for a nuclear family. Furthermore, many of the men described how the preference for the nuclear family in adulthood aided the quality of their relationship with their sibling. The men expressed a preference to reside with their marital family while supporting their extended family. There were several accounts from the men where they

stated that a nuclear marital family composition actually increased the closeness in the bond with their brother. As they would seek out and maintain contact in an attempt to improve relations with their brother. Asanda, a 49 year old working class man said: *"It's nice when he (is) not living in my place you see. It's nice"* (Asanda: p. 11, line 342- 343). He continued to say that it was tough when he lived with his brother because they fought frequently (Asanda: p. 11). Isaac, also a working class man, shared the same sentiments that living apart from his brother improved their relationship, he said: *"Yes, it helps us. It keeps us. You know. you remember each other You know we want to visit each other because we are not staying together"* (Isaac: p. 21, line 675- 676). It may be that not living together and constantly sharing the same space or not being in constant altercations created time for brothers to miss each other and to seek out each other's company and therefore drawing them closer together. Given the opportunity to be their own person, they may have come to enjoy the company of a familiar person like their brother and it fostered a sense of companionship.

These men's stories concerning the preference for a household structure that prioritises the nuclear family in adulthood highlights the influence of modernisation and change over time in the social construction of people's lives. The preference of the nuclear family, however, does not seem to prove to be an obstacle to extended family care-taking and financial provision or to the importance of the family reputation. This was highlighted when the men spoke of the importance of presenting the community and neighbours with a united family front.

Conclusion

In conclusion I pose the following questions: From these men's stories, what have I learned about brothering in relation to culture, context and historical influence? Furthermore, what have I learned about masculinity and intimacy within brothering? Lastly, what did I learn about the impact of money on brothering?

Firstly, I learned that the family unit, whether both nuclear and extended, is important, as keeping the family prosperous and united was repeatedly conveyed in the men's stories. Ensuring their prosperity (family mobility) through various means was emphasised, whether through self sacrifice, stepping into highly pressurised roles and later on paying back or

showing appreciation for opportunities provided. These acts do not just speak of prosperity but speak of the valued qualities of hegemonic masculinity and their impact on the practices of brotherhood such as being a provider and leader, being responsible and caring for others first, and of being dependable and honourable.

Secondly, I learned that culture has a significant influence in the construction of brothering, masculinity and intimacy. Its influence is not just in outlining the ways of being but also in restricting certain practices that were at times challenged, either covertly or overtly, by the men. Such actions of protest included longing for better communication with a brother/s, longing to verbalise affection for brother/s, confiding in a brother/s, not adhering to strict cultural titles.

Affection within the brotherhood was mostly described as being shown in more practical and symbolic ways, such as sharing possessions, giving each other advice, listening, spend time together and providing financial support. Closeness was found in shared experiences, similarities and proximity and was reflected through noting the changes in the fraternal sibling relationship over the years.

Brothering involves care-taking, providing, guiding, protection and sometimes being a parent to one's brother. Money plays a big role in care-taking and providing but owing to the values in the family and possibly class background in childhood, money was not seen as a negative influence on the brothering relationship. Some of the men, from both class groups, shared how financial provision strengthened their relationship with their brother. That is, men from both working and middle class groups described enjoying fairly similar close relationships with their brothers in relation to the dynamics of money and class. Care-taking and aid were reciprocal and varied in form. Men expressed feeling open to give and receive aid from their brothers(s).

From these men, I learned that brothering involves heroism of leadership, fighting for a common cause (family mobility), surviving tragedy (lack of financial, educational and

community resources; death), giving back to the brother/s, siblings and family, and even community, taking care of the family and attaining the holistic goal (lifting up the family and maintaining unity).

Chapter 5: Discussion

In this section I will be discussing the findings of the project in relation to the literature. I will discuss the construction of masculinity, intimacy and money within brothering, from the men's narratives and then pay attention to money as a power relation. I will also discuss the limitations I encountered of the research, my reflexive account that may have affected the study, and the recommendations for the future directions of research.

