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PROFESSIONAL MEN'S EXPRESSIONS OF THEIR MASCULINE IDENTITY

By

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A research report submitted to the Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts (Community-Based Counselling)

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ABSTRACT

This research explored how white professional men talk about masculinities and their own masculine construction. The study was qualitative in nature and the data was collected via 10 semi-structured individual interviews. Qualitative content analysis was utilized whereby key themes were identified and discussed. Men in relation to self identity, women, emotions, the work environment, and the changing social context reflected the key themes that were evident in the study. These themes explored men in relation to a variety of issues and thus highlighted the multitude of influences which are thought to impact on masculine identity. Various responses from the participants based on defensive, accommodating, and progressive discourses were evident throughout and this further illustrated the diverse and complex nature of masculinities. One of the most relevant conclusions to stem from this study was that although masculine representation seems to be changing in particular spheres, certain hegemonic aspects of masculinity seem to permeate professional men's discourses. This research highlights and explores the multiplicity of masculine and refutes the notion of masculinity being a singularly fixed concept. The social construction of masculinity is thus affirmed. Various contesting viewpoints are elicited that indicate the complex and, at times, contradictory nature of masculine construction.

Keywords: *masculinities, identity, masculinity, gender, hegemony, contested, men, professional, accommodating, defensive.*

DECLARATION

I declare that this research report entitled “Professional men’s expressions of their masculine identity” is my own, unaided work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated by means of complete references. It is being submitted for the degree of Master of Arts (Community Based Counselling) at the University of the Witwatersrand. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

Signed this 11 day of May 2009

J L Jooste

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CHAPTER 1
INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

History has witnessed both a protection of and a shifting in the understandings and constructions of gender. Although some progress has been made with regard to gender equality, men's powerful position in relation to women has been upheld to a large extent. This has been achieved in part by certain dichotomous understandings of men and women. Gendered discourses, for example, have long implied that only women have the ability to feel and express emotions in some way. At the same time it has been assumed that men are emotionally more reserved and do not express their vulnerability and emotional weakness (Galasinski, 2004). This has seemingly defined genders as being fundamentally different, with men classified as robust, strong beings.

Currently, there appears to be a range of masculine and feminine roles available to both men and women. Indeed, authors such as Beynon (2002) believe that, particularly for self-confident and well educated men, contemporary life entails multiple and novel options. Labels such as the 'New Man' and the 'metrosexual' have come to the fore and have seemingly provided evidence that men and masculinities are shifting. The meaning of masculinities and the performance thereof would thus appear to be negotiable and changing. These new roles available to men do not seem to be unique to present time though. An example of a period when masculine roles were challenged and scrutinized was after the Second World War. Men returned from the war to civilian life. At the time, many societies had, by necessity, adapted to function without men (Beynon, 2002). There was thus a re-appraisal of masculinity and men's roles in general life. A further example is found in the 1980s and the gender ambiguities linked to the 'glam-rockers' (musicians of a particular genre) of the time. Cosmetic products and elaborate dressing were common practice amongst many musicians. This re-defined boundaries with regard to what was acceptable in masculine appearance. Various aspects of what masculinity entails have thus been challenged and negotiated over time. It must be considered, however, that many of the newer representations of masculinity are often confronted with animosity from general society. Arguments based on an essential and natural order are often used by those attempting to defend the status quo. It would thus seem that gender constructions and understandings are, at best, contested arenas.

One of the major influences in relatively recent times is found in the gender make-up of the labour market. A shift towards greater inclusion for women has been experienced and legislation around the world has been adopted in order for this to be achieved. South Africa, in particular, has been active in this regard (Morrell, 2001). During this time dominant, hegemonic views of masculinity entailing men's unquestioned rights to more resources and power have been highlighted and scrutinized more publicly (Haralambos & Holborn, 1995). Men have responded in varying ways to these changes. Some have attempted to reverse the situation through a variety of formal and informal prejudices which are aimed at excluding women (Connell, 2005).

The current study focuses on professional men's expressions of masculinities and what it means to be 'masculine' in contemporary South Africa. "What were once claimed to be manly virtues (heroism, independence, courage, strength, rationality, will, backbone, virility) have become masculine vices (abuse, destructive aggression, coldness, emotional inarticulacy, detachment, isolation, an inability to be flexible, to communicate, to empathize, to be soft, supportive or life affirming)" (MacInnes, 2001, p.314). These themes will thus be explored with the knowledge that the gendered experience is often filled with ambivalent and contradictory discourses and emotions. How men experience the labour market and what work means to some men will be a further important focus of the study as the world of work "is central to masculinity, providing money, power, a job or career, as well as the opportunity to develop and exercise skills, expertise and authority" (Beynon, 2002, p.87).

1.2 Rationale

The rationale stems from anecdotal observations that many professional and university attending men seem to be engaging with and expressing their emotions in a manner that seems to be different from the stereotypical impressions of men being emotionally impotent. In the process of gender re-structuring men have had both a great deal to lose (material advantages, status) as well as a great deal to gain (achieving emotional well-being, attaining balance in their lives) (Whitehead & Barrett, 2001). It is thus important for research to focus on men's perspectives on these gains and losses in order to highlight the importance of men recognizing that gender concerns not only women, but also men themselves. This study may also help to identify men's interests in change. Simply put, these realizations can hopefully play some role in guiding long-term change.

Exploring men's views on masculinity may provide interesting insights into the contested nature of masculine representations and understandings. An exploration of men's opinions on

masculinity will provide further support to the notion that men are not a homogenous group that is guided by a singular patriarchal ideology. Popular discourses and definitions regarding masculinity need to reflect these new areas of exploration, rather than being based purely on essentialist, biological explanations of gender that focus on unquestioned, natural differences which define men and women. This study will provide evidence that masculinities have a fluid and multiple nature. This study's emphasis on the diversity of masculinities can hopefully further the realization of the open-ended possibilities in gender relations. This can thus hopefully lead to some people seeing alternatives for their own lives.

Certain authors such as Whitehead and Barrett (2001) state that there is a possible crisis in hegemonic masculinity at present. This assertion seems to be based on the fact that various transitions are being experienced in contemporary society. MacInnes (2001, p.313) confirms the changes in the gender order by stating that "we are living through the final period, or at least the beginning of the final period, of belief in masculinity as a gender identity specific to men which account for their privileged command of power, resources and status". Movements such as the mythopoetic men's movement state that men are the oppressed sex and are in need of getting in touch with their essential 'deep masculine' (Connell, 2005). It would appear that such discourses influence defensive responses whereby various transitions are resisted by some men. Claims of a crisis in masculinity are offset by other views which assert that men now, particularly self-confident, well-educated men, are faced with the possibilities of more varied masculine scripts (Beynon, 2002). Given the above points it is thus essential to further de-stabilize the notion that men as a group are in a crisis. This can hopefully contribute to productive understandings of gender transitions whereby these changes are viewed as positive for both women and men.

The overriding aspect of the rationale for masculinity research is encapsulated in the below extract. "A better understanding of masculinities and men's gender practices is worth having simply because gender is an important aspect of our lives. If we value living in knowledge rather than in ignorance, this is a significant subject for education, research and reflection. And if we are to think about it at all, we need to think about the whole of the gender equation and all the groups included in it." (Connell, 2000b, p.8-9).

1.3 Scope of the study

The current study investigates three main research questions which inform the interviews as well as the analysis of the data. These research questions include:

a) What are the hegemonic forms of masculinity that emerge from participant's talk?

b) What are the subordinated forms of masculinity that emerge from participant's talk?

c) How do the expressions of masculinity reflect and represent aspects of the social context in which they are produced?

These questions will assist in exemplifying the fact that masculinity is not solely and naturally determined by influences such as biology. By highlighting contested inter and intrapersonal views the above will be attained. These contested views are elicited in certain themes that are evoked in the interviews. These themes are quite broad and indicate how men relate to a variety of issues: their constructions of their own masculine identity, their views on the roles of women, their attitudes towards emotions and the expression thereof, their relationship with the work environment, and their responses to the changing social context of contemporary South Africa. The contested and, at times, contradictory discourses found in these themes indicates the multitude of influences in contemporary South Africa.

1.4 Chapter outline

Chapter 2 presents an overview of the relevant literature focussing on how masculinity is theoretically understood and considered to be changing in contemporary times. The complexity of gender constructions is highlighted in this section as theoretical understandings of masculinity have diversified from more objectively based theories to understandings based on subjective constructionist explanations accounting for gender. This chapter also investigates contemporary transitions in the gender order with regard to certain aspects such as men's relations to work, sport, emotions, fashion as well as men's relationships with other men. These aspects are thought to be linked to more hegemonic understandings of masculinity and reflect arenas in which masculinities have either developed or defensively remained the same. Furthermore, South African men's responses to various transitions are highlighted in order to indicate the variety and complex nature of men's reactions (defensive, accommodating, and

progressive responses) to the new environment where equality is actively promoted by the South African government.

Chapter 3 provides an explanation of the methodology employed in this research endeavour. Details are provided about the sample, the procedure followed, and the method of analysis utilised, namely qualitative content analysis.

In *Chapter 4* the analysis and discussion of results is presented. The findings and discussion sections are presented together in this chapter for simplicity and coherence. The elicited themes focus on men in relation to their own masculine self identity, to women, to emotions and the expression thereof, to the work environment, and to the changing social context found in contemporary South Africa. In these themes the various responses mentioned by Morrell (2001) (accommodating, defensive, and progressive responses) will be exemplified. Chapter 4 will address the research aims and questions which are stipulated in Chapter 3.

The final chapter, *Chapter 5*, draws conclusions as well as addresses the limitations of the study and directions for further research.

CHAPTER 2
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

In this chapter the general field of masculinity studies as well as general key issues are highlighted. Following this, certain influential theories of masculinity are discussed. This will indicate the variety of ways in which men and masculinities have been viewed and conceptualized, and will help to locate the present studies' approach in relation to existing theories. Next, various changes in the ways in which masculinities have been enacted will be investigated with the purpose of deciphering possible reasons for these changes. Men in relation to work, sport, emotions, fashion as well as men's relationships with other men will be explored in order to address the above concern. Due to the fact that the current study is exploring the perceptions of white, professional masculinities, the issue of race[1] will also be discussed. This will draw attention to the fact that race does play an important role in constructions of identity and will allude to the fact that the present study will portray a very specific viewpoint on masculinities and related concepts. Finally, South African masculinities will be explored. This will entail, amongst other issues, the varied responses noted amongst men in reaction to various transitions. This latter section will help to exemplify certain unique challenges and influences in South Africa which influence men's understanding of themselves and others.

2.2 The study of men and masculinity

During the 1970s and 1980s masculinity began to receive greater attention in the realm of research. Various books, magazine articles and conferences focusing on men and masculinity emerged and the notion of men's studies became a visible reality (Hanmer, 1990). South Africa, too, has recently experienced this development in the study of men and masculinities. Harris, Lea and Foster (1995), for example, investigate South African discourses in their deconstruction of men's talk on gender. Other, quantitative examples include work done on sex role stereotypes (Prinsloo, 1992), men's attitudes towards contraception (Lipschitz, 2000), and the impact of sex role orientation on coping in the workplace (May & Spangenberg, 1997). The

[1] The current study makes use of the terms 'black', 'white' and 'Indian' as per the apartheid classification system. While the notion of the validity of these terms is firmly refuted, their use reflects the discourses of the participants as well as much of the existing literature. The dangers of re-inscribing essential notions of race are heeded, and readers are also urged to keep this in mind.

above examples indicate a burgeoning field of research in South Africa which focuses specifically on men and masculinity.

Various transitions experienced in contemporary South Africa have resulted in a more equitable position for women in relation to men with regard to shifts in rights and privileges. Greater opportunities and wider roles for women are thought to have been encouraged in this environment (Schneider, 2005). With the changing gender structure instability in the more stereotypical expectations of masculine and feminine behaviours has been experienced (Berger, Wallis & Watson, 1995). This has led to a debate around a possible crisis in masculinity, where men are said to be confused by the newer contradictory types of roles given to them (Brod, 1990; Levant, 1996). Whitehead (2002) suggests that this possible crisis can more correctly be understood as a perceived emasculation. Consequently, some men may feel that their advantageous position is 'natural' and may express a desire to revert back to 'older' gender orders. Thus, some men seem to feel threatened by various transitions that are experienced, although it would appear that their masculinity is not necessarily in a crisis.

2.3 Theories of men and masculinity

Understanding men and masculinities is a complex process. Diverse and at times incompatible perspectives have been formulated and utilized in understanding masculinity(ies) (Schneider, 2005). Following is a brief overview of the key features of certain theories that are viewed as influencing understandings of men and masculinity over time.

2.3.1 Biological explanations

These explanations gained popularity in the 1960s and 1970s (Schneider, 2005). The main proposition of biological theories is that psychological differences are accounted for by genetic and hormonal differences in men and women. A strong emphasis of this model is discovering differences between men and women. These differences are accounted for by such factors as differential brain organization, hormonal effects, maturation rate and genetic sex linkage (Kolb & Wishaw, 1996). One perspective focuses on differences in endocrine functioning (Lipschitz, 2000). Consequently, higher levels of testosterone are viewed as predisposing males towards violent behaviour, aggression and competition. Other theorists stipulate that gendered

behaviour is governed by the different halves of the brain. Consequently males are controlled by the left hemisphere, which directs rationality and abstract thought (Lipschitz, 2000).

One of the main criticisms of these explanations is that they are overly reductionistic in focusing solely on people's biology. Burr (1998) states that these explanations do not take into account the complex social and psychological influences which undoubtedly influence gender. Consequently, although people are born with a male or female sex, they become men and women in specific cultural contexts.

2.3.2 The psychoanalytic model

This school of thought provides a distinct shift from the above understanding in that people's unconscious and intra-psychic lives are emphasized as important factors in gendered experiences (Edley & Wetherell, 1995). Although not a unified theory but emerging from Sigmund Freud, the common ancestor, one of the common threads of psychoanalytic theory is that people are primarily motivated by instinctual forces (Feist & Feist, 1999).

Freud (as cited in Tyson & Tyson, 1990) states that boys and girls need to negotiate their Oedipal crisis during the phallic stage. For boys, the phallic stage brings with it an amplified interest in genitals. During this stage the young boy will develop sexual interest in the mother and views the father as the main rival for the mother's love and attention (Lipschitz, 2000). Here the boy will experience incest taboo, and will consequently fear being castrated by the father (the boy believes his mother's lack of a penis is the result of her having been castrated by the father). In an attempt to save his penis, the young boy redirects his sexual energies to other, more appropriate female figures and identifies with the father. The boy comes to internalize the father's values and attitudes (Lipschitz, 2000). Simply put, in this way the boy's masculinity is shaped and developed.

The fact that women do not go through the above process was initially regarded by many psychoanalytic theorists as indicating that men are the superior sex (Lipschitz, 2000). During the 1960s and 1970s this notion was revised as it was suggested that men are perhaps the more fragile sex (Edley & Wetherell, 1997). This assertion was based on the idea that masculinity develops in boys out of a defensive necessity to simultaneously identify with the father and separate from the mother. Men, it is suggested, are in a constant state of attempting to prove themselves as men (Lipschitz, 2000). A key contribution of psychoanalytic thinking is that gender identity is neither totally biologically determined nor only a product of social processes

(Segal, 1990). It advocates various complex intra-psychic processes that possibly influence the development of gender identity.

2.3.3 Sex Role theory

Sex-role theory developed in the 1950s and 1960s, mainly in the United States (Hearn, 1996). This theory stipulates that males and females are conditioned into appropriate roles of behaviour (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003). This conditioning is a process that starts from infancy, where males and females acquire certain characteristics (for example, values, beliefs, attitudes, etc.) that are aligned with their biological sex (Archer, 1987). The roles are centred on institutions such as the family, work, and education, through which boys develop into men and masculine values such as careerism, success and competitiveness are instilled (Edwards, 2006). The roles that are attached to these values stipulate appropriate behaviours, careers and status for men and women (Connell, 2000a).

Polarized norms are seen to be vital in the conditioning process (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003). Children internalize them through the process of gender role socialization where boys are taught more autonomous, outdoor-related play (Sirin, McCreary & Mahalik, 2004). According to Pleck (as cited in Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003), living up to these norms is more difficult for boys, because of the expectations of power, strength, and sexual competence. A contradiction between the ideal and lived experience is encountered by boys (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003). O'Neil (1981) states that a fear of feminine traits is created in boys. This can, in turn, create a great amount of internal conflict in boys. Certain values, behaviours, and representations of masculinity may be perceived as being unacceptable for males to adopt and express.

Certain authors utilizing this approach believe the roles, norms and expectations have negative consequences for men themselves. Consequently, men are trapped in a position that is not of their own making and are themselves victims of oppression (Edwards, 2006). Groups such as the mythopoetic men's movement have used such ideology to advocate the rejection of changes that have left men out of touch with the 'deep masculine' (Connell, 2005). This leads to the main criticism of sex role theory. Many of these texts underplay the importance of the social as well as issues of power (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Edwards, 2006). Role theory appears not to take men's position of power into consideration, and seems to stand in opposition to feminism for a number of reasons. It is a perspective which is predominantly based on a white, heterosexual, middle-class following and therefore takes insufficient account

of working-class, black, and gay men (Edwards, 2006). Furthermore, it is criticised for adopting an essentialist perspective whereby masculinity and femininity are viewed as stable, where in effect they are changing and variable (Levant, 1996).

2.3.4 Social constructionism

The social constructionist perspective emerged in the 1980s and highlights ways in which people come to interpret their social environment (Colman, 2001). There is a move away from modernist patterns of thinking which focus on objectivity and a known reality (Corey, 2005). Social constructionism stresses the individual's perception, and how these perceptions create people's realities (Corey, 2005). People's thoughts and everyday assumptions are based on the use of language and to a large extent are functions of the contexts of people's lives. It is through discourse that an intricate social order is developed (Burr, 1995). The discourses at play are multiple and influence meaning in the world in competing and often contradictory ways (Gavey, 1997). Connell (2000a) states that the interplay of gender with class, sexuality, race and nationality are further important aspects in gendered constructions.

This theory stands in contrast to the essentialism of the biological approaches as well as the prescribed roles stipulated by the sex-role theory in that it is believed that the world does not have some pre-determined nature. Rather, realities are the product of multiple social and cultural processes (Hollway, 1989). Accordingly, gender is a social principle that organizes life into culturally patterned ways (Barrett, 2001) Labels such as 'masculine' and 'feminine' are constructed socially, and the 'appropriateness' of behaviours for men and women are thus created and re-affirmed in the cultural context (Davis & Gergen, 1997). "(O)ne is not born masculine, but acquires and enacts masculinity, and so becomes a man" (Connell, 2002, p.4). This alludes to the fact that multiple meanings exist in relation to understandings and representations of masculinity and femininity.

2.3.5 Gender relations approach

Building on social constructionist explanations the gender relations approach advocated by Connell (2002) includes and moves beyond more simplistic definitions of gender based purely on dichotomy and difference. This approach highlights the social relations within which individuals and groups act. It looks at structures, which are the enduring patterns that govern our actions (Connell, 2002). These patterns reflect the gender order of a society which, in turn, will influence the gender regimes of organisations. These have a heavy bearing on the gender make-up of the workforce, for instance (Connell, 2002). Examples of such organisational regimes are the all male workforces found in many mines around the world, or the predominantly female make-up of teachers. These regimes reflect various discourses which define men and women in particular ways. In these cases, men are perhaps seen as tougher (in order to deal with the physical nature of mining work), whereas women are perhaps viewed as empathic and nurturing (which suits the classroom environment). The gender relations approach also highlights such issues as patterns of communication and certain actions. Structures of relations do not mechanically control people's actions, but certainly define possibilities and consequences (Connell, 2002).

