

Exploring a group of African male students' talk on gender equality.

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DECLARATION

I declare that this research report is my own, unaided work. It being submitted for the degree of Masters of Arts in Psychology by Coursework and Research report at the University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

Signed on this 30 day of November 2009

Sanele Nompumelelo Immaculate Mdanda

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ABSTRACT

This research investigated the manner in which a group of African male students perceive and construct gender equality in the work place. A sample of 19 African male students within the University of Witwatersrand student population was used. The participants were aged between 19 and 30 years. This specific age range was chosen on the grounds that most students in this age range would have already formed specific views regarding gender equality. Individual and focus group interviews were the main methods of data collection; both types of interviews were conducted with this varied sample of African male students. The study was qualitative in nature and it employed thematic content analysis as a method of data analysis. Key themes were identified and discussed. The results indicated the contradictory nature of how men understand and accept equality. This was evident in how men tried to curb and undermine the empowerment of women in a manner that helped to advance the agenda of men. The participants used a varied number of strategies to try and argue for male power and control. These strategies were utilised as deemed contextually relevant by the men. This was especially relevant in how men were seen to negotiate their roles within the workplace in a manner that would align or help them be seen to be in favour of equal opportunities in the workplace yet in private and within their homes they were seemingly against the whole notion altogether.

Keywords: *Masculinity, gender equality, empowerment of women, legislated equality, masculinities, gender roles, women's role re-definition, workplace, African women's economic struggle, end of the empowerment of women.*

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Chapter 1

1.1 Introduction.

South Africa has unfortunately inherited a work environment based on an economic system characterised by deprivation, political instability, adversarial labour relations, cheap migrant labour and massive income as well as wealth disparities (Naidoo & Kongolo, 2004). In light of these problems, South Africa developed what is regarded as one of the most progressive constitutions in the world that guards against varied forms of discrimination. Amongst these is discrimination on the basis of gender.

A number of policies and laws have been adopted to help curb this form of discrimination, such as affirmative action, the Labour Relations Act of 1995 and gender equality. Through these policies there has been a great shift in the demographics of the labour market and workplace where more women, especially African women, are gaining access to a domain previously regarded as that of men.

This was considered as a positive step towards addressing an unequal distribution of power and unequal gender relations. But there have been negative or opposing views towards this inclusion of women. This is seen in how men respond to the inclusion of women in the workplace through a series of backlash strategies for the sole purpose of excluding women altogether (see, for example, Connell, 1995; Kimmel, 2004; Morrell, 2002; Shefer et al., 2007). Although men may utilise these strategies there have been

some gains made by women within the workplace. This is seen in how women are taking up more influential positions and offices both in corporate and government departments.

1.2 Rationale of the study

The end of apartheid has provided the conditions for the emergence of an African middle class that is gaining access to state positions as well as to the boardrooms of the corporate world (Morrell, 2005). In this process, women have also gained greater access to formal employment.

It has been fourteen years since the adoption of the new Constitution which valorises gender equality and thus it is appropriate at this stage to examine whether the new constitution has had an impact on men's perception of gender equality. Transformations in the economy and in the political structures have also further added to equality (Cockburn, 1991). As measured in policy terms, steps towards gender equity have been striking, but on the ground, progress has been much slower (Morrell, 2005). This is due to the fact that gender equality is a highly complex process and it occurs within individuals, within groups and within institutions (Morrell, 2001). Therefore, the study investigated how this change has shaped and changed male students' perceptions. As gender transformation is not an ineluctable movement, for it to continue men and women must contribute to its progression (Morrell, 2005). The study examined the strategies men were using to understand gender equality, especially in a society that is so rapidly changing with established power relations being challenged, in gender and social terms (Reid & Walker, 2005).

1.3 Research Questions.

The study aimed to answer the following questions:

- *What are men's perceptions of gender equality 14 years after the adoption of the new constitution and gender equality laws?*
- *What strategies do participants utilise in order to understand gender equality and how do these emerge in participants' talk regarding gender equality?*

1.4 Chapter Outline

Chapter 1 discusses the background information, aims and research questions relating to the study.

Chapter 2 mainly focuses on the relevant literature. The chapter begins with a discussion of the Labour Relations Act and Gender Equality to help give a background for the current context of gender equality in South Africa. It then moves on to the discussion of feminism and how this informed as well as helped start the movement into researching masculinity. A discussion about the concept of masculinity follows. The different types of masculinities such as hegemonic masculinity are also presented and discussed in detail. African masculinity is then discussed in accordance with how culture and race both inform the formation of African masculinity. The question of whether masculinity is in crisis is also introduced and discussed.

Chapter 3 deals with the methodology that was utilised in this research project. It mainly provides details about the sample, the procedure that was followed and data collection methods as well as the data analysis method, namely thematic content analysis.

In *Chapter 4* the analysis, results and discussion are presented. The results and discussion are presented together for flow and coherence. A number of themes were identified such as constructions of equality, equality in the workplace, and constructions of women's roles and women's independence. Perceptions of African women's economic struggle and the strategies that men used to justify male power and control were discussed.

In the final chapter, *Chapter 5*, a summary and conclusion of the study are presented.

Chapter 2

Literature Review.

2.1. Introduction.

This chapter will begin with a discussion of the Labour Relations Act of 1995 and the notion of gender equality to help give a background to the current context of gender equality in South Africa. It then moves on to the discussion of feminism and how this informed as well as helped start the movement into researching masculinity. This will be done by highlighting how feminism is inevitably linked to masculinity and how feminism helps to constantly and critically question masculinity. A discussion about the concept of masculinity will follow. This is done by first explaining masculinity according to a number of scholars' definitions. Subsequently, the different perspectives on masculinity will be discussed. These include the socialist, pro-feminist and the group perspectives, to name a few. The different types of masculinities such as hegemonic masculinity will also be discussed in detail.

African masculinity will then be discussed in accordance with how culture and race both inform the formation of African masculinity. The question of whether masculinity is in crisis is introduced. A background to the question is presented. This is then followed by an exploration of the current "crisis".

2.2 Labour Relations Act and Gender Equality.

The government's commitment to transformation has been largely informed by the past political as well as economic exclusions of African people. This was seen in the limited job opportunities and educational advancement of African people during the time of apartheid. It was also due to the fact that the legacy of apartheid was structural and tended to be self-reinforcing in the absence of concerted policy interventions aimed at reversing this legacy in the form of employment equity (Labour Market Commission, 1996). In this regard then the government in 1994 increasingly committed itself to meeting its democratic obligations of reducing income and wealth inequalities along racial lines (Edigheji, 2004). This is seen in a number of law reforms such as the Employment Equity Act (EEA), the Labour Relations Act of 1995 and Affirmative Action (AA) measures which have been initiated in South Africa, aiming to achieve greater social justice, equality, as well as to redress past unfair discrimination and unearned privilege (Booyesen, 2007). (Previously whites controlled the socio-economic wealth of this country and discriminatory laws put in place by the then apartheid government reinforced this.) Further objectives of the measures also include the promotion of equal opportunities and the advancement of the designated groups (Jain, 2002). This is in line with the constitution's definition of goals aimed at achieving gender equality which have been guided by a vision of human rights which incorporates acceptance of the equal and inalienable rights of all women and men (Kornegay, 2000).

According to the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) (1999), women constitute the major segment of the South African population but account for only a third of the labour

force. This is due to the fact that traditionally women were excluded from the workplace. Women also tended to be discriminated against due to their gender and opportunities for career advancement in their chosen field of practice were few and very limited. Gender equality is seen as a vitally important aspect of the rights that are envisioned in the Act that has been mentioned, as women are amongst the poorest members of the South African population and are regarded as more likely to be unemployed or underemployed. The Act tried to bridge the socio-economic divide that women live within by enforcing strategies that should help in the advancement of women in the labour force. Thus the transformation of the workforce as well as the workplace has in recent years, after the introduction of the Labour Relations Act of (1995), taken centre stage. This is seen in how equality in the workplace has largely been championed by the creation of the Labour Relations Act of (1995).

The Act makes provision for issues that previously hindered the process of transformation and equality, such as equal representation of all members of society in the workplace. The Act also makes provision for the equal treatment of all marginalized groups in the workplace with special emphasis on women. This is due to the fact that employment is the main bridge between economic growth and higher living standards (Barker, 2005). It also helps to empower women, thus leading to lower fertility rates and further improving living standards (Barker, 2005).

Empowerment of women in the workplace is largely reflected in the favourable employment prospects for women. This is especially true for African women as they are regarded as the group that has greatly benefited from these policies. But it must be noted

that in management positions African women are still largely underrepresented. Research by Booysen (2007) found that whites and males, and specifically white males, still dominate top management, senior management and professional and middle management positions.

2.3 Feminism

Feminism in society has generally been viewed in a negative light. This view leads one to wonder what exactly feminism is. Feminism can be defined as a concrete attempt to bridge societal inequalities that historically faced many women. These inequalities ranged from discrimination, unequal treatment in the home and workplace, to discriminatory policies that were supported by government. These policies further perpetuated women's unfair treatment. Feminism encapsulates the aspiration for equality, for the end of discrimination and for the advancement of women (Finchilescu, 1995).

In order to understand feminism one has to first define gender. Feminism originated as an answer to the gender and societal imbalances that were common in all aspects pertaining to women and society in general. Gender is an integral part of identity; it defines roles, work and most importantly power relations. The images and expectations attached to male and female labels not only guide our behaviour but they also serve as the basis of power relations (Henslin, 1997). Historically and currently gender is often used as a weapon and vehicle for enslavement and inequality. Gender as a cultural construct can be manipulated as a tool of oppression, where men are able to occupy positions of social

power over women (Kiguwa, 2004). Gender supported by culture can further be used as a means to oppress women and advance the position of men in society.

Gender then can be regarded as socially imposed division of the sexes (Vance, 1980) and it was first employed to emphasize the social and relational nature of differences between men and women in contrast to biological differences between the sexes (Acker, 1992). The term gender or sex roles usually refer to the social construction of inherent sexual differences between men and women (Acker, 1992; Shefer, 2004).

Acker (1992) further defines gender as a patterning of difference as well as domination through distinctions between women and men that are integral to many societal processes. Connell (2000) refers to this division of the sexes as gender regimes. The wide separation of masculine-feminine stereotypes has been associated with sector segregation. In this regard then whatever ideals, values, or strivings individuals had, they had to be confined to the sector considered appropriate to their sex (Rapoport & Rapoport, 1975). This is due to the fact that every known culture in the world makes a distinction between male and female (Edley & Wetheral, 1995) and prior to social intervention in the form of gender, the identification of certain physical characteristics was the basis for categorising people (Acker, 1992). Therefore it can be said that gender was commonly viewed along the physiological differences between males and females. In this regard then gender and sex are interdependent, but clearly distinguishable (Acker, 1992).

Sex on the other hand is understood as the biological distinction between male and female (Connell, 2000). According to Acker (1992) sex signifies difference between female and male bodies such as external genitalia and hormonal production. Thus the definitive basis for the distinction between male and female is the possession of a penis or vagina (Edley & Whetheral, 1995). These distinctions in physiological differences are usually termed as sex differences; these differences are therefore biologically innate and *supposedly unchangeable*. This is due to the notion that gender is a social construction, thus variable and subject to change, while sex represented the essential and unchanging physical differences in human production (Acker, 1992). Masculinity and femininity seems to exist as a corpus of traits, including characters, roles, abilities as well as temperaments, which are embedded in individual men and women (Shefer, 2004).

In this regard then any differences between the sexes, whether it is behaviour, personality, or status in a society were held to be natural and lodged within biology-hence making it immutable (Finchilescu, 1995). This notion has also being called the unitary sexual characteristic. Gender can be regarded as the organizing principle that shapes social structure, identities, power and knowledge (Connell, 2000; Nentwich, 2006).

Gender thus can be viewed along social, cultural and psychological differences between men and women (Hook, 2004). In other words then gender or sex roles were understood as patterns of social expectation norms for the behaviour of men and women, which were transmitted to youth in a process of socialization. A study by Nentwich (2006) further

explains how these differences are viewed; it also explains the importance gender plays in understanding and implementing gender equality programmes especially in the workplace.

When talking about gender, the different types of feminist theories must be taken into account. This is due to the fact that these theoretical approaches and practises have influenced the changes regarding gender issues. These different theories helped shape the different positions and changes that resulted from the awareness of gender inequality. Therefore this then leads one to realise that sex roles based on biological differences as already indicated are under constant scrutiny. The hierarchy between men and women (Nentwich, 2006) is also under constant review. It is very important to recognize that finding “sex differences” need to not imply a difference between all men and all women (Connell, 2000).

When taking our country into account and the policy changes that have taken place, these changes in policy are slowly addressing the gender divide between men and women, especially in employment as equal opportunities for women are being created. It can therefore be said then that:

Feminism's defining ambition is to transform gendered power relations.

This might involve reshaping socially determined categories of masculinity

and femininity, addressing dominant forms of (hetero)-sexuality and

contesting material inequalities associated with gendered differences in

employment, in institutional representation and in household and personal relations (Robinson, 2000, p. 285).