Brothering

The men reflected brothering in adulthood to have changed from brothering in childhood. Generally the men spoke of enjoying a close relationship with their brother as children but suggested that the brothering was more interactive in adulthood, as care-taking and contact was maintained to keep the family unit strong and progressive. Financial and practical aids were the predominant forms of support and while the men were concerned with developing their own families, they gave equal attention to their parents and siblings. Many of the men recounted how they had to either send money to their parents and siblings or had to venture back to the family home, where siblings and parents resided to contribute towards household expenses, groceries and even some luxury items. These findings do not reflect the findings of Cicirelli (1995), Goetting (1986) and Sanders (2004) as these writers described the sibling relationship in adulthood to be less interactive and that financial aid was the rarest form of aid given. This highlights the influence of culture in the construction of the sibling relationship, as the sample group for this project is from a South African context, particularly the isiXhosa culture. Furthermore, the men spoke of their culture expecting them to provide and take care of their siblings and living parents. Common patterns of brothering that come through the men's narratives included being a responsible and dependable man and brother. Factors that were rather influential on these constructions of brothering were culture, as there were guidelines that reinforced certain brothering practices such as the elder brother stepping into the care-taking role; social and family expectations that looked to the eldest brother as the 'Bhuti' to siblings. Historical context was also an influential factor as the black minority

group in the apartheid era, which these men grew up in, was mostly in the working class group and the conditions in that era impacted on their narratives of brothering and their reality. Collectively, these factors dictated that brothers remain close to each other, support each other, contribute to providing for the family and protecting each other.

Based on my analysis, I have argued that the men's narratives (in both class groups) constructed their brothering in a heroic light. Their story sequences followed a similar pattern to that where one would give of oneself to the struggle of family progression and keeping the family united. The men also spoke in a pattern reflecting the camaraderie shared between brothers, of jointly contributing towards the development of the family and self sacrifice for the family's benefit. The passing of time brought a change in their masculinity that once saw, from Unterhalter's (2000) perspective, masculinity as striving for political and racial liberation, to masculinity striving to liberate the family to attain social and economic progression. The men spoke of sacrifices and decisions that were made to uplift their family's economic and social status. Some sacrifices included forgoing a tertiary education to use the money to help brothers pursue further education or dropping out of school to make money in order to care for the family and even taking care of their siblings and the extended family when parents were no longer able to so. Later in life those who benefited from such sacrifices and were then in a better socio-economic position felt obligated to take care of the family. However, this obligation was seen as a form of showing appreciation to the elder brother and the family. Furthermore, in keeping the family united and maintaining the honourable reputation of the family, familial conflict was resolved privately and rapidly.

The analysis suggested that while providing for the family was reinforced, the men generally preferred living within a nuclear family composition, which included their spouse and children. Opting to move away from the extended family composition where they would reside with sibling(s), parent(s) and marital family as well. This extended family composition was how several of the men grew up, but they stated that the nuclear family enhanced the quality of their adult sibling relationships better. They spoke of the constant fighting that occurred when they lived together and that living separately enabled them to seek out their brothers company when they wanted to. This finding also contrasts the suggestion by Siqwana- Ndulo (1998) that preference for the extended family would not be likely to change into nuclear family preference with upward social mobility. Perhaps living separately gave

allowance for men to focus on nurturing their relationships with their spouse, children and brother individually, if they did not get along and this enhanced the quality of the relationships. The analysis suggested that men were renegotiating their intimacy with their brother and were increasingly engaged in self-disclosure to enhance the quality of their brother-brother bond. However, while living arrangements became more separate, the extended family was still taken care of.