Connell (2002) identifies four important dimensions of the gender relations approach. These dimensions influence constructions and definitions of gender:

Firstly, power relations consider such issues as patriarchy- the idea that men are the dominant 'sex- class'. The tendency in many organisations to have procedures and criteria that favour men has given men greater access to resources and thus power. Foucault (as cited in Connell, 2002) states that power also operates discursively- in the way we talk. It impacts on people's identities as well as their sense of place in the world.

Secondly, production relations include the sexual division of labour. In many societies certain tasks and jobs are gender specific. A large division is between the world of work (paid) and home (unpaid). Men have traditionally been associated with work and women with home in many Western cultures. Many of our notions of gender differences are closely linked to these divisions (Connell, 2002). An example illustrating the operation of the two above forms of relations (ie: power and production) is investigated by Dover (2005). The Goba people in Zambia construct men as hard, strong, potent beings whereas women are seen as soft and yielding. Through socialisation women are taught to be respectful of men and a variety of wifely duties including child rearing are defined (Dover, 2005). Men are taught to be

autonomous and the fact that they marry far later than women (women typically marry in their teenage years, whereas men do so during their twenties) provides men with greater opportunities to establish themselves before married life. There is thus a marked difference in the school drop-out rates noted in females and males, with far more females leaving school before the end of grade 5 (Dover, 2005). Men's more powerful position in relation to women is thus affirmed in these constructions which, in turn, impacts on gendered roles, duties and opportunities.

Thirdly, emotional relations include the pattern of relationships within the family. In many Western societies, households are expected to be based on the notion of romantic love – a notion that is contrary to the practices of arranged marriages. Connell (2002) states that emotional relationships may be positive, negative or ambivalent. Examples of negative emotional relationships are prejudices towards homosexuals (homophobia) or women (misogyny). Emotional relations are also found in the workplace. Many jobs require a particular emotional relationship with the customer in order for the work to be done. A telephone debt collector, for instance, needs to display aggression and elicit fear from the customer.

Fourthly, symbolic relations specify that society is a world of meanings. Whenever we speak of a man or woman we are calling a wide range of implications, understandings, and overtones into play. A rugby coach yelling at his team after a poor half of play and calling them a 'bunch of girls' is saying something meaningful, for example. Symbolic relations also include such things as our dress, gesture, and make-up and what these aspects represent. This last dimension is why patriarchal gender arrangements are so challenging to alter. They transcend mere attitudes and include an entire system of subtle as well as overt meaning and communication (Connell, 2002). The above dimensions are not mutually exclusive and interact in a complex way.

2.3.5.1 Multiple masculinities

Connell (1995) also speaks of the existence of multiple masculinities which do not necessarily fall into neat, concise, and static categories. They do not reflect fixed character types, but are rather fluid and differ over time and from situation to situation. They are historical social constructs and are constantly re-negotiated in relation to other systems such as 'race', class, age, and sexuality (Willott & Griffin, 1996). The experience of multiple masculinities is often filled with ambivalence for many men. It does not simply reflect a matter of choice of alternative lifestyles for people (Connell, 1995).

Building on the notion of multiple masculinities which are negotiated and thus constructed Connell (1995) highlights the concepts of hegemony, subordination and complicity. Hegemonic masculinities represent the dominant forms that have successfully claimed authority and power for men and specific representations of masculinities in relation to women and less dominant men. In relation to women, men in general "have access to the patriarchal dividend, the power that being a man gives them to choose to exercise power over women" (Morrell & Ouzgane, 2005, p.7). In relation to other men, white, heterosexual, middle-class, employed males occupy a hegemonic space and are seen to be the "norm" (Connell, 2005; Willott & Griffin, 1996). Hegemony could thus be seen as a social ascendancy (Willott & Griffin, 1996) and is generally associated with patterns of conduct linked to aggression, physical bravery, authoritarianism, and competitiveness (Frosh, Phoenix & Pattman, 2002). In the case of the Goba people of Zambia male superiority is maintained though various ideologies (Dover, 2005). In this community the ideal man is defined as a man of power. Men of power are self reliant, successful and hard working. They are stoic, calm and generous (Dover, 2005). This hegemony is played out in Goba society through various bodily postures of domination and submission (Dover, 2005). Age and gender status is marked by certain handshakes and height observances. Women and younger men, for example, will greet men of a higher rank by bending forward and holding their own right arm with their left. This seems to indicate a non-challenging body posture. This hegemonic ideology seems to be accepted in the community (Dover, 2005). Hegemony, however, does not necessarily mean total control. It may be disrupted, or even disrupt itself. An example put forward by Connell (2005) is that of sport teams expressing too much sporting prowess and aggression. Messner speaks of American football players whose violent play became too severe for many (Connell, 2005). This masculine aggression risked discrediting the sport when many players became injured. The rules of the sport were thus altered to restrain this expression of aggressive masculinity. The above is a good example of how hegemonic definitions are constantly shifting and being negotiated. There is a constant contestation between hegemonic and subordinated definitions, although these contests do not always necessarily undermine the existing power relations (Willott & Griffin, 1996).

Subordination refers to those masculinities that have been oppressed through strategies such as cultural exclusion, street violence and economic discrimination (Connell, 2005). Typical examples of subordinated masculinities are gay and black men. Through a variety of means these men have, in relation to white, heterosexual men, been 'otherized' and often excluded. In South Africa the apartheid government of the past constructed an overall subordinate masculinity being defined by race (Clowes, 2005).

Complicit masculinities include those representations of masculinity that do not specifically advocate the hegemonic standards, but still enjoy the rewards of the patriarchal ideology (Connell, 2005). These are typically the men who help maintain the status quo through their silence. Vahed (2005) speaks of Indian overseers, or sirdars as examples of complicit masculinities. In the late 19th and early 20th century white South Africans imported Indian workers as cheap and reliable forms of labour. Vahed (2005) refers to these workers as indentured Indians. They were highly exploited in the labour market. Some workers rose to be sirdars, who helped the white employers to keep the workers 'in their place' (Vahed, 2005). Sirdars utilised great violence to achieve this as violence was an important marker of masculinity. Thus, the sirdars were complicit to the dominant masculinity of the white employers.

Willott and Griffin (1996) state that men do not merely "choose" to reject or conform to more hegemonic representations of masculinity. Rather, discourses and other structures seem to define what issues are viewed as important for specific groups and specify how men position themselves within those issues. Accordingly, definite relationships of hierarchy and exclusion exist whereby men are faced with consequences, positive and negative, regardless of their choice of masculine identity (Davies, 2007).

There are certain limitations and short comings that have been linked to the notion of hegemonic masculinity. It is asserted that Connell's impression of hegemonic masculinity as 'dominating' appears to over determine what men actually do, say and feel (Moller, 2007). It is proposed that men's practices and motivations are often more intricate than the concept of hegemonic masculinity allows (Moller, 2007). Imms (2000) alludes to the idea that the literature on hegemonic masculinity over-simplifies men's lived realities. Consequently, Wetherell and Edley (1999) state that the notion of hegemonic masculinity does not necessarily account for the manner in which masculine identity is actually reproduced. There is thus no clear indication of how hegemonic and subordinated forms regulate or prescribe the lived experiences of men (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). Furthermore, Wetherell and Edley (1999) assert that it is unclear from Connell's work whether hegemonic masculinity is a fixed, all-encompassing imperative, or whether it varies across social contexts. If it is the latter then it is essential to understand the manner in which men negotiate the tensions and conflicts that arise in different contexts (Wetherall & Edley, 1999).

Although the concept of hegemonic masculinity is criticized, Connell's (1995, 1998, 2005) theoretical framework does offer a highly useful entry point into a complex arena where societal and intra-psychic influences contribute towards the construction of masculine identity

(Carpenter, 2000). The gender relations approach has been praised due to the fact that it allows masculine identities to be explored in the plural rather than the singular. Furthermore, it permits the exploration of various power dynamics in gender relations and it also highlights the relevance of investigating the relations both between men and women as well as men and other men in the construction of gendered identities (Wetherell & Edley, 1999). It is for the above reasons that the current study utilizes the gender relations approach as an important theoretical framework with which to understand a great deal of the interview data. Masculine discourses can thus be seen to reflect multiple, relational, and socially meaningful attitudes and values.

2.3.5.2 Performativity

Based on social constructionism and closely linked to aspects of the gender relations approach performativity stipulates that identities are matters of doing rather than being. A state of being is only thought to exist temporarily through repeated doing (Edwards, 2006). In accordance with this, Butler (1999) contends that social reality is not a given but is always created as an illusion through gesture, language and all manner of symbolic social signs. Austin (as cited in Edwards, 2006), an influential thinker in the field, introduced speech act theory, which asserts that discourse, or even writing and naming, can alone produce meaning. Speech acts create new realities in life. An example of this is the "I pronounce you man and wife" of marriage ceremonies. In making this statement, the person of authority changes the marital status of a couple. By endlessly citing and enacting the conventions and ideologies of the social world around us, we recreate that reality- we make those conventions 'real' to some extent.

The act that people perform is, in a sense, an act that has been going on for some time. There is thus a re-enactment of what gender has in the past been (Butler, 1999). Butler (1999) thus states that our sense of independent subjectivity is really a retroactive construction that comes about only through the enactment of social conventions rather than as the source of our actions. The 'reality' of gender is constituted by the performance of it (Butler, 1999). Gender is continuously 'done' through our actions and words. In a sense, we create our gendered reality.

Through a series of investigations Butler (as cited in Edwards, 2006) attempts to illustrate that the categories of sex and gender are unnatural and artificial constructions that only exist at the level of repeated performance. An added dimension is that gender is performed according to various social sanctions that could and do lead to punishments such as social ostracism (Edwards, 2006). Halberstam (as cited in Edwards, 2006) also attempts to ultimately breach the connection between sex and gender in her work focussing on female masculinities.

With regard to masculinity, it is postulated that neither men's powerful position, nor the various effects of masculinity (emotional repression, sexual violence) are viewed as inevitable and fixed, or as the result of destiny or biology (Edwards, 2006). Masculinity is therefore seen to vary from time-to-time and place-to-place. More importantly, masculinities have the capacity to change and develop towards more positive representations than history illustrates. According to Edwards (2006) traditional notions of masculinity have begun to break down and have partially been replaced by more image-driven notions of masculinity that rely on matters of how men look. The rise of gay culture has been critical with regard to this shift. Buchbinder (as cited in Edwards, 2006), draws on psychoanalytic theory and states that successful masculine identification relies on the negation of the feminine and homosexual. Gay masculinity thus provides many questions regarding the essentialism and stability of masculine identity. Cases of gay men 'straight acting' further highlight masculinity as being an act or a performance (Edwards, 2006).

One of the main criticisms of performativity theory is that it remains rather more philosophically driven. Edwards (2006) makes the point that this theory requires more empirical support. Until this occurs, there appears to be an unresolved relationship between the studies of masculinity and the theory of performativity (Edwards, 2006)

2.4 Changes in masculine representations

At present there appears to be a wide array of masculine and feminine roles available to both men and women. Indeed, authors such as Beynon (2002) believe that, particularly for self-confident and well educated men, the possibilities are filled with novel options and multiple ways of enacting their gender. Various contemporary analyses of hegemonic forms of masculinity have drawn on media representations of masculinity, particularly those found in men's magazines. Rutherford (2003) states that these magazines articulate many forms of modern masculinity. They speak to and reflect contemporary male consumers. Analysis of these representations has revealed inconsistent and, at times, contradictory versions of masculinity. In the United Kingdom, for example, the two most enduring of these forms have included the sensitive, somewhat narcissistic 'new man' and the traditional, all-knowing, homophobic 'new lad'(Gill, 2003). These forms seem to have developed partly in response to feminist progress and the related critiques of traditionally hegemonic masculinity (Schneider, 2005).

This section focuses on highlighting certain perceived changes in masculinity. Firstly traditionally hegemonic masculinity is defined as a means of understanding forms of masculinities that have, and do, predominate in certain contexts. Certain stereotypically 'masculine arenas' such as work and sport are highlighted and explored. Other areas that have perhaps experienced shifts in recent times such as emotions, fashion, and men relationships with other men are also explored. This section of the literature review will help to ascertain how masculinities are constructed in modern society and will indicate whether masculine construction has changed.

2.4.1 Traditionally hegemonic masculinity

For the purposes of this research the term traditional masculinity refers to the more hegemonic forms of masculinity that have predominated the gender hierarchy. Iacuone (2005) conducted a study on male construction workers and found that a sexist culture subsists and that the attitude of many construction workers towards women is similar to that found 30 years previous. The men on these sites are encouraged to be strong, display heterosexual prowess, and objectify women. These sentiments are re-iterated by Pattman (2005) through his investigations at the University of Botswana. Dominant student masculinity at this university is heavily linked to a drinking culture, and a group of male students who drink at a specific bar, called Uganda, are given the name 'Ugandans'. The 'Ugandans' speak openly about their heterosexual desires and make loud comments about the bodies of women. Although the 'Ugandans' are labelled as naughty and time wasters by many men, they are at the same time seen to be popular due to their indulgent, hedonistic ways (Pattman, 2005). These attributes seem to be consistent with aspects of traditionally hegemonic masculinity that Iacuone (2005) defines above.

Building on the above, Luyt and Foster (2001), in a study focussing on working-class men, identify five categories with regard to traditionally hegemonic masculinities. The first is anti-femininity and entails the sexual objectification of women, as well as a focus on male sexual prowess. Secondly, toughness includes a tolerance for discomfort, emotional detachment and physical endurance. The third category is individualism and the underlying concepts include the importance of activity, independence and interpersonal dominance. Status is the fourth category identified and includes an orientation towards achievement, career, and power. Finally, there is homophobia, which involves homophobic ostracism and violence towards homosexual men (Luyt & Foster, 2001). Men scoring highly on these categories are thought to be more closely aligned with more hegemonic representations of masculinity.

In an analysis of *Drum* magazine during the 1940s to 1960s Clowes (2005) tracks the representations of men in the images of this magazine. *Drum* specifically targeted a black, male readership and initially reinforced a connection between men and the domestic sphere. Various articles and advertisements represented men as fathers, carers, and equal partners in the domestic responsibilities of cleaning and cooking. This was in contrast to the magazines of the time aimed at white audiences, such as *Femina* and *Outspan*. These magazines mainly used women and babies to sell products such as baby foods, and thus symbolically positioned men away from the domestic sphere (Clowes, 2005). These magazines portrayed white men's role in the family as being primarily that of financial provider. As the 1950s drew on *Drum* started to construct men in a far more isolated, autonomous manner- similar to the way in which *Femina* and *Outspan* had portrayed men. Consequently, men were constructed as inhabiting a public world which was separate from the domestic sphere where vulnerable women and dependent children existed (Clowes, 2005). These representations could be seen to play an important symbolic role in constructing men's roles as being predominantly in the public sphere.

2.4.2 The influence of work

Traditionally, work has been understood as forming the fundamental basis of masculine identity (Edwards, 2006). The notion of work was placed in a breadwinner-homemaker dichotomy whereby the man earned the family wage and the woman looked after the domestic sphere (Connell, 2005). According to the British 2001 Central Statistical Office this is a trend which seems to be changing as the percentage of men in the labour market is decreasing whilst that of women is on an upward trend (Edwards, 2006). Willott and Griffin (1996) agree that the proportion of households containing men as the sole breadwinner has decreased in recent time. The wider implication of this change in the world of work is that there has been a rupturing of the simple equation of masculinity with work and provision (Edwards, 2006). Furthermore, these changes have dislocated the 'normal' route into heterosexual relationships and traditional understandings of nuclear family life (Willott & Griffin, 1996). Silberschmidt's (2005) study of Kisii, a rural area in Kenya, provides a very specific African example of the changes in the breadwinner role of men. In Kisii, colonial power had resulted in the recruitment of men away from their rural existences and towards the urban centres. Women were thus left to manage the farms in the rural areas. After World War II various changes were experienced in the market and a demand for skilled and semi-skilled workers was created in urban settings (Silberschmidt, 2005). Many of the relocated men were unskilled and thus returned to their rural homes. In the interim women had learned to subsist without men and had continued their hard work on the farms. At this time women had become more autonomous and openly aggressive towards men

for their lack of economic support (Silberschmidt, 2005). Men's lack of access to income earning opportunities thus made men's roles as breadwinners and heads of households rather precarious. Men's authority in the family was thus under threat, which had the effect of impacting on men's identity and self esteem (Silberschmidt, 2005). In this study many men reported feeling disempowered and emasculated. The above example illustrates the changes that have occurred in certain contexts. Furthermore, by showing the impact of unemployment on men's self esteem, this example also exemplifies the value placed on the role of provider in the eyes of many men.

Following on from the last point in the preceding paragraph there is still the perception among some men that the ideal 'family man' should provide financially for his wife and children (Willott & Griffin, 1996). By being the breadwinner men position themselves as economically independent. Respect from others and social status are also still linked with men providing for their families (Willott & Griffin, 1996). For many men employment offers the interlinked economic resources, symbolic benefits of salaries and skills, as well as a greater position of power (Collinson & Hearn, 1996). A study conducted by Willott and Griffin (1996) on long-term unemployed men indicates that the failure to provide for their families seems to adversely affect some men's self esteem and raises their anxieties around losing their partners to men who are employed.

2.4.2.1 The feminization of work

The changing patterns in the workplace have led to some stating that work has become feminized. Haywood and Mac an Ghaill (2003) state that the feminization of work can be understood in two ways. Firstly, it is a term that can be used to encapsulate historical transformations that are occurring in specific labour markets. Even though men have consolidated certain fields, Haywood and Mac an Ghaill (2003) suggest that feminization is occurring in industries such as the hotel, catering and banking occupations in the United Kingdom. Certain occupations come to be known as "woman's work".

The second approach to conceptualising feminization is to consider people's gendered styles of behaviour. Lee (as cited in Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003) argues that feminization stems from men being positioned in traditionally female locations. It is suggested that when men's behaviour conflicts with perceptions of dominant occupational masculinities, others "feminize" them and they are described as "women". It is therefore concluded that adopting different styles in the workplace is understood in gender specific ways and assigned certain gender attributes.

This, of course, has an important symbolic value. The gender-related stigmas attached to certain occupations such as nursing and elementary school teaching often deters many men from entering these professions (Williams, 1992). Agadjanan (2005) explores the men of Maputo who are increasingly participating in street commerce (selling on the streets). Both men and women in Maputo have traditionally linked this form of employment to less educated, poor urban women (Agadjanan, 2005). This development is the result of various changes in the urban labour market in Maputo where formal employment has diminished. In the study, various derogatory comments and remarks are made towards these men both by other men and women. These comments centre on the fact that street vending is not an appropriate activity for men (Agadjanan, 2005). The male street vendors combat this potential sense of vulnerability by reconstructing their employment as gender neutral. They do this by arguing that the dire economic situation has erased older, more 'traditional' notions of the gender division of labour.

Although the above example exhibits a de-gendering of the workplace as men and women street vendors work side by side, the gender differences are manifested in the types of products sold by men and women. Agadjanan (2005) notes that men, for example, are more likely to sell construction materials than food products. When men are involved in the sale of foodstuffs, they either 'team up' with their wives so as to remain more inconspicuous in the process, or they involve themselves to a greater extent in activities such as taking care of the logistics of the process (for example, sorting of new stock). This is because these tasks are associated with more 'responsible' and difficult aspects of the business chain (Agadjanan, 2005). Thus, various symbolic gender differences are maintained through these tactics. This could be seen to reflect the negative attitudes exhibited by many towards men being involved in traditionally female occupations.