Feminism generally encompasses all women by virtue of their commonality. It argues that all women share the same experiences regarding gender and living within a patriarchal society. This notion has been regarded as a basic premise that feminism stemmed from. It has also been called the universal oppression of women and has also been linked to the original feminist idea of Sisterhood- the idea that all women share some kind of kindred interest by virtue of being women (Kiguwa, 2004). It is an assumption that all women share the same experiences of oppression and gender by virtue of being a woman (Kiguwa, 2004). As mentioned before the universal oppression of women supports the assumptions raised by the notion of Sisterhood that all oppression experienced at the hands of men holds true to all women regardless of race and other factors that affect gender relations.

Accordingly Kiguwa (2004) states that “women are bound in a common plight by virtue of being oppressed by men” (p.7:11). This is however simplistic and deeply contested because women's interests vary according to their circumstances and identities by class, race, ethnicity, occupation, and life-cycle stage (Goetz, 1998). Therefore when one takes into account the different realities that South African women find themselves living in, factors such as race and class further influence the nature of these realities. In essence then these factors and different realities define the manner in which gender and feminist principles are experienced by South African women. African women in particular are

more susceptible to these factors as they are inevitably African before they are regarded as women.

African women's lives are structured not only by class divisions of the late capitalist society but also by the combined effects of race and gender oppression (Mama, 1995, as cited in Kiguwa, 2004). As Cleaver (2002) states, not having to think about race is one of the luxuries of being white, just as not having to think about gender is one of the "patriarchal dividends" of gender inequality. The situation that African women inevitably find themselves in has been called triple oppression. Triple oppression describes the situation in which many African women find themselves: oppressed in terms of race, class and gender (Kiguwa, 2004). Mama (1995, as cited in Kiguwa, 2004) further describes the idea of "triple oppression" as an attempt to theorise and respond to the multiply oppressive dynamics of exclusion and marginalisation, and to explain the poor economic and political status of African women.

Feminism and gender equality since 1994 in South Africa have seen a drastic shift. It may seem that an unquestionably patriarchal system has given way to new ideals of equality between men and women, which are enshrined in the Constitution (Reid & Walker, 2004). These transformative laws continuously aim to create a more egalitarian society where socioeconomic disparities between different communities are eradicated or at least somewhat leveled (Kok, 2008). This shift and new ideals are characterized by progressive laws governing gender equality, better employment opportunities for women and an overall sense of the emancipation of women. Legislation has ensured that in law at least

women are regarded as equal to men. This can be seen in how women are entering the job market, making use of the opportunities that are presented to them (Herbst, Coetzee & Visser, 2007). Women's ability to take up these opportunities resulted from the progressive and liberal nature of South Africa's new Constitution and gender equality laws that were adopted after 1994 (Kiguwa, 2004). The adoption of the Constitution and gender equality laws helped to address the gender inequalities that women faced in society as well as in the workplace. In other words, the new government adopted gender mainstreaming which in practical terms, means that the constitution guarantees equality between men and women and protects their rights (Diko, 2006).

Changes following the apartheid period in South Africa have shaped the tensions that characterise gender relations (Sideris, 2005). These tensions have also to some extent helped to further the divide between the sexes therefore creating a state of equality versus inequality that seems to exist for most women. This state can be linked to the divide that exists between women's home life and the workplace. Sideris (2005) clarifies this by drawing attention to how ideas, values, social and institutional practices that affirm gender inequalities still hold currency, despite the political endorsement of equal rights for men and women. This is due to the fact that factors such as race and class still inform gender inequality. Therefore sensitivity is needed when trying to gain insight into the understanding of the varied nature of different women's experience of oppression and inequality. Many women may share fundamental experiences or commonalities but these experiences are also shaped by factors such as class and race.

2.3.1. Feminism's influence on Masculinity studies.

Feminism has given rise to the development and study of masculinities. Women's movements challenged men to re-think their inherited masculinities and create more equal relationships with their partners (Siedler, 2006). This was done by challenging men to investigate how gender plays a role in the manner in which masculinity was constructed. Masculinities studies forced the restatement of gender understandings and relations to include men and women (Morrell, 1998). It could then be argued that the current interest in masculinities research has been inspired by feminist scholarship (Drummond, 1994). Connell (2005) attests to this when she states that it took the worldwide impact of the women's liberation movement to bring men into focus as participants in a gender system. This was done by questioning what gender is as well as the impact it has on both men and women. This in turn revealed how gender analysis should involve both men and women. It also helped open up dialogue about how issues such as class, race and identity impact on gender and how gender identities are formed and shaped against this backdrop. Feminism therefore has explicated the continuing inequalities between women and men as they exist across ethnic groups and cultural and social borders (Whitehead & Barrett, 2001). It was established that masculinity is socially constructed and can be investigated as well. Through this route masculinity became part of gender studies as an area of scholarship (Morrell, 1998). Including masculinity in gender studies has made it all-encompassing; as it studies both men and women and their combined impact on gender. Therefore contemporary men's studies arise from a history

of debates about gender relations, men, and masculinities, yet it represents a new departure based on a social analysis of gender (Connell, 2003).

With regards to the South African context, it was the rise of Women's Studies in Southern Africa which paradoxically resulted in new questions being asked about and renewed attention being focused on men (Morrell, 1998). It can be said then that the inclusion of women in research, subsequently helped form and launch the platform from which masculinity could be properly researched. This resulted in research that not only focused on women but on gender as a whole. In South Africa research and history were initially only concerned with inserting women into history. But this gradually gave way to an expansion of the conceptual scope of research to encompass gender (Morrell, 1998). This helped reveal that gender issues are not just about women but include men's varied experiences and expression of gender as well (Oyegun, 1998).

Feminism has informed the study of masculinity and feminist analysis is constantly raising questions about men. It can reveal also how gender relations have a global dimension that shapes contemporary masculinities (Connell, 2003). In this regard, feminism puts men and masculinities in a critical spotlight (Whitehead & Barrett, 2001). It also highlights how masculinity and feminism are inherently relational concepts, which have meaning in relation to each other (Connell, 1995).

2.4. Masculinity

Masculinity and how it is constructed are complex and differ from culture to culture. A number of studies in recent years have attempted to examine this complex issue. Morrell (2001) states that masculinity is so culturally variable and so context dependent that only its connection to the physical possession of male genitalia is incontestable. As an aside, this assertion is arguably contestable and will be dealt with in the study.

If masculinity and its construction are complex and to a certain extent culture bound as well as informed by history, it does lead one to ask, what is masculinity? There are a number of definitions of masculinity (see for example Connell, 2000; Edley & Wetherell, 1995; Morrell, 1998). These authors' definitions of masculinity are quoted below.

Morrell (1998) defines masculinity as follows:

Masculinity is a collective gender identity and not a natural attribute and it is socially constructed and fluid (p. 607).

Edley and Wetherell (1995) define masculinity as:

Masculinity is the sum of men's characteristic "practices" at work, with their families, in their communities, and in groups and the institutions to which they belong (p.96).

Connell (2000) further defines masculinity as follows:

Masculinity is neither programmed in our genes, nor fixed by social structure, prior to social interaction. It comes into existence as people act and is actively produced, using the resources and strategies available in a given social setting (p.12).

Thus, it can be said that studying masculinity can be approached in a number of ways as well. Hearn (2007) states that the constructions of men and masculinities can be explored with many different emphases such as global and regional iterations, institutional forms, practices and interactions with women, children and other men, as well as expressing, challenging, and producing gender inequalities. With this in mind, masculinity will be examined in this report according to a number of different perspectives.

2.4.1 Different Perspectives of Masculinity

There are a number of perspectives that have been employed to define masculinity. Accordingly Clatterbaugh (1990) identified a number of perspectives such the social, conservative and pro-feminist perspectives as well as the spiritual and group perspective. The following discussion will be based on these different perspectives that have been identified by Clatterbaugh.

2.4.1.1 Social perspective

The social perspective of masculinity, defines masculinity according to activities that men engage in. It also defines masculinity as a social reality that is grounded in economically determined class structures (Clatterbaugh, 1990). This perspective also highlights how patriarchal capitalism controls masculinity. This is done by highlighting the different labour systems that men engage in and how this is used to define masculinity.

2.4.1.2 Conservative perspective

The conservative perspective of masculinity adopts the naturalist as well as the moralist view to define masculinity. This perspective does this by justifying the notion that men are naturally suited to being providers and protectors of women. Thus it is also natural for men to be politically and socially dominant. According to the moral conservatives, masculinity is created by society in order to override men's natural antisocial tendencies. It also results in the civilising role men play when they are fathers, protectors, and providers (Clatterbaugh, 1990).

2.4.1.3 Pro-feminist perspective.

The pro-feminist perspective is another perspective that has been used to define masculinity. This perspective is basically in support of and sympathetic towards feminism. Pro-feminists reject the claim that traditional masculinity is either morally

necessary or biologically grounded (Clatterbaugh, 1990). This perspective highlights how masculinity is created through male privilege and the corresponding oppression of women. Within the pro-feminist perspective there are two branches, namely the radical pro-feminist and the liberal pro-feminist perspectives.

2.4.1.3.1 Radical pro-feminists

The radical pro-feminist standpoint in regard to the definition of masculinity is that masculinity is created and maintained by misogyny and violence against women and that patriarchy is the social and political order in which masculinity exists (Clatterbaugh, 1990). This is due to the fact that civil and international violence is strongly associated with dominating patterns of masculinity and with marked gender inequality in the state (Connell, 2005). This in turn greatly reveals the effects the state has in the formation and maintenance of masculinity. Therefore a movement away from these patterns makes it easier for men to adopt historically “feminine” styles of nonviolent negotiation and conflict resolution (Connell, 2005). This perspective thus highlights and provides essential insights into gender roles.

2.4.1.3.2 Liberal pro-feminists

The liberal pro-feminist standpoint maintains that there is no fundamental difference between men and women. It also maintains that female subordination is the direct result of legal constraints that women are subject to in a patriarchal society (Kiguwa, 2004).

These legal constraints have an ability to restrict women from participating in society as they would wish. In this regard then liberal pro-feminists view masculinity as a function of a set of limitations that are imposed on women (Clatterbaugh, 1990). These limitations are encouraged and rewarded by means of a system of rewards, punishment and social stereotypes as well as ideals. This system is maintained by patriarchal society and is supported by aspects of the law.

2.4.1.4 The spiritual perspective

The spiritual perspective is founded on the conviction that masculinity is derived from deep unconscious patterns (Clatterbaugh, 1990). These patterns are best revealed through a tradition of stories, myths and rituals (Clatterbaugh, 1990). The spiritual perspective of masculinity draws some influence from feminism. This influence is seen in how it highlights feminism's success in tapping into the unconscious minds of women, thus helping women discover the power with which they could unleash their inner energy. According to the spiritual perspective men have not managed to do this. Therefore, according to this perspective men can learn ways in which they can do so. In total then, this perspective of masculinity focuses on how men need to reach down into their psyche and touch an archetypal masculine pattern from which they have been separated (Clatterbaugh, 1990).

2.4.1.5. Group Perspective

The group perspective began as a voice that critiqued the mainstream definitions of masculinity. This is due to the fact that these definitions often presumed that masculinity was universally white and referred to heterosexual and mostly middle-class men (Clatterbaugh, 1990). It pointed out that not all forms of masculinity fit into the dominant masculinity that is always presented. Thus, this perspective gave voice to largely marginalised forms of masculinity such as black and homosexual masculinity.

Clatterbaugh's (1990) identified perspectives of masculinity allude to the varied definitions of masculinity that have been identified by the different scholars within masculinity studies (for example, Connell, 1995; Edley & Wetherall, 1995; Hearn, 2007; Morrell, 1998). The perspectives expand on these varying definitions, taken into the different worldviews of the men that might identify with the varied perspectives that are presented. The perspectives further point towards varied and multiple forms of masculinities within hegemonic masculinity. In other words, these perspectives shed light on how masculinities are different definitions concerning what it means to be a man in different cultural contexts around the world (Lang, 2002).

Therefore, when taking these above-mentioned definitions into account one can see that masculinity is both socially constructed as well as sex based. A definition that embodies a more inclusive explanation was that put forth by Whitehead and Barrett (2001). According to these authors masculinities are those behaviours, languages and practices,

existing in specific cultural and organizational locations, which are commonly associated with males and thus culturally defined as not feminine. This definition embodies all aspects that pertain to the nature and state of masculinity.

2.5. Different Types of Masculinities.

The notion of different types of masculinities informs one that masculinity does not have fixed character types but configurations of practice generated in particular situations in a changing structure of relationships (Morrell, 1998). This is due to the fact that there is no one and all-encompassing type of masculinity but a variation of the socially accepted standards of what masculinity should be. This in turn then reveals how there are multiple masculinities within masculinity itself. With this in mind, the different types of masculinity that have been identified by a number of scholars will be discussed in the following sections.

2.5.1 Hegemonic Masculinity.

Within contemporary society a dominant form of masculinity exists. This dominant form of masculinity is referred to as hegemonic masculinity. Connell (1995) defines this form of masculinity as a configuration which embodies the currently accepted answer to the

problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women. Hegemonic masculinity then is seen as a powerful form of masculinity that is in control of all that is masculine and subsequently subdues or suppresses what is seen as not masculine, that is, all that is feminine, homosexual and African.