The men also told of their relationships with their brothers in which mutual trust existed with little or no conflict. These findings support the findings of Martin et al. (2005) that trust was an aspect in the sibling relationship that negatively related to verbal aggression. With a few of the men stating that they enjoyed a better relationship with the brother whom they trusted and shared more with than the brother who was aggressive and confrontational. Where men told of sharing more interests and similarities with their brother, they would further tell of enjoying a better or close bond with their brother. As some of them expressed that similarities between them and their brother, such as similar character traits, had intensified their bond. Demonstrations of closeness were also reflected in influence of proximity and shared experiences. Some men said that their shared experiences such as grieving together, the experience in the bush (either going there separately or together) and sharing a birth date helped in bringing them closer. Others told of how their geographical proximity aided their relationship. These findings support the suggestion from Floyd's (1997) study that the fraternal sibling bond may be one of the most fundamentally important same-sex relationships in men's lives, as men spoke of having a better relationship with their brother than with a male friend. These findings also suggest similarities in cross cultural brother-brother bonds as the fraternal sibling dyad was reported as an important relationship in men's lives. These demonstrations of closeness reflect a relation to contact maintained between brothers, as liking (emotional closeness) can predict contact, as reported by Lee et al. (1990).

In terms of contact with their brother varying findings were suggested. Some of the men described living in close proximity to their brother and choosing to be in constant contact with them. Others spoke of maintaining frequent contact with their brother, whether it was telephonic contact or would be seeing their brother(s) and family on special occasions as they weren't in close proximity with each other. Whether contact was more volitional than obligatory or vice versa cannot be explicitly reflected but the analysis suggests that it was

slightly more volitional than obligatory as men spoke of choosing to maintain contact with their brother and siblings. Maintaining family unity (even merely the perception of family unity) and family mobility was important and had an impact on possibly increasing the amount of contact between brothers and family. This was illuminated when men spoke of meeting to plan and seeing their brother/s at annual family rituals and other family celebrations.

The men told of cultural practices such as the eldest brother stepping into the care-taking role of parents when the parents were no longer able to. This practice put the eldest brother in a position where responsibility for sibling care-taking fell on him and some of the socialisation was his responsibility as well. These findings support the similar findings of Cicirelli (1994), in that, in non- industrialised societies the responsibility of sibling care-taking and socialisation fall on the older sibling. However, there were other practices that took care of the socialisation of young brothers such as the initiation process and the age groupings, where peers and traditional elders were responsible for the socialisation of men.

With the changes in the nation over time and the adopting of varying new practices (for example, religion, modernisation and a growing economy), the traditional aspects of masculinity seemed to need some adjustment and even change. These men highlighted this impact of time in their challenges to masculinity. They negotiated their masculinity to align with their current social context (Kahn, 2009; Morrell, 1998; Spector-Mersel, 2006). The men spoke of different ways in which they challenged traditional masculinity, such as sharing personal matters with their brothers, giving their elder brothers advice, cooking and washing laundry to help their wives and showing concern for practices that limit brothering such as free and open communication between brothers. These actions (both passive and active) reflect challenge to hegemonic masculinity within the masculine role of brother (‘Bhuti’). While the men generally described and practiced hegemonic masculinity more (Kahn, 2009) through abiding to traditional masculine scripts, such as not discussing romantic relationships with their brother or maintaining emotional restraint in the brother bond, there were men that did not entirely share all the views of dominant masculinity. These men enjoyed the rewards of dominant masculinity but their slight protest meant they practiced complicit masculinity (Kahn, 2009). In other words, to the community and family these men seemed to be practicing dominant masculinity and thus got the honour and respect that came with

practicing dominant masculinity. Yet their protest meant that they may have also enjoyed the benefits of reconstructing their masculinity within their brother bond to attain a better fraternal sibling bond.