2.4.2.2 Defensive responses to women in the workplace

Even though there have been various transitions in the gendered labour market there is no simple, all-encompassing undermining of men's powerful position in the work environment (Edwards, 2006). This is perhaps best evidenced by the importance of women's participation in the workplace being strongly diminished by various forms of discrimination at work. These include existing power differentials and women sometimes experiencing less opportunity for career advancement (Edwards, 2006). Collinson and Hearn (1996) have indicated that masculine identities have been shown to be threatened by economic and social forces such as equal opportunity initiatives and unemployment. Connell (2005) believes that intellectually trained heterosexual men will often divide over such issues as Equal Employment

Opportunities for women. It is seen as a way of decaying the masculine culture of certain workplaces, which causes different reactions in men. Furthermore, many of these men have wives, mothers and sister- facts which cause ambivalent feelings in some men regarding the issue of women in the workplace.

2.4.2.3 Masculinities organized around technical knowledge

The new information technology field has necessitated a great deal of deskbound keyboard work, which was originally categorized as "women's work" (Connell, 2005). The marketing of personal computers is seen to have had an important role in redefining this work as an arena of power and competition. These middle-class bodies have had their powers vastly amplified in this man/machine system (Connell, 2005). This trend, along with others (for example, the growth in schooling and university systems), has led to a split in hegemonic masculinity in recent years (Connell, 2005). The masculinities organized around technical knowledge (for example, the professions) have challenged those organized around direct domination (for example, military command) for hegemony in the gender order (Connell, 2005). Neither version has completely displaced the other. There are specific settings, such as in the occupational world, where the masculinities organized around technical knowledge do predominate though (Connell, 2005).

The shift towards masculinities centering on technical reason can perhaps be based on the patriarchal theme of men being more rational than women. A possible reason for hegemonic masculinity establishing its dominance is the assumption that it encompasses the power of reason, and therefore represents the interests of general society (Connell, 2005). Many Western countries have increasingly become dominated by technical reason. It is argued that masculinity as a whole is 'molded' to fit the needs of corporate work (Connell, 2005). Connell (2005) did find that rationality is limited, or at least disputable, in several areas of his respondent's lives. There is thus no simple accommodation between hegemonic masculinity and the rationalized occupational world.

In assessing management masculinities Tolson (as cited in Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003) notes that as a result of being confronted with certain unavoidable rules and conventions, many men in management experience alienation in the work environment. Indeed, Wajcman (as cited in Connell, 2005) sees the occupational world of business masculinities being marked by isolation, long hours of work, and both a dependence on and a marginalization of the domestic world run by their wives. Negativity toward the home has been noted by other authors such as

Willott and Griffin (as cited in Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003) who identify that a key aspect of many men's identities rests on escaping from the domestic sphere. In this situation, for some men at least, the pub becomes an important resource.

2.4.2.4 Transnational business masculinity(ies)

Linked to the shift towards a more technologically driven, globalized economy Connell (2005) introduces a new hegemonic representation of masculinity- the transnational business masculinity. It is a form of hegemony that is common among businessmen and political executives who operate within emerging global institutions linked to growth sectors such as information technology and global finance- both of which are male dominated (Kimmell, Hearn & Connell, 2005). These men are the global elites who live a cosmopolitan and consumptive lifestyle, whilst at the same time exhibiting social distance and detached loyalties to others (Lakes, 2008). Due to the perceived demands of their occupations they rely on their wives to arrange their private lives, households and children. At the same time these men often indulge in extramarital affairs when travelling (Connell, 1998).

Their bodily powers are drastically amplified by technologies such as air travel, computers and telecommunications, which has led to some labelling this representation a 'cyborg masculinity' (Connell, 2000b). Individualism and a focus on accumulating economic power are central values found amongst these men (Connell, 1998). They assert their power through markets rather than through physical domination. These men are not openly violent because their mode of violence is institutionalized in seemingly neutral, rational business practices (Hearn and Parkin 2001). This is a marked shift away from more traditional forms of masculinity based on direct dominance (such as those found in the army).

For them, the labour process is stressful and intense, and through this they create a network of links with other managers who are all subject to mutual scrutiny. This situation creates a force for gender conservatism among these men in the workplace. These men tend to "manage" their emotions and bodies just as they would their finances- very self consciously (Connell, 2005). They align their emotions with new gendered forms allied to global capitalist culture, which values self-reliance, personal responsibility and a 'survival of the fittest' mentality (Lakes, 2008). The transnational business masculinity is a highly dominant ideal for the actions of many professional men in the contemporary world gender order (Connell, 1998).

The impact of work on masculinity is evident in the transnational business masculinity in particular. Although this newer form of masculinity has diminished certain ideals utilizing

direct violence, themes centering on power and dominance are still evident in the behaviours found in the transnational business masculinities.

2.4.3 Masculinities and sport

Sport has played an important role in South African identity. In relatively recent times sport has become one of the major definers of masculinity in mass culture around the world (Connell, 2005). It displays men's bodies in motion, in a context where superior force (by way of size and fitness) and superior skill (by way of planning and practice) enables one side or individual to win (Connell, 2005). With its irresistible focus on male athletes, its emphasis on domination, competition, and success, and with its exclusion of and frequent derision of women sport has become vital in the demonstrating and defining of gender (Connell, 2005). It can be seen as a renewed way of highlighting the centrality and dominance of men.

Some view it as a theme of masculine resistance and backlash against feminism. This occurs by sport providing symbolic proof of the superiority of men and their right to rule (Connell, 2005). This has led some to argue that various changes in the world and gender order seem to be more political than cultural (Connell, 2005). Men have been mobilized as consumers through various spheres such as hyper-masculine computer games, "new lad" magazines, and a culture of supporting sports (Connell, 2005). Thus, various political policies may reflect gender equality, but the attitudes and behaviours of certain men are perhaps not as accommodating.

A massive injection of corporate money over the course of the last generation has seen an exponential growth in the visibility and political significance of sport (Connell, 2005). When little boys begin playing sports they are not just being taught a game, but are entering an organized institution- one that highly values hierarchy and competition. Connell (2005), in highlighting the important political purpose of sport, states that this structure is not accidental, as large corporations as well as the United States government have been involved in organizing boys leisure time in such organization as Little League Baseball. With some arguing that the state can be viewed as a patriarchal institution (Connell, 2005), the possible relevance and political nature of sporting organizations is highlighted.

2.4.4 Masculinities and emotions

Emotional inexpression has perhaps traditionally been linked with hegemonic masculinities. Historically and at present women are regarded by many as the more emotionally fragile sex. Additionally, women are assumed to have less control over their emotional life than men have (Fivush & Buckner, 2000). Although the traditional stereotypes of the 'weeping woman' and the 'detached man' have slightly softened, one of the most robust stereotypes related to gender continues to centre on emotionality.

2.4.4.1 Emotionally expressive men

In recent times authors such as Ramazanoglu (1992) have stated that there has been the emergence of more caring masculine identities. McMahon (1999) refers to the rise of the Sensitive New Age Guy (SNAG). This term is quite similar to the 'new man' and refers to increased male softness and emotional expression. The importance of certain men expressing their emotions more openly may, according to McMahon (1999), refer less to a fundamental shift in these men and may perhaps underline certain differences. For example, public male figures crying in front of others may act as a way of differentiating between strong and weak men. The underlying message in this example is that strength is required for a man to cry. Thus, emotionally inexpressive males may possibly be viewed as being weak (McMahon, 1999). This indicates that typically masculine values might still be present, but are represented in different ways. Furthermore, some men who fall within the hegemonic norms of being white, middle class, educated, and employed often associate these newer representations of masculinities with middle class, educated men, whilst more traditional masculinities are conceptualised as being linked to less privileged men (McMahon, 1999). Therefore stoic, misogynist viewpoints are counter images highlighting the SNAG. The traditional man, in referring to the past, thus leads to a construction of less privileged men being less evolved. Thus, the fact that these men express their emotion more freely, may act as an indicator of a difference in how they are perceived by others.

2.4.4.2 Unemotional men

Although Shields (2000) states that the two sexes are more similar than different in their beliefs about emotions, there do seem to be differences in the way that these emotions are experienced and expressed. Jansz (2000), in looking at a number of studies, states that there are four central characteristics of contemporary men. These characteristics can be thought to play an important role in emotions. Firstly, men must be autonomous, and should not admit dependency on others. Secondly, achievement and provision for their family is important to contemporary men. Thirdly, men need to be tough, and act aggressively if necessary. And finally, men need to remain stoic and not share their pain with others (Jansz, 2000). It must be remembered that these characteristics do not come from the biological make-up of men but are created in social interactions (Shields, 2000). In line with performativity theory, by men "doing" their masculine identity at an individual level, they help to sustain the more public conception of masculinity (Jansz, 2000).

Levant (as cited in Jansz, 2000) notes that men are often genuinely unaware of their emotions. When asked to identify their feelings they tend to rely on logic, and try to deduce how they should be feeling. Furthermore, they also find it difficult to express their emotions, and are often concerned about the consequences of becoming emotional. Men often find it difficult to deal with the vulnerable feelings of others. The above difficulties all relate to emotions that portray a typically non-masculine image- such as fear, sadness, envy, disappointment, and jealousy (Jansz, 2000).

Other researchers focus on self-disclosure- the extent to which people communicate their personal feelings to others (Jansz, 2000). It has been discovered that although men tend to disclose less than women do, the difference is not as large as what certain stereotypes would suggest. The largest differences are evident in same sex interactions, with all-male relationships experiencing less intimate information being shared than all-female relationships (Jansz, 2000). Disclosure is also reliant on the sex of the target, with women disclosing just as little as men do when the target of the communication is a man. Another important factor is the kind of relationship held with the target. In close relationships, women tend to share far more, whereas when the target is a stranger both sexes tend to disclose similar amounts of intimate information.

It was discovered that men generally prefer discussing impersonal topics such as sports, work, shared activites, and politics whereas women often discuss more intimate matters (Jansz, 2000).

Shields (2000) alludes to the importance of contextual factors in determining the content of men's discussions. Shields (2000) notes that men are less inclined to introduce emotional talk into social situations that are less emotionally evocative. However, when interactional contexts require a consideration of emotional themes, the gender differences are not really evident (Shields, 2000). It is theorized that men are averse to sharing personal feelings as a means of protecting their identity. Expressing tender feelings is viewed as exposing vulnerability, and is therefore perceived to be a sign of weakness. It is thought that by men not self disclosing, they maintain a psychological distance between themselves and others. They are thus far less predictable and controllable, which contributes to a greater sense of autonomy- one of the characteristics of contemporary men mentioned earlier by Jansz (2000).

With regard to the experience of emotions, it is found that men generally report less intra-punitive emotions such as shame, fear, sadness, and guilt (Jansz, 2000). Most men report that they are never really afraid, and if they are they do not label such emotions as "fear". Rather, labels such as "concern" or "worry" are utilized. The experience of other negative emotions, such as anger, however, showed very few gender differences (Jansz, 2000).

Men's expression of emotions seems to be at odds with the experience though. Men tend to conceal most of their emotions. The non-verbal behaviour of males is far less expressive than females, with one of the results being that men find it more difficult to cry (Jansz, 2000). The main exception to this rule of male inexpression is witnessed in the presentation of anger. Eisler (as cited in Jansz, 2000) demonstrates this by revealing that men show far more facial expression when role-playing anger than when performing fear. Long (as cited in Jansz, 2000) argues that the pervasiveness of anger expression results from men channeling their non-masculine emotions (for example, fear and shame) into anger demonstrations, which are far more aligned with masculine identity.

In discussing sadness and depression Fivush and Buckner (2000) state that there is some basis in real life situations for the gender stereotypes. Women report experiencing emotions, specifically sadness, more frequently than men do. They also seem to value emotional experience more than men (Fivush & Buckner, 2000). At the extreme of emotionality, women are more often diagnosed with affective disorders than men. Most research concurs with the fact that women are two to four times more likely than men to be diagnosed with depression (Fivush & Buckner, 2000).

Developmentally speaking, this difference is only evident from adolescence onwards, thus partially implicating social influences as being vital to emotions. Part of the reasoning

underlying this phenomenon is women falling into a style of communicating their feelings to others, and eventually ruminating over sad events. They thus focus on their sadness, which can lead to depression (Fivush & Buckner, 2000). Men, on the other hand, are argued to adopt a more distracting style of coping. When they are sad men try to avoid the situation by partaking in other activities. They thus ruminate far less about sad events and are then less likely to spiral into depression (Fivush & Buckner, 2000). One of the main problems with this coping style is that it can lead to externalizing disorders such as violent behaviour and alcoholism (Fivush & Buckner, 2000). Some have defined male-type depression, which is characterized by men not reporting feelings of sadness. They rather state that they are irritable, feel restless, agitated or fatigued. These men tend to self-medicate with alcohol and other substances and often partake in physically risk-taking behaviours, sexual promiscuity or excessive focusing on their work (Wexler, 2005).

Jansz (2000) highlights an interesting and insightful psychoanalyitc model for understanding how the organization of the family can play a vital role in many men having problems with close relationships, emotional expression, as well as emotional bonding. The sexual division of labour in many Western families has resulted in fathers working a great deal and spending very little time with their children, whilst mothers have a large amount of interaction with children. This, together with the fact that mothers give birth to the children, often ensures a symbiotic bond between child and mother in the first few months after birth (Jansz, 2000). It is in this relational framework that the first tentative steps of the social construction of masculinity are taken.

The psychoanalyst Greenson (as cited in Jansz, 2000) argues that the little boy needs to sufficiently complete the separation-individuation process by successfully dis-identifying from his mother. This dis-identification is complex for the little boy as he has spent a vital part of his young life almost solely in the care of his mother (Jansz, 2000). The little boy is only able to break this psychological bond with his mother if he positively solves his Oedipus Complex- by identifying with his father. Chodorow (as cited in Jansz, 2000) states that the boy must fight the sense of symbiotic “oneness” with his mother quite fervently because he is of the opposite sex. In constructing his masculine identity, he can thus not borrow from his mother. The boy can also not borrow from his father who is absent from the domestic sphere. Thus, learning to be masculine means being the opposite of womanly (Jansz, 2000). It is therefore theorized that boys identify with a position rather than an example, and they thus lean on cultural stereotypes in forming their masculine identity. As the boy grows older any longing that he may have for relational closeness becomes associated with an irrational fear of engulfment dating back to the pre-Oedipal phase (Levant, as cited in Jansz, 2000). This fundamental fear threatens the

integrity of the individual and can lead to a defensive kind of autonomy marked by an array of psychological defenses (Jansz, 2000).

Although certain aspects of the stereotypes regarding emotions seem to have some grounding in real life, it would appear that this situation is more complex than some might suggest. Various factors impact on emotional experience, expression, and self disclosure and this results in a variety of constructions for men and women. It would appear that the emotional world of men is filled with differing discourses, some of which advocate men being autonomous, tough, and controlled.

2.4.5 Self care and men's fashion

Many men have come from a time where perhaps men did not care about themselves enough. Now some are of the opinion that self care exhibited by men has become too self indulgent (Gillis, 2005). This demonstrates the ambivalent relationship between men and self care. Gillis (2005) states that men have come out of centuries of male hegemony and are now discovering the 'woman' in themselves. Terms like 'metrosexual' and 'ubersexual' have been mentioned as new types of masculinities that have risen. According to Gillis (2005) 'metrosexual' refers to men who blend physicality, sensitivity and a flare for fashion whereas the 'ubersexual' man is more polished than the average heterosexual, and more 'masculine' than the 'meterosexual'.

Breward (as cited in Edwards, 2006) states that men's fashion is as complex and multiple as the configurations of masculinities. In sociology, discussions regarding the "New Man" have led to the questioning of any strict polarizing of masculinity and fashion. The rigid boundaries around the social acceptability of men's consumption have been destabilized by the heightened focus on men's fashion and appearance (Edwards, 2006). It is now more acceptable for at least some men to indulge in what were previously categorised as feminine forms of consumption (for example, shopping for fashion, using moisturisers and other beauty products). This change in focus, however, is thought to possibly lead to a blurring of boundaries regarding gender and sexuality (Edwards, 2006). Image conscious, fashionable men often arouse anxieties in gendered and sexual terms. This is possibly due to fashion's historical links with femininity. Being seen as gay, or even sexually ambiguous, leads to these men being perceived as somehow not "fitting in".

One of the main issues with regard to fashion focuses on whether this change in focus indicates a significant shift in gender relations. Chapman and Rutherford (as cited in Edwards, 2006)

conclude that the development is more the result of clever marketing ploys than progress in sexual politics. Marketers have focussed on the Sensitive New Age Guy (SNAG), who differentiates himself from other men in his emotional expression as well as his openness to caring for his appearance (McMahon, 1999). Savage (as cited in Edwards, 2006) highlights the superficiality of men's fashion by stating that it is the same old wolf in designer clothes. Edwards (2006) suggests that men's increased interest in fashion and style might be more media-fuelled than real. He states that this is because the market for woman's fashion still remains massively larger than that of men's.

If it is to be assumed that fashion does have at least some social significance, then the social divisiveness it provokes is interesting. Edwards (2006) suggests that men's fashion is demographically specific. It places a heavy emphasis on a form of consumer culture that is inclined to target white, young, affluent, city-dwelling men, with the effect of excluding rural, older, or simply poorer men. If performativity as a concept is related to fashion, the way men dress, or take care of themselves could thus be seen as a way of men performing their gender. Thus, symbolic meaning is created and the division between hegemonic and subordinated masculinities is further highlighted. The clothes that men wear, and the products that they use can be seen to be key markers of differences in status and position (McMahon, 1999).

The rigid boundaries between masculinity and fashion seem to have been somewhat broken down. Men's patterns of consumption seem to be changing, although this may reflect a consumer economy utilizing improved marketing ploys. Although the way in which men dress and represent themselves is changing, it would seem that any real changes are debatable.

2.4.6 Men's relationship styles

In analysing possible reasons for women's higher prevalence of depression, Fivush and Buckner (2000) highlight certain persistent differences in the ways in which men and women relate to others. Firstly, women report valuing friendship rather more than do men, and report spending more time being involved in intimate one-on-one discussions with friends. Men tend to partake more in a wide array of activities with their friends (Fivush & Buckner, 2000). Thus, women's relationships are described as expressive and men's as instrumental. Conversational topics also differ. Women are more likely to discuss personal experiences, hopes and feelings while men more often prefer to discuss sports, politics and current events (Fivush & Buckner, 2000). Furthermore, themes of uniqueness and separation are more prevalent in men's conversations.

In various studies on disclosure discussed by Fivush and Buckner (2000) it is concluded that men and women disclose similarly with regard to non-emotional topics. Women, however, tend to disclose far more with regard to emotions. Significantly, women are more likely to relate negative emotions such as depression, anxiety and fear to their friends than men are (Fivush & Buckner, 2000). Importantly, when men do discuss these negative emotions, they are more likely to relate them to a woman than a man. Thus, women are more likely to share as well as listen to the problems of others. This could be linked to the fact that women are rated by both sexes as generally possessing more empathy than men (Fivush & Buckner, 2000).

Connell (2005) states that most of his male respondents express a desire for better, more expressive relationships with male friends. A difficulty in achieving this is documented in most respondents. The typical barrier to friendships among heterosexual men is homophobia. This is because a big part of many cultures is an antagonism towards gay men and a fear of being labelled 'homosexual' (Connell, 2005).

Levy (2005) investigates the interactions men have with one another. He distinguishes between friendship, marked by mutual significance and emotional expression, and comradeship, where intense but not emotional connections are experienced. Many researchers believed comradeship and friendship to be separate and distinct. Levy (2005) argues that middlers (middle-aged, middle class men) do exhibit both interactional styles based on situational factors. There are some interesting conclusions to emerge from this study. Age seems to vary inversely with comradeship. The older men are the more expressive their relationships seem to become. It is also noted that even among pro-feminine men, friendships are often marked by competition and hierarchy.