According to Edley and Wetherell (1995) this type of masculinity determines the standards and norms that masculinities must adhere to. Therefore, this form of masculinity prescribes the standards and norms that other men must follow in order to be classified as masculine (Edley & Wetherell, 1995).

Morrell's (2001) definition of hegemonic masculinity is in line with definitions that were put forth by Connell (1995) as well as Edley and Wetherell (1995). He states that hegemonic masculinity is one that dominates other masculinities and which has succeeded in creating prescriptions of masculinity which are binding (or at least partially so), and which creates cultural images of what it means to be a real man. Hegemonic masculinity does not rely on brute force for its efficacy, but on a range of mechanisms which create a gender consensus that legitimates the power of men (Morrell, 2001). It relies on mechanisms such as social control and subordination of other forms of masculinities as well as womanhood.

It must be noted that other forms of masculinity do exist. This is due to the fact that a number of masculinities exist according to class, race and ethnicity. It can thus be said that subordinate and subversive masculinities exist amongst marginal or dominated groups and these may be oppositional to the dominant masculinity (Connell, 1995). This will be explored and discussed in the sections to follow.

In South Africa, the changes resulting from gender equality policies have placed substantial pressure on “masculinity” as a whole. This is partly due to how men have tried to construct socially acceptable means of dealing with gender equality and women in a non-biased manner yet still maintain their masculinity. While “constitutional sexuality” seems to have shut some doors for men by shrinking the patriarchal dividend (at least at the level of legislation), it has simultaneously opened up space and created opportunities for men to construct new masculinities (Walker, 2005). Constitutional sexuality can be viewed as the inclusion of both men and women as equal members of society as recognised by the constitution of South Africa. Hegemonic masculinity thus can be viewed as a collective gender identity and not a natural attribute; it is socially constructed and fluid (Morrell, 1998). Connell (2005) describes this notion of the fluidity of masculinity as follows:

Hegemonic masculinity is not a fixed character type, always and everywhere the same. It is, rather, the masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations, a position always contestable. (p.1808)

Other typologies of masculinity identified in the literature will be discussed below.

2.5.2 Traditional and Conventional types of Masculinity

Walker's (2005) study identified two distinct types of masculinities, namely the traditional also seen as the "macho", man and the conventional, also regarded as the "new", man. These two types of men are in a sense in complete opposition with each other, especially when viewed according to gender issues and practices.

2.5.3 The Traditional Man

Traditional man is regarded as a man steeped in tradition in all issues pertaining to women, male power and the exercise thereof. These ideas of tradition, gender and age hierarchies dictate the rights, duties and obligations of men, women and children in the family (Sideris, 2005). This type of man always uses the "natural order" and culture to maintain dominance and power. Cultural constructions of what it means to be a man not only legitimise male authority, they also provide men with a set of regulations that spell out the rights, duties and obligations that accompany male authority (Sideris, 2005).

2.5.4 The Conventional man

The conventional man is a man that is aware of the changes regarding gender issues and equality. Conventional men essentially appear to be in support of many of the notions put forth to advance gender equality. Yet they also want to appear as men in front of other men. In public they appear egalitarian as they are pro- equality, yet at home they still maintain traditional gender roles. This is also termed fluid egalitarianism. Connell (2005) states that:

Some men accept change in principle but in practice still act in ways that sustain men's dominance of the public sphere and assign domestic labor and child care to women (p.1811).

Therefore fluid egalitarianism helps to reinforce the new sexist discourse that functions to maintain male privileges but in a ways that reduce the detection of sexism, presenting the speaker as egalitarian (Riley, 2001). This new form of sexism is guided by knowledge and superficial conformity with gender equality. In a study conducted by Burke (2007) this new form of sexism was identified as a "backlash". It was found that men who support gender equality policies in the workplace can simultaneously undermine these policies especially when they perceive their position of power and privilege to be under threat.

2.5.5 Reactive (Defensive), Accommodating and Responsive (Progressive) Types of Masculinity

Morrell (2001) identifies three types of masculinity. These are resistant or defensive masculinity, accommodating masculinity and progressive masculinity.

2.5.5.1 The reactive or defensive masculinity

This masculinity reacts in a violent manner towards the changing realities of gender equality. It does this by trying to reverse the changes of gender equality so that men may re-assert their power. Men in this category attempt to turn back changes in order to reassert their power (Morrell, 2001). This type of masculinity is usually aligned with violent means of behaviour and control.

2.5.5.2 The accommodating masculinity

Accommodating masculinity is in complete contrast to defensive masculinity. This type of masculinity negotiates and tries to find new ways of being a man. The man can be seen as traditionalist and might be considered defensive, but he also attempts to reflect a non-violent masculinity (Morrell, 2001). Accommodating masculinity is concerned with taking into account the changes in society, especially in relation to gender issues and how these have an impact on what it means to be a man. In other words, “accommodating”

men explore new ways of being, but they still cling to certain old ways, not least the claim to superior status over women (Morrell, 2001).

2.5.5.3 The responsive or progressive masculinity

The third category of masculinity identified by Morrell (2001) is responsive or progressive masculinity. This type of masculinity is supportive of gender-related changes and is consciously engaged in changing stereotypical views of women. Men in this category are in favour of women's liberation, look after children, support women in their desire to develop their careers and are sensitive and introspective (Morrell, 2001). This group of men has been greatly influenced by feminism and ideas of gender equality and have actively sought to create more equal relationships (Seidler, 2006).

It is important to note that the categories discussed above are not the only categories of masculinity that exist. Instead, these typologies attempt to understand and conceptualise some of the different forms of masculinity that exist. They also help one to realise that hegemonic masculinity has shifted and continues to shift (Morrell, 2001). This is because masculinity is embedded within an ensemble of social practices, symbols, discourses, and ideologies associated with the category of "man" (Barrett & Whitehead, 2001).

Ultimately, these categories also reveal the fact that there is no one typical form of masculinity. Brittan (1989, as cited in Lemon 1995) states that men are consequently

finding it difficult to conform to the traditional masculine norms and are attempting to resolve the apparent contradictions between the images of the past with the realities of today.

2.6 Culture and Masculinity

Cultural theorists have learnt to draw distinctions between urban, rural and indigenous cultures and have begun to think about different gendered and racialised cultures (Seidler, 2006). African masculinity is formed amidst a number of factors such as culture, race and racism. In recent times African men have had to learn to form an identity that is in line with the recent developments within South Africa such as democracy and gender equality. These factors and new circumstance in turn also inform how African masculinity is formed and shaped against a backdrop of a racialised reality.

History has had a strong hand in shaping some of the masculinities that can be seen in South Africa today. Firstly, we must go back in order to understand the nature of African masculinity today. This is due to the fact that a number of African men live in different realities. African men live in both rural and urban environments, with the two interlinking according to the cultural practices of the men concerned. This is partly due to the migrant labour system of the apartheid era. This occurred when men moved from the former homelands to the city in search of work opportunities. From this a number of masculinities emerged as a means to negotiate these contrasting environments. These

masculinities consisted, amongst others, of modern and traditional African men, professional African men and unskilled African men (Ratele, 1998).

In both these environments there were traces of home, in that most African men modelled their masculinities according to what they had learned in the homelands. They looked to older men who had been in the city for a while to help with modelling their masculinity. Modelling reveals the manner at which masculinities operated, especially in a context of structural relations of power and of specific historical and cultural contexts (Seidler, 2006).

In the urban environment there were other challenges that helped shaped African masculinities, such as working in low paying jobs, for example gardening and mining. This environment placed African men in a position to doubt their authority and power as this environment was shaped according to factors such as power and racial biases. Therefore African men were constantly questioning their masculinity. The development of masculinities in the context of apartheid was guided by how race or ethnicity and work shaped and informed each other (Epstein, 1998). All these factors combined informed the nature as well the kind of power that African men were able to attain (Seidler, 2006).

Ratele (1998) states that as an identity, African masculinity gets constructed in a tension-ridden movement towards and against whiteness. Westwood (1990) also identified this:

African identities have been forged in relation to the specificities of
their cultural and historical backgrounds and yet they recognize

commonalities with white working-class men because of their class position which generates both political and cultural overlaps related to them as men. But these identities are not separable; to be one does not deny the other (p. 56).

The making of African masculinities has always been in contrast to white masculinity. The formation of African masculinities is shaped by contradictory practices (Ratele, 2002). This is due to the fact that:

Masculinity differs from subculture to subculture within modern society; African men, for example, are subject to a very different set of socialising influences than white men; they live in a different social reality and have a different masculinity (Clatterbaugh, 1990, p. 15).

This then leads one to understand in greater depth that African manhood is made within a field of power struggles that includes such things as class, sex / sexuality / gender and of course race. This then for the most part provides a view into the realities of individual African men (Ratele, 2002).

2.7 Is Masculinity in crisis in South Africa?

Masculinities change over time and they are affected by changes in society and at the same time have the ability to affect society itself (Morrell, 1998). In this regard it can be said that masculinity has always been in one crisis or another (MacInness, 1998). The

notion of male identity crisis, now commonly referred to as crisis in masculinity first came to light in the late 1960s and 1970s (Lemon, 1995). But lately, with gender equality being at the forefront it seems the crisis has been further emphasised. Men have always been the privileged partners in the binarism of gender, invisibilised by their normativity, yet assumed to be the centre by their dominance (Shefer, Ratele, Strebel, Shabalala & Buikema, 2007).

Negotiating the turbulent waters of gender equality is seemingly shaking the core of male identity. This is due to the fact that men in modern societies are subjected to an unprecedented number of pressures due to social, economic, historical and political change (Lemon, 1995). This is also noticed increasingly in debates that are currently raging about the state of masculinity. These debates are raising interesting notions about the state of “maleness” as a whole. This is due to the fact that men today, more than ever are confused about what it means to be a man and are attempting to push beyond the rigid role prescriptions of traditional concepts of masculinity (Lemon, 1995). This has resulted in men being in a position to seriously reflect and ask questions regarding their identity as men. These debates in a sense compel one to ask, in the light of all the changes in the country, communities, families and to a greater extent intimate relationships; whether masculinity is in crisis?

It could be argued that masculinity is in crisis and that a number of changes in the social order have helped prompt this state of crisis of identity. This is due to the fact that men

are attempting to meet the many conflicting and contradictory demands made on them by the male sex role (Lemon, 1995).

Scholars working in the fields of gender, sexuality and health studies have pointed to a “crisis of masculinity” characterised by instability and uncertainty over social roles and identity, sexuality, work and personal relationships (Frosh, Phoenix & Pattman, 2003). Accordingly Walker (2005) notes that there has been a shift (a least at the level of perception) in gender and power relations in South Africa since 1994. This is further supported by studies and scholars within this field of research (See for example Singleton, 2007; Walzer, 2002).

It appears then that masculinity is in crisis. The transitions in gender power relations embodied in the Constitution have exacerbated a crisis of masculinity, which has taken different forms (Walker, 2005). South African men have confronted and will continue to confront conditions which undermine their economic condition and which are likely to cause them to question their masculinity. But even though this is so one must also note that this crisis does not eliminate male dominance. The structures that secure men’s power in the state, the economy and the realm of private relations have not been dismantled by political transformation (Sideris, 2005). This is due to the fact that men are dominant in the ownership and control of resources and resource accumulation (Hearn, 2007). This is due to the fact that it can be argued that men in South Africa still largely enjoy the privileges associated with unquestionable patriarchal power and domination (Lemon, 1995). This patriarchal power and domination that Lemon makes note of,

emphasises that gender inequality still exists and persists, although a number of inroads have been made. Women have become more visible, especially in the workplace, in that one sees more women in employment than ever before. Men have also helped in this regard as some have reacted positively as well as proactively to help the government with the implementation of gender equal society.

But this leads one to ask whether gender equality is reflected in the private lives of people, as gender equality awareness in South Africa was legislation-driven equality aimed at societal transformation. Therefore, the question can be posed, in regards to legislation's ability to successfully address societal perceptions of gender equality and practices of gender equality behind closed doors.

This can help one determine if the trickledown effect has reached this sphere as well.

This is due to the fact that:

Gender inequalities are embedded in a multidimensional structure of relationships between women and men which as the modern sociology of gender shows, operates at every level of human experience, from economic arrangements, culture, and the state to interpersonal relationships and individual emotions (Connell, 2005) p. 1801.

2.8 Conclusion.

In this chapter the Labour Relations Act of 1995 as well as gender equality were discussed to help give context to the current state of legislated equality in South Africa. Feminism was then discussed in order to highlight how it has helped shape the discussions regarding masculinity studies. Masculinity and the crisis that masculinity seems to be undergoing were also discussed. Further to that African masculinity and how culture as well as race inform this type of masculinity were also explored. Therefore having discussed the concept of masculinity and the varying notions that inform it, the contested nature that informs this term was a thread that featured throughout this literature review. This is due to the fact that there is no one pattern of masculinity that is found everywhere (Connell, 2000).

CHAPTER3

Methods.

3.1 Introduction.

This chapter aims to describe the epistemology and methodology that was utilised for this research. It will therefore begin with a discussion of the research design. The aims and research questions will then be identified and this will be followed by a discussion of the sample and an explanation of how the participants were recruited. The data collection procedures that were utilised will then be explained and following directly after that a detailed discussion of the method of analysis will be explored. Next, various ethical considerations will be discussed and finally the researcher's role within the entire process will be looked at in a reflexive manner.

