An Exploration of the Psychosocial Behaviors of Ghanaian Males

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Abstract— **The purpose of this qualitative study was to explore and describe the experience of Ghanaian males and their psychosocial behaviors in the Ghanaian culture. Previous research in the South African and American culture reveals that in the 21st century, there are changes in the gender roles, as well as in the father figure involvement in the American culture (Lamb, 2000). In Africa however, the roles are traditionally gender specific (Lamb, 2000). The traditional family dynamics in comparison to the American dynamics may play a role in the 'masculinity' of the male child. Thus, the purpose of this study is to explore and describe the psychosocial behaviors of males in the Ghanaian culture, specifically, the role of a father/fatherhood figure in shaping the masculinity of the child, which has not been explored yet. Participants were 12 young adults (8 females, 4 male). The data collection method included hosting focus groups at 2 universities in Ghana, Africa. One of the focus groups included 3 undergraduate students, a professor, and a local business owner in Accra, Ghana, While the second focus group included graduate students in Cape Coast, Ghana. Atlas Ti was used for the data analyses and the following themes were identified: meaning of a father, relationships with fathers, domestic responsibilities, patriarchal hierarchy in society, meaning of masculinity, important male figures, and male interactions in society. There were differences between the responses of participants in the urban (Accra) and rural (Cape Coast) areas. Validation strategies included bracketing and rich thick descriptions. Implications of the results for future studies include further explorations of experiences from males in the global African diaspora. Such an exploration can be beneficial for introducing culturally relevant counseling and training as well as for developing a worldview about fatherhood across generations through the lens of an African American male.**

Keywords— male interactions, psychosocial behaviors, Ghana, patriarchal society

INTRODUCTION

Understanding the culture of fatherhood in the African American community and the relationship between father and son is important. Rorer (2015) indicates that it is important that young men have male role models. The fatherhood figure plays a role in the development of a male's psychological well- being. Past research did not examine male interactions in the social environment, and the perceptions of being a male and gender role in the Ghanaian culture. Each culture has prescribed gender roles. Gender roles refer to the rules that society assigns to someone identifying with a specific gender (Kipot, 2015). These gender roles have changed in recent years. Previous research in the American culture reveals that in the 21st century, mothers started to work more and fathers living outside of the home also increased, as well as there are changes in the father figure involvement (Lamb, 2000). In Africa however, the roles are traditionally gender specific, that is, the men are responsible primarily for working and are the bread winners in the house, while the women are responsible for working and taking care of the children, making sure all of the household needs are being met (Lamb, 2000). The patriarchal systems in the African context still categorize women as dependent, and issues related to morality and decency are predetermined for them. Males and females are socialized differently beginning in childhood with males raised as the breadwinners and leaders, and females raised as submissive homemakers (Ababio & Salifu Yendork, 2017). The traditional family dynamics in Africa, in comparison to the American dynamics, may play a role in the 'masculinity' of the male child. Thus, the purpose of this study is to explore and describe the psychosocial behaviors of males in the Ghanaian culture, specifically, the role of a father/fatherhood figure in shaping the masculinity of the child.

Father Figures in Africa

The following review will investigate boys' understanding of fatherhood in their transition from childhood to adulthood in South Africa. Fatherhood is important to young men in understanding youth masculinities, particularly in poor settings. African men, particularly those who are at a socio-economic disadvantage, often put their ethnicity, race, and kinship into their masculine identity. In poor settings, it is