Gill, Stockard, Johnson and Williams (1987) state that expressiveness, or 'relational orientation', is one of the first modes of interaction learned by children. It is thus central to personality development. As boys begin to learn what it is to be male they repress these other aspects of their personality. The construction of their identity is influenced by various masculine norms and stereotypes. Balswick (1987) goes on to say that this male inexpressiveness almost always results in men having trouble developing intimate relationships to the greatest extent possible. This would seem to correlate with certain conclusion drawn from the psychoanalytic model mentioned earlier. Balswick (1987) also notes, however, that previously inexpressive males are learning how to increase their levels of expressiveness with those close to them. The question still remains though about their expressiveness with others who are not close to them.

Men appear to maintain a psychological distance from their male friends in particular. Many do express a desire for better, more meaningful connections with other males, although this is difficult for most to attain. Achieving this seems to be the exception rather than the rule.

2.5 The intersection of gender and race

Due to the fact that the current study is focussing on the discourses expressed by white, professional males, the issue of race needs to be discussed. This is due to the fact that the perspectives gained will represent particular viewpoints, whereas other perspectives influenced by various cultural factors (for example, those expressed by black men and women in general) are not explored in this study. In South Africa race relations could be seen to play an important role in gender identities and constructions.

As has been indicated, the term masculinity does not refer to one single, homogenous experience. Race and racial imagery carries with it great significance. White men's masculinities are constructed in relation to black men as well as to women (Connell, 2005). Racial imagery is all-encompassing in many Western discourses surrounding masculinity. White people's fears of black men's violence, and black people's fears of white men's policing and control have a long history (Connell, 2005). The scenario is captured by the American black expression "The Man", which fuses white masculinity with institutional power. Race has seemingly cross-cut the category men, spreading the benefits (for example, more jobs, better pay, more authority) and costs (for example, men being more likely to be arrested, men being involved in more dangerous jobs, taboo around men expressing vulnerability) of gender relations extremely unevenly among men (Connell, 2005). The result has been that, in comparison to white men, black men have had to pay far too many costs, whilst receiving too few of the benefits.

It is argued that "it is possibly the case that the complete catalogue of critical men's studies of masculinities is one extended male, middle-class, Western, white complaint" (Edwards, 2006, p.64). Furthermore, most of the studies on ethnicity and race do not pay much attention to the issue of masculinity. This has had the effect of black masculinities being under-explored in the past. Much of the early work centred on the emasculation thesis (Edwards, 2006). This asserts that black men are weakened and made feminine through the processes of racism, colonialism

and Western imperialism. Fanon (as cited in Edwards, 2006) sets up a binary opposition between black and white whereby black is denigrated and all but destroyed. Black men are caught in a process of attempting to catch up with white men. Staples (as cited in Edwards, 2006) is of the opinion that second wave feminism fails to acknowledge the suffering of black men and the causes of their sexism. His accounts draw heavily on sex role theory and many of these arguments have the effect of helping black men to evade responsibility for the practices of sexism, violence, and homophobia.

Marriot (as cited in Edwards, 2006), relying heavily on psychoanalytic theory, explores the representations of black men in film, photography, and literature. He states that representations of black men as being imbecilic, criminal, murderous, and oversexed have had a devastating psychological impact on black male identity. Parker (1996) states that black people, men in particular, have been viewed as 'dangerous others' and have represented some form of animalistic force threatening the existence of white people. Black people have thus been placed centrally in many moral panics of white people, particularly those regarding concerns such as violent crime, health and disease, and sexual deviance (Parker, 1996). These representations informed a great deal of the apartheid ideology in South Africa. These representations have lowered the self esteem of black men, whose negative representations exist in white men's fantasies and projections (Edwards, 2006). Much of the criticism of these works, however, lies in the fact that many of the arguments are set up without contestation, and the results lack empirical evidence.

Segal (as cited in Edwards, 2006) fundamentally asserts that white men have created the image of black men as a contrast against which to define themselves. She thus sees openly gay, black writers as having the greatest potential of challenging the images of black masculinities, and thus threatening the centrality of white masculinities. Dyer (as cited in Edwards, 2006) investigates what he refers to as whiteness. The essential premise is that racialized forms of representation are vital in the order of the modern world. Whiteness is central to this. He makes a series of analogies between whiteness, masculinity and heterosexuality as the defining norms in the world order. The study of whiteness is seen as another possible forward step in the understanding of race and masculinity (Edwards, 2006).

What is clear is that more work on race with regard to masculinities needs to be done. The issue of race may often fall into its own autonomous research category, with the effect of the link between race and masculinities remaining relatively under-developed. The symbolic value of racial images and representations seems immense and has impacted on the way in which black and white men have defined themselves, particularly in the South African context. It would

appear that racial imagery has had a detrimental effect on the psyche of black people in general. Racial imagery has had an effect on men, both black and white, around the world. The influence of race re-affirms the multiplicity and complexity of masculinities.

2.6 Masculinity in the South African context

South African men have traditionally been subject to unique pressures and influences when compared to the 'first world' (Morrell, 2001). Employment conditions and remuneration structures for white and black South Africans were hugely different during the apartheid era. Typically, white men were involved in supervisory and managerial positions, and related to their black employees from a hierarchically superior 'boss' position (Morrell, 2001). The South African government of the time was influential in stimulating propaganda and thus heavily influenced public discourses. An establishment masculinity was forged that was authoritarian, harsh, and unforgiving. The military was an important influence within the government, and could thus be seen to have impacted on a dominance-oriented South African masculinity. During the 1960s compulsory conscription for white men into the army, air force and navy was implemented by the government. This was accepted by the white population due to propaganda regarding 'swartgevaar' (being fearful of the danger posed by black South Africans) as well as the notion of men being protectors (Morrell, 2001).

South Africa was a country that was male dominated and in families, both black and white, men were the providers who made the decisions and thus held the symbolic power in society (Morrell, 2001). Various formal laws supported this male power and authority. Women, as well as black people in general, were discriminated against. In this climate of white male privilege, certain brittle masculinities were produced. For white men, a defensive masculinity was evident where there was a resistance against the various challenges to their privilege posed by women, black South Africans, and other men (Morrell, 2001). This defensive style can be seen to still be evident in some white South African men.

The South African post-apartheid government has been very active in generating equality-based gender policy (Morrell, 2001). Some of the inequalities separating women from men have thus been combated though various legislations and policies (Morrell, 2005). These changes are exemplified by the fact that in 1999, the previously all male parliament experienced a 30% female representation (Morrell, 2001). This was a significant increase. Even though the end of apartheid has resulted in greater levels of gender and racial equality in the labour market, a significant gender gap is still evident (Morrell, 2005). According to studies mentioned by

Morrell (2005) rural women remain the poorest, least educated and literate group in South Africa. Comparatively, white men remain over-represented in the professions and in businesses. It would, however, appear that young white males perceive their access to these positions more difficult than in the past (Morrell, 2005). Based on the above points, although transitions have been witnessed in South Africa, arguments centering on uneven progress, as well as limited and, at times, non-existent economic changes have been proposed by many (Morrell, 2001).

Morrell (2001) states that men's responses to societal transitions can be classified into three often overlapping and sometimes contradictory types. Firstly, defensive responses represent some men's attempts to turn back the changes in order to reassert their masculine power. Defensive responses to gender transformations often rely on essentialist understandings of men that are premised on hegemonic masculinity. Various Australian studies on education (Morrell, 2005) have indicated that when feminist policies have been introduced into schools, male learners and teachers often respond negatively. One of the forms of backlash by men is to produce the counterargument centering on men being disadvantaged and perhaps discriminated against (Morrell, 2005). During the 1990s one of the most prominent groups in this respect to develop in South Africa was the South African Association of Men (SAAM). Its goal was to fight the discrimination against men and to challenge feminism. One of the main concerns of such groups is that the privilege of white males in South Africa has eroded (Morrell, 2005). A language of men being in crisis permeates the discourses of this movement. Attention is drawn to the failings of the new, democratic government, the escalating crime rate, as well as the drop in the standard of living for white people (Morrell, 2001). These justifications seem to underline the perceived need for a reversion to the order of previous times. It would thus seem that this defensive, reactionary response by some men is caused by the perceived relative loss that white men experienced during the transition of power during the 1990s.

Secondly, accommodating responses at times seem to be traditionalist and defensive, although men exhibiting this response do not fight for the restoration of pre-existing patriarchal order. These responses reject violent, overly dominant masculinities (Morrell, 2001).The absence of widespread male opposition to women's improving societal position, and some men's tolerance of gay men have been the most vital aspects of the accommodating position (Morrell, 2001).

Finally, Morrell (2001) identifies the progressive responses. These responses challenge the status quo and provide new models for how men can act (Morrell, 2001). One of the most visible campaigns advocating a progressive standpoint was the End Conscription Campaign (ECC) founded in 1983 (Morrell, 2001). This was an organisation of young, white men who were opposed to serving in the South African Defence Force (SADF). The ECC challenged the

legitimacy of apartheid and particularly opposed military service. They proposed an anti-authoritarian, non-violent representation of masculinity that broke from hegemonic, dominance oriented masculinities that had been prevalent (Morrell, 2001).

The above points indicate that there has been no singular, clear response to the gender conditions in contemporary South Africa. The changes in the gender order seem to be due to the simultaneous effects of the interventionist state and the small moves made by individual men and women (Morrell, 2001). The prevalence of accommodating responses in particular is viewed as important in this respect.

2.7 Conclusion

Masculinity is a concept that is both tangible and highly elusive. Common sense provides a relatively clear picture of the term relating to various norms, roles and expectations. There are differences in the way most men and women act and behave, and some have thought that these differences are based on natural inclinations. Further investigation would suggest that many of these differences are not as natural as once believed. Constructing gender is a process that exists in people's social interactions and cultural contexts. The way that individuals perform their gender in everyday life would appear to inform and be informed by cultural ideology relating to sexual politics. Such notions help to divorce sex from gender. Thus, concepts such as women's masculinity and men's femininity become more understandable.

Questions centering on whether masculinity has recently changed provide differing answers. The range of areas to be explored when considering such questions is immense and a complete summary of every area is beyond the scope of the current study. It would appear that some of the areas tend to overlap and influence others. Men's progression in certain areas is often questioned as being potentially superficial. A good example is that found in men's fashion. Even though many men are more receptive to looking after their appearance, it is suggested that these changes are due to more effective marketing ploys by big business. It is, in essence, the same beast dressed in better clothes, so to speak. In other areas, hegemonic defences have adapted craftily to protect their dominance. In the work environment, for instance, at first it would appear that real change has been made when considering the increased representivity of women. However, men still seem to dominate higher ranking positions and many attitudes are still aimed at oppressing women in more subtle ways. Sport too has been utilised as an effective tool in patriarchal ideology as a means of proving men's superiority over women, and thus legitimizing men's right to rule.

This defence of hegemonic ideals is not total though, and it does appear that men's 'natural' right to rule has come under scrutiny in relatively recent times. Simple formulations equating men with the public and women with the domestic sphere have, at the very least, become more complicated. Some men do seem to be expressing a desire to build more expressive relationships and have indicated that they are not all satisfied with the gender relations that are currently in place. Men's responses to gender transitions, however, do not seem to be singular and clear. As Morrell (2001) notes, these responses range from men who defend the hegemony of masculinity to others who provide novel representations of masculinity that are based on equality.

The meaning of dominance and hegemony seems to be shifting. Newer forms of masculinity based on technical knowledge and transnational businesses have resulted in a challenge to the hegemony of more dominance oriented masculinities. Although various changes are noted, it would seem that many issues, such as masculine power and dominance, remain issues in the constructions of many men.

Most importantly, all of the aforementioned issues, along with numerous others, interweave to create a collective societal order in which the construction of gender identity takes place. With these multiple influences it is essential to acknowledge the multiplicity and fluidity of masculinities. To assert that there exists one, singular entity known as 'masculinity' is false. Masculinities, and how they are performed, shift from time-to-time and place-to-place, even though the consistent hegemonic position of men in relation to women seems ever-present in many societies. Furthermore, the way that the genders intra and interrelate define how they are constructed and represented. All of this implies that a definitive description of masculinity is, at the very least, a highly complex endeavour.

CHAPTER 3
METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

One of the main goals of the current study was to achieve an understanding of men's lives from a subjective perspective. Men's experiences and expressions of different masculinities in various contexts were thus sought. The research wanted to highlight possible meanings behind various perspectives of men who can be regarded as representing certain hegemonic ideals (white, professional, middle class). A methodology capable of providing a description of both different and similar viewpoints, as well as possible meanings behind these was thus essential.

This chapter will thus begin by indicating the general methodological and epistemological orientations of the study and will provide a rationale for these decisions. The aims and research questions of the study will then be identified, followed by a discussion of the participants and how they were recruited for the study. The data collection procedure used to source the rich data will then be distinguished. Next, a detailed account of the method of analysis adopted within this study will be discussed. Various ethical considerations will then be explored and finally the researcher will look reflexively at his role within the entire process.

3.2 Rationale

The general methodological orientation of this research was qualitative. Qualitative research results in subjective, rich data coming from the participants (Neuman, 2000; Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Qualitative research extends beyond merely categorizing phenomenon, and attempts to gain an understanding of how and why that phenomenon occurs (Henning, Van Rensburg & Smit, 2004). Thus, possible reasons underlying the hegemonic and subordinated masculinities could be explored. In a quantitative study, a far thinner description would have been attained as the categories themselves may have been the focus. Many qualitative researchers take the views of the participants as their point of departure, indicating a shift away from other approaches which advocate the researcher as being in 'the driving seat' (Lofland & Lofland, 1995). Linked to this is the fact that qualitative research generally focuses less on structure, and more on flexibility (Bryman, 2001). When combined, these two factors allowed the data collection and analysis processes to be flexible and cyclical rather than linear- facts which aided in the researcher being able to better explore the subjective realities of the participants. Certain questions were adapted in the collection of data when they were considered to be either too

vague or leading. This was exemplified by the researcher simplifying his questions regarding the participant's attitudes regarding women in later interviews. In earlier interviews these questions had focused specifically on the changing roles of women in the workplace, which lead the participants to perhaps focus exclusively on this aspect regarding the topic of women. Also, follow up questions were sometimes added in order to further explore certain ideas or topics. The by-product was that the research was able to become far more adaptable than a standardized, quantitative approach would have allowed. The data was thus far more diverse and relevant to the participants. All of the above factors indicate a good fit between the aims of the study and the choice of a qualitative approach. The researcher was able to explore and understand professional men's perceptions, values, beliefs and concerns in a more in-depth manner.

Within this general orientation, the epistemological position used was that of interpretivism. This approach transcends positivist notions of an objective, observable reality existing. Instead, multiple realities are accepted and research aims at an approximation of these (Denzin & Lincoln, 2000). This approach goes beyond mere quantification, and aims at the description and interpretation of human experience in human terms (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). This position is primarily concerned with meaning and advocates examining the participant's interpretations of the social world (Bryman, 2001; Trauth, 2001). The focus on the participant's subjectivity matched well with the social constructionist and gender relations underpinnings of this study. An exploration of the contested and multiple nature of masculinities was thus more possible utilizing an interpretive approach.

3.3 Aims of the study

a) To explore how men talk about their experiences of masculinity in various social contexts.

b) To examine the emergent cultural models of masculinity from the participant's talk.

3.4 Research questions

a) What are the hegemonic forms of masculinity that emerge from participant's talk?

b) What are the subordinated forms of masculinity that emerge from participant's talk?

c) How do the expressions of masculinity reflect and represent aspects of the social context in which they are produced?

3.5 Participants

The participants were all white males aged between 24 and 31 years of age. Of the men in the study 9 had attained at least a degree at a University or Technikon. The tenth participant had studied an incomplete degree, and had subsequently completed a diploma in Information Systems. The qualifications for the degreed individuals included: Master of Science, Chartered Accountancy, two Dental Technicians, two Bachelor of Science degrees (Information Technology), Bachelor of Business Sciences, Bachelor of Science Financial Mathematics, and a Bachelor of Commerce. This involvement in tertiary education was considered to be an important factor as these men were more likely to have been exposed to both conservative and more liberal representations of masculinities in the tertiary settings.

Half of the participants worked in the banking sector, and the other half worked in other fields. The job titles included: Sales Consultant (Home Loans), Senior Developer at an Information Technology company, Regional Manager at a banking institution, two Dental Technicians involved in a private practice, Junior Software Engineer, Retail Finance Manager at a banking institution, Private Banking Financial Manager, Manager for Forecasting and Modeling at a banking institution, and Manager of Target Setting and Performance Evaluation in a banking institution. Thus, it could be considered that many of these positions do not necessarily require emotional expression and all require certain intellectual qualifications and specific skills. The participants could be seen to occupy a hegemonic space due to the fact that they are white, middle class, employed men. Their perspective in contemporary South Africa was considered to be novel and enlightening with regard to the constructions of masculinity. It is recognized that in the past white, middle class, employed males have been over-represented in research, but the greater social mobility of these men in the current South African context was thought to be important. These men are positioned as the 'norm' in many spheres.

Of the participants two were currently married, one was divorced and single, one was engaged to be married, three were in romantic relationships, and three were currently single. Most of their partners of those in relationships had at least a degree, and only one of these partners was not currently working. This indicates a decline in men being sole providers in relationships. With regard to their sexuality, nine of the males defined themselves as heterosexual, with one defining himself as homosexual. Nine of the men in the study came from homes where the

parents are still married, with the parents of only one being divorced. In the relationships of their parents only one classified his mother as being a housewife, with the rest stating that their mothers were either currently involved in an occupation, or had been before retirement age. All of the fathers worked, except for one who was now retired. In most situations it seems that both parents had studied at tertiary level.

Initially, the sample was recruited via a networking contact that the researcher had in the banking sector. An email and telephone list of possible participants was gained from this contact, and these men were then contacted via email. Included in this initial email was an invitation to participate in the study, information regarding various aspects of the study (in the subject information sheet), as well as the relevant consent forms. Interested parties were asked to inform the researcher via email or telephone of their interest. Informed consent was gained for the interviews as well as recording. After each interview the various participants were asked whether they knew of any other relevant men who might be interested in participating in the study. These referrals were then contacted and recruited in an identical fashion to the initial group. Many of these men were not in the banking sector, but were still considered appropriate as they met the criteria of having been exposed to tertiary education, and were subsequently working 'professionally'. Thus, through a mixture of convenience and snowball sampling the participants were selected.

The sample size of 10 professional men broken into individual interviews was considered to be sufficient for qualitative research due to the richness of data derived from the in-depth data collection procedure. It was also felt that this number was large enough to achieve a point known as theoretical saturation, which Bryman (2001) describes as a point in the analysis where there is no further need to seek more themes or evidence for those themes- there is sufficient justification for their inclusion.The sample was not representative of all South Africans, nor representative of all professionals; thus the results were not generalisable to the population as a whole. However, this is not the intention of qualitative research.

Furthermore, one on one interviews were chosen as they were thought to possibly reduce anxieties of speaking in front of large groups, which could be associated with focus groups. This provided the participants the opportunity to voice certain opinions that wouldn't necessarily have come to the fore in the presence of a group of people. Having said this, one of the participants did seem extremely anxious throughout the interview process and this did seem to impact on his responses- which were minimal. This particular participant may have felt as though he was under a critical spotlight and may have experienced a certain amount of anxiety

around providing "good enough" answers. In the majority of the interviews, though, the interviewer was able to use various counseling skills to allay the participant's anxieties.