3.2. Research Design.

This study looked at a group of African males' perceptions of gender equality in the workplace. Qualitative methods of research were used. Qualitative methods allow for studying human interaction and action within a natural setting (Bless, Higson-Smith, & Kagee, 2006; Terre Blanche, Kelly & Durrheim, 1999). Furthermore, the methods' goals are to describe and understand human social action from the perspective of the person that is to be researched. Emphasis is placed on understanding the phenomenon within the context that it occurs as well as a detailed description thereof. This enables the researcher

to have an active involvement with the subject to be researched (Bless, Higson-Smith, & Kagee, 2006; Kelly, 1999), further helping in answering questions that reveal how social experience is created and given meaning by people. Qualitative methods of research are especially suited for smaller cases or samples that are to be researched (Bless, Higson-Smith, & Kagee, 2006). These methods were ideal for this study as the researcher aimed to gain an understanding of a group of African male students' perceptions on gender equality, especially in relation to the workplace.

3.3 Research aim

a) This study aimed to explore how African male students perceive and construct gender equality in the work place.

3.4 Research Questions

a) *What are men's perceptions on gender equality 14 years after the adoption of the new constitution and gender equality laws?*

b) *What strategies are the participants utilising in order to understand gender equality and how do these emerge in participants' talk regarding gender equality?*

3.5 Methods of Data Collection

Individual interviews and focus groups were the primary methods used for data collection. Conducting interviews is a more natural form of interacting with people (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). The interviews that were conducted on the whole afforded the researcher direct contact with the subject that was being researched. It also gave the researcher an opportunity to get to know the people being interviewed (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). Thus a non-scheduled semi-structured interview was conducted (see appendix, F). This type of interview is adaptable, flexible and allows participants freedom to expand on the topic as they would like without restriction. The researcher only intervened when clarification was required when unclear answers were given. Questions were based on the literature that was consulted within the proposed interest of study. Students were advised of the method of data collection during the first meeting.

A focus group is a group of people who share similar types of experience, but are not necessarily “naturally” constituted as an existing group (Kelly, 1999). When we work with groups we can gain access to inter-subjective experience (Kelly, 1999). A male confederate was trained to conduct the focus group discussions as it was assumed that richer data will be given, on the basis that when interviewing men, men are more likely to be more honest with other men. Conducting both individual and focus group interviews helped the researcher gain both subjective and inter-subjective information regarding participants’ perceptions.

3. 6 Sample.

The sampling method used in this study was convenience or opportunistic sampling. This sampling method consists of taking all cases at hand until the sample reaches the desired size (Bless, Higson-Smith, & Kagee, 2006). The participants were sought by approaching male students as well as recommendations by students that were approached. A sample of 19 African male students within the University of Witwatersrand student population was used. The participants were aged between 19 and 30 years. This specific sample was chosen on the grounds that most students in this age range would be on the verge of entering the workplace and would have already formed specific views regarding gender equality. The researcher wanted to explore varied perceptions of gender equality amongst a group of African male students. She thus aimed to attract students from all fields of study and faculties.

Individual interviews were conducted with 12 African male students. Participants' ages ranged from 19 to 30 years of age. For a further breakdown of the participants' ages see below Table 1. Of the 12 participants who participated in the individual interviews, five were from the Faculty of Humanities and one was from the Faculty of Law and management. A further three participants were from the Faculty of Engineering and the remaining three participants were from the Faculty of Commerce. The first languages of the participants were a varied representation of South Africa's 11 official languages with the expectation of two participants who were Tshona speakers. For a further breakdown of the participants' first languages, see below Table 1.

Table 1-Individual interview participants

Participant	Age	First Language	Faculty
1	19	siSwati	Faculty of Commerce
2	20	isiZulu	Faculty of Commerce
3	21	isiZulu	Faculty of Humanities
4	21	TshiVenda	Faculty of Engineering
5	21	Ndebele	Faculty of Humanities
6	23	siSwati	Faculty of Engineering
7	23	isiZulu	Faculty of Engineering
8	24	South Sotho	Faculty of Commerce
9	25	Tshona	Faculty of Law and Management
10	26	Tshivenda	Faculty of Humanities
11	28	Tshona	Faculty of Humanities
12	30	Tshivenda	Faculty of Humanities

The sample was obtained by approaching male students on campus and requesting their participation in this study. Once the students agreed they were informed of the nature of the study and given a participant information sheet (see Appendix C). The student was then

advised to contact the researcher via the e-mail address that was supplied in the information sheet.

Following contact with interested participants, a suitable time was arranged with them to meet for questions and to schedule both individual interview and focus group times. In this contact session two meetings were scheduled. Prior to the interview, the participant was given a consent form (Appendix, A) to complete. For the focus group interviews participants were requested to complete a consent form (Appendix, E) together with a focus group confidentiality agreement form (Appendix, D) and consent form for recording their interviews (Appendix, B). Part of the first meeting was to brief the participant of their right to discontinuance if they felt that they could not carry on with the research. They were also advised that should any particular situation arise they would not be required to provide an explanation of their wish to discontinue, as participation in the study was voluntary.

Individual interviews were conducted first and at the second meeting a focus group discussion was held. The focus group was divided into two groups consisting of six students per group. The focus group was fairly heterogeneous with two participants from the Faculty of Commerce, Humanities and Engineering respectively. Only one participant was from the Faculty of Law and Management. The participants' age ranged from 20 to 27 years of age. For a further breakdown of the ages please refer to Table 2. The participants' first languages were again a varied representation of South Africa's official 11 languages with the exception of one participant who was Tshona speaker for a breakdown of participants first languages please refer to Table 2.

The focus groups were conducted by a male confederate that had been trained to conduct the focus group interviews. All the interviews were conducted at the University of the Witwatersrand in an empty lecture hall. The individual interviews lasted between 30 to 45 minutes. The focus groups interviews lasted between 45 to 60 minutes.

Table 2.-Focus Group Participants

Participant	Age	First Language	Faculty
1- Katlego	20	seTswana	Faculty of Commerce
2- Simon	*20	isiZulu	Faculty of Commerce
3-John	*21	isiZulu	Faculty of Humanities
4- Tebogo	*22	TshiVenda	Faculty of Engineering
5- Sizwe	24	Ndebele	Faculty of Humanities
6- Siyabonga	25	siSwati	Faculty of Engineering
7-Lawrence	27	Tshona	Faculty of Law and Management

The sample that was utilised in this study was not representative of all African male students in South Africa.

* These participants took part in both the individual and focus group interviews

3.7 Data Analysis

This study employed thematic content analysis as a method of data analysis. This method was used as it is regarded as an effective method of analysing qualitative data. Data analysis involves reading through the data repeatedly, and engaging in activities of breaking the data down. This is also known as thematising. The researcher then built it up again in novel ways. This is regarded as elaborating and interpreting (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). The method focuses on dominant and recurring themes in the data content and subsequently analysing these themes for meaning. Thematic content analysis involves an objective, systematic strategy of decomposing messages and then evaluating and classifying their contents in order to reveal their specific characteristics (Rosenthal & Rosnow, 1991). By using this method rich raw data was analysed and categorised. It was also checked for correlation with the dominant themes that the study wanted to uncover or investigate.

Themes were analysed using the four-step method to interpretive data analysis (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). These steps were familiarisation, immersion, inducing themes as well as coding.

The first step began with the researcher familiarising herself with related research. By the time the researcher analysed the data she had a preliminary understanding of the meaning of the data (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). The researcher then immersed herself in the data. This resulted in the researcher gaining insight into what sort of interpretations were likely to be supported by the data or not (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999).

Inducing themes was the next step in the thematic data analysis process. Induction means to infer general rules and classes from a specific instance (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). Inducing themes involved a bottom-up approach. This approach is when one works out what categories naturally underlie the material and use these ready-made categories (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). There is no limit to the number of themes that can emerge from the data but one must keep the themes manageable and focused for the purpose of the research.

Coding was the next step. Coding means breaking down the data into analytically relevant ways (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). Coding therefore entailed identifying and separating the different themes that have emerged from the data. It should be noted though this step is not entirely separate from the inducing-themes step. This is due to the fact that thematic data analysis is continuous process. Once the coding was done themes were explored closely for elaboration (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). After exploring the data closely it was possible to interpret and check the results.

3.8 Ethical Considerations.

Ethical clearance to proceed with the study was granted by the internal Ethics Committee of the Discipline of Psychology (School of Human and Community Development), at the University of Witwatersrand. All the ethical issues followed in the study were in line with ethical considerations as stipulated by the University of Witwatersrand Research Ethics Committee. Research designs should always reflect careful attention to the ethical issues embodied in projects (Durrheim & Wassenaar, 1999). There are a number of ethical considerations that should be taken into account in the research project. These considerations

must also be in line with the guidelines that are outlined in the ethical code of professional conduct of the Health Professions Council of South Africa (HPCSA) (2006). Ethical considerations start from the conceptualisation stage of the research, during the research as well as in the reporting of the research findings. Durrheim and Wassenaar (1999) state that the essential purpose of ethical research planning is to protect the welfare and the rights of research participants.

Confidentiality is a key ethical consideration that must be adhered to when conducting research. Researchers should discuss confidentiality at the onset of the relationship (HPCSA, 2006). Researchers must safeguard the principle of confidentiality in all their dealings as well as safeguard information obtained in the course of research (HPCSA, 2006). It must be noted that when research is going to be conducted using focus groups the participants must be advised that confidentiality in a focus group interview cannot be guaranteed, as participants can speak out of the group. To promote greater levels of internal confidentiality in the focus group interviews a confidentiality agreement between the participants of the focus group was drawn up (see Appendix, D).

Data that was generated by the study was cleaned of all identifying information. This was done in order to ensure confidentiality. Participants' personal information was concealed and only summarised group information was used (Durrheim & Wassenaar, 1999) (see Appendices A, C and E). The researcher ensured that all the participants' information was only accessed by the researcher and was protected at all times. This was done by making sure

that all participants' information and raw data were kept in a locked cabinet on the university's premises (See Appendices A, C and E).

Participants have a right to know what the research is about and how it will affect them, the risks and benefits of participation, and the fact that they have a right to decline participation if they choose (Bless, Higson-Smith, & Kagee, 2006). Informed consent ensured that all participants were aware of the nature of the study and what was required of them during their participation in the study (see Appendices A, C, D and E). Participants were also required to sign an informed consent form for both the individual and focus group interviews (see Appendices A, C and E). Participants were provided with guidelines and information regarding their rights in regards to the research process. This was in line with the ethical guidelines of the HPCSA (2006).

Participants' right to dignity and respect was stressed at all times. This ensured that a safe environment in regards to the research was cultivated. Participants were also advised of their right to discontinuance once they felt they could not carry on with the research. This was to be done without the participant being required to provide an explanation (see Appendix C, attached). A sense of autonomy and participants' right to freedom of individual action and choice in the research project were respected at all times.

Participants were informed of their right to have access to the research findings or results. Upon request from participants these will be made available in summary form. It should be noted for the purpose of this study that all data obtained for the purpose of the study will be destroyed once the researcher's degree had been conferred.

3.9 Issues of Reflexivity.

Self reflexivity is a process whereby we reflect on our own beliefs, values and principles and how these guide the manner in which we view the world. Therefore it is vital then when conducting research that a person is aware of how his or her personal beliefs and values will impact on the research process and findings. Sokoya (2006) states that reflexivity involves a process of self-consciousness and assessing one's own position in the research process. Research requires one to be even more aware of this internal belief system. When one is self reflexive during research one is aware of the self and other in the research process. This sensitive awareness of the self and other can be regarded as a circular process that is continuous and ongoing. According to Raey (1996, as cited in Sokoya, 2006) reflexivity refers to a continual consideration of the ways in which the researcher's social identity and values affect the data gathered and the picture of the social world produced. In other words, self reflexivity can be viewed as a researcher's ability to be self conscious of the role her or his identification or disidentification with subjects might play in the research process (Eagle, Hayes, & Sibanda, 2006).

Within this study the fact that the researcher is a Zulu woman was taken into account at all times. This is on account of her socialisation towards male figures and authority as well as their views regarding women. Traditionally, in Zulu culture men are regarded as the head of the family and must be treated with respect and dignity at all times and one must not talk nor answer unless asked to do so. Therefore throughout the study the researcher was extremely conscious of her socialisation and views regarding traditional male and female roles and how these could impact the manner in which the research was carried out, as well as how this could influence the research findings. The personal and demographic characteristics of the researcher will have an effect on what the researcher observes and how this is interpreted and presented (Eagle et al., 2006).

3.10 Conclusion

With the general methodological and epistemological orientations of the study as well as ethical considerations and issues of reflexivity having been discussed, the data analysis and interpretation and discussion of the findings will be discussed in the next chapter

Chapter 4

Analysis, Interpretation and Discussion.

4.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on the data, analysis and discussion of the analysis. The analysis and discussion are presented together for purpose of continuity and clarity. The data from both the individual and focus group interviews was analysed using thematic content analysis. The transcribed texts were analysed for dominant themes that helped to answer the research questions. There were four major themes that were elicited from both the individual and focus group interviews. The four themes were:

- **Constructions of equality.**
- **Constructions of women.**
- **Constructions of the workplace.**
- **Men**

These major themes encompass a varying number of sub themes.