imperative to learn more about how fathers and families in such settings develop strategies to secure men's involvement with children (Spjeldnaes, Moland, Harris, & Sam, (2011). Typically, men's role in the family was not associated with providing emotional care. During the apartheid, men's roles in black and white families was to make the decisions, bring home the money, and hold the power. However, with South Africa transforming into a democracy there was a change in gender awareness and women's rights and status. With dual earners in the families, the domestic responsibilities have changed and there have been changes in men's identities and responsibilities as husbands and fathers. Apartheid also has had an effect on race and class in a way that has manipulated gender identity. White masculinity appears to have silenced black masculinity through social and political power. For example, black men are emasculated by being called things such as boy (Spjeldnaes et al., 2011). The bond between masculinities and fatherhood are close cross-culturally and in poverty settings. South Africa is commonly linked to absent fathers. Spjeldnaes used semi-structured interviews to explore the issues among schoolboys living in a semi-urban area in the Limpopo Province (Spjeldnaes et al., 2011). In the experiences of the 30 participants, participants had residencies with just their mother and siblings during childhood. Most of the boys do not know their fathers or did not live with them permanently due to the fact of the fathers working as migrant laborers who came home 6 times each year. When participants were asked to describe their daily lives, many mentioned the women or men they would observe from a distance in a neighborhood. The boys that described their interaction with their fathers stated the topics that were not able to be discussed were personal issues such as sexuality, reproductive health, drug and alcohol abuse, and HIV/Aids --- all issues that relate to becoming a man. The only topics that were allowed to be discussed were school and sports (Spjeldnaes et al., 2011).

Miescher (2005) found that fatherhood is important for males in reaching the adult masculinity and senior masculinity. Senior masculinity does not have to do with age, it is the qualities that an elder or (Spanyin) contains in a social position and that are expressed by that person's reputation. For example, if a man was without a child, he would not be considered a respected elder. Rorer (2015) explored the impact of the paternal physical presence and involvement in the home. Rorer stated that understanding the relationship between Black fathers and sons includes an understanding of the marks of the culture, the extent of engagement of the father in the relationship, and the role of other father figures in the vicinity. All of those factors contribute to a positive and healthy father and son relationship (Rorer, 2015). It was found that, if the father lived with the son there was more involvement. Also, there was a positive correlation between the number of years the father has been in the household (Rorer, 2015). This study proved that Black father figures in the Black community and the role they play in Black males' lives throughout the lifespan are very important for development (Rorer, 2015).

Responsibilities of Fathers

There have been many types of fatherhood over the past centuries, for example, patriarchal fatherhood started in the 17th century, which is the fathers being the decision makers, leaders, and being the most dominant (Rotund, 1985). Ababio and Salifu Yendork (2017) indicate that African cultures such as the Shona of Zimbabwe and Yorubas in Nigeria socialize the males from childhood to assume roles of leaders and breadwinners. In this role, however, during infancy the mother and father were both nurturing and caring. The father was expected to be caring and nurturing and to teach the son agricultural duties (Rotund, 1985). The father's responsibilities involved the following: disciplining; meeting the children's needs; teaching morals and values; and guiding them spiritually. It was not the father's role to provide any affection or care to the children (Rorer, 2015). During the 18th century fathers were more seen as the "modern father". He would go to work during the day and be at home in the evening with his family; this ultimately led fathers to be absent more, leaving the mother with more responsibility. In the 19th century fatherhood was described as the modern fatherhood, now the primary role was for the father to teach morality and be the provider as well (Rotundo, 1985). However, with the fathers being away from home they were not able to meet the psychological needs for their family and during the great depression, the absent fathers increased while the role providing ended (Rotundo, 1985). In the late 20th century, fathers who were more caring, hands on, and nurturing started to emerge (Rotundo, 19855). At this point in time fathers started to teach their sons how to do home repairs, yard work and started to coach their kids' sports team (Rotundo, 1985). In the 21st century, mothers started to work more and fathers living outside of the home also increased, as well as father figure involvement (Lamb, 2000). In South African families the role of the father tends to be protection, guidance, career support, and discipline. It is not typical for the father to show any love or care to his children (Ritcher, 2006). This finding has been corroborated by Oppong (2019) who found that the Gold Coast traditions of marriage and family associated roles still continue in Ghana. Oppong reports that the daily infant care creates more burden on the mothers, and infants are the mother's solitary responsibility. The Ghana Demographic and Health Survey results show evidence of malnourished infants in the majority of the household, thus demonstrating that maternal role conflict and strain are evident.