The analysis of the men's stories supported literature on gender socialisation that restricted men from expressing emotions such as crying (Lynch et al., 2010). However, the men's stories also reflected suggestions for alternative ways to express such an emotion in a culturally or socially appropriate manner (Morman & Floyd, 1998). For example, men can cry in isolation and silently in the event of death or some equally traumatic event. This highlights the ways in which men over time renegotiate and reconstruct traditional and cultural practices to aid them and align them with their current social context and reality. The stories of these men provide information that men are equally capable of providing the same kind of support that sisters do, as the men shared how they would exchange advice with their brothers and provide each other with the space to obtain comfort. While these findings suggest a contrast to the literature on gender social expectations that required men to limit and show restraint in emotional expression and affection (Lynch et al., 2010), there were accounts from some men that confirmed gender socialisation expectations of emotional restraint. The men also spoke of how they would care for each other's children in varying ways such as paying for school fees and stationary. These findings show some contradiction to the writings of Eriksen and Gerstel (2002) and Weaver et al. (2003) that placed sisters are the 'kinkeeper' and as those who provide more care and support than brothers. It is important to note that this study was not interested in comparing the support given by brothers and sisters but the findings in the analysis suggest that brother are also capable of providing (both emotionally and practically) in ways that women do.

Nevertheless, men in both class groups reflected giving and receiving more practical aid, such as financial provision, giving lifts and helping with garden chores, than giving or receiving emotional aid, such as consoling one another and talking about relationships. However, the men generally expressed trusting their brothers more than a male friend, being able to confide in their brother and even receiving comfort pending a traumatic event. These findings support the suggestion from Floyd's (1997) study that the fraternal sibling bond may be one of the most fundamentally important same-sex relationships in men's lives. Gender socialisation (Kahn, 2009; Weaver et al., 2003) practices such as the age groupings and the

initiation process may reinforce more practical care-taking by men but these findings suggest that men can also be capable of exhibiting emotional support too. This supports the suggestion by Martin et al. (1997), that expressive relational qualities could be located in the fraternal sibling relationship, as they found that honesty of self-disclosure had a greater impact in the relationship. My analysis, however, does not argue that emotional aid was a norm in the men's construction of brothering but merely suggests that some degree of emotional aid can be located in the brother-brother relationship from the renegotiation of traditional practices. Brothering may be an important relationship within which men are able to resist hegemonic masculine scripts.

Money as a power relation

When it came to money and class my analysis suggested no apparent differences in the brothering experiences described by the men in the two groups. That is, the working class and middle class men provided similar stories as they spoke about their bonds with their brothers in relation to money. Based on my analysis I argued that the men's stories reflected no real class differences as influencing their construction of brothering. Considering that the men, in both class groups, all shared the same working class background while growing up, I argued that they (in their adulthood) continued to regard and practice the values of financial and social progression of the family. The men doing the providing in both classes were providing for their less fortunate brother(s), siblings and family in order to contribute to uplifting the family. However, money itself was regarded as a great commodity for the development and sustainability of the family and held great power in dividing or uniting brothers and the family. Family mobility and care-taking rely heavily on the providence of money. Sacrifices and great responsibility were narrated, emphasising the importance of moving forwards and upwards. Generally the men spoke positively about the impact of money on their relations with their brother and siblings. They expressed gratitude and appreciation. Some of the men even shared how money brought them closer together, in that being able to provide for their brother intensified their bond. I propose that it may allow them to derive a sense of honour and respect in the relationship. As they fulfil the expectations of providing for their brother or siblings and keeping themselves united as a family, which is prescribed by hegemonic masculinity. The possible benefit of honouring such duties may be that they are recognised by the family and given due honour and respect.

Hunter's (2010) book introduced the possible role finances could play in the structuring of intimate relationships within the South African context, in his focus on the materiality of everyday sex. In the intimate brother-brother relationship of this study, men spoke of the lending and providence patterns between brothers that set up an open and free relationship in relation to money. They felt at ease to approach their brother when they needed assistance or they described that their brother was always willing to provide financial aid. This related to the closeness or quality of the relationship as men felt they could depend on their brother.