4. 2 Constructions of equality.

This broad theme is subsumed by three subthemes namely *equality in society*, *constructions of equality in the workplace* and *constructions of legislated equality*.

4. 2.1. Equality in society

The changes in how men are treated in society are causally linked to legislated equality which is viewed in a negative light. It is seen as an instrument that changed the manner in which society values men. In other words men perceive legislated equality as having changed the patriarchal order of society

¹Katlego: On the negative side it demoralises the men side (The group laughs!!!) ya it demoralises the male side. If we have got the same qualifications, very same skill she is given the job because she is a woman, I'm a man, I'm going to be chowed because I'm a man, that thing will demoralise me because I think you should be given the job because of the competence.

²Participant 5: I am not a man because a man is defined by his attributes and if a man's attributes are equal to a woman's attributes then I don't know.

John: I think when we got to take the whole issue of gender equality at home, I think it brings up topics of culture and tradition and that's when you want to go with it. The whole thing of gender equality I have to believe they did it to empower women in the workplace to contribute in terms of the economy and stuff and not to say at home and stuff because even if you are working as a woman, when we come home you must have this mentality thing, that when I get home I have to respect my husband he is the head of the household and stuff.

¹ Focus group participants are referred to by pseudonyms.

² Individual interviewees are referred to by participant number

Some ³Men are questioning the assumptions or expectations that legislated equality has placed upon them. This is due to how women are viewed as the beneficiaries of legislated equality in a manner that is deemed immoral. The empowerment of women is further viewed as traditionally and culturally wrong. This is due to the notion that the empowerment of women seems to challenge masculine power. Therefore men expect that the status that patriarchy has bestowed them to be maintained. Empowerment is accepted so long as it does not disturb the natural order of the patriarchal system that men perceive to have been disrupted by legislated equality. Therefore the empowerment of women must be tolerated to the extent that it does not under any circumstances disturb men's status within their homes and to a greater extent society. Women play a pivotal role in ensuring the cohesion of both family and community life but while the family provides an important arena for the exercise of power by women, patriarchal family ideologies appear to undermine women (Campbell, 1992). This was evident in how questions that were raised about the equality of women in society were consistently measured against attributes of men.

4.2.2. Constructions of equality in the workplace.

Women's invisible role in the workplace seems to have changed. Their contribution in the workplace was seen in a positive light by participants. Women are seen as contributing a fair amount in the workplace and society. Although women were seen in a somewhat positive light by men their inclusion in the workplace was attributed to gender equality and policies such as affirmative action. Morrell (2002) also pointed to how

³ The use of the terms men and participants to refer to the identified sample of this research is used in an inter-changeable manner and should be taken to have the same meaning.

affirmative action policies are slowly giving women greater power and this has caused men to feel threatened. The mention of these policies highlighted how women were previously excluded from the workplace and not regarded as equal contributing members in society.

Participant 3: I like the fact that you know, more women are now occupying you know leading positions in big companies.

Tebogo: And they are too aggressive....Some types!!! Like feminism in terms of pushing their agenda for getting women equal. We all accept their agenda...er, we all want women to be equal to men and men equal to women but some of them take it too far.

Katlego: I think the issue of gender inequality in the workplace. Because some of them they don't have qualifications and I do have qualifications she will be taken because she is a female.

Men seem to have contradictory positions regarding legislated equality in the workplace. On one end of spectrum they are against legislated equality in a revolutionary manner and on the other end seemingly positive. This gives the impression that there is no middle ground regarding this matter because even this positivity is underlined by a questioning that seeks to undermine women's competence and inclusion in the workplace. Feminism is further regarded as the driving force behind women's "invasion" of the workplace. It is further viewed as having pushed the agenda of equality in a manner that is seen as aggressive therefore regarding women who support feminism as a type and quality of woman that is obviously regarded as unfeminine. Men therefore view these perceptions as giving them their position a sense of legitimacy. Therefore men seem to view

legislated equality as an ideal to aspire towards yet question this ideal if they view it to be infringing on their rights as men that they perceive legislated equality has denied them.

4.2.3. Constructions of legislated equality.

A number of participants seem to view the notion of legislated equality as having created a situation that creates a level of uncertainty in the manner in which they treat women in society as well as in the workplace. They seem to understand the premise of legislated equality yet question its intentions and how this will disrupt or has disrupted expected gender roles. Therefore men seem to separate the different roles that women play in society and to this end create a variety of roles for women. Yet men question whether women are ready for equality.

Participant 8: I would say that women face so many obstacles. There are so many challenges that would hinder them from really achieving an equal status with men. As much as it has to do with the ideologies that people have, the mindsets that people have. And to really achieve gender equality will really take a very long time. It cannot be really revolutionary whereby we can achieve it overnight. It will take a long time to change perceptions and their mindsets, ya and to even change women's own perceptions of their being. That to let them know that they are equal to men and they can do the same thing that men do. So for me the major challenge is really to change people's mindsets. But this will take a long time as they are really many structural factors.

Participant 5: It's an interesting question but I will be honest with you. I will not look at it religiously or you know traditionally or whatever the base you will be using but it's just that men and women aren't equal in the sense of thinking capacity.

Tebogo: If a woman is being assertive is that being disrespectful? Or is that just an indication of the times though? In that women want to be equal, I mean back in the day with culture or traditions, er ya. The woman as you

said, must understand her place. She was subordinate, she was expected to do certain things and certain things were not expected of her. But these days we are all encouraged to see each other as equals and so when a man and a man are talking right and they is obviously in between that interaction. I mean both guys are assertive I mean and they know how to speak with each other. But a woman comes all of a sudden a woman comes and does that with a man, and it becomes a problem because culturally it's not meant to be but modernity says or the progression says that we are all meant to be equal and meant to interact the same way. So how do you find the balance?

Men seem to understand the nature of the oppression that women endured prior to legislated equality. They seem to support legislated equality as it is viewed as an instrument that will aid in transforming gender imbalances. But they regard the whole process as having been sudden and somewhat not socially coordinated to suit men's needs. Men further view the empowerment of women as having given women power that renders them incapable of treating them as equals. This is due to how legislated equality and women are constructed. Women are constructed in relation to what men have seemingly lost and want to regain. Thus they challenge legislated equality in the manner in which they view women. This is evident in how women are constructed as undeserving of equal treatment and are regarded as not equal in thinking capacity. This then illustrates how the participants take a moralist and cultural view in constructing the equality of women.

4.3 Constructions of women.

This broad theme consists of three subthemes, namely *perceptions of women in the home, constructions of women's role re-definition and constructions of women's independence.*

4.3.1 Perceptions of women in the home.

Participants for example viewed women as men's property. They also highlighted how women's roles must be maintained according to the context she is in. Participants mentioned the double roles that women must fulfil but by the same token made mention that in the foreseeable future this must come to an end or be balanced in such a manner that a woman's home life takes precedence over her career or position in the workplace. Participants also expressed their unhappiness at the manner in which women treat men, especially since women have become empowered because of gender equality.

John: Look at home we follow cultural beliefs we can try and follow the gender things. But we catch some goose to cook and like the Ten Commandments, it is quoted that you must not do that!! But at the office I can't say you are not allowed to do that and do that stuff!!!

Participant 5: So you know those are some of those challenges. She does not even have time for her man. She doesn't even have time for her family because business comes first as a career woman. And she does not care, when I say she does not care, in the sense that she knows she has backup. She does not care about you! She doesn't care about what you are saying. She is running a business. She has her own salary at the end. Well you don't even call it a salary as she is running a business and it's her own money.

Participant 6: I am a bit old school and new school. I believe that okay as much as you will be going to be ambitious, you are going to chase your

career. You want to make it big in life you know but you should not neglect your basic responsibilities as a woman at home for goodness sake.

Men view the roles that women occupy in the home as having greater importance than that of being career women. Women that are career focused are seen in a negative light and are regarded as being disrespectful to the moral order that women must adhere to. In other words, the value of these women is decreased due to their failure to comply with this standard that is set by men.

4.3.2. Constructions of women's role re-definition.

Gender equality is viewed as having redefined women's roles. This has resulted in new roles that seem to favour women's interests over those of men and family. This is due to the fact that women were previously regarded as care-givers who were submissive to men. However with the introduction of equality legislation, this seems to have changed and impacted on this very role of women. The extent of the impact of these new roles is seen in how men seem to perceive women as identifying themselves in relation to men due to this shift in roles.

Participant 6: The traditional the housewife stays at home and cooks and look after the kids and all that. The modern women is emm wow..the modern women is much more, they know what they want, they are much more ambitious as in that they go out, they rise to the challenge. I mean I have a lot of friends for example who come from traditional homes but the jobs that they do here at school are not traditional. Who are quite modern they want to become engineers. There is quite a huge difference, but in all of that they are quite a bit of similarities, modern women are still as respectful and as traditional women if I can put it that way. I think they still are ya...But there are quite a bit of differences.

Participant 7: Women are starting to become more and more influential and I suppose this is creating a bit of a difficulty in how you are treat them now. As now they have crossed over whatever the line was into fields that were predominately male. And now all of a sudden we have to adjust er our views and the way we interact with them. I think it is... I don't know it's difficult to say, difficult to say.

Participant 1: Things have changed you can see that women are working now. They can they can survive without having a man. They can depend upon themselves and they don't depend on the man like the traditional women were doing as they were dependent on the man. They were supposed to be home while the man was going to work in the workplace. So these nowadays things have changed modern woman are independent these nowadays.

It seems that some men understand that legislated equality has changed the roles that typically defined women. Men seem to associate this change with feelings of powerlessness and having no role in women's lives. The manner in which they construct women's roles still indicates that they view them in the same light as they did prior to equality legislation, in a sense creating a picture that seems to point to men wanting to maintain the roles that gave them a sense of power over women regardless of gender equality. This is highlighted in how participants continuously make mention of women's previous roles in a manner that suggest a sense of entitlement and a need for control over women.

4.3.3 Constructions of women's independence.

The manner in which women's independence is constructed and understood suggests that some participants view women's independence as being good for society. The independence of women places them at a greater advantage of surviving and overcoming

the oppressive conditions that most women lived under prior to legislated equality and the empowerment of women. This is evident in how women's overall character appeal for example seems to have increased in some men's assessment. This is due to the independent nature that working women seem to exhibit both personally and publicly.

Katlego: These nowadays women are no longer dependent on men, which are they are independent of which that's good on the positive side of things.

Participant 6: Women have become more independent the better point that you made there. Basically they have learnt to do things on their own you know, they have developed more character, how can....can I say can..now make decisions on their own. How can say it? Women have developed more will power you know they are much stronger than they were before and all of this is for the benefit of society.

Participant 1: It is good for gender equality of which I THINK WOMEN ARE are independent these nowadays. Like before of which they are no longer dependent on the male side. Which is good for our democracy because in the near future we want to see more women are more independent not dependent on the male side. Because women were abused, domestic violence and intimidation, of which men were those one's who were working, having money, women we under pressure.

On cognitive level some men seem to understand the basis and reason for equality of men and women. They acknowledge the independent nature of women and the benefits of this independence. Yet on a practical day to day level in terms of the home and society, this seems to be disputed and questioned, in a sense questioning their roles in women's lives now due to this change. Although most men acknowledge the struggles women experience in the home and broader society such as domestic abuse, violence and sense of disenfranchisement due to women's gendered roles a constant questioning of this independence underlines this acknowledgement.

4.4. Constructions of the workplace.

This broad theme consists of seven subthemes, namely *constructions of women in the workplace, perceptions of women as career women. women as inferior and incompetent in the workplace, end of the empowerment of women, women must be like men in order for men to treat them equally, perceptions of African women's economic struggle and perceptions of how men are overlooked or disregarded in the workplace.*

4.4.1. Constructions of women in the workplace.

Women in the workplace seem to be accepted and respected as they are seen as wanting to compete on an equal standing with men. This is also highlighted in Hamber's (2006) study, where it was noted that women were now being employed in sectors normally reserved for men, for example train and bus drivers and engineers. The change in terms of women's access to economic and social power was highlighted to some degree by both the women and men involved in the study by Hamber (2006). Although men seem to accept women's inclusion they question their readiness for the working environment. This is evident in how participants question the reasoning behind placing women in prominent positions, thus questioning women's overall character and their suitability for the workplace.

Participant 8: Women who are working I do respect them. The respect stems from the fact that they are trying to compete on an equal footing with men if you are working.

Participant 11: I think that they are still struggling a lot to adapt to the system itself you know of the working environment you know. How they should behaviour, how they should hold themselves and how to they should relate to other men. More especially to men who are holding maybe who are to whom they are seniors you know ya. I think they should still be that thing that should be equilibrated to say this okay this is actually how women should treat men in the workplace who are their juniors.

Participant 7: For the sake of trying to address equality it is forcing people who are not ready, in other words women into position; pretty important positions.