To sum, in the past, the role of the fathers in America and in Africa has been to provide support for their family. There has not been much interaction with the children before the 19th century. As we moved into the 19th century, fathers became more involved in their children's life, and started showing love and care to their children. In Ghana today, "Gender roles and relationships become increasingly negotiated, subject to individual resources, power, and decision making, rather than being taken for granted and predefined by established norms" (Oppong, 2019, p. 59).

Gender Roles

In present America, women can now dedicate their time to work and family responsibilities but have more responsibility in the home while men tend to focus more of their time and energy to work. Women are now adopting modern attitudes towards gender roles. Gender socialization

can be explained by men believing in the traditional gender roles. Men develop masculine characteristics which are necessary for the work environment and women develop communal or feminine characteristics based on the gender role socialization (Akotia & Anum, 2012). Boys in some cultures are taught to be aggressive and to suppress their emotion, while girls on the other hand are encouraged to be nurturing and express their emotion. Children learn to distinguish between the male and female gender roles by watching elders in their environment (Akotia & Anum, 2012). The Ghanaian society is more traditional when it comes to gender roles. The societal norms and values are usually expressed from the community (Adomako Ampofo,2001). For example, a woman would be frowned upon if she were to be successful in her career before she was married. Every woman is expected to bear children and take care of all household responsibilities (Akotia & Anum, 2012). In Africa the roles are gendered, the men are the men are the bread winners in the house. While the women take care of the children and make sure all of the household needs are being met. In South African families like in other parts of Africa like Ghana, Zimbabwe, Nigeria (Ababio & Salifu Yendork,2017) the role of the men tends to be protection, guidance, and career support and discipline. It is not typical for the father to show any love or care to his children. The study focused on men meeting the responsibilities can have an influence on the child's development (Ritcher, 2006).

Manhood of a Black Man

The following will investigate the masculinity and manhood in the Black man. Research indicates that the absence of a black man being the patriarch of a family and having a woman take charge can ultimately have an effect on a black male's performance growing up. Black men failed to learn what manhood and being a man was all about with the absentee of a father in the household. This process would create a cycle of poor male performance and poor family functioning (e.g., Kardiner & Oversey, 1951; Moynihan,1965; Pettigrew,1964; Rainwater ,1970). Manhood is defined as a man who Is an economic provider and as head of the family. According to Franklin (1986, p. 187). Black men are expected to take on the dominant role, they must be competitive, aggressive, and successful as well as meeting the cultural aspects of being a black man (being the survivor of the group, bringing the community together. Hunter and Davis (1992) found that men thought manhood was having s sense of independence and self-esteem, as well as being able to be resourceful, and responsible. Also, the traditional aspects of masculinity, being athletic and muscular (Hunter & Davis, 1992). Ultimately, being a Black man was defined in what Black men expect from themselves. What men expected from themselves comes from familial role expectations and also their view on self- identity (Hunter & David, 1992). There has been a growing concern of the over baring masculinities and sexuality in the South African region. It has been reported that dominant masculinity present in young men is often classes and raced based and are at a higher risk to violence (Ratele et al. 2008). Research has now been more focused on boys and masculinities and the emphasis being focused on the problems of the masculinity

linked to sexual risk of HIV/ and male violence (Shefer, 2015). One participant in Shefer's (2015) study stated that to prove his masculinity and become a man, young men should use sex and become a father as a way of avoiding shaming questions to their masculinity also having sex and getting a women pregnant throws away having to prove one's heterosexuality and they won't have to be labeled as gay (Shefer, 2015).