Heflin and Pattillo (2006) suggested that siblings in differing classes may view each other as a financial aid or strain, as possibly various forms of capital and as a representation of psychological strain or boost. In particular, they argued that a sibling from a higher class group may be viewed as an asset as they can provide financial assistance, possible work opportunities and connections and even a role model and motivation to do better by the less fortunate sibling. Whereas the less fortunate sibling possibly being seen as adding financial pressure to the fortunate brother and even as discouraging the other brother's fight to progression. Based on the analysis of the interviews for this project, while it was expected that the eldest sibling would step into the care-taking role when parents were no longer able to, this role also fell onto the most financially viable brother or sibling. This introduces the possible strain of providing for the family. While some men spoke of the pressure of providing for the family, my analysis did not suggested that any of the men saw their brothers as a strain as they spoke of being willing to provide for them when necessary and sometimes even beyond necessity. I propose that the similar working class backgrounds may be a possible factor in there being no real difference in the fraternal relationships within the two class groups represented in the sample.

Milevsky et al's (2005) study found that their participants reported less communication in a sibling relationship where one sibling had financial difficulty. The men in this project, from both classes, however, indicated different findings. They spoke of wanting to support their brother(s) out of concern for their well being. These results do compare to those of White and Riedmann (1992) which reflected that those with money or employment or even a better occupational status were more supportive of their sibling(s).

Connidis (2007) explanation of cohesion and solidarity formed in childhood, when all the children, in her working class family, had to pool together when their mother entered the labour force, is also helpful in this study. That is, for these men (across both classes) the cohesion and solidarity formed in their working class backgrounds might explain their closer sibling bonds with at least one brother and supports the findings of White and Riedmann (1992) that minority groups enjoy closer sibling bonds.

The men's narratives generally reflected that money and class were not obstacles in their brother relationships. Furthermore, my analysis suggested that providing financially in the fraternal relationship was structured more reciprocally. The men expressed feeling open to give and received financial aid from their brother when the opportunity came. Saville Young and Jackson (2011) suggested that financial aid to a brother may set up patriarchal, hierarchical and authoritative brothering practices which include the restriction of informality and equality within the siblingship. Certainly, this study supports their suggestion in that the men spoke of giving their elder brother due respect as 'uBhuti' even if they were helping their elder brother financially. Furthermore, in relation to financial aid the men constructed practices that leaned more towards informal and more equal brothering practices.

Limitations of the research

While the men's stories provided insight into their realities and constructions of brothering within the South African context, this secondary analysis study did have some limitations. One of the limitations was the problems with the recording devices. This meant that some speech was left out and even cut off during transcribing, which resulted in incomplete ideas or narration that could have benefited the analysis of the transcript. Generally limitations were related to the use of secondary data and specifically, not having the privilege of interacting with the participants and relying solely on the transcribed data left me curious and frustrated that some of the topics discussed were incomplete or brushed off. In addition, the fact that all the interviews were conducted in English when all the respondents were first language isiXhosa speakers is a shortcoming of the study. This created inevitable gaps in communication with interviewer and interviewee (i.e. miscommunication of probes, silences, non-verbal responses and even in their co-constructed meanings), which in turn increases opportunities for misinterpretation of the data. Furthermore, intimacy and affection were not

operationalised to ensure that the primary researchers had a uniform understanding of the concept to communicate it through to the participants and this resulted in various interpretations of intimacy by the interviewers. Though this was also an advantage in providing richer descriptions for the analysis, it was also a disadvantage as at times it proved difficult to identify such themes from the stories as misinterpretations of the concept emerged.

Reflexivity

I approached the analytic process with somewhat of a blank slate. I had not read the interpretations and findings of the primary researchers' projects. This gave me the opportunity to interact with the transcripts as a stranger, without former knowledge from the primary research projects findings to steer me in any direction. This was advantageous as my findings were not tainted by those of the primary researchers. However, my own exposure to the isiXhosa culture and particularly males and brothers in the isiXhosa culture had some effects on my analytic work. My fore-knowledge aided me to understand certain practices the men in this study spoke of but also influenced and possibly hindered how I may have understood some of these practices. Moreover, my cultural background and understanding of brothering practices within my Sepedi culture lead me to interrogate the men's accounts of their brothering. This was advantageous as it enabled me to look into the possible meanings these men narrated in their stories, against my knowledge of brothering. However, being a female did provide a limitation in some understanding, as my brothering knowledge was all based on secondary experiences, my own subjective vicarious learning experience. Furthermore, my understanding (from stories told by my family) of the social context (apartheid regime) the men described from their childhood brought a sense of identification and familiarity in their accounts and thus influenced how I interpreted the sequence (heroism) of their narratives. Even though such factors had an effect on my interpretations, I hopefully still allowed the men's voices to speak for themselves and to support my interpretations.