Women's acceptance and inclusion in the workplace was constructed in a contradictory manner, in that women were on one hand respected and valued members in the workplace yet by the same token seen to be struggling to adapt to the working environment and to their new status in the workplace. Parallels are drawn between the incompetence of women and their inclusion in the workplace subsequently this was all equated to gender equality. Therefore portraying women as undeserving of equality in the workplace as their inclusion is fostered by legislated equality that does not take into account the very people it aims to empower. Men regard the whole process of the inclusion of women as flawed in the manner in which it is practiced. Men are portrayed as victims of gender equality and women as pawns of legislated equality.

4.4.2. Perceptions of women as career women.

It seems that women's presence in the workplace at various points is accepted and viewed in a positive light. They are viewed as being increasingly influential and powerful. Women's inclusion in the workplace was regarded as being good for society. This was

linked to how previously women were denied opportunities to compete on an equal footing with men. Morrell (2007) refers to how women long banished to the domestic (unpaid) realm are moving into public spaces and into waged labour.

Participant 7: Women are becoming more and more influential in the things that were more commonly associated with your more what where your man, your man's roles as in whatever they can be CEOs. People who are meant to be running business even your doctors and engineers all these things. Women are starting to become more and more influential.

Katlego: Women can do better in the workplace. Women can get their own things which it is good for democracy to balance the gender inequality.

Participant 1: These nowadays women are given more choice. What is the crucial significance? It reduces women abuse for example domestic violence and dependence on men, they depend on themselves.

Women's new found influential role in society and the workplace seems to be welcomed by men, even though it seems that men view this influential role as a means to exclude them from women's lives. This is evident in the manner in which they repeatedly make mention of women acquiring more things and having more choices. Things in this instance are equated to material wealth or material comfort. A large number of men thus draw causal links between women's new found ability to provide material things for themselves as the perceived dismissal of their provider role which was solely regarded as your more male responsibility. This in a sense sheds light on the disempowerment men feel which further alerts us to the situation that men find themselves within, in that the very role that was previously the exclusive domain of men is no longer seen in that manner due to equality legislation and the practice of equality in the workplace.

Women in the workplace seem to be accepted by most men, although this acceptance is seemingly in a questioning manner which indicates that men actually tolerate the presence of women in the workplace rather than accept them. This is due to the fact that most men perceive women to be beneficiaries of preferential treatment. They perceive their position in the workplace as unequal to those of women, thus rendering them invisible and disregarded. Participants' views regarding women's preferential treatment is expressed in a manner that revealed their dissatisfaction towards women, more especially African women becoming more self reliant instead of being reliant on men.

Participant 7: I think they have changed dramatically. I think post-apartheid, ya women, African women have a hell of a lot more opportunities then they did before. A hell of a lot more, let's hope they take; let's hope you guys take advantage of that. In fact being a African woman you know in South Africa right now is probably the best thing in the world. Because the opportunities that have emerged and that are shutting some of us out, bitter or not ha-ha... emm you know are to their benefit you know.

Participant12: You know this thing I told you about? Of them women not finishing their work and expecting us men these chocolate women. So so yazi (you know) they are treated differently by men.

The preferential treatment of women in the workplace is questioned in a manner that sheds light on how men construct gender equality. Gender equality is viewed as having placed women's interests above those of men and as being of paramount importance; thus, totally disregarding men's status and contribution in the workplace and relegating men to a status of non-importance in the workplace. Morrell (2007) refers to the extent to which gender equality has shaped this status of non-importance that men perceive themselves to be in. This is understood in terms of how gender equality which carries the promise of a better life for all but particularly for women has been recast in the eyes of

men into an exercise in social engineering that offers them nothing (Morrell, 2007). This creates the impression that men seem to perceive themselves as the other in the workplace due to legislated equality.

4.4.3. Women as inferior and incompetent in the workplace.

Gender equality is perceived as having placed incompetent and undeserving people, which are mostly women in the workplace. Most participants expressed their dissatisfaction with this in how they regarded legislated gender equality as a rushed endeavour that does not take into account the kind of people that are needed in the workplace, in a sense than merely placing incompetent people, mostly women, in the workplace to just address historical inequality in the workplace.

Simon: In the workplace I think women are inherently sound. But when they get into a tough situation they fall to their emotions. I don't know if it is a self-esteem thing, but they are heavily reliant on men.

Participant 7: This is what we are trying to do, it does not matter whether you can or can't. We are just trying to address a historical er problem. I think it should be done properly which it often is not but sometimes it is, er ya. And I think we should not rush it but seems people are in too much of a rush nje'. Just for the sake of appearances you know ya so long as we know that we are working towards it and we are doing it properly. Let's not force the issue or we will end up with a big mess.

Participant 4: Well I think in the workplace mm, it's a bit difficult. I have not seen that a lot of women who are that much competent.

Women's character and suitability for the workplace seems to be constantly questioned. This is done in a number of ways, such as questioning women's ability to control their

emotions in stressful work situations, therefore alluding to the notion that women are inherently incompetent, especially in the workplace. It seems that men would like a phased approach to the inclusion of women in the workplace. This is due to the fact that they perceive that this phased approach can help counteract the inclusion of incompetent people, mostly women, in the workplace. Ironically, the perceived incompetence of women is used as the reason why gender equality should not be practised; yet no mention of men's incompetence in the workplace is made. Men are constructed in a manner that places them in a position that makes them the norm against which women's performance should be measured. Hamber (2006) also refers to this inability of male power to allow women who now were in more powerful positions the ability to carry out their intended responsibilities without resistance. This resistance is regarded as a continued legacy of oppression that undermines the confidence of some women in powerful positions and at the same time men continued to limit the possibilities for women once they had made social and political advances (Hamber, 2006). This then sheds light on the maintenance of the equality agenda and violence against women.

It must be noted though that the difference between Hamber's study and the current study is that Hamber mainly focused on producing comparative data concerning how men and women conceptualise the notion of security and particularly how the security of women was affected by the transition process. Thus, the emphasis of the study was on how the concept of security was understood by participants. Hamber's study also focused on both men and women and not just African men as the current did.

4.4.4. End of the empowerment of women

The advancement of women and their empowerment was viewed as a state of affairs that must be brought to an end as soon as possible. A significant number of participants felt that the empowerment of women was being focused on in a manner that overshadowed the equal advancement of all; therefore the empowerment of women must end.

Katlego: But in the near future they need to change. We can't empower women for their whole entire life.

Participant 5: Say they are given power beyond their humanity. Some of them are even given positions just for the sake of having a woman there. And that woman she has no thinking capacity of the post she has. She has nothing you know she did not deserve it. She was put there because she is a woman and there has to be a woman.

John: But they must not over-do it in terms of like empowering women and stuff!!! Then they must try and reach a balance but at the same time they are focusing too much on women.

The manner in which the empowerment of women is constructed seems to construct men as having been deprived of their rights and position in both the workplace and society, even though the advancement of women in the workplace is meant to redress historical imbalances that were created due to gender inequality. Thus, the very notion that the empowerment of women should end seems to point to the fact that men perceive women as undeserving of gender equality. This construction of women's position in the workplace seems to undermine the advances that legislated gender equality seeks to gain for women in the workplace.

These findings are consistent with a study by Hamber, although Hamber (2006) mainly focused on the changing notions of masculinity in South Africa and their dangers, with the core emphasis of the study being on the dangers thereof. The study was carried out almost exclusively with African South Africans mainly from working backgrounds. Key issues of security, violence against women and attitudes towards women by men were part of the study (Hamber, 2006). Hamber found amongst other things that there was a general perception held by both male and female participants that women have more rights, and they are protected by the state and law in a way that was not evident prior to the 1994 change of government.

4.4.5 Women must be like men in order for men to treat them equally.

Women's acceptance in the workplace was equated with the notion that women must be men in order to be accepted as deserving and equal members of the workplace. Participants repeatedly made mention of this.

Participant 12: I would like it if everyone was male, as it would help. Or let's say we did not have this experience in our country where women were not discriminated over men. Being a man or woman did not matter your experience talked for you.

Participant 7: For me it's perfectly normal. It's natural I think when I see a woman at work or in a suit or doing something important. You know it's just like having a man.

Men make mention of the fact that in order for women to be accepted and seen as deserving of equality they should be men. This alludes to the notion that men view women as being inherently undeserving of equality in the society and especially the

workplace. Therefore, the only way a woman can be afforded the acceptance that men seem to automatically acquire in the workplace by virtue of their gender is by women being men. This assertion seems to point to the notion of men trying to understand the position in which legislated equality has placed them. Whether this position is informed by their perceptions of loss of power and status in the workplace as well as society is debatable as this position seeks to undermine any efforts of gender equality in the workplace without mentioning alternatives that can be beneficial to both men and women. This is due to the victim position that men place themselves within in relation to legislated gender equality and thus dismissing women altogether unless they conform to a standard that is set by them in order for them to accept women. The manner in which men perceive the end of the empowerment of women further highlights the discriminatory manner in which legislated gender equality is practiced by men.

Hamber (2006) also makes mention of the difficulty that women face within the working environment and men's emphasis on how women must be men in order to be accepted as equal. He states that once women get through the "narrow gate" of the workplace there is little or no support and hostility from men in some cases. It literally becomes a process of sink or swim in a man's world (Hamber, 2006). Men expect or try to force successful women to take on male-orientated behaviours and become part of the wider hegemonic system (Hamber, 2006).

4.4.6. Perceptions of African women's economic struggle.

The complexities of gender equality and the social circumstances that can block the optimal inclusion of women in the workplace were identified in a number of ways, such as the acknowledgement of the disadvantaged working conditions that African women used to work under. But with this acknowledgement of the previous circumstances it was noted that African women still experience continued oppression and a disadvantaged economic status in society, despite legislated gender equality. This raised questions of whether gender equality is being practiced in an appropriate manner in the workplace and society in general.

Participant 8: Modern women this so-called woman is sort of a romanticised oppressed woman still in the traditional sense. So for me there is basically, there is a continuation, em there is this pretence. Whereby people will try and you know pretend that women have been emancipated. They have been given freedom and what not but I would say it is still the same. The same ideology that was been used against women in traditional society is the same ideology that is operational now.

Participant 3: I think the whole thing of gender equality it's happening at a very slow rate in terms of the workplace or women running companies and stuff. Men are still running those companies and the economy and running the economy of the country and stuff. Gender equality is happening at a very fast rate in terms of social lines, like the women respecting that we are equal in terms of this and at that social level. But in terms of the workplace it is still going slowly it will take time.

Participant 8: Women are disproportionately well rather they are disadvantaged by their socio-economic status. Just like most other perhaps African men but for women it is worse, because they tend to be disproportionately affected in terms of their socio-economic status. People would rather privileged men then woman.

It seems that men understand and acknowledge the disadvantaged economic status of African women. They make mention of the advances legislated equality still needs to make. This acknowledgement of African women's struggle sheds light on the prominent and preferential position that men still enjoy, as well as hold in society and the workplace, irrespective of legislated equality. Men's perception of this struggle points to their acceptance of the principles of gender equality but whether this acceptance translates into practice is a point of contestation on the part of men.

The notion of African women's economic struggle is also echoed in Hamber's (2006) study. He found that a gap between policy and implementation, especially for women lower down the economic scale was still very much a reality for some women. This was attributed to the gap between policy and implementation. Hamber (2006) further found that economic security had a strong class and racial dimension, i.e. whites having a greater sense of economic security, along with a small number of African South Africans who had moved into the middle and upper classes since the end of apartheid.

4.4.7 Perceptions of how men are overlooked or disregarded in the workplace

Most men expressed concern at how men are overlooked in the workplace. Men perceive gender equality as having placed them in a situation where their rights and role in the workplace are regarded as unimportant. This was done by excluding men through the policies that are now in place in the workplace, to some degree creating an insider-outsider situation for most men.

Participant 1: But you need to look that if they are negatives things which are creating in the workplace. Of which men if maybe let me give an example, if maybe we have the same qualifications and em....and the woman and our marks are the same the woman will be considered based on the affirmative action and gender equality of which I am going to be chowed based on the gender equality.

Participant 7: But now it has changed and because the opportunities that have emerged and that are shutting some of us out. Bitter or not haha.. emm you know are to their benefit you know. There is a drive even in government, you see it everywhere. There is a drive to get women into more senior positions into more important positions because they are trying to address that imbalance that was created way back in the past.

Participant 3: The initiatives like take a girl child to work day. I feel like boys are being ignored. I mean say you have two kids at home, a boy and a girl, if you are gonna to take the girl child to work and leave the boy, how is he going to feel.

Men seem to view legislated equality as a means to exclude men and their role in all aspects of society but more especially in the workplace.

4.5. Constructions of men.

This broad theme consists of four subthemes namely *men need to have power and control, strategies used to regain male power and control, men's challenging of equality and perceptions of the loss of power*

4.5.1 Men need to have power and control

Men are constructed as wanting control and wanting to retain the power that their male status affords them as well as retaining rights that are part of being a man. A significant number of Participants viewed maleness along the lines of control over others but most especially women.

Participant 9: Men are supposed to be these strong and powerful providers in society, show the way forward.

Simon: I truly actually believe that almost all household everywhere are run by women, the man is the head of the household true that, he provides and whatever. The day-to-day running is the role of the woman.

Katlego: To be a man...we want to have power!!! And be providing and we want to be in control and the woman.