3.6 Data collection methods and procedures

The data collection took the form of semi-structured individual interviews. According to Terre Blanche and Kelly (1999) interviews are a far more natural method of interacting than those proposed by quantitative approaches. It allows the researcher to know the participant quite intimately, so that there can be a better understanding of the real thoughts and feelings of people, whereas a quantitative study might merely have categorized various hegemonic and subordinated masculinities and possibly listed reasons for these in a more superficial way. This study was able to look at all of these aspects in more depth. The multiple reasons underlying the themes were thus more accessible.

The interviews took place at neutral venues outside of working hours. The fact that there was a basic interview schedule, which was open to change during the data collection process, meant that both key areas as well as new avenues of interest could be uncovered and further explored. The sequence and structure of the questions as well as the manner in which they were asked were adapted throughout the process. This flexibility allowed the lived experiences and narratives of the participants to be explored in a more nuanced way than a rigidly structured interview would have allowed. It was also recognized that the researcher and the participants were co-constructors in the meaning of the interviews. Various inputs from both parties were thus relevant and these were influenced by the values of both. The interviewer's willingness to comfort others, for example, resulted in certain uncomfortable topics not being explored in greater depth during the interviews.

The data was captured by audio taping the sessions, and these were transcribed, interpreted and analyzed. This process was not linear. Rather, the transcriptions of the initial interviews were done before all of the interviews were completed. This allowed the researcher to adapt the manner in which certain questions were asked. The main advantage of recording the sessions was that the researcher had a full record of what was said and was thus not unduly hampered by note-keeping during the sessions. This aided in the interviews being more authentic which, in most interviews, allowed the researcher to access more in-depth views and opinions of the participants. By taping the sessions, the participants hopefully received the unspoken message that the researcher was taking what they have to say seriously. The choice of audio taping

seemed to be experienced by the participants as less intrusive than perhaps video taping. This was thought to further aid in a more natural interaction between researcher and participant.

3.8 Data analysis

It is believed that there are few absolute rules in the analysis of qualitative information (Bryman, 1999; Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). There does not seem to be one definitive 'way' of analysing qualitative studies. Terre Blanche and Kelly (1999) state that data collection and analysis tend to gently fade into one another at times and seem co-dependent. It was for these reasons that numerous writings such as Henning et al (2004), Bryman (2001), Terre Blanche and Kelly (1999), and Robson (1993) influenced the analysis of the current study. The approaches advocated by these different authors may all have slightly different nuances but all stipulate an approach that focuses on the importance and value of coding and extracting themes from the interview transcripts. The approach that was utilized could thus be defined as thematic content analysis.

Below, a basic structure will be provided regarding the manner in which the analysis of the current study proceeded. The process was circular in its function, with many of the "stages" influencing one another and overlapping. Furthermore, it must be noted that the researcher completed the interviewing, transcribing, and analysis of the study, thus staying 'close' to the data.

Firstly, the initial audio tapes were transcribed verbatim. Wide margins were left on the side of the transcribed pages for future codes and notes to be written down- something Henning et al (2004) views as important. After the transcribing was complete the researcher began with what Henning et al (2004) calls open coding. In this part of the process the entire texts were read through with the purpose of the researcher gaining a global impression of what had been said. Terre Blanche and Kelly (1999) believe that at this point it is important for the researcher to immerse themselves in the work and to make additional notes and brainstorm possible directions and ideas. Doing this allowed the researcher in the current study to gain a holistic impression of his data, rather than focusing on specific interviews only.

After this first reading possible themes were identified and written down on a separate page. It is important that these are to be written down in the language of the participants rather than in abstract theoretical terminology (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). This provided a rough idea of what final themes were likely to emerge. These were very rudimentary categories, but were

clustered together under general headings according to similarities to other potential themes or ideas elicited in the transcripts. Throughout this and subsequent stages various notes were written in the margins of the transcribed interviews. These helped guide the thinking of the researcher and provided a good index of where certain thoughts had stemmed from.

After this the researcher re-explored the transcripts and with the aid of variously coloured markers coding of the data began. These codes were linked in with the tentative themes which had already been provisionally specified. Coding is defined by Bryman (2001) as the process whereby data is broken up into its component parts in order to make it more manageable and meaningful. The parts are then given names and eventually clustered together under certain themes. Bryman (2001) says that this coding should start as soon as possible, or at least the transcribing of the interviews should be done as soon as possible so that the researcher is not swamped with transcribing and coding later on. By starting the analysis process, even if very simply in the form of the transcribing, during the data collection phase the interviews will be shaped in such a way that new fields of interest can be explored during the interviews. Even though the current study only began "official" coding after all the transcribing was complete, the transcribing was started before all the interviews were complete. Robson (1993) states that, at the point of coding, it is better to be over- rather than under-inclusive. There were thus initially a large amount of possible themes available to the researcher.

The coding was done at a sentence and phrase level and the full list of possible themes was entered onto a Microsoft Word document. The corresponding codes were then pasted into the relevant themes. These possible themes were developed according to the literature review of the current study. The gender relations approach of Connell (1995) and Morrell's (2001) masculine responses provided useful general notions through which many of the themes were specified and developed. At this point the tentative themes were broken down into a smaller number of major themes, with each of these having multiple sub themes. Major themes are more central and over-arching, whilst the sub themes tend to be important illustrations of the major themes (Terre Blanche & Kelly, 1999). Robson (1993) refers to the themes and sub-themes as core and sub categories. Whichever way it is labeled, the distinction between over-arching and more specific groupings was important in order to make sense of the data and the various codes.

Henning et al (2004) states that sometimes the meaning of a particular coded sentence or phrase is unclear. It was thus important in the current study to refer back to the raw data. This allowed the researcher the opportunity to re-evaluate various sentences and paragraphs in the original context. It was at this point that the initial notes in the margins were important as they indicated

certain ideas that the researcher had previously held about the data. These could then be further developed or done away with.

At this point, with various empirically inspired and theoretically developed themes being evident, codes corresponding to these themes, and rough interpretations about all of this being made the researcher considered various questions related to the themes. Henning et al (2004) provides the following questions related to this:

- What are the relationships in meaning between all the categories?
- What do the themes say together?
- How do the themes address the research questions?
- What do the themes say about each other?
- How do the categories link with what is already known about the topic?

With the answering of these and other important questions the writing of the final report had progressed somewhat. The answers to these and other questions are documented in what Robson (1993) and Bryman (2001) refer to as memos. A memo is a useful way of organizing ideas throughout the entire data analysis process. It is important that each memo is referenced to other notes and transcriptions so that it will make sense at a later stage (Robson, 1993). Through writing memos a final thematic pattern was constructed and the reasoning for these themes was linked back to the codes, and then back to the raw data. This was done in order to check the logic behind the themes. Once the researcher was satisfied that these themes represented something meaningful, the themes were used as a basis for writing the analysis chapter.

Bryman (2001) states that there is the danger of the data becoming fragmented and the narrative flow lost utilizing the thematic approach to analysis. There was thus a danger of the different pieces of data becoming isolated from one another. To prevent this, the researcher must be careful that the analysis should not be a mere summary of what the participants stated. The researcher needs to reflect, interpret, and theorize on what occurred in the interviews in order to provide a meaningful piece of work (Bryman, 2001). Terre Blanche and Kelly (1999) agree with this and state that researchers should think in terms of functions, processes and possible tensions and even contradictions in the data. A consideration of how the data was linked, and what the themes said together, and apart, was thus vital in the current study. Furthermore, the themes were linked in with the research questions and aims. It was essential that at the final

stages of the report the researcher checked his interpretations and re-evaluated his conclusions. This aided in the final report accurately reflecting the lived experiences of the participants.

3.7 Ethical considerations

The current study was given ethical clearance from the University of the Witwatersrand. The Ethics Protocol Number is MACC 08/002 IH.

The researcher was aware that certain topics might be highly personal in nature. Exploration of more emotionally charged issues was thus not overly intense. The participants were informed of their freedom to choose as to the level of their participation. They were notified that they could reveal as much or as little as they chose. No difficulties with regard to the above were experienced, although the interviewer/ researcher did inform the participants that a referral list of psychologists and counseling centres (from the Health Professions of South Africa's website), contact details for the South African Depression and Anxiety group (who provide free of charge telephonic counseling as well as further referral), as well as contact details for Lifeline were available. The participants were thus aware that they had access to a variety of psychological resources should it have been necessary.

The main limitation to confidentiality was that the information arising from the interviews was to be included in the research report with direct quotes being utilised. The participants were informed of this fact. They were assured that the information elicited from the interviews would be handled sensitively by the researcher and supervisor. Absolute anonymity could also not be offered due to the fact that the researcher was witness to the interviews. The identity of the participants was thus known by the researcher. With regard to research material no-one, other than the researcher and the supervisor, had access to the audio tapes and un-sanitized transcripts. These facts were communicated to the participants. Addressing some of the other anonymity and confidentiality concerns the transcripts were sanitized by way of any identifying information being removed. This included particulars such as the participant's names, the names of other people in their private lives that they mentioned, places of residence and dates of birth, for example. Aspects such as patterns of speech could also possibly have compromised absolute confidentiality and anonymity, as friends or loved ones reading the report might recognize these patterns. This risk was communicated to the participants before the interviews.

Informed consent for the interviews as well as recording was gained via signed consent forms. This consent was re-affirmed at the interview. The consent forms were stored in a locked and

secure area. The times and venues of the interviews were arranged to occur after work hours at neutral venues. Most of the interviews were conducted at residential locations, although some participants wanted the interviews to occur in private, business offices. The choice of the location was quite flexible, with the participants deciding on where they felt most comfortable.

Permission to transcribe the sessions was gained before each interview, and this permission was confirmed afterwards. The participants were informed that any statements they felt uncomfortable with could be omitted from the transcriptions. The participants were also informed before the interviews began of their right to withdraw from the process at any time without any sanctions being held against them.

Furthermore, the participants were told that the tapes would be erased once the transcribing was finished. This was done to ensure the safety of the original interviews. Whilst the tapes were in the researcher's possession they were stored in a securely locked area. The researcher and supervisor were the only people with access to these tapes and, yet again, this was communicated to the participants.

Results were to be reported in the final research report. The subject information sheet, which was initially provided to the participants, explained this fact as well as all of the other ethical and practical considerations. This helped ensure that the participants understood the process. They were also informed before and after the interviews that the elicited themes might go beyond what they may expect. Their right to withdraw at any point was again made clear.

Participants were initially informed of the likely completion period of the research. Upon completion of the study the participants were also informed of how they could view the results. They were notified that a copy would be made available at the University of the Witwatersrand's library and a brief synopsis of the study was emailed to each participant. Furthermore, they were informed that if further clarification of the results was needed they could contact the researcher directly.

3.8 Reflexivity

Gibson and Swartz (2004) describe reflexivity as the act or process of focussing critique or awareness back on oneself. Reflexivity necessitates a critical consciousness that all human action and decision is influenced by a range of complex reasons. Gibson and Swartz (2004) posit that even the most altruistic motives are guided by deeply personal investments. Thus, a

critical awareness of one's attitudes and values can enhance a study and make interpretations richer and more meaningful.

As a neophyte therapist, and as someone completing my community-based counselling psychology masters, I prefer to locate myself within more progressive and liberal viewpoints on gender relations- equality being an essential principle in human life according to such discourses. The fact of the matter is that I do, demographically speaking at least, fall within the various hegemonic norms mentioned by Connell (2005) - being male and white. Growing up a man towards the end of the apartheid era I had mixed feelings towards certain aspects of what I perceived white, male roles to be. An animosity towards the more dominant, hegemonic representations of masculinities was definitely evident from an early age. This attitude could be seen as influencing my initial choice of the general area of masculinities being studied. An understanding of what representations of 'real men' entailed was perhaps part of my early impulse. Perhaps there was also a desire to be critical or disparaging of men who represented very conservative, dominant ideologies. The above points perhaps influenced the structure of the interviews as I was seeking evidence of more traditionally hegemonic representations of masculinity. This prejudice also influenced the manner in which I analysed and interpreted much of the interview data. It was definitely easier to identify and theorise the hegemonic masculinities with the aim of possibly separating myself from them. I was thus aware of the need to analyse the data more carefully in order to identify subordinated masculine representations and to highlight various contested discourses.

As the process has developed, though, my initial animosity towards certain masculinities has perhaps been replaced by fascination and, at times, empathy for the individual stories of these men. Although their stories had certain common themes, the meanings underlying their lives and viewpoints were highly unique and illustrated a colourful picture of multiple influences in people's lives. This shift which drew me closer to the stories also made it more difficult for me to remain separate from the data. I needed to be cognisant of the potential influence this empathy may have. My own defensive, accommodating and progressive viewpoints were also hooked during the process. These multiple discourses within me made the processes of interviewing and analysis difficult as I was either identifying or disagreeing with the views that had been expressed by the participants. I eventually attempted to analyse the transcripts from a perspective where both objectivity and empathy were considered. By maintaining a balance in this respect I feel that I was able to gain a fuller understanding than an overly objective or removed standpoint would have achieved.

My desire to maintain a comfortable and easy-going atmosphere during the interview interactions was perhaps reflected in the encouragers (the agreeable "*MMM")* and the introduction of subsequent questions during the interviews. These perhaps acted as important indicators for the participants to either continue or cease talking. In this way I was able to maintain a relaxed atmosphere. It should be remembered, though, that in the ethics section it was stated that emotionally charged issues would not be over explored. So, there was a balance between certain ethical considerations and my own personal agendas.

Due to the fact that I am a white man, the participants were able to provide their expressions in a way that reflected not only their perceptions, but also alluded to certain social conventions and models of how certain men talk about their gender and related stereotypes in the presence of another man. In this process a dynamic of men 'doing' their gender through their speech was reached. A picture of the relations between white men was possible given this dynamic in the interviews. The information elicited due to this fact provided rich data regarding the social context that these men operate within. A further dimension of myself being male lay in the fact that, as Jansz (2000) states, men are less likely to share intimate information with other men. This could possibly have played a role in the depth of the information elicited during the interviews. It must be remembered that Fivush and Buckner (2000) state that a possible reason for this lack of disclosure is that men are often rated by both sexes as possessing less empathy than females. I thus considered it essential that I presented myself in an empathic manner, in order to enhance the intimacy of the interviews.

My demographics (me being a white male) could have had a further impact as potentially misogynistic, racist views were at times elicited from the participants. This would not necessarily have come to the fore had I been female or black. Issues around the participants identifying with me may thus have been evident. Certain worldviews were expressed possibly due to the perception of it being acceptable in the presence of another white male.

Finally, given all of the above points it was imperative that I attempted to use the perspective of the participant's as my point of departure. It was also vital that I kept my own prejudices in mind during the processes of data collection and analysis with the aim of representing meaningful, relatively non-prejudiced research.

CHAPTER 4
ANALYSIS

This section focuses on presenting and discussing the themes elicited from the interviews. The findings and discussions seem to be intimately linked and for the purposes of simplicity and clarity they are presented together in chapter 4. Furthermore, the identified themes reflect the input of the participant's. As far as possible, the language of the participant's has been utilised in the discussions. The five themes include:

1. Men in relation to self identity: Masculine self constructions of power, control and dominance.
2. Men in relation to emotions: Men as emotionally detached.
3. Men in relation to women: The emergence of accommodating and progressive responses.
4. Men in relation to the work environment: The impact of work.
5. Men in relation to the changing social context: Men's attitudes to their relative loss of power

The structuring and labelling of the themes has been influenced by the literature review of the current study. The gender relations approach advocated by Connell (2002) is vital in the development of the themes. The notion of masculinities being constructed through various systems of relations is thus integral to much of this chapter. The varied responses to transitions advocated by Morrell (2001) also influence the structure and content of the themes.

4.1 Theme One: Men in relation to self identity- Masculine self constructions of power, control and dominance.

Traditionally, masculinity has been influenced by various discourses focusing on aspects such as success and competitiveness (Edwards, 2006). This has reciprocally influenced what Connell (2002) refers to as power relations between the genders. Consequently, men have positioned themselves in a hegemonic space whereby they are regarded as being the dominant 'sex-class'. This positioning seems to be based on definitions of men being contrasted against women (Edwards, 2006). Luyt and Foster (2001) postulate that physical toughness and interpersonal dominance are among the important characteristics of more hegemonic representations of masculinity. Many of the participants express views that seem to confirm these fundamental beliefs. Although traditionally hegemonic representations of masculinity focussing on aggression and dominance have been challenged by those representations organised around

technical knowledge and reason, it would appear that certain beliefs focussing on men being constructed as powerful remain evident in the discourses of some men. This could perhaps be seen as a way of the status quo being upheld to some extent by these men.

4.1.1 Self constructions of 'toughness'

Many of the men in the interviews present themselves in a manner in which they construct themselves as 'hard' and 'tough'. This hardness seems to be a way for them to deal with aspects such as emotional difficulties or even assists them in protecting loved ones from the world. This appears to correlate with the resilient, brave images constructed by the insurance salesmen in Collinson and Hearn's (1996) study. It would seem that a popular construction amongst many of the men in the study focuses on men being the protectors and fighters. The discourses in this sub theme might be influenced by the authoritative, aggressive masculinities that were evident in apartheid South Africa. Morrell (2001) states that such representations were harsh and unforgiving. Thus, in the South African context in particular, older discourses focussing on men being 'tough' may have impacted on current masculine constructions.

Many of the discourses in this study seem to underline hegemonic ideals of men being powerful and capable. It may be true that the participants may have over-inflated this aspect of themselves due to the fact that the interviewer was another male. Thus, an aversion to seeming vulnerable, particularly in the presence of another male, may have influenced their input towards over-inflating their powerful, and thus dominant self-constructions. This idea would confirm the notion that men tend to share their experiences in a less emotional manner when in the presence of other men (Jansz, 2000). Thus, the sub-theme of men presenting themselves as 'hard' is understandable, and may perhaps reflect the manner in which some men converse with one another.

EXTRACT 1

OP: But I think as time goes on, because when I was younger I had a lot of trouble, emotional trouble. I, I was brought up in a house where there was a lot of, it was, violence, there was a lot of emotions, uh, and at times I just wanted to get harder.
I: MMM
OP: And you tend not to let anything disturb you, or you don't get as emotional about stuff as you used to.
I: MMM
OP: Because, you know you've been through a lot worse emotions.
I: MMM
OP: So you don't really bother with small things.
I: MMM
OP: If something big, big comes along at least I know how to handle it because I've been through it

Extract 1 provides a clear example of a man who views himself as having a 'hard' exterior. Through necessity OP learned how to "get harder". This dissociative defence mechanism seems to have been quite effective in controlling his levels of anxiety to some extent. An image of OP possessing a metallic exterior is elicited through his desire to "just…get harder". His defences have prevented outside emotions from bothering him, and have given him a sense of control over his reality. By being "harder" he is able to cope in situations where "something big, big comes along".

This extract would appear to confirm the hegemonic representation of men not appearing weak, and thus vulnerable. Traditional South African hegemonies centering on dominance and robustness seem to inform these newer constructions. The underlying importance of strength seems to remain an important influence in masculine construction for some men.

EXTRACT 2

I: Tell me a little about, as much as you're comfortable with, tell me a little bit about *(the end of his romantic relationship)*? It sounds like that was quite a sad time in your life.

AA: It was quite sad *(mumbles-unclear)*. Last time, actually, who did I tell that story? Actually, fucking cried in the pub. I actually felt, felt quite ashamed about it. Uh. Just the oke he was…the guy told me his wife has got, uh, a mole on her thingy and she might have cancer or whatever and so I felt almost compelled to sharing a bit of my kak *(shit)*.