Directions for future research

This study provided insight into the brothering practices for particular men (isiXhosa men) within the South African context and further research into the surrounding practices, such as the initiation process and age groupings, in a now industrialised South Africa needs to occur. The application and existence of these socialisation practices needs to be further researched to explore their current influence on brothering. For example, in urban populations around South Africa where sons are raised in the cities and suburbs and are not strictly raised according to traditional practices but are still expected to go to the bush. Or with these practices not being strictly adhered to as traditionally mandated, how these practices then influence the brothering practices of men now? Future research could also take the path of exploring the fraternal sibling bond in other South African cultures. South Africa is vastly coloured with differing cultures, such as the tshiVenda and Sepedi cultural groups and the social sciences field in South Africa could benefit from a body of knowledge of the brothering practices in some of our cultural groups. For example, there may be some cultures that demand strict adherence to hegemonic masculinity even within modern settings. Furthermore, different cultures may have differing practices such as the initiation processes, which may be different cross culturally. Further research could also look into brothering practices of sibling dyads across the different social groups in our country. For example, exploring the construction of brothering in a fraternal sibling dyad composed of a heterosexual and homosexual man. Exploring how masculinity and intimacy are negotiated within such a fraternal sibling dyad. These findings may prove rather insightful considering that South Africa is still largely a country in transition.

Conclusion

This study was interested in exploring the brothering relationship within the South African context. I was interested in expanding on previous research that explored the brothering practices of groups of men in Grahamstown and the immediate surrounding areas within the Eastern Cape. The sample group further comprised of middle aged isiXhosa men, from two class groups, which included the working class and middle class groups. This project was particularly interested in exploring the construction of brothering from these men's stories and thus utilised a qualitative methodology, specifically a thematic narrative approach. This approach was essential as the study aimed to explore themes of masculinity, intimacy and class and the power relations of money within the brothering practice. The research questions asked: of the meaning of brothering for the particular isiXhosa group of men; how they constructed masculinity within brothering; how intimacy and closeness would emerge in the men's stories; and how class and/ or money influenced their construction of brothering?
The analysis was focused on exploring the prior themes of brothering, masculinity, intimacy and money or class and the emergent themes that came through, which include honouring the family; financial care-taking and sibling responsibility; sacrifice; affection and closeness; similarities, shared experiences and proximity; challenge to traditional brothering; and money as a power relation. The sequence of the narratives also gave insight into the meaning of the men's stories, which I interpreted in a heroic light.

My analysis reflected that, based on the men's narratives, the family unit was important to and influential in the construction of brothering. Family mobility and family unity set up the care-taking roles and nature of the fraternal sibling relationship, where brothers are frequently financially responsible and dependable for one another. Culture and social context were also influential in the practicing and challenging of certain traditional brothering practices, as these factors guided intimacy within the brother-brother relationship and spoke to how brothers should treat and interact with each other. Challenge to brothering scripts came in the renegotiation of the intimacy and expressions of emotion within the brother relationship, with many men narrating a longing for better communication and confiding in their brother/s. Affection and intimacy was generally expressed through practical aid but stories emerged that suggested the expressive relational qualities that men could bring to their brother-brother bond.

My findings supported the findings by Floyd (1997) that the fraternal sibling bond may be one of the most fundamentally important same-sex relationships in men's lives. As well as the findings of Martin et al. (2005) that trust was an aspect in the sibling relationship that fostered a better sibling relationship. My findings further supported the findings by Lee at al. (1990) as they reported that emotional closeness could positively predict various forms of contact. While brothering within the South African context is unique to particular cultures, there are some cross cultural similarities that reflect that the sibling relationship can be reported as being the most important same-sex relationship in men's lives.