Another study looks at the three things that make up a man's masculinities, first the man must be the primary breadwinner, secondly, men must have a high sex drive, and lastly men are expected to show great strength, and gender-based violence in South Africa (Hamburger et al., 1996). When it comes to masculinity and sexuality many young men feel that you have to constantly prove yourself to society that you are "manly enough". In the South African culture, your masculinity is defined mainly by having sex with a woman, and similarly in Ghana, sex is considered acceptable for a male before marriage versus a female (Ababio & Salifu Yendork, 2017). Anlesinya et al. (2019) contend that the patrilineal cultural practices affect the economic sectors in Ghana. The male-dominated society of Ghana maintains a collectivist power-distant culture, with sustainment of negative gender stereotypes for women, with men being primarily engaged in economic activities. Engaging in activities such as business and entrepreneurship are representative of being 'present' in the 'man's world'. The Institute of Economic Affairs, reports that the formal entrepreneurial sector in Ghana is dominated by men.

This patriarchal culture informs the construction of masculinity among Ghanaian males (Sikweyiya et al., 2020). In-depth interviews of a purposive sample of 17 Ghanaian males who were perpetrators of intimate partner violence, indicated the socialized notions of toxic masculinity among these males. According to the authors, "…factors included the notion that decision-making in the home is a man's prerogative, and there should be clearly delineated gender roles; men's perceptions included an ownership of their female partners and belief that they had the right to have sex with them whenever they desire, and that wife beating is legitimate discipline. Findings suggested that these notions of toxic masculinity contributed to the use of varying forms of violence against their female partners. Moreover, the authors suggest, men's use of violence was a tactic for controlling women and emphasizing their authority and power over them" (Sikweyiya et al., 2020, p. 1). Although there are a few studies on masculinity among males in the context of Ghana with more studies on masculinity among black men, past research has yet to examine the psychosocial behaviors of Ghanaian males. It is important to understand the male experience from individuals on the continent of Africa.

METHODOLOGY

This study used a qualitative design, specifically an ethnographic approach to examining shared patterns of Ghanaian males. The researcher traveled to three cities in Ghana, Africa (Accra, Kumasi, Cape Coast) immersed in the culture and conducted focus groups studying the psychosocial

behaviors of males in the Ghanaian culture. The focus group discussions allowed for an open discussion on the psychosocial behaviors of males in the Ghanaian culture. Participants included males of varied ages as well as females. The perspectives of females were deemed as important because of the impact of the patriarchal culture on the roles of women and the behaviors of men.

Participants

The majority of the focus groups consisted of college students, 20-25 years of age. In this study, students, faculty, and locals were invited to participate in a focus group for an in-depth analysis of the psychosocial behaviors of which was conducted in an urban area at the University of Accra and a rural area at the University of Cape Coast. At the University of Accra there were seven participants, which include one male local tour guide (in his 30s), one male professor (in his 50s), and five undergraduate students. For the University of Cape Coast, there were eight participants (four male and four female) and all of the participants were enrolled in graduate school.

Materials and Procedure

Four facilitators led the focus groups at both of the universities. Ethical permission was granted by Clark Atlanta University's Institutional Review Board (CAU-IRB) and all of the participants were given and read an informed consent. The gatekeepers at the universities were notified about the focus group and participants were identified by the gatekeepers for the purpose. The consent forms and questions were shared with the gatekeepers and participants. The CAU-IRB uses standards of the National Institutes of Health which are applicable at international locations. The participants were notified that the focus group would be recorded and that they should not share any of the information that may come up during the focus group. At the conclusion, participants received a Clark Atlanta t-shirt and 100 cedis for their participation which is equivalent to $6.9 US dollars. Interview questions were developed to help us learn the experiences of young men in their homes and in their society and the impact this could have on their psychosocial behaviors. The interview questions were grouped under two broad categories: Relationships and responsibilities. An example of a question under the category of relationship is;' What does the term father mean to you? Can you use 1-3 words associated with "father" '; and example of a question under the category of responsibility is as follows: 'Explain the difference in how girls are raised compared to boys.' The perspective of females in the focus group was thus as important as those of the male participants. The interview questions are presented in Appendix A.

The first focus group took place at the University of Accra, and the second focus group was held at the University of Cape Coast. Both interviews were held in a confidential interview space and the focus groups ranged from one hour and thirty minutes to two hours. The researcher began with an introduction informing the participants of the study and contact information. The interviewers were audio recorded and each recording was de-identified by assign an ID number.