Extract 2 provides another useful example of a man presenting himself in a 'hard' manner in response to various emotions. In this scenario AA is about to convey a vulnerable memory. Firstly, he masks this fact by referring to the event as a distant memory- he can't quite remember details of who he told. In this way he removes himself from the 'story' and perhaps becomes merely one of the characters in the 'story'. By stating that he "(a)ctually, fucking cried in the pub" he masks his vulnerable feelings of sadness with the tough, angry exterior indicated by the word "fucking". He seems upset about crying, specifically in the pub- a bastion of unemotional male bonding. Jansz (2000) states that male-male relationships experience less intimate information being shared. Men also seem to find it easier to express anger, and thus many other emotions are acted out as anger (Wexler, 2005). This is because other emotions such as sadness are associated with being unmasculine, whereas anger is regarded as more masculine (Jansz, 2000). Thus, by coupling his sadness with an angry, abrasive word such as "fucking" he may be trying to not appear vulnerable and 'soft'- particularly in the presence of the researcher (another male). This point is further evidenced by AA referring to his emotion as "kak (shit)".

EXTRACT 3

EF: Women that can be just as firm when they need to be.
I: Ja
EF: Um, it just, that characteristic comes out in someone when they, um, you know, when they're in certain circumstances.
I: MMM
EF: Whether they're a male or female doesn't, I don't think it differs too much.
I: MMM
EF: I just think that there are a lot, you know, guys in general will, will be more firm. That masculinity will come out- more so than, than a lot of women.

In extract 3 EF expresses rather contesting views. On one hand he states that firmness is evident in people, irrespective of gender while on the other hand he feels that men are indeed more firm than women. Aligned with the latter view EF defines men in contrast to women. This seems to confirm Gardiner's (2002) assertion that gender is often understood in dichotomous terms. EF defines men as "firm", thus seemingly inferring that women are perhaps more soft. Borrowing from Edwards (2006), people define themselves in relation to the backdrop of understanding certain others (women) as fundamentally opposite to them. Thus, by some men viewing women as softer a contrast is formed with which to highlight their own masculine 'hardness'. It would appear that this dichotomy is contested in the mind of EF.

EXTRACT 4

I: MMM. Okay, Um, my second last question, but um, what would you say is your role in a romantic relationship?
AA: MMM *(Thoughtful)* Jas. You asking the wrong oke *(guy)* there. I haven't been in one for a long time *(Long pause)*. Okay. In a perfect world if I can ever get to that really romantic, uh, me again…it's almost to, to, uh… although it's actually lekker *(nice)* to sit on the fact that somebody does all the romantic work for you or, or decides what you gonna do and stuff. But that's, in any event, not who I am.

Extract 4 is a good example of someone defining themselves by referring to what they are not. AA could be defined as hard as he denies that he has a romantic side. He does seem to enjoy romance, but only when it is initiated by his partner. This could possibly be explained by the fact that men seem to be less inclined to introduce emotional talk into social situations that are less emotionally evocative (Shields, 2000). However, when interactional contexts require a consideration of emotional themes, men are far more likely to engage with emotional expression (Shields, 2000). If romance is considered an expression of the emotion of love, then it would appear that AA has provided a relatively affirmative example of Shield's notion. In the right context (when he has a partner who does the 'romantic work'- thus providing an emotionally evocative situation) it would seem that AA is willing to behave slightly more romantically, and thus indulge his 'softer' side. It may be that certain males have difficulty taking the first step of expressing their emotions- perhaps for fear that they are then vulnerable

and thus dependent on someone else's reactions. By presenting themselves as less expressive, they are more autonomous as they are able to react to the actions or statements of the other person.

EXTRACT 5

I: In your romantic relationship with your wife, what would you say your role is?
BZ: Um, I'm, I'm more the-the-the-the, more, more like the rock. So she, she, I, I try to be cover for all the tough stuff that has to happen. So, my wife will do, my wife will, she sort of runs the family.
I: MMM.
BZ: But I will be the one that when, when things go wrong I'll, I'll have a solution or have to find a solution.
I: MMM.
BZ: Like, I prefer to, I try to shield a lot of the, the, the, if there's any problems I'll try to shield that. Like I won't, if I know that there's, I don't know, we've spent a thousand rand too much this month, I'm not gonna let her, if, it's not her problem, um, in terms of budgeting stuff we'll, we'll work it out. But, uh, I'm not gonna put stress on my wife… intentionally. *(Last word spoken softly)*
(A little later)
I: So you, sort of, quite protective over, sort of, not wanting to put too much stress on her and stuff like that?
BZ: Ja, but, now you say that word it's, it's definitely protective in total as well.
I: MMM.
BZ: I'm the one protects everything.

BZ constructs himself as the protector of his wife. He refers to himself "more like the rock". It is this hard, robust exterior that helps him to be the "shield" between his wife and the harsh "tough stuff" of the external world. This exemplifies Collinson and Hearn's (1996) notion that some professional men define their duties in a heroic, brave manner. Extract 5 provides further evidence of women being socially constructed as vulnerable and 'soft' whilst men are the tough explorers who are able to handle the rigours of daily stressors. Thus, a dichotomous sense of the genders is created in constructions of some men- an aspect that Gardiner (2002) notes.

By BZ stating that his wife "sort of runs the family" and by him linking much of the stress he protects his wife against with financial issues, the work-domestic divide is further affirmed. The sentiments expressed in Extract 5 could be seen to reflect patriarchal desire to maintain the gendered, hegemonic status quo by positioning women more in the domestic sphere, with men being the workers. This aspect seemingly reflects certain key aspects of the transnational business masculinity proposed by Connell (2005). Connell (1998) states that these men help to maintain the domestic-work divide by relying on their wives for the maintenance of certain domestic aspects. Although BZ does not work for a transnational company, it would appear that certain ideals espoused by this dominant form of masculinity (wives 'running the family') may impact on his constructions of various roles.

The corollary to the above discourses may entail that the expression of men's vulnerability can be seen as a characteristic of a more subordinated representation of masculinity. Expressing a need for protection from others could be seen as an example of an aspect that some men may have oppressed within themselves.

EXTRACT 6

JK: And then I would want my kids to see me as, uh, you know, the, the pillar of strength in the household. You know, whenever there's something major, you know, go to dad, he'll sort it out. I, ja definitely.

In extract 6 it is important for JK to be viewed by his children as "the pillar of strength" and as the person who can "sort it out". The image of the man being the 'tough protector' seems to be important in the discourses of many of the men in this study. This matches with hegemonic ideals of men being capable of dealing with rigorous situations and being constructed as powerful.

Toughness has been identified as one of the characteristics of traditionally hegemonic notions of masculine ideals (Luyt & Foster, 2001). Many of the discourses expressed by the participants seem to confirm this symbolic position. Dichotomous definitions of men being 'hard' and women being 'soft' seem to run throughout many of the above extracts and this may impact on the power relations these men experience with others. The importance of men constructing themselves as 'tough' seems to reflect hegemonic ideals in the participants.

4.1.2 Masculine presentations of aggression and dominance

The idea that men are aggressive is closely aligned with the more dominance-oriented masculinities that are linked to past patriarchal hegemony. These forms of masculinity have been defined by such actions as military command, and have been prevalent in South Africa society, particularly during the apartheid era (Morrell, 2001). Connell (2005) mentions that contemporary times have given rise to more knowledge based masculinities, which are now challenging for hegemony in the gender order. Transnational business masculinities are perhaps the most notable example of such a new hegemony. This, like traditionally hegemonic forms of masculinity, also highly values dominance. This dominance is expressed through seemingly neutral business practices rather than through overt violence (Hearn and Parkin 2001). Most of the participants could be considered to be located within the knowledge based masculinities due to their tertiary qualifications and occupations. Their constructions of themselves and the world

are perhaps influenced by values espoused by transnational business masculinities- values linked to an 'objective dominance'. Thus, this sub theme of aggression and dominance could be seen to indicate that the differences between masculinities organised around direct dominance and those organised around technical knowledge are perhaps more evident in the different manners (direct violence versus occupational dominance) in which similar values (dominance) are enacted. Traditional and contemporary understandings thus seem to intertwine and do not fit into separate, concise categories. Connell (2005) notes that dominance-oriented and technical-knowledge forms of masculinity tend to predominate in different contexts. Thus, the influence from multiple forms of masculinities can be viewed as playing a role in men's constructions.

EXTRACT 7

OP: If I don't like something I tell you.
I: MMM
OP: And that's the same way in my professional life
I: MMM
OP: If you don't stand up for your rights, people's gonna trample you.
I: MMM.
OP: And in your house, if you don't stand up for yourself they'll trample you as well. If you go out and you don't stand up for yourself, people's gonna walk all over you.
I: MMM.
OP: So you have, people have to know where the, where their limitations are with you.

In extract 7 a very combative tone is set by OP. He seems to view the world as a very dangerous place where people are inclined to "trample" him. This definition of a dangerous world is noted by Collinson and Hearn (1996) in their analysis of insurance salesmen. OP states that he has to essentially protect himself by not allowing others to "trample" him. The use of the word "trample" refers perhaps to an animalistic stampede, where weakness leads to being overwhelmed and dominated by others. The importance of men being strong, tough, and combative seems vital for OP. A 'survival of the fittest' message could perhaps be extracted from this passage, where only the strongest, 'alpha' males survive. Such discourse is definitely aligned with masculinities linked to more dominance-oriented masculinties. As such, 'weak' men are viewed as inferior and are perhaps subordinated. These aggressively styled masculinities are not unquestioned though. Connell (2005) refers to American football laws being revised due to the overly aggressive play of some of the athletes. Such masculinities seem to be less socially accepted in present time, although the enactment of dominance, as in transnational masculinities, may merely have changed its form.

EXTRACT 8

AA: So there's certain things that scares you. I will do anything possible, I will actually wear a pink shirt, which I hate with a passion if that will- if that's what's expected from me in, in, at work, because that's a certain image they want, that's the image they're getting *(unclear)*, and I still

come with scars on, on my hands where the, the bakkie burnt me, or the tree hit me or, or stuff like that, when a oke hit me, um, in a pub that I can say they tried to rob me or something, but I'd never say I was in a bar fight, or I was in… so many times I wanted to bliksem *(hit)* so many people, uh, because… but that would be extremely frowned upon.

In extract 8 it is evident that AA is very aware of work related expectations. It would appear that at work he conducts himself in a very composed, conforming manner, whereas when out socially a desire to express himself violently is noted. The fact that he would "actually wear a pink shirt, which (he) hate(s) with a passion" indicates this fact. In a professional context it would seem that AA acts in a way that conforms to certain conventions and he portrays himself as appropriately professional. He describes another side of himself that is very hard and abrasive- in line with the view that some men view themselves as needing to be tough and aggressive. This more 'primal' side gets into fights at pubs and wants to "bliksem" other "okes".

A dichotomy between violently aggressive and more controlled, professional representations of masculinity is highlighted within AA. It would seem that violently authoritative ideals, as evident during the apartheid era (Morrell, 2001), seem to contradict other ideals based on a transnational masculinity- presenting oneself as a cosmopolitan man (Lakes, 2008). AA's representations of himself highlight the fact that masculinities are often quite fluid and very contextually based (Connell, 2005).

The above points seem to refute previously held assumptions of masculinity being an objectively singular concept. AA is able to perform his gender in differing ways, depending on contextual factors. Various discourses, social sanctions, as well as AA's personal experiences and attitudes appear to influence his behaviours and representations of masculinity.

EXTRACT 9

AA: But I do think a woman has got too much to, to, um, prove still, because us males are all pushing them down, so when they come into a point of power they have, they have to perform double as hard- which is bad… But then they also push double too hard, or they, um, ja, or they see how the males do with their team– they try to do the same with the males, and a male does not like… the male is the hunter; the male is the male lion, or whatever… it doesn't like the female lion to suddenly gooi, gooi shots *(call the shots).*

EXTRACT 10

AA: I do believe the man must be again the hunter, the predator and the stronger one, um, maybe earning more, um ja, and, and doing the pursuit and um, making the decisions.

(A little later)

AA: I don't necessarily know what my role is, except that I want to be the hunter.

The changes in the gender order do not seem to be appreciated by AA. He dislikes the fact that women are acting in the manner in which he believes men behave. By him stating that "the male is the hunter; the male is the male lion…It doesn't like the female lion to suddenly gooi, gooi shots" he is providing clear evidence for the defence of male hegemony. Perhaps by him referring to the animal kingdom he is attempting to assert that the differences between men and women are 'natural' and these rules should thus not be challenged. For AA, men need to dominate- not be dominated. His idea of the gendered work script, where women are less assertive, comes into conflict with how he has experienced women in power positions. Furthermore, by referring to men as "lions" and "predators" he is calling into play a great variety of symbolic meanings of males being primal and aggressive, comfortable in being the 'king of the jungle', so to speak. For him, men (male lions) are ideally very dominant, and this dominance should not be challenged by women (female lionesses). These extracts provide an example of a defensive discourse which Morrell (2001) proposes. Such discourses seek to maintain the gendered status quo. Consequently, some men re-assert their male power by attempting to turn back various changes that have been made.

Extracts 9 and 10 allude to the reasoning behind Edwards (2006) stating that women's progress in the workplace is undermined by various aspects such as informal and formal prejudices in the work environment. AA's resistance to women "suddenly gooi(ing) shots" means that he might be very difficult for a woman to manage in a work environment. His construction of men needing to be dominant in a work sense seems to conflict with newer discourses centering on gender equality. Such attitudes contribute to undermining the progress that women have made in the labour market and often lead to what is known as a 'glass ceiling' being experienced by many women, where the potential for their progress is limited (Edwards, 2006).

EXTRACT 11

I: In different situations, like, let's say when you're with a female friend, when you with a male friend, or some other friends, uh, the more masculine type of guys, um, or when you're at home, or when out socially… how do you act differently, or do you act differently?

MM: I think yes, I think you kind of, you adapt to people's, um, *(unclear)*, you know how to, to, how to, to act with that, um, so, um, yes. Some of your more masculine okes, the okes who just want to go in and, uh, bliksem and donder *(beat other people)*, you know, that style, that's not my, my type, so, uh, I would rather avoid them.

Extract 11 provides a different perspective on the notion of males being aggressive and dominant. MM acknowledges this representation of dominant masculinity, although he conveys an aversion towards this. For MM overly aggressive males are unacceptable and he prefers to disassociate himself from men who represent their masculinity by such means. This perspective

would align itself more with the perspectives of masculinities that have moved away from the direct-dominance oriented masculine representations.

Many of the participant's discourses seem to be based on various essentialist notions of men needing to be aggressive and dominant. Although there are certain hegemonic ideals which have shifted away from explicit displays of violence, the value of dominance would appear to remain evident in men's constructions and understandings. Consistent with transnational business masculinities (Connell, 2005), displays of dominance seem to be represented in more 'palatable', 'professional' manners (Hearn and Parkin 2001). It is this dominance that allows these men to compare favorably with others.

4.1.3 Men as primary providers

Connell (2005) states that the notion of the man earning the family wage has slightly lessened in relatively recent times. This seems to be linked to the fact that the proportion of men involved in the labour market has decreased (Edwards, 2006). Some men, however, have been shown to still feel that men should be the main breadwinner in relationships (Willott & Griffin, 1996). Many of the participants express a desire to be the providers in their relationships and families. Interestingly, of the men in relationships, only one is the sole provider in his relationship. The rest of the partners are either working, or are in the process of completing post-graduate studies. The partner who does not work does have a university degree, thus having previously attained an academic qualification. Therefore, whereas the notion of the man being the sole provider seems quite relevant in the minds of these men, the reality would appear to be slightly different. Although the view of men being providers is not evident in all of the men's perspectives, the fact that some have expressed it indicates the enduring nature of this hegemonic ideal. It also places unemployed males as still representing a subordinated masculinity- particularly in the minds of these white, educated, employed men. Thus, by these men being able to provide, they may feel that they compare favorably with other men.

EXTRACT 12

I: For you, what does earning an income mean in your life?
BZ: Um, means I can provide basic stuff for my family… uh, firstly, uh, get the food and clothes and housing, and then, um, next would be, I want to provide little things for enjoyment, uh, and then after that, is more like luxury… it's less enjoyment but like, 'Okay, now we can have a nice couch, now we can have a nice this.'

In extract 12 BZ focuses his notion of provision on being able to "provide basic stuff" for his family. By focussing his attention on aspects such as food, clothing, and housing he is able to meet his family's material needs, which Willott and Griffin (1996) agree is crucial for many men. BZ seems to perceive this as being a vital role of the male in the family.

EXTRACT 13

I: Earning an income, what does that mean in your life?
OP: I'm, I'm not set on money. Look, money makes life easier, and it's nice to have money, because you can do stuff.
(A little later)
OP: Like I said, for now, I'm focussed on experience. If I get, if I get the experience I'll have the money later, ja, and as long as I can provide for, for the wife and for my children I'm happy.

Even though OP does not seem to be focussed on money and material aspects of life at present, he does have a plan to obtain these in later-life. Money will allow him the chance to care for his family from a providing perspective. The manner in which he has constructed happiness lies in his ability to be successful and achieve in his career. This will allow him the opportunity to financially provide for his family in the future. Remnants of the male-as-breadwinner ideology that Edwards (2006) mentions are clearly evident throughout extract 13.

EXTRACT 14

JK: When you study you get a, get a better perception of life in terms of, you know, what's expected of you and how you gonna react in certain situations in life.
(A little later)
JK: I mean when it comes to, when it comes to certain aspects like, uh, uh, you know, when you start a family and that type of thing, uh, it's security, and so, I think I can, uh, with hard work and that type of thing you can provide a bit better than a normal guy that's got no education, so.
I: MMM.
JK: So, ja, I think it, I think it helps as well, you know, uh, in terms of being a man, it makes you more confident and, and that type of thing.
(A little later)
JK: You know, I think, every man or, or anyone like that, you know, would want the nice house, and like want to provide for their families, you know, properly.

In extract 14 JK expresses the view that having the ability to provide presents both security (extract 16 also mentions security) and confidence for him. He may feel that it provides him a heightened probability of attracting a partner. This link between the ability to provide and confidence levels of certain men seems to confirm some of Willott and Griffin's (1996) conclusions of long-term, unemployed men experiencing low self-esteem and anxiety around losing their partners to men who are employed. This re-affirms the notion that some men seem to think that they are valued for their capacity to provide. Being educated and able to provide seems to provide JK with the feeling that he is "a bit better than a normal guy that's got no education". The fact that JK gains great confidence from being better than "a normal guy"

appears to also re-affirm the idea that males often relate to one another in a highly competitive manner (Connell, 2005). Furthermore, the subordinated forms of masculinities in the context of provision and the workplace are uneducated and non-providing men. This is re-affirmed in extract 15, where JK is adamant that his children should study. JK has coupled the ability to succeed with acquiring an education. For JK, an uneducated man is unacceptable.

In extract 14, JK seems to base his comments on certain essentialist notions of his male role. He states that "every man" wants to "provide for their families". Thus, his discourse seems to be informed by the notion that being a provider is an inherent role which men need to perform.

EXTRACT 15

I: For you, what does earning an income mean, um, in your life?
JK: Shu… means a lot. Um, I think it sets the standards on, it sets your, your life standards, you know, how you live, um, ja. You see that's, that not really, *(laughing)* ja, I think, ja, it, it sets the standard how you living. You know, I mean… if you, if you've got a good income you can do a lot more, and, uh, I think in terms of, I think every male, or so, you know, wants, wants to start a family eventually in life, and I think with a good income, you know, a good income provides security.
I: MMM.
JK: You know, um, I think it's, uh, if you earn a good income and so, you can definitely, you can start up a family and, uh, ja, you'll be able to know, "Listen. I can look after my family", and… definitely one thing I'll do, uh, if ever I get kids and, I'll make sure that, you know, there's a proper study loan, and, ag, study bursary… or a policy, or something like that that I'll take out for them.