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Appendix A: Interview schedule

1. Can you tell me briefly about your family of origin? (Prompt: Imagine you were introducing me to your family members, what would you say?)
2. Can you describe your brother/each of your brother's to me? (Prompt: What type of person is he?)
3. In what ways is your brother/are your brothers similar to you?
4. In what ways is your brother/are your brothers different to you?
5. Describe your relationship with your brother/each of your brothers to me?
6. How do you spend time together?
7. What happened the last time you saw each other?
8. How important is your relationship with your brother(s) to you?
9. How close would you say you are to your brother(s)?
10. How do you feel about this/these relationship(s)?
11. Would you say that you show affection to one another? How?
12. Can you describe a time when you felt really close to (one of) your brother(s)?
13. What is your relationship with your brother(s) like in comparison to your relationship with a friend?
14. Has your relationship with your brother(s) changed over the years?
15. How do you think your family expect brothers to relate to each other?
16. Is this different from how other families might expect brothers to relate? How?
17. Do you agree with your family's view on how brothers should relate?
    What has it been like talking about your relationship with your brother(s)?

Appendix B: Example of analysis- transcript

Proceed to the following page

Joseph. (45 year old working class man).

I: Okay, and to say it's [redacted] April and I've got my first interview with you. I like to start by asking people who I talk to just tell me a bit about your family of origin your mother, your father who was in your home when you were growing up, and to describe those people to me.

P: Ja – I have to take you back – to the farm – which is called [redacted]

I: Okay

P: Ja. My brothers, and sister and my parents all stayed there. Then we grew up as the children together.

I: At the farm?

P: At the farm. And then we attend school in Grahamstown. The farm is not far from.....Grahamstown, attend school

I: Okay

P Firstly we, I attend school at farm.

I: Okay, yes.yes.

P: Firstly, I attend school at the farm, but there were no classrooms. It was only small room.

I: Yes, yes.

P: There was no blackboard, no chalks. We.....the, the teacher was use.....er, er, cardboard.

I: Oh. Okay, yes.

P: On the wall.

I Yes, yes.

P: He use...what do you call that? Charcoal

I: Okay. Yes.

P: When you burn wood and then you use that black thing to write on the, on the board.

I: Yes, gosh, amazing hey.

P: Then from there the school.....it was from sub A to standard 5.

I: Okay, at the farm?

P: At the farm. Then if you want to study further you have to come to Grahamstown..... from standard six upwards.

I: Yes, yes.

P: So we do come to Grahamstown to study further.

I: How would you get in and out?

- grew up with humble beginnings.
- lack of financial resources.
- working class backgro
- und in childhood

(yellow) - masculinity.

(orange) - family mobility & composition.

(green) - money & class

(blue) - brothering.

(pink) - intimacy & closeness.

(red/purple) - culture & socio-historical context.

P We, we come on Mondays. Early on Mondays, then you go back home on Fridays

I: Okay,

P: But we were lucky because my grandfather was stay here

I: Okay, okay.

P: at Grahamstown.

I: Okay.

P: My parents stayed on the farm.

I: So you would live with your grandfather during the week?

P: During the week. Then Friday we go back, and come back Monday. Then grandfather dies. My parents thought that you must move from the farm now and to come to Grahamstown. Then we pack everything, came to stay here in Grahamstown, and then we study here in Grahamstown

I: How old were you then when you moved? Your parents moved? Were you still in High School?

P: But I didn't go to High School here because my father's brother he told me no I think…she told me I must start lower, at the lower standard.

I: Okay.

P: So I do that. I didn't go to High School at that time

I: Okay, I see, I see.

P: Then we grew up as a family. Stay here in Grahamstown. My father, my mother and my sisters. Then we grew up, attend school, love each other, support each other.