Data analytic plan. The purpose of this study was to explore and describe the experience of Ghanaian males and their psychosocial behaviors in the Ghanaian Culture. Atlas ti, a qualitative analysis tool of large bodies of texts, and audio was used to cultivate themes in codes. Validation strategies included member checking, peer review, rich thick descriptions. The researchers (researcher and co moderator) reviewed the responses of the participants in the focus group. Themes and codes were identified by reading through the notes and listening to the audio. Themes were developed from similarities of the participants' responses to the interview questions. From the similarities in the quotations, codes were formed. The following common themes were identified: meaning of a father, relationships with fathers, domestic responsibilities, patriarchal hierarchy in society, meaning of masculinity, important male figures, and male interactions in society. During the focus group, the co-moderator conducted member checking by summarizing the participants responses. Rich thick descriptions, or participant quotations are used to enhance the credibility of the results.

RESULTS

Atlas Ti was used for the data analyses. The focus groups lasted for approximately 2 hours per session. Each participant had rich texts of data and audio which were systematically and diligently analyzed. Quotations per participant and across participants were used to identify codes. Significant quotations were identified and the following codes were used: Male interactions, Patriarchy, Masculinity, and Domestic responsibilities. From the codes, the following themes were distilled: Meaning of a father, relationships with fathers, domestic responsibilities, patriarchal hierarchy in society, meaning of masculinity, important male figures, and male interactions in society. There were differences in the responses of participants in the urban (Accra) and the rural (Cape Coast) areas.

Male Interactions in Society

In the focus groups, participants noted that the way males display affection is complex compared to western society. In Ghana there are variations of contact that is allowed between males and females depending on the level of the friendship. For example, males who are friends can hold hands; it does not mean that they are attracted to each other. Holding hands is a way of showing affection. Homosexuality is still frowned upon in the culture. There are some practices that say they can touch bodies and that male intimacy is displayed differently. Males greeting with the left hand is considered a sign of disrespect. Here are a few responses from the male participants:

1. *Male 1: I grew up with a lot of guys playing futbol, we eat, and drink with each other and sometimes hold hands. There is nothing more to it we are just friends.*

2. *Male 2: I could be holding a hand of another man or female that doesn't mean we are together. We have practices that would let us touch*

different parts of our body, but that is not to say it imposes any type of intimacy between a male and female or male and male. If you look at our festivals, there are priests, that are required by custom to bless some people whether male or female. The priest puts a cross on the waist. However, in Ghana, we are getting to a point were individuals want to have partners. Like male to male partners and that is still in the incubation stage because culture is still very much against the practice. We know culture changes, but we don't know where culture will take us to so people may be in a freer state to practice what they believe in.

3. *Female 1: It is typically hard for males to display affections*

4. *Female 2: Males are more loyal to themselves and understand what it is to be loyal*

5. *Female 3: Nothing is personal to males*

6. *Male 3: Guys are closer to each other and do not hold grudges like girls so there are more interactive*

7. *Male 4: Guys are more attached*

Respectful Interactions

Participants identified interactions that are considered respectful and disrespectful such as greeting with the left hand or talking in a certain tone. Also, Participants identified phrases that are disrespectful to elders as well, such as saying "you lied".

1. *Male 1: Greeting with left hand is a sign of disrespect*

2. *Male 2: When talking voice pitch should be lower than the older person you are talking to*

3. *Male 3: You have to stand up to shake or greet the elder and offer them your seat*

4. *Female 1: Instead of saying "you lied" you need to say that you are not telling the truth*

5. *Female 2: You must say you don't understand instead of it doesn't make sense*

6. *Female 3: Do not go for the meat first if you are a boy, let the men get the meat first then the everyone is allowed to eat.*

Meaning of a Father

Participants identified one to three words of what a father means to them as well as what a father should do for their family.