A large number of men regarded themselves as strong, providers and as heads of their households. They further perceived themselves as having the right to complete power and control over the other, this other signifying women. Women were viewed as an entity to be controlled and ruled over. Ramphela (1989) also refers to this control that men seek to exercise over women, in that men perceive women as subjects to their power and consequently as being their property, their possessions and objects. This is evident in how

this power over women, power over the empowerment of women is regarded as something that should be within men's control, especially within their homes. In another words then the emancipation of women is regarded as a state of affairs that can be sanctioned. Men sanction this situation by exercising their power and control over women within the privacy of their homes. This then alerts one to how men ideally align themselves with legislated equality in society as well as in the workplace but in privacy of their own homes revert to their true feelings. This then reveals the manner in which men are subtly revolting against legislated equality; in a manner they deem to be socially acceptable especially by other men.

4.5.2 Strategies used to regain male power and control.

A number of discourse strategies were used by the participants to try and regain the power that they perceive men to have lost through the advancement of women. Women were constructed as undeserving of gender equality. Women's very inclusion in the workplace was questioned on the basis of their drive/ambition or a government-lead inclusion of women in the workplace. Thus, women were constructed as being opportunistic. They were also regarded as being immoral and unable to control their newly found power. The manner in which these strategies are utilised seemingly is for the express purpose of objecting to gender equality.

Participant 7: I WONDER about career women to be perfectly honest with you actually. I wonder what actually drives them. Is it the fact that they do want to be successful people in business or whatever? Do actually want to focus on their careers and really do have a passion for it? Or is it just the fact that maybe in the past they did not have the opportunity to do this right? To

follow that path or pursue whatever goal that or whatever goals they wanted to in the past.

Participant 6: Children need their mothers more than their fathers right. You have to be there for your children as much as you are chasing your career. You can't let your children grow up without you. It won't go down well with me if the children are spending 70% of the time with the nanny rather than the mother herself so ya you know. I would prefer it if a woman could balance it out. Balance the whole home thing being there for the children and support them. If it came down to a do or die situation I would say put the children before the work.

Participant 5: What has changed is that the power that women have been given is really messing up our society.

It seems that women are expected to conform to a double role that is solely the domain of women. Men's role and their power in society are expected to remain the status quo and women must submit to the double standards and roles of being a mother and career woman. This is done in a manner that again undermines the advancement of women in society and the workplace. This double standard can be viewed as means of control that men want to exert over women. Control is thus translated into how women are questioned in their motives of wanting to be equal contributing members in the workplace.

It is also evident in how women's very intelligence and ability to handle the responsibility that power commands are questioned and to a great extent insulted. The othering and questioning of women, their motives and ability to handle the supposed power they have gained due to legislated equality lends to the notion that men are inevitably feeling a loss of power that legislated gender equality seems to have taken or deprived them of. This othering of women can be seen as a starting point from which men try to maintain their perceived power. Bird (1996) refers to this as men identifying

with women and what it means to be female as a means to help them remove the symbolic distance that enables men to depersonalize the oppression of women. Yet with this perceived loss of power and othering of women, men make no mention of the positive strategies that they can utilise to stabilize this perceived loss or regain a sense of power in a positive manner.

The participants seem to employ negative strategies in order to question legislated equality and the empowerment of women for the express purpose of undermining whatever gains legislated gender equality can make. They also used culture as a means of control this was evident in how the empowerment of women was constantly measured against perceived cultural rights and wrongs. These cultural rights or wrongs were informed by a discourse that was constantly trying to recreate a position of power and oppression. In some instances the discourse that was utilised by the participants was supportive of the notions of the empowerment of women but this was not consistent as this support was contradictory and only lasted to reflect a hypothetical conformity to the rule of law; which is legislated equality. Women therefore are discriminated against, questioned and judged in accordance to cultural norms that women must adhere to but these norms only serve to undermine the empowerment of women.

4.5.3. Men's challenging of equality.

The manner in which men challenge equality is by referring to the roles women mostly occupied in society prior to gender equality. Their dissatisfaction with equality and the empowerment of women was expressed in a very negative manner, in a sense revealing the contradictory manner in which men accept gender equality. This was evident in participants' continued dissatisfaction with career women and their perceived expression of power in a negative manner, thus shedding light on a power struggle that men see themselves as having to engage in due to the introduction of gender equality in the workplace and society.

Simon: The kitchen is the head office..HA HA.

Participant 5: In a sense I would say gender equality em men still feel like they have been taken their powers. When women feel like they are equal to men. Equal in what sense exactly ya? Because you if you ask them they will say we are not equal in this sense. But if you are saying we are equal in what sense of course a woman will justify her equality to men.

Tebogo: Women can go into the world of work. Make money and do all of the stuff they could not do before. But most of us expect that when they get back home they must cook, look after the kids you know do all of these things.

The way in which men understand and seem to accept legislated equality is very contradictory, in that if gender equality is practiced in the workplace it is "accepted", but men expect that when women come home all notions of gender equality must be dismissed, as men and women must conform to roles that are defined by their gender and not legislated equality. This, it seems, is a means whereby men can maintain some measure of control and power in the privacy of their homes. Ramphele (1989) also refers

to how the family is still a major sphere in which the domination of men is secured at the expense of women with each family providing an environment for the individual men to oppress women in their own particular way. This is due to the notion that they must conform in a positive manner to legislated equality in the workplace but can practice or express their true intentions in their homes. A significant number of men therefore somehow manage to empower themselves but whether this empowerment is legitimate is of no consequence as men view this strategy as legitimate in the eyes of other men.

4.5.4. Perceptions of the loss of power

The manner in which gender equality is experienced and practiced in the workplace and society has resulted in feelings of a loss of power on the part of men. This loss of power is expressed through men's feelings of being intimidated by the very notion of gender equality. Gender equality thus is seen as the tool that has taken men's power and rights away in the exclusionary manner in which it continues to disregard men and their position in society and the workplace. Therefore, men are constructed as being victims of gender equality.

Participant 8: In a certain way it has been misunderstood by both men and women. It has not been articulated it informs the whole human rights perspective. In the way it is played out they can cry foul and used in, used in a way I don't want this aspect used against men no it's okay.

Simon: And now they are no longer respecting their husbands because of feminism.

Participant 5: If we are all from work and we are all tired and I am cooking. Why don't you change the nappies? Why don't you wash the dishes? Why don't you know so all those type of things? My point is that it is messing up the society. Now men have lost their power now men cannot control.

Some men seem to view gender equality as having resulted in women disrespecting men and wanting to be equal to men. This is perceived as going against a cultural order and tradition that privileged men over women. In this regard then men view cultural norms which to a great prescribe men and women's behaviour as a point of reference for the maintenance of these behaviours or roles. Ramphele (1989) makes mention of how men utilise tradition as resource for the social control of women in its reconstruction of the past as representing a reality that is unchallengeable and further used to legitimize the perpetuation of certain behaviour patterns that are only favourable for men. They believe the current form in which gender equality is practiced is inappropriate as it misleads women into believing that they have an equal status to men, which men seem to believe that women clearly do not have, as men are the sole beneficiaries of the gendered nature of power in society. This therefore alludes to the immoral stance that men employ in their efforts to deny women their legislative right to gender equality. Men view this stance as a means of regaining their sense of power that legislated equality seems to have deprived them of in manner that they clearly perceive cannot be justified as fair or inclusive of everyone.

4.5.5 Types of Masculinity.

The forms of masculinity that emerged from this analysis seem to be aligned with Walker's (2005) traditional and conventional types of masculinity.

4.5.5.1 Traditional constructions.

The central premise of this type of masculinity is the control of women. Manhood is equated with power; power over women (Kimmel, 1994). This type of masculinity seems to confirm Morrell's (2001) notions of reactive responses to legislated equality. Women are controlled in every aspect of their lives within the home and society. The exercise of this control over women is seen as means to assert male power. This is evident in how women are constructed in a manner that undermines their autonomy and seeks to halt any notions of the empowerment of women.

John: Okay let me put it like this straight...A woman must know her place!!

Participant 2: No After Mbeki took over. Before that it was fine, there was no like lack of respect women used to respect people and men. These nowadays there is 50/50 there is no respect.

Participant 5: Hmm I think women hmm; they treat women like gold these nowadays. Women have more rights men, I don't see why the idea it's happening, even at work environment, women are getting promoted and men are not getting promoted.

It seems that the under currents of the culture discourse are evident in how men construct the continued oppression of women. This is done in a manner that is meant to dismiss any

notions of legislated equality as unrealistic and unfounded due to the men's perceptions of their superiority over women and consequently their ability to control women, regardless of the current climate of legislated equality. This is seen in how these men refer to the period prior to equality in order to legitimise their current position. This then sheds light on the notion that empowerment and access to the workplace should remain an endeavour controlled solely by men. Associated the notion of men wanting to remain in control is anger towards legislated equality. Kimmel (1994) also refers to how this type of man is raised to believe that they are entitled to power but in reality these men do not feel this power. This is due to the notion that men's feelings are not the feelings of the powerful but those who see themselves as powerless (Kimmel, 1994). Therefore these feelings of powerless inform why these men want to regain their perceived right towards the control of women.

4.5.5.2 Conventional constructions

Some participants seem to reflect an understanding towards the changing nature of gender roles and women's continued as well as increased involvement in the workplace. It would seem that some participants' responses and reflect Walker's (2005) conventional responses or masculinity. It must be noted though that accommodating and progressive responses as identified by Morrell's (2001) are also evident within this type of masculinity. This is due to the notion that there are many ways of being a man and within these varying representations of being men, men are constantly negotiating differing positions within social hierarchies (Lang, 2002). One of the key reasons why

masculinities are not settled, is that they are not simple, homogeneous patterns of masculinity (Connell, 2000). This is due in part to the notion that masculinities are ever evolving .

Participant 7: I suppose this is creating a bit of a difficulty in how you treat them now as now they have crossed over. Whatever the line was into fields that were predominately male and now all of a sudden we have to adjust, er our views and the way we interact with them. I think it is I don't know it's difficult to say, difficult to say. The way we view them is still along historical line. Most of us are still trying to adapt to that. I think the way we view them, we still view them in the old way, not so much instead but more off, but more off, more as.

Tebogo: The strangest thing with traditional and cultures versus modernity in terms of women roles, even though we accept all of us accept, well most of us accept at least. That women can go into the world of work, make money and do all of the stuff they could not do before. But most of us expect that when they get back home they must cook, look after the kids you know do all of these things.

Simon: Women can do their modern thing at workplace but do the traditional thing at home. So whatever the case...you are willing to be challenged not necessarily undermined by a woman at work, but you are not willing to have that situation at home.

It seems that these participants understand the notions of gender equality and to a great extent advocate for the advancement of women. Yet these men seem to be perplexed by the stance they have taken in supporting women, as they would like to maintain old notions of power and gender roles which inform how men treat women. This is evident in how they are willing to be challenged on these notions in the workplace but are not willing to accommodate challenge at home. This then alludes to how barriers from the home and the ways women are perceived, culturally and historically, are also regarded as barriers to women's advancement (Moorosi, 2007) within the domestic sphere. A

participant (5) further makes mention of how because of legislated equality women are now being treated like gold. This comparison between what is considered a precious commodity and the empowerment of women can be linked to how some men view the empowerment of women as a futile exercise.

4.6 Conclusion

A great deal of the responses to legislated equality and the gender transitions that have resulted from the empowerment of women were seemingly consistent throughout the analysis as most of the participants used a power and culture discourse to try and understand legislated equality. To a certain extent some participants accepted the notions and principles of gender equality. But it must be noted though that this acceptance was far from whole hearted and ideal; it was rather contradictory and varied across different contexts such as the home, and work environment and within society. This then further sheds light on the overlapping as well complex nature of men's responses to legislated equality and the empowerment of women.

Chapter 5

This study sought to understand how a group of African male students perceive and construct gender equality in the work place. To this end the study explored constructions of masculinity and gender equality among a group of African male students.

Concluding remarks

The study explored a group African male students' talk regarding gender equality. A number of strategies were evident in the participants' talk around legislated equality. These were employed in a manner that tried to legitimise the empowerment of women and advance the agenda of men. The current study revealed that these strategies were utilised as deemed contextually relevant by the men. This was especially relevant in how men try to negotiate their roles within the workplace in a manner that would align or help them be seen to be as in favour of equal opportunities in the workplace yet in private they seemingly were against the whole notion altogether. This pointed towards the complex nature of the discourse as well ambivalence towards women, the empowerment of women as well as legislated equality. The complex nature of the discourse that the participants utilised may in part be due to their complex perceptions of legislated equality. These responses were the traditional and conventional responses or forms of masculinity. There was a considerable overlap between these responses especially when taking into account hegemonic masculinity that informs both of these responses

A majority of the group of male students were very aware of legislated equality. This awareness emanated from their exposure to the notions of legislated equality at a time when most policies were being implemented and were taking off in almost all areas of society but especially in the workplace. With this being the backdrop of most of the participants' experience it was hoped that this exposure to the basic premises of legislated gender equality, its vision and implementation would shape to some degree a more favourable regard and acceptance of women within the workplace. Yet this was not evident and as forthcoming from the group of male students as originally hoped. This was due to the ambivalent way which some of the men in the current study understood and challenged legislated equality and the empowerment of women.