In extract 15 one of the key features is JK's idea that "every male…wants to start a family eventually in life". Again his views seem informed by an essentialist notion on the matter. A gendered script with relation to family life is evident from this extract. This script seems to reflect traditionalist understandings of the family where the man is the provider. Important aspects of this provision role include completing tertiary education, acquiring employment, starting a family, and finally providing for that family. This sequence stands in contrast to Willott and Griffon's (1996) assertion that the changes in the gender make-up in the workplace have altered the 'normal' route into family life for men. In the cases of some men at least, ideas centering on the 'normal' route into family life still seem to be based on traditional notions of the nuclear family.

EXTRACT 16

I: Firstly, for you in South Africa today, what does it mean to be a professional man?
OP: Being a professional man means to be a provider. You have to be able to provide for yourself, and for your family, and, in South Africa as a country, to be professional is to make a, a good living. It can be in any line.

Extract 16 seems to re-affirm the importance of men being autonomous, and providing for their families. For OP it is essential that he is not reliant on anybody else and that he is thus able to look after his family. OP's main consideration is earning "a good living".

EXTRACT 17

I: Okay, anything else, sort of, about your role in a relationship?
CM: I do, I would like to be the person that would provide for my partner. The difference, I think, in my situation, is that, it's also been a bit of a learning curve for me, is that, my partners are normally a bit older than me, so in order for me to be on the same, sort of, earning wicket, is a little bit different. Um, but in the same token I've now realized that that's not the important part of the relationship… the important part is to be able to, obviously, give where you can, um, but it's not a competition.
I: MMM
CM: You know, I, I would like to be able to provide for somebody, but, in the same token I think, by me just doing the odd gesture and things like that would, it's, it's actually fine.

Extract 17 is relatively unique when compared to the rest of the extracts in this sub theme. CM expresses a desire to provide for and look after his partner, but he states that most of his partners have been older than him. This seems to have disrupted his ability to provide in a relationship, as his partner's have often been on a higher "earning wicket" than him. It seems that CM may have had to adapt his initial notions of the 'providing' role in relationships. His initial ideas on provision were thus ruptured. It would appear that he has negotiated his mindset to be less rigid around wanting to be the person in relationships who provides. It is, however, still important for him to provide "the odd gesture".

In a great deal of the above extracts essentialist notions seem to inform these men's ideals. Consequently 'real men' are able to earn an income and thus provide food, housing, and luxury items for their families. The hegemonic representation of employed men is affirmed. Unemployment, or an inability to provide for their families, would thus be viewed more negatively and thus be subordinated.

4.1.4 Contesting views with regard to men's self constructions of power, control and dominance

Willott and Griffin (1996) state that there is a constant contestation between hegemonic and subordinated forms of masculinity. This is perhaps due to the fact that the discourses which inform people's attitudes on gender are rarely consistent, with the result of multiple constructions often being present. With this in mind this section explores certain views

expressed by the participants which provided an area of contestation with regard to these men constructing themselves as 'powerful', 'in control' and 'dominant'.

EXTRACT 18

AA: When I go to the pub I actually, um, people see me coming driving with my *(small car)* when I get there. So, very few people know what I do when I go to the pub. So then I can blend in. I can put on my, my cheap t-shirt and my, my broek met die gate in *(pants with the holes)* and my Crocs and can go to the pub and can be one of, I won't say the common people, but I can, can just let my hair down. So, it's no expectations of me to perform. Um. That's to a certain pub that you, that you go to. When I go to the pub with some of my friends I like to drink lots of brandy, but then have conversation.

(A little later)

AA: It's so much the, the stronger you become the more difficult it is to change back to… I would love to be the okey in the pub with the *(small car)*. Everybody thinks I'm a teller in Benoni branch. That is actually the time when I can relax and be myself.

In extract 18 AA expresses a desire to be viewed by others in a non-dominant, non-powerful manner. It would seem that he experiences the constructions imposed by his occupation (of him being powerful) with great displeasure. He desires to be seen as "the okey in the pub", or a "teller in Benoni branch". These images are seemingly associated with low levels of power and dominance. This stands in contrast with hegemonic ideals focussing on preferential hierarchy, status and achievement proposed by Jansz (2000).

EXTRACT 19

BF: I've realized that, that if you're having difficult conversations, generally fighting fire with fire doesn't work, no matter how cross you are. People don't interact, or don't, you won't, you can't force someone to do something. You, you generally, generally people react a lot better if you, if you are objective and, and also accommodating to their needs as well.

I: MMM

BF: And with the saying 'you catch more flies with sugar than salt', so, being sweet to them, you generally get a lot more done than, than trying to force someone to do something, so, acting towards people you, you might be cross with them, but, but it's easier to, to be nice to them, to get what you want.

Extract 19 refers specifically to a rejection of men representing themselves aggressively to others. BF prefers to deal 'objectively' with people and attempts to accommodate others rather than trying to "force someone to do something". Such assertions seem to contrast discourses that focus on attempting to dominate others, such as that found in extract 7 in particular. This construction, which rejects overt displays of violence, seems to confirm the valued objectivity of Connell's (2005) transnational business masculinities.

EXTRACT 20

JK: And I think if you get a guy that walks around swearing everyone, or so, and you get a guy that can talk to someone decently, yissee, the decent guy will be much more of a man than the other prick swearing everyone and that type of thing. So I think, ja, common decency, respect.
I: MMM.
JK: Definitely
I: MMM.
JK: I'm not always, I'm no, how do you say, I don't always adhere to those rules. As I say I've, I've, I've been, I've been a prick sometimes with people and afterwards I felt bad about it, but what I must say, as well, I'm not, I'm not shy to apologise. If I've been wrong, if I've offended you in any way, you know, and, later on I think about it and I think, "Yoh. I might have hurt your feelings", so I'll come to you and say, "Listen, man, I'm, I'm truly sorry".

In extract 20 JK compares aggressive ("the other prick swearing everyone") and non-aggressive ("a guy that can talk to someone decently") masculine presentations. His evaluation of the more aggressive representations is negative and, although he states that he has "been a prick sometimes" he does express remorse and exposes a more vulnerable side to himself.

The above extracts exhibit discourses focusing on the value of non-aggression in masculine presentation and construction. Although there appears to be varied inputs throughout Theme One it would appear that direct displays of aggression are viewed negatively by some men. This can be seen to reflect changes in traditionally hegemonic forms of masculine representations linked to dominance and aggression mentioned by Connell (2005).

4.1.5 Summary of Theme One

Representations of masculinity such as the New Age Sensitive Guy, the metrosexual, and the ubersexual have become relatively popular labels for contemporary men. These forms seemingly indicate that men and masculinities are starting to fundamentally change. Theme One indicates that certain traditionally hegemonic understandings and representations are still evident in this particular group of men. Hegemonic constructions of masculinity, for these men at least, seem to focus on images of men being 'tough' and dominant, with the ability to provide. Meeting these ideals seemingly provides these men with a competitive advantage over other men. This advantage appears to place them in a position of power, which potentially results in the perception of greater control and dominance in various situations.

It would seem that men constructing themselves as dominant and 'tough' reflect society's broader, pervasive differentiations of men and women. Various systems of relations seem to define the symbolic identities of some men. In the context of South Africa, where militaristic and sporting masculinities have predominated, men presenting themselves as dominant and

aggressive has been the hegemonic 'ideal' and appears to have a continued influence on masculine constructions. The notion of men being 'providers' and 'protectors' reflects a discourse which partially informed the public's acceptance of compulsory military conscription during the apartheid era. Thus, although newer forms of masculinities are evident, more traditionally hegemonic constructions still appear to be highly influential in men's understandings of themselves.

The contested nature of masculine construction is also exemplified in Theme One. Stereotypical apartheid images based on militaristic masculinities seem to conflict with newer constructions focussing on equality and gender transitioning. Contemporary South Africa, which is a relatively young democracy, consists of influences from both the apartheid and post 1994 eras. Different ideals reflect this unique context and perhaps inform the contested nature of the discourses expressed in this theme. Although men's constructions of themselves as being powerful and dominant reflect a hegemonic construction, expressions of vulnerability and non-dominant masculinities are present and represent more subordinated aspects of masculine construction for these men.

4.2 Theme Two: Men in relation to emotions- Men and emotional detachment

The construction of some men being emotionally detached appears to have both similarities and differences with Theme One. Both seem to be based on various stereotypical notions of men needing to appear strong, and thus being viewed as opposite to weak. Both also seemingly impact on masculine definitions and identities. The difference would appear to be more qualitative than quantitative. Theme One refers to external representations of power and dominance. Those representations seem to actively construct their identity as 'tough' and dominant, and thus could be considered to refer to more external expressions of identity. Theme Two, on the other hand, entails the internal control that some men utilise to avoid appearing weak. Rather than externally expressing their emotions to others, some of the participants control their inner world in an objective manner. Consequently, control over one's emotions and the expression thereof is vital to maintaining the portrayal of control and the lack of vulnerability.

Theme Two explores the notion of some men attempting to 'control' their own emotions. Their detachment seems to be based on various traditionalist notions of men presenting themselves in a 'masculine' manner. This manner, as historically defined, often precludes appearing weak, and thus vulnerable, in the presence of others (Jansz, 2000). Consequently, some men appear to

deal with their emotions in a very controlled, isolated manner. This seems to confirm the observations of many researchers (Jansz, 2000). The above points are not universally presented by all participants in the current study though. Some of the men express contesting views with regard to expressions of sad emotions. This would, yet again, indicate the multiplicity of discourses and influences. These competing discourses seemingly impact on the dynamic of men's 'emotional expression' versus 'emotional control'.

4.2.1 Men as emotionally inexpressive

One of the attributes of contemporary men, as stipulated by Jansz (2000), is that of stoicism. Consequently, many contemporary men prefer to not show their pain to others (Jansz, 2000). In general, men seem to disclose decidedly less often and less intimately than females do. This could perhaps be explained by men's reluctance to appear vulnerable, and thus weak in front of others (Jansz, 2000). Fivush and Buckner (2000) state that popular discourses on gender have traditionally stipulated that men have greater control over their emotions. This perception does not necessarily always correlate with reality, but perhaps reflects the importance and value placed on objectivity and rationality being maintained by men in general. Consequently, by some men not expressing their 'irrational' emotions, they are able to maintain the façade of being objective, rational creatures. The following extracts illustrate the above points, as many of the participants prefer to deal with their emotions in a more private and controlled manner. They seem to internally control the expression of their emotions.

EXTRACT 21

I: So you say you liked, you like prefer to deal with things on your own? That was the…
CM: Ja, I, I, ja, I like to, I mean I kind of always know what, what is right and what is wrong.
I: MMM
CM: You know, and um, ja, I do tend to like, um, even, even in work, like with, with my emotions as well, I like to be in control of things… if I'm not in control I tend to freak out a bit.
I: MMM
CM: Um, but ja, that's pretty much.
I: Okay, um, talking about certain emotions- specific emotions, like sadness let's say.
CM: MMM, ja.
I: I mean, how, how is that dealt with or, what happens with sadness in your own mind?
CM: Sadness, agh *(thoughtful, exasperated)*, I don't know. I think to myself, you know 'it's, it's, you've got to go through the motions', like, I mean, if you're sad you, you've got to let it, let it out, um, cry about it, do whatever you need to do about it. Like, I mean, I, I will, I will cry if, if, if I'm really upset about something, um, but in the same token I also try to, like, limit it to a point that, you know, I don't like other people to see me in that state. Um, after a while I sort of feel, 'okay, you should be over it now, as well', and try and push it aside, but then sometimes, the slightest thing can also trigger that off, um, I do tend not to deal with things at, at, at the particular time.

By CM stating that he "always know(s) what, what is right and what is wrong" he alludes to a very autonomous viewpoint with regard to his approach to emotions. CM utilizes this viewpoint as the rationale for preferring to deal with his emotions in solitude. This seems to confirm the value that many men place on autonomy in general (Jansz, 2000). By CM saying that he prefers "to be in control of things" and tends to "freak out a bit" if he does not have this control, he confirms the controlled manner in which some men tend to approach their emotions (Fivush & Buckner, 2000). Maintenance of this controlled exterior seems to be essential to CM. Consequently, behaving in a highly emotional manner, and thus being seen as 'out of control' is seemingly viewed in a negative light. It would appear that such behaviour would not match with various discourses that emphasize men having the power to control their emotionality. Connell (2005) indicates that power is an important factor in gender relations and is one of the ways in which men maintain their relatively dominant position in comparison to women.

CM seems to view dealing with sad emotions as a slightly laborious task when he says, "you've got to go through the motions" and "after a while I sort of feel 'okay, you should be over it now'". He seems to utilise crying as a mechanism to deal with these feelings. However, it would seem that CM dislikes others witnessing him in such an 'out of control' state. The notion that men prefer to not be viewed as vulnerable and weak is important here. The perception of others would appear to be an important factor in the emotional inexpression of some men. Subsequently, men should not let their emotions get the better of them. Almost through willpower, CM overcomes his emotions by presenting himself as 'in control'.

EXTRACT 22

I: With regard to emotions, um, more difficult emotions… how do you deal with them? Uh, do you talk about them? How, how do you get through that? Or process them?
MD: I don't really talk about them, hey. I try to ignore them., they go away.
I: Okay.
MD: Or they don't, but I don't, I don't really talk about them.
I: MMM
MD: Not to anyone, hey.
I: Okay, so, so what does it feel like for you? How do you experience things?
MD: Well, I suppose normally. I mean, if I feel hurt then I'm hurt, if I feel depressed then I'm depressed but…
I: MMM
MD: I just, that's how I feel, and then I have to get over it.

In extract 22 MD indicates a refusal to speak about his emotions. This is in relation to his overt statement of not speaking about his emotions to others, as well as his reluctance to delve more deeply into the matter during the interview. He seems to view emotions as unimportant and as 'things' that will just "go away" automatically. By him adopting the defense of denial he eventually feels better and is able to "get over it" without having to communicate his perceived

vulnerability to others. In this way MD maintains a distance between himself and his emotions, and is thus able to uphold a non-vulnerable exterior. Extract 22 seems to confirm Shield's (2000) observation regarding men's lack of self disclosure. Shields (2000) asserts that men do not self disclose a great deal as a means of maintaining a psychological distance between themselves and others.

EXTRACT 23

BZ: Sadness, I, um, I don't know. I must think of an example maybe to answer… My *(partner)* is sick recently and it felt like I couldn't, almost tell anyone.
I: MMM.
BZ: Um, there was almost no-one to talk to about it. So, you had to keep it in alone, keep it in… but when you alone it's a little bit harder, I think.
I: MMM, MMM.
BZ: Um, Ja, and you have to… in that situation I had to be strong with my wife, because it doesn't help she knows. Ag, it doesn't help that, that she has to worry about me as well… she just has to worry about herself in that situation.
(A little later)
I: What do you do with those left over emotions, or…?
BZ: I just, suppose just let it, it eases out over time. Um, ja.
I: Do you ever talk to anybody about it or?
BZ: Um, probably not.

In extract 23 BZ provides an example of the distinction between emotional experience and emotional expression that Jansz (2000) highlights. Even though he admits experiencing sadness, he is unable and unwilling to express this to his partner. BZ feels that he needs to be "strong" in order to 'protect' his partner. He needs to uphold this image, and he denies the importance of his own emotions. By not wanting to be an unnecessary burden to his partner BZ very carefully controls the manner in which he expresses his emotions. An image of a 'stoic hero' who suffers in silence is perhaps elicited in this extract and this may be based on various traditional, militaristic notions especially prevalent in apartheid South Africa whereby men were viewed as the protectors of the countries borders. Such notions were utilised by the apartheid government to advocate such initiatives as compulsory military conscription (Morrell, 2001).

BZ also experiences a dearth of available outlets for his emotional expression. He seems to reveal a desire to express his emotions to others although he appears unaware of how to approach others with regard to emotional talk. This seems to confirm the belief that men have specific difficulty introducing emotional content into situations (Shields, 2000). This inability may reflect the fact that BZ has performed the stoic emotional script for some time and is thus unaware of the manner in which to approach self disclosure and emotional expression in the

presence of others. The expression of vulnerability appears to represent a subordinated aspect of BZ's masculine construction.

EXTRACT 24

I: Okay, um, moving along, um. How do you deal with your emotions?
JK: *(Long pause)* Um *(Sounds exasperated)*, you know, I tend to… feelings that, that bother me or…uh, I tend to, I sometimes talk about it, sometimes don't and I, see, the more little things I'll talk about or, you know, I'll talk to someone or whoever, but more serious things that really affect, how do you say, that really affect, you know, that makes you almost, I won't say go into depression, you know, but you know, it really affects you… it, it, it affects your way of thinking, and your mind, I tend to keep things like that for myself, and then, you know, if things, I don't know, if things get boxed up too much eventually you explode hey, and, ja, ja, I don't, as I say little problems I'll talk about, but more serious stuff, uh.
(A little later)
I: So, the bigger things you sort of generally don't like talking too much about it. You'll rather keep it, keep-
JK: *(Overlapping)* I'll rather, ja. I'll rather keep it to myself and I'll try and sort it out in my own way.
I: MMM.
JK: You know, trying to adjust your mind to get used to certain problems or, or that type of thing or, but, ja, I won't, I won't, I won't say I, I, I won't talk about it at all. You know, if the thing really becomes a big problem, and it really, really, you know, it grates your carrot I'll, you know, I'll, I'll mention it.
I: MMM.
JK: And say, 'Listen, oh, about this or that or'. But ja, I, I generally tend to keep problems to myself and…
I: And things like sadness and stress?
JK: I don't… I, I'll keep that to myself as well. Um, I tend to get, I tend to get quiet. I don't know whether I'm sad or depressed or anything like that, you know. I'll tend to, I'll keep my mouth shut and I won't talk or something, I'll just, it will roll around in my head the whole time. I won't say a word.

In extract 24 JK states that he does communicate certain, "little" emotions to others, although "more serious" issues seem to remain unexpressed. It seems that JK prefers to express emotions which he perceives himself to have a level of control over. Other emotions that affect his "way of thinking" appear to remain largely unexpressed. His reluctance to express "more serious things" might reflect a fear of becoming overwhelmed by these emotions in the presence of others, and thus being viewed as 'out of control', and thus vulnerable. JK alludes to a ruminating emotion similar to sadness or a depressed mood, although he finds it difficult to label this emotion adequately. He seems rather uncomfortable speaking about this emotion during the interview. This might be due to a perceived stigma around more vulnerable emotions being expressed by men. This appears to support Janzs' (2000) proposition that men often have difficulty labelling vulnerable emotions.

Control over the inner emotional world appears to represent a great deal of significance for some of the participants in the current study. These men convey a personal reluctance to

express vulnerabilities to others. Presenting themselves as being in control appears to be vital and much of what has been stated seems to confirm assertions that men have difficulty expressing typically non-masculine emotions such as sadness (Jansz, 2000). These observations can be closely linked to the hegemonic images prevalent in Theme One- those of men constructing themselves as being 'tough' and dominant.

4.2.2 Men as 'in control' over their emotions

Men and the control of emotions have, as already stated, been closely linked in the past (Fivush & Buckner, 2000). Coupled with this has been the perception that men possess the greater power of rationality. This has often been utilized by patriarchal ideology as proving that men are better equipped to maintain their dominant position (Connell, 2005). Even though it is highly disputable that men are, indeed, more rational this discourse has endured- at present perhaps partly due to the fact that the business world, historically dominated by men, is perceived to require such rationality. Thus, some men stringently adhere to approaching themselves and their emotions with reason and logic as a way of holding on to this perceived authority and dominance. Connell (2005) describes transnational businessmen who strictly 'manage' their emotions with the same self-conscious logic with which they approach their finances. They align their emotions with values related to self reliance and personal responsibility (Lakes, 2008).