1. *Male 1: Leader*

2. *Female 1: Protector, bread winner*

3. *Male 2: Mental stability*

4. *Female 2: Someone you look up, always there for you*

5. *Female 3: Mentor*

Relatioship with Fathers

Regarding the participants relationships with their fathers, most of them were close to their fathers being able to talk to them when needed and having an emotional relationship. Their fathers have been a part of their daily lives since childhood and remain close to them until this day. However, other participants relationships have been strained over the years whether it was due to the loss of their mother or their relationship was never strong to begin with. Majority of the participants that had a close/ friendship with their fathers were females and the participants who had a strain relationship were the males.

1. *Female 1: My father is my friend he walked me to school*

2. *Female 2: I am the oldest, my father is my best friend and I am his baby girl*

3. *Female 3: I'm the youngest and my dad is my friend, protector and he likes to pamper me a lot*

4. *Male 1: I'm cordial with my father, after high school we drifted apart, but we are starting to get things back on track now*

5. *Male 2: I live with my father and we talk every once in a while*

6. *Male 3: I'm not close with my father at all, I see him as a "master"*

7. *Male 4: Only have formal conversations with my father, we use to be friends*

8. *Female 4: I'm closer to my mother*

9. *Male 5: As you grow older, I believe you get closer to your father as you experience more*

Patriarchal Hierarchy in Society

Participants noted that in the Ghanaian culture the society has a patriarchal society. With having a patriarchal society, the father holds the highest rank in the house as well and is the most respected in most household.

1. *Female 1: Father is the most respected*

2. *Female 2: Use to be my mother*

3. *Male 1: Mom stays and takes care of my sisters, while my dad pays the bills*

4. *Male 2: Dad is the head of the family, he calls the meetings*

5. *Male 3: Dad pays the bills*

6. *Female 3: Mom is stricter, but my dad takes care of business*

Important Male Figure

In the focus groups participants identified the important male figures in their lives. Most of the participants fathers were their important male figures while other chose important figures in Ghana.

1. *Female 1: Dad is my closest male figure and I did not get my masculinity viewpoints from my father*

2. *Male 1: I have no close male figure*

3. *Male 2: President Kwame was my important male figure*

4. *Female 2: My dad is my most important male figure, all of my life he has been showing me what to do and how to live*

Masculinity

The participants stated their definition of masculinity. In particular, participants described masculinity as a socially defined by people, and the way society frames men's identity.

1. *Male 1: To be in charge*

2. *Female 1: Male or female can have masculinity features*

3. *Male 2: Macho man, Big*

4. *Male 3: Now there are people who want to be like women, drag queen or transgender*

5. *Female 2: Because of masculinity, fathers are supposed to just provide and leave '*

6. *Female 3: Power, Strength, authority, size, body shape*

7. *Female 4: How well you can provide for your family*

8. *Female 5: Don't cry and not weak*

9. *Male 4: Being a homosexual lesson your masculinity. I would beat the hell out of my son if they were gay*

10. *Male 5: Homosexuality is totally wrong, not acceptable*

11. *Female 6: I accept homosexuality I just don't understand it*

Domestic Responsibility

Participants described the domestic responsibilities of men and women in Ghana. Women usually are cooking, cleaning, and taking care of the siblings. While the men are out working in the yard.

1. *My Dad usually pay the bills*

2. *My Little sister does chores*

3. *Women do the basic chores*

4. *Since I am the oldest girl, I am responsible for taking care of my older siblings*