Women's overall presence in society was constructed along socially acceptable roles; roles that were morally and culturally acceptable. This was also evident in how women's roles as well as their inclusion in the workplace were questioned. This was done in a manner that served to exclude rather than include. It must be noted though that, to some degree, women's inclusion was acknowledged but in a manner that was more in accordance with the laws governing the inclusion of women in the workplace than from conviction. Thus women were seen in relation to the very laws that made their presence in the workplace possible. This then alluded to a kind of distancing that men engaged in, in order to legitimatise the position they had taken towards the policies that they perceive to serve interests that they were not benefactors of. To this effect then the language that the participants used implied that men were ultimately suffering and as a result were victims of legislated equality.

But it must be noted though that to some degree some students were genuinely interested in furthering women's advancement in the workplace but again the point of departure of this positivity towards this perceived acceptance was the contradictory manner in which this advancement was viewed. This was due to the two extremes that support of the advancement of women took. At one end it was seemingly supported, yet on the other it was not.

Women's roles were questioned, but more especially their perceived increased power within the workplace. Thus men constructed the presence of women in the workplace in a manner that served to view women as a nuisance to be tolerated but not necessarily liked nor agreed with. This was supported by continuous reference to legislated equality policies and the questioning of women's true motives in respect of their inclusion in the workplace. This state of irritation and anger towards women was further maintained through men's questioning of women's competency within the workplace. This was routinely done in a manner that was right out hostile in some instances. Morality was used as a basis to legitimise their continued oppression of women. Immorality thus was constructed to serve as a means to try and regain perceived loss of power and rights that legislated equality seems to have robbed men of. Further to that they engaged in a cycle of blaming that served to continuously construct men as victims. This strategy that men used highlighted the subtle and continued oppression of women that men were constantly engaged in both with other men and within the workplace.

Women's achievements within the workplace were further discredited through the use of the notion of respect, as women were judged harshly if deemed disrespectful towards the patriarchal status quo that was the inevitable marker of their acceptance within the workplace. Yet the expression of this patriarchal status quo was expressed within the legislated equality framework, serving to highlight the progressive nature of the workplace due to the inclusion of women and parallel to this serving to constantly exclude women at every turn. Thus the language that was used was that of access and inclusion versus exclusion.

This language served to help men regain some sense of power over what they greatly perceived as their domain; the workplace and to a greater extent society as well as their homes. When this was examined closely it revealed that men were genuinely trying to regain control over women and this was evident in how they referred to women as being powerless and controllable. This exercise of power and control was especially evident in how women's home roles were deemed of greater importance than women's career roles. This is due to how the segregation of household tasks according to sex role norms still exists in most African households. Within these households almost all domestic obligations are fulfilled by women. This then results in working women often bearing a disproportionate share of household responsibilities (Maforah, 1993). This then served to dismiss and to a greater extent belittle women's contribution and achievement in the workplace as men were only willing to acknowledge women's perceived gender roles especially those in the home as opposed to those in the workplace. Thus men tried to exercise control over women in the one domain they perceived to be free of the

influences of legislated equality, as they expected women to conform to set gendered roles, regardless of the advances that the empowerment of women seeks to gain.

Men further questioned women's motives for wanting to be career women and be equal contributing members in the workplace. This was done in a manner that questioned women's perceived non-genuine commitment towards their careers and the workplace. This process of questioning was attributed to the lack of opportunities that formally served to restrict or deny access to the workplace for women prior to legislate equality. In this regard then women were constructed as undeserving of legislated equality.

Within these negative constructions of women in the workplace a number of positive acknowledgments were evident. The group of male students were seemingly genuine in their understanding of the context, history and realities of the injustices that women lived within previously. They attributed the empowerment of women with having helped women to a certain extent break free of oppressive agents such as men and a low socio-economic status in a manner that was denied to them prior to legislated equality. This is due to how the policies and strategies that are used by the government help to redress past racial imbalances in the workplace, education and the like (Naidoo & Kongolo, 2004).

The struggle that African women faced and still face today was acknowledged by a number of the male students. This is due to the fact that many aspects of discriminatory policies against women in corporate South Africa still exist (Naidoo & Kongolo, 2004). This awareness brought one to understand that although they use negative strategies to

understand and challenge legislated equality, they are further aware of the limited form that legislate equality has to a great extent taken. This sheds light on how African women to a great extent are not as empowered as the mass exercise of legislated equality has aimed to achieve. This is due to the fact that not all African women are benefiting from legislated equality practices and that many are still socio-economically disadvantaged. This acknowledgment alludes to the plight of African women within the practice of legislated equality. Therefore one can be lead to believe that men genuinely believe legislated equality is meant to help women reach a more equal status both in the workplace and society. This is in part due to how men are seemingly aware of a number of injustices that women had to endure.

Even with these positive perceptions, men still viewed equality laws as having excluded them in all respects. Legislated equality according to the participants seems to serve as a means to alienate a large portion of society. In this regard, they question why the government has not taken the initiative of making men partners in the effort of making legislated equality lasting and a genuinely practiced ideal.

It seems then that the challenging of legislated equality is an ongoing process that men undertake. Whether it is in the workplace, society or in their homes, this challenge is marked by a continuous undermining of the many gains that legislated equality has achieved. This is done through strategies that highlight the oppressive nature that men would like the empowerment of women to be achieved under.

Findings from this research study seemed to affirm other studies within this area of research. This was evident in the manner at which hegemonic and other varying forms of masculinity emerged. The results of this study served to indicate that a varying number of masculinities exist within the dominant form of masculinity, thus pointing towards a contestation of masculinity that is continuously at play within masculinity itself. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) allude to how gender orders construct multiple masculinities.

The results further pointed to the change that has and continues to take place both in regards to men and women. Kimmel (2004) attests to this change that is evident in all spheres of men and women's lives. He points to the change in gender identity, the workplace, the work and family life balance as well as the sexual landscape. He further makes mention of how this change is creating tension as some men are experiencing the limitations of traditional forms of masculinity. These limitations therefore create tension for these men as they would like to change but are uncertain of how to effect this change.

Men's perceptions towards gender equality were contradictory in nature as evidenced in the results of this study and this pointed to challenge that still faces the notion of legislated equality and the empowerment of women. In essence then pointing towards the single greatest obstacle to women's equality today; which seems to be the behaviour and attitudes of men (Kimmel, 2004).

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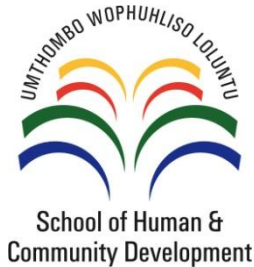
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Appendix A: Consent form for Individual Interviews



Psychology

School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand

Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050

Tel: (011) 717 4500 Fax: (011) 717 4559



Consent form for Individual Interviews

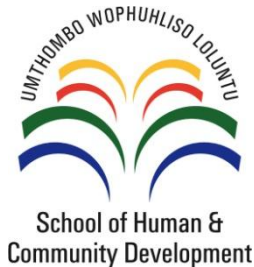
I, _____, hereby agree to participate in the research to be undertaken by Sanele Mdanda for her study on African male students' talk on gender equality, with the full understanding that

- Participation in the individual interview is voluntary.
- Refusal to participate will involve no penalty
- I have the right to refuse to answer any questions that I prefer not to answer.
- I may withdraw from the study at any time.
- No information that may identify me will be used in the research report. While direct quotes from my interview may be included in the researcher's research report, the researcher will keep all responses as anonymous as possible.

Date: _____

Signature of Participant: _____

Appendix B: Consent Form for Recording



Psychology

School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand

Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050

Tel: (011) 717 4500 Fax: (011) 717 4559



Consent Form for Recording

I, _____, hereby give consent for the focus group discussion involving me in the research (described in the Information Sheet attached) by Sanele Mdanda to be video taped, with the full understanding that :

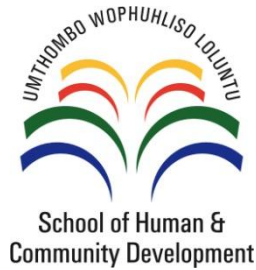
- The tapes will be heard by no other person other than the researcher and her supervisor.
- All tapes and transcripts will be destroyed after the completion of the research and the qualification has been obtained.
- No identifying information will be used in the transcripts or the research report.
- Pseudonyms will be used to identify different participants to maintain confidentiality.

I further give consent to the researcher, Sanele Mdanda, to use direct quotes that will be stripped of any identifying information.

Date: _____

Signature of Participant: _____

Appendix C: Information Sheet



Psychology

School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand

Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050

Tel: (011) 717 4500 Fax: (011) 717 4559



Information Sheet

Hello,

My name is Sanele Mdanda and I am a postgraduate psychology student at the University of Witwatersrand. As part of the masters course in psychology, all students are required to conduct a research project. My interests in gender studies in South Africa have led me to a research topic that focuses mainly on issues regarding gender equality, social perceptions of gender and constructions of masculinity. My research will look specifically at whether fourteen years after the new constitution has been adopted it has had an impact on men's perception on gender equality. My research will look at perceptions regarding gender equality in the workplace amongst 18- to 30-year- old African male students.

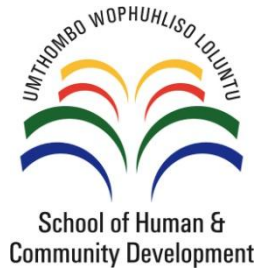
I invite to you to participate in this study. The procedure involves individual interviews and focus group discussions. The individual interviews will be conducted with each participant separately. The focus group discussions will be conducted with all the twelve male students that have been selected as potential participants in the study, based primarily on their age and their gender. The potential participants have been selected by invitation for participation in the study. The individual interviews will be conducted by myself and will last approximately forty five minutes each. The focus group discussions will be conducted by a confederate that will be trained by me and will last approximately sixty minutes. The individual interviews questions will focus on individual male students' perception of gender equality and gender equality in the workplace. Questions and discussions may touch on potentially sensitive issues, such as sexism and race. However, the aim of the focus group is to explore the male students' perceptions of gender equality as opposed to any potentially sensitive issues. Participants in the study will face no adverse consequences if they refuse to answer questions that they feel are sensitive or that they do not want to answer. While I, and the other focus group members, will know the names of the participants in the study, their names will not be documented on transcripts. Individual interviews and focus groups will be taped recorded (see consent forms attached). However, I will ensure that the content of the individual interviews and discussions will not be shown to or discussed with anyone, other than with my research

supervisor and in my final research report – where pseudonyms will be used. Lastly, participation in this research is entirely voluntary. There will be no negative consequences if you do not want to participate and participants may withdraw from the study at any time with no penalty. Please feel free to contact me at 084 3713 367 or via e-mail at SMdanda@gmail.com if you have any further questions regarding the project or if you would like an electronic summary of the research results at the end of the research process. Thank you for taking the time to consider participation in this study.

Sincerely
Sanele Mdanda

Research Supervisor: Prof Norman Duncan (011) 717 4524;
E-mail address: norman.duncan@wits.ac.za

Appendix D: Focus Group Confidentiality Agreement



Psychology

School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand

Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050

Tel: (011) 717 4500 Fax: (011) 717 4559



Focus Group Confidentially Agreement.

I, _____, agree to keep all information disclosed in this focus group confidential.

I understand that anything discussed during this focus group is to be used for research only and hence I will not disclose any of the information shared by other participants.

Date: _____

Signature of Participant: _____

Appendix E: Consent Form for Focus Groups



Psychology

School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand

Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050

Tel: (011) 717 4500 Fax: (011) 717 4559



Consent Form for Focus Groups

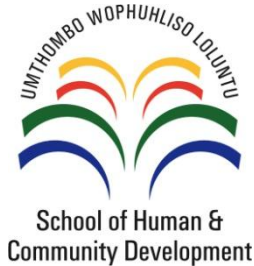
I, _____, consent to being interviewed by Sanele Mdanda for her study on African male students' talk on gender equality, with the full understanding that:

- Participation in this focus group is voluntary.
- Refusal to participate will involve no penalty
- I have a right to refuse to answer any questions that I prefer not to answer.
- I may withdraw from the study at any time.
- No identifying information will be used in the research report except for direct quotes but through the use of pseudonyms in the writing of the research report, the researcher will keep all responses as anonymous as possible.
- Pseudonyms will be used to identify different participants to maintain confidentiality.
- The focus group confidentiality agreement should be signed to help maintain confidentiality amongst focus group participants.

Date: _____

Signature of Participant: _____

Appendix F: Interview Schedule.



Psychology

School of Human & Community Development
University of the Witwatersrand

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1. What are your views of women's roles and how do you think these impact on the manner in which you treat women (in relation to the home and work)?
2. Can you distinguish between the Traditional roles of women versus modern roles of women?
3. What are your thoughts on gender equality?
4. What are your thoughts on what it means to be a man or a woman? Can we discuss this in detail?
5. What are your thoughts and perceptions of women in the workplace?
6. Do you feel that women are treated differently at work; for example, in regards to work performance, work load etc.
7. What are your perceptions of career women?
8. What do you think of women earning the same salary for the same job in the workplace in relation to men?
9. What do you think has changed in regards to gender equality before 1994 and after 1994?
10. What do you like and dislike about gender equality?