I: What work did your father do during that time ?

P: My father was working in the farm by that time – he was doing gardening.

I: Okay, so he was doing that in Grahamstown?

P: But here in Grahamstown he started work in constructions.

I: Okay,okay.

P: Then he find another place but he was working for government and then he dies.... 198[redacted] he dies.

I: Okay.

P: My father dies 198[redacted], then we were left with my mother. And then things started changing when my father dies. I got my elderly brother, I got three sisters which are older than me. All the other brothers are behind me

- separated from parent in early childhood, to pursue education. - education important for family mobility.

- father's passing. changes family dynamics in terms of financial provision.

- Who steps into care-taking role?

69 I: Younger, okay.

70 P: Younger. I was.....after school, I have to go to to, to.....I have a job
71 after school. I have to go and work after school. After school, so I decide my
72 father is no longer with us so I decide to leave school, and work full-time. It was
73 a take-away. I worked there – he was an [redacted] guy, then he closed that, that,
74 that shop. He opened the, the..... clothing shop. He took me there and he
75 teach me everything

76 I: Okay.

77 P: Then I worked for him. Yeh. So I have to do everything. Was supposed my
78 father do.... I helped others, but I earned a little money, but I managed to .....

79 I: Share it with your family? yes.

80 P: Share it, ja.

81 I: And your older brother, was he also working?

82 P: No, she was at school at that time. I think she was finishing matric at that time.

83 I: So were you the only one that decided to stop school and work?

84 P: Yes.

85 I: Okay. Why....why did you decide to do that? Why was it you?

86 P: Because I already had a job.

87 I: Okay.

88 P: You see, so I decided I must leave school and go and work, and help the others
89 so they can study further.

90 I: I see. Yes, yes. Okay.

91 P: Then, another thing...my father had ...er....cattle....but, by the time he dies
92 everything disappeared.

93 I: All the cattle?

94 P: Members of the family, say no..... they not belonging to my father, they belong to
95 everyone on the family.

96 I: On the extended family. Your father's brothers and sisters? Ok.

97 P: Ja. So we fought about that we fought - I decided, I think I called my sister and
98 say let's leave this, let's leave this and start a new life.

99 I: Ja, leave the house, and the home....

100 P: Leave the life. And then I bought a house at Joza, because I was....I bought the
101 house for me, but when I see things are happening around the family then I
102 decided to give that house to my mother

Self-sacrifice for family (mobility) & siblings.

- Eldest brother not the one to step into care-taking role but the financially able sibling.

- More family struggle with extended family after father's passing. (Possible recurring theme?)

another sacrifice made for the family.

I: Okay

P: And the grandchild.....we are a big family. We are a big family. So I give that house to my mother then I am going to rent the small room. Then my father does. My mother dies.....my mother dies, .it was.....what is.....I think four, five years back now.

I: 200[redacted] or something?

P: Ja, but she was ill.

I: Okay.

P: She was ill. And then it was early in the morning. Quarter to 1, she received a call that tells us that my father's brother also dies.

I: On the same day?

P: On the same day.

I: Okay.

P: Then we have different thoughts between me and my brothers and my sisters. That's where the problem starts. My brothers and sisters – they want to bury my mother, eh, eh like.....my father's brother and my mother...we are the same family. The funeral was supposed to take place at the.

I: in the same place.

P: In the same place, but they disagree with that.

I: Okay, your brothers and your sisters didn't want it to happen in the same place.

P: But I tried to force them, like the other members of the family, they are Cape Town, P.E. or Uitenhage. So if you bury our mother than other day they have to come back to spend money. I tried to convince them that was wrong. That we bury them at the same day.

I: Why didn't they want to? Why were they unhappy?

P: I don't know. Even sometimes we have a meeting, they don't talk at the meeting, but when the meeting is over they start talking.

I: Our brothers and sisters?

P: Ja:

I: Okay.

P: Then the conflict start

← Conflict between siblings.

I: Between you and??