DISCUSSION

This study aimed to understand the experience of Ghanaian males and their psychosocial behaviors in the Ghanaian culture. Specifically, the findings of this study demonstrated how the Ghanaian society is still driven by male dominance. The participants noted that men are supposed to be the head of the household and make most of the money. While the women take care of the children and do work around the house Males are groomed to become the men of their homes. Participants suggested that men are receiving more accommodation than women. Promotion in the workplace are based on gender. Many of the Ghanaian people still believe in the traditionalistic values. The researchers have discovered in our study that in the Ghanaian society fathers have an impact on the father and daughter relationship versus the father and son. It was found that most of the women in the study were still best friends and looked up to their fathers as their best friend. While the men described their relationship with their father as him being the boss and "master" and that the male relationships are a work in progress. There is an image and thought of the 'daddy's girl' which may explain the positive friendship relationship between father-daughters and the male dynamic between fathers and sons. The researchers examined that men in the Ghanaian society are taught to be more nurturing and to give more attention to females. This would explain the impact on the father-son relationship and why most of the men in the focus group were not close with their fathers. Some older men didn't get close with their father until they were older and experienced life more. In the study, the participants thought of a father as someone who should mentor and protect their family. We have also discovered that male affection is based on the level of the friendship. Males in the Ghanaian society hold hands as friend. When asking the question about male interactions, in each of the focus group the topic of homosexuality came up.

In the urban focus group, the participants were more open in going in more depth about their cultural views of homosexuality. In the urban area they believed that in the coming years it will become more accepted as more people are becoming open to it. However, in the rural focus group in Cape Coast, one of the participants became very vocal about their view on homosexuality, he stated "I would kill his own child if they turned out to be gay". The rest of the participants stated that they did not understand homosexuality. The male participants were uncomfortable with another male asking them question about how males interact in their society even though the question wasn't asking about romantic affection. It was also discovered that their definition of masculinity comes from society and that a male or female can have the traits, and they did not get their viewpoints of masculinity from their fathers.

The above findings provide us with a brief cultural portrait of life in Ghana. However, some limitations of this study are acknowledged. The first is the convenience sampling of the participants. We captured the majority viewpoints of college students. College students may not be representative of the general population in Ghana. The World Education News

and Reviews (2019) reports that basic education until the 9th grade is mandatory but college education is not. Thus, the college students may not be representative of the general males or females in the majority. However, these students represent the future, redefining the roles and expectations for the genders, and thus are an important source of information. The other limitation is that of the data collection method used. Focus groups have disadvantages such as the effect one member can have on others, for example emotional outbursts, and the taxing nature of the extensive interviewing (Creswell & Poth, 2020). It is important to note that the researcher and the co-moderator were trained in qualitative methodology and this was the second experience with this data collection method. Thus, although this method was taxing, the researcher was experienced in conducting and moderating the group.

Implications of the results for future studies include further explorations of experiences from males in the global African diaspora. Time and resources permitting, prolonged engagement in the country, for at least a semester, will provide an accurate portrait of the culture. Triangulating sources by collecting data from different parts of the African diaspora, for example, Ghana, Nigeria, South Africa, will also provide a rich and meaningful portrait of black masculinity in Africa. Such an exploration can be beneficial for introducing culturally relevant counseling and training as well as for developing a worldview about fatherhood across generations through the lens of an African American male.

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APPENDIX

Interview Questions

Relationships

1. *Can you describe how males display affection with other males? (Probe: How is physical contact viewed in your culture?)*

2. *Who is the closest male figure in your life?*

3. *Describe your longest male friendship?*

4. What is the relationship like with your father?

5. What does the term father mean to you? Can you use 1-3 words associated with "father"

6. Can you give an example of how males greet each other?

7. Explain a positive interaction you had with another male? (*Probe: What is considered a respectful interaction?*)

8. Describe a negative interaction you had with another male? (*Probe: What is considered a disrespectful interaction?*)

9. Describe the hierarchy in male relationships? (*Probe: In a family who is the most respected? Obeyed?*)

   10. What is your definition of masculinity? (Probe: Using one – three words, describe 'being a man' or 'masculinity'.)

Responsibilities

1. Describe your responsibilities in your home growing up? (Probe: e.g., cooking, cleaning, shopping, household/vehicle maintenance)

2. Do you work currently? Where if yes, or have you ever wanted to work if no? Explain some things that either men can do that the women cannot and vice versa.

3. Explain the difference in how girls are raised compared to boys. Probe: If you had a daughter, how would you raise her? What would you expect her to do or not do?

4. What jobs are deemed appropriate for men to have? What about women?