With the above in mind, it is unsurprising that a controlled approach to dealing with emotions is adopted by certain participants. This emphasis on the cognitive, rather than the affective is highlighted by Jansz (2000), who notes that men are often genuinely unaware of their emotions. Consequently, men often rely on logic and deduction when attempting to identify their emotions. Some of the participants exemplify the above assertion due to the fact that they rely on objectivity and logic. Maintaining control over the emotional experience thus seems vital to some of the participants.

EXTRACT 25

EF: Like, like, if you sort of have an emotion you would rather think about it logically. "Why are you doing this?", you know, "What is the issue sort of thing?", and deal with it in a, in a more logical way. I think sometimes you need your brain to tell your heart, whatever, your emotions, you know, what you should be doing and reacting. I think it's quite easy to, um, to jump to conclusions or just to, to react in certain ways without thinking through it, and, so that's something that I try to do. You try to think about it first before actually reacting in a certain way.

(A little later)

EF: It's good to vent.
I: MMM
EF: To someone
I: MMM
EF: Someone removed from the situation.
I: MMM
EF: Um, because you also get the, their opinion on whether you're overreacting or not. That's why it always… come back to think about it logically, you know. Are you overreacting or are you, are you just being stupid. Do you know what I mean?
I: MMM
EF: Um, always just a legit, legit thing. So I think always, always comes back to, you know, don't get the, don't let the emotions get the better of you. Think about it first.

EF seems to symbolically split his 'brain' (rationality) from his 'heart' (emotions). He places great importance on logic and his ability to "think about it first". His various questions containing "why" and "what" tend to help him deal with his emotions by systematically 'neutralizing' them. In essence, he is able to maintain control over his emotions in this manner. EF's view of emotional reactions "always com(ing) back to you" indicates a concern for the consequences of uncontrolled emotional expression. This seems to validate the assertion that men are often concerned about these consequences (Janzs, 2000). EF does seem to confide in other people, but merely as a way of acquiring more objectivity in the situation, and thus removing himself even more from behaving 'emotionally'.

This approach to emotional experience and, more particularly, emotional expression can be seen to correlate well with hegemonic business masculinities (Connell, 2005). Work is a context that requires reason and the absence of emotions and emotionally expressive men could therefore be seen to represent a subordinated aspect of certain masculinities.

EXTRACT 26

JK: But, ja, ag, I, I'll think about a problem and I'll either very… and, I won't say avoid it, but I'll try and, and, and see if I can change perhaps, a lot of times if there's a problem, 'Okay, listen. What did you do? How was your reaction? What is your part in this problem? You know. What did, what did I do so that this problem aroused, or whatever?'

In extract 26 JK utilizes a similar approach to EF in extract 25 as he utilizes a variety of "what" and "how" questions to add a sense of structure and control to the analysis of his emotions. He uses these questions to decipher whether certain emotions are justified. This allows him to react in a way that matches with certain ideals of acceptable emotions in various contexts. In this way he is also able to logically determine his emotions.

EXTRACT 27

I: Okay, um, moving along to things like emotions. How do you deal with emotions, with difficult emotions? How do you talk about them? Do you talk about them?

CM: Ja, I try and, I try and work through a lot of things on my own. Like I almost try and write down a situation, um, there is and then exclude myself from the situation and look, basically look at it from an objective point of view which is often not easy, um, but I do, I do tend to talk to a lot of my friends about things and get other people's views, but, in the same token, I don't like to talk to too many people about, because I don't want to get a, like, almost clouded judgement. I know a lot of people can be, you know, if you get too much input it's a bit overwhelming and then you even more confused than when you started off.

CM seems to adopt a very similar approach to dealing with emotions as exhibited in the previous two examples. CM seems to analyse his emotions in a very systematic manner and appears to exclude himself from situations by asking others for advice. He values the objectivity that this process provides him. In this very structured way CM is able to maintain internal control over his emotional world, which correlates with Jansz's (2000) notion that men value a sense of control over their emotional realities.

Extract 27 also highlights conflicting feelings around emotional expression. CM seems to confide in his closer friends- although too many external opinions can be rather confusing and adversely affect his sense of objectivity. Thus, even though it seems that CM does express his emotions to others, it would appear that he has specified definite rules regarding who he tells, and the manner in which he assimilates this knowledge. The notion of emotional control is therefore yet again affirmed (Jansz, 2000).

EXTRACT 28

I: Can you think of any particular examples, or explain any particular, you do feel very sort of stressed or, uh, frustrated with somebody?

BF: I'd say when I got my salary slip… and then you can't really go up to them and say, 'are you telling me to leave' or in, showing all emotions and stuff like that, 'are you telling me to, to, to piss off by giving, by handing me this letter, what message are you sending to me?'. So then responding to that I set up a meeting to discuss, to discuss it as well, to discuss, "what was your, what was your reasoning behind doing this? Did you do it intentionally or, or is it out of your control or what were the reasons for doing this?", instead of, instead of just jumping to a conclusion and being, being angry about it and taking a one, taking one view and thinking that everyone is, that he did it on purpose towards you, sort of thing.

I: Okay, and other emotions, things like sadness or other stress? I mean, just in general, how would, how do you usually react to those things?

BF: I don't think there's generally a lot of sadness at, at work anyway.

I: Even in your private life, or in any setting?

BF: I'd say probably, lot of internal, just thinking about it anyway, and, and justify… not justifying, but reasoning why you, why are you sad at the moment… or, or just taking quiet time to think about what, what the issue is that you're sad about.

I: The more, sort of, the process might be something like rationalizing, uh, trying to sort of work through it systematically, sort of?

BF: Ja, what, what were the causes for your sadness and, and *(pause)* what level of sadness could you, could you place this on. If you say that your, you, your mom or your dad died, or your

> brother died, or your dog died, or someone, some acquaintance's cousin died. There's different levels of, of sadness that you might feel… what level of emotion is probably acceptable.

BF manages to mask his contempt at receiving his salary slip by setting up a meeting with the person responsible. His anger is quite evident as he wonders whether the other person is telling him to "piss off". He is very careful not to react angrily and express these underlying emotions in an un-processed and uncontrolled way. By "set(ting) up a meeting" BF is able to maintain control over his emotions and create an environment where this is possible. This approach does seem to be functional in the work context, and reflects the value of rationality in the business environment that Connell (2005) mentions.

BF's approach to emotions like sadness seems to reflect Connell's (2005) transnational business masculinities. Similar to these forms BF seems to judge and evaluate his emotions with similar reasoning to how he might approach other business related decisions. He seems to set up some sort of formula, or equation, where emotions experienced or expressed are relative to the tragedy befalling someone. This seems to provide some form of logical justification for the emotion.

An emphasis on rationality and control over emotions is highlighted in this section. Some of the participants convey very systematic approaches to emotions whereby various questions and other tactics are utilized to assist in the logical analyses of their emotions. The by-product of this is that these men seem to be able to gain a greater sense of control over their inner world.

4.2.3 Attitudes regarding public displays of emotion

Although the control of emotions is evident in the above sub themes, there appears to be a mixture of opinions on men's expressions of emotions in public. Traditionally, expressions of emotions in the form of crying have been linked with weakness. Crying, as a display of emotion, has thus been avoided by many men in the past due to its association with non-masculine images. Recently, authors such as Ramazanoglu (1992) have mentioned the emergence of masculinities that express far more caring and empathy. The concept of the New Man, associated with heightened sensitivity and introspection, has emerged. Other authors, however, highlight men's difficulties with emotional expression. Jansz (2000) agrees and reveals that the non-verbal behaviour of men is very often far less expressive than that of women. The result is that men seem to find it harder to cry.

Many of the participants express mixed and, at times, contesting views on the issue of men expressing their emotion though public displays such as crying. Traditionally hegemonic constructions of crying being equated with weakness seem to have partially eroded, as some of the men view crying as a sign of strength in contemporary society. Crying, for some of these men, is an acceptable display. Other participants seem rather more ambivalent regarding this matter. Although many seem to exhibit an accommodating response to men crying, some state that they, themselves, have difficulty crying. Thus, it seems that certain conflicting discourses and constructions may influence men's views on this issue. The link between public displays of emotion and subordinated masculinities seems to be rather more complex than once the case.

EXTRACT 29

I: Rules like boys don't cry outside of work environment?
EF: Boys that don't cry?
I: Ja, one of those traditional sort of rules or whatever.
EF: *(Laughing)* Well, I mean… it's not one type of way. I don't think, I don't think that like…I think in public it's a no-no, like, you're never gonna do that.
I: Ja
EF: But um, there are, there are certain circumstances where it does, it does come up.
I: MMM
EF: Um, but very rarely. I mean, like, very rarely.
I: And with you personally… do you, sort of, often cry or?
EF: No. I'm just trying to think. Uh, when was the last time I cried… I think my gran died when I was in my first year here.
I: Okay
EF: *(Mumbles)* I don't even think I cried. I, I think it was at the funeral and I think I, like, didn't cry at all, but then when at the funeral… when you see your parents crying, like it was my dad's mom and, um, I think that, that whole sadness… it just, you sort of shed a tear for that
(A little later)
EF: Um. Sometimes, When I think, when you're going through a really bad time I think, maybe it would be nice to cry, because I think it's a release.
I: Ja
EF: But to cry is so difficult.
I: Ja, especially if you think about it.
EF: Ja, make your eyes water but, like, you can't cry like.
I: Ja, I've met a lot of guys who sort of, ja, want to sort of cry or something, or think about it.
EF: But you can't.
I: Or realize that there are times when they want to cry but when you sort of decide at the time you want, you can't.
EF: But, to cry, something terrible must really happen to you.
I: Ja.
EF: Um, like people get depressed, I mean, I also get depressed… but it's something like, you're going to cry about, and there comes the gender issue. I think that a lot more women would cry than, than men in general.
(A little later)
EF: So, it's difficult to say, but, I think they're a lot more…because that it's, it's, it's, it's seen as, like it's okay for a woman to cry in, in, in society, and I think that's why people… they do it as well, you know, they can do it. It's fine, it's not taboo to do that.
I: MMM
EF: But at the same time I think it's, the emotions that make the hormones or whatever that make it easier for them to cry, because, I can speak from experience… it's difficult to cry. Um ja, I find it very difficult. I don't know about you? *(Laughs)*

In extract 29 EF seems to express ambivalent feelings regarding public displays of emotion. One the one hand he sees the merit of crying, whilst on the other hand he has great difficulty expressing himself in this manner. He struggles to remember the last time that he cried- even when his grandmother died he struggled to cry. It seems that by viewing his parents crying, his father in particular, it became easier for him to display his sadness. The fear of appearing vulnerable was perhaps minimised when he saw his parents, his father in particular, crying. This appears to confirm the belief that a fear of emotional vulnerability often prevents men from expressing certain emotions such as sadness or depression (Shields, 2000; Jansz, 2000)

EF admits quite clearly that he sometimes feels depressed, although paradoxically his ability to cry seems to be hampered by his desire to cry. This yet again affirms the distinction between emotional experience and expression (Jansz, 2000). Although EF is open to the idea of crying, and thus expressing certain emotions, there appears to be various contradicting constructions prevalent that prevent him from doing so. Notions of men being 'strong' and 'in control' of their emotions perhaps oppose contemporary discourses regarding the greater acceptable of men publicly displaying emotions such as sadness.

EXTRACT 30

MM: Um, I don't, I don't… it's a, sometimes it can be, it will be embarrassing, uh, showing emotions or whatever, but I don't think there's anything wrong with it. Um, all of us have weakness, and, uh, what, like, it's not something to be proud of, but if it happens it happens. Um, why, just always, it's like uh, that member in the family and he's embarrassed with everyone, he's most probably alcoholic or whatever. Why keep him away and, don't want to maybe try, um, you don't want to let everybody know about this things.

I: Ja.

MM: Um, Afrikaans it's 'geraamtes in die kas' *(skeletons in the closet)*. Why, why living your life like that.

In extract 30, although MM states that there is nothing wrong with men crying, his mentioning of "all of us have weakness" and "it's not something to be proud of, but if it happens it happens" indicates ambivalence towards public displays of emotion. By utilizing the "alcoholic" in the family as a metaphor for the crying man he further affirms these mixed feelings. Although he states that men should express their emotions, the above references suggest he may fundamentally construct emotional displays as a sign of vulnerability and as something that others perhaps view as a weakness. This then affirms the assertions of Jansz (2000). MM seems to communicate both positive and negative beliefs regarding emotional expression. It would appear that crying in the presence of others perhaps has elements of both release ("I don't think there's anything wrong with it") and shame (as evidenced in the alcoholic metaphor) for MM.

EXTRACT 31

I: Then, what do you feel about the, the public displays of, uh, emotion? Um, what's your view on that, yourself maybe feeling the pressure not to show your emotion or yourself?
KL: Um, ja, no, I, me personally, showing emotion in public… I sometimes, I, I… sometimes I'm a shy person with, as far as that's concerned.
I: Okay.
KL: But if I do maybe have a bout of that I, I go, I can go one of two ways. The, the one way is the, shy way… and, go and have my cry or have my, my emotions in… behind close doors or in private, and the other way is 'stuff it, this is the way I feel. Um, I don't really, I don't really care sort of thing, or what they think."
I: MMM, and which of those two do you usually fall into?
KL: MMM, it's, it's pretty hard to say. I think I can go either way. Most of the time I like to just, uh, go upon the, the latter… um, not care about what other people think. I think it's a lot more, a lot more comforting knowing that you don't, not everyone sitting there, and you won't hear. Ja, people might be commenting in the background, but you'll never hear it, and you'll actually learn what they are saying. So why worry yourself with the, with the, a 'what if' scenario.

In extract 31 KL refers to having "bouts" of emotional displays. The common use of the word "bout" refers to sickness. KL may thus view emotions and their expression as something that comes along unexpectedly and unpleasantly. Consequently, these times are perhaps viewed as unfortunate and undesirable. He classifies two possible reactions to him experiencing emotions. The one way is the "shy way" where he does not express his emotions to others, which is consistent with notions proposed by Jansz (2000) regarding men's reluctance to express sad emotions. An element of shame is evident in KL's "shy way". The second approach appears to be quite rebellious. This is indicated in his statement, "Stuff it, this is the way I feel…I don't really care". His two reactions seem to indicate a perception of judgment being placed on men who display their emotions publicly. This awareness by men of the consequences of emotional displays is noted by Jansz (2000). This may reflect a cultural discourse centering on public displays of emotion being viewed negatively. This might re-affirm Theme One's notion that men ideally present themselves as publicly 'hard' and 'tough'. KL's views also seems to be influenced by the opposing discourse of emotional expression being linked with potential bravery and strength- he is brave enough to cry in the presence of others "commenting in the background".

It would seem that a simple equation between men and emotional inexpression is not necessarily possible. Although various discourses construct men in a powerful position and advocate the control of emotional experience and expression, it would seem that some men are receptive to the idea of public displays of emotion.

4.2.4 Summary of Theme Two

This section highlights the manner in which some of the participants manage to negotiate and control the way in which they relate to their emotions. It would seem that the need to control their inner experiences stem from discourses which define men as 'strong' and opposite to 'vulnerable'. This seems to reflect the social assumption that women and children are more emotionally fragile and thus prone to behaving in 'emotional' ways (Fivush & Buckner, 2000). Thus, by dealing with their emotions in a controlled, solitary manner some of these men are able to portray the image that they are rational beings who are in control of their bodies and emotions. Connell (2005) argues that it is this rationality which is utilized by patriarchal ideology to justify men's dominant position in relation to women.

The prevalence of militaristic and sporting masculinities in South Africa through time has often been based on discourses which value such attributes as competence and self-control. Coupled with shifts towards occupations that require objectivity and rationality (as espoused by transnational business masculinities), this has perhaps created the context in which the control of emotions and their expression is viewed as an ideal attribute of professional men. Whereas more dominance-oriented masculinities advocate direct displays of aggression, more contemporary forms based on technical knowledge seem to advocate a more rational and 'thought-out' approach to emotions. What seems to be consistent in the various masculine hegemonies, however, is the reluctance to appear weak and vulnerable.

Much of Theme Two seems to support the notion that stoicism is constructed as a feature of certain contemporary masculine constructions. This notion affirms Jansz's (2000) observations of modern masculinity. Some of the participants do, however, offer opinions which seem to indicate an openness to emotional displays. This would suggest that, although the need to appear in control of emotions is important, there is some level of contestation on this issue. It would seem that discourses stemming from traditionally hegemonic masculinities ('boys don't cry) contradict and conflict with contemporary views on the matter which have potentially stemmed from the criticism of those hegemonies. Connell's (2005) notion of multiple masculinities is yet again exemplified through the diversity of the expressed attitudes.

4.3 Theme Three: Men in relation to women- The emergence of accommodating and progressive constructions

This section focuses on men's views in relation to women and the changing gender roles in the workplace and in the domestic spheres in particular. It would seem that many of the extracts reflect Morrell's (2001) accommodating responses, although both defensive and progressive responses are also noted. Morrell (2001) states that men's responses to changes in the gender order do not necessarily fit into concise categories, and often seem to overlap and contradict one another. Many of the views expressed by these men appear to exemplify this notion and allude to the fact that, although often based to some degree on certain traditional notions of women, discourses on the matter seem to have multiple influences and expressions. This section focuses on these different responses and discusses possible reasons for their existence.

4.3.1 Traditional perspectives regarding women's role in the domestic sphere

Women have historically been positioned in the domestic sphere, which is generally a context which has been rather under-valued by many men (Connell, 2005). This fact has been influenced by patriarchal ideology where women have been constructed as dependent and less powerful. Some feel that this is a trend which seems to be changing although other authors such as Willott and Griffin (1996) state that many men still appear to greatly value the male breadwinner role. Research suggests that many women are still primarily or solely responsible for the vast majority of domestic tasks, even though many of these women are increasingly entering the formal labour market (Collinson & Hearn, 1996). Indeed, one of the most powerful forms of contemporary masculinity, the transnational business masculinity, seems to position women in the domestic sphere due to the perceived effort required by these men in their professional occupations (Connell, 1998). Thus, older patterns of behaviour seem to be influencing current attitudes. Furthermore, men seem to prefer certain tasks (playing with children, waste disposal, DIY work) to other more mundane and time consuming activities (cleaning, shopping, washing) (Collinson & Hearn, 1996). Some of the participant's express the opinion that the domestic tasks and responsibilities of women and men are different and perhaps linked to traditionally stereotypical images. Consequently, women are perceived as being responsible for certain tasks linked to the domestic sphere.

EXTRACT 32

BF: But generally I would still classify as lot of those things being into the, in the woman's side of things.
I: MMM
BF: Whereas there are, are guy, in a relationship that guys are acceptable, it's acceptable that, accepted that guys do these things. Like, the gardening or the maintenance on, on electrical stuff, or plumbing or… the general hardware stuff, where girls would do the, the software stuff, or the clothes washing, dishes, that stuff.
I: Okay, and is, is, is, is that how it, sort of, how it works at your house- where you'll sort of handle more the maintenance of the electrical appliances and those things that you've mentioned and maybe your wife will sort of handle more the, the washing and, and, sort of, certain of those things.
BF: Ja, I'd say it's a good, good balance. I think there's, more generally towards… women seem to be more adaptable towards routine, and they generally fit into it pretty well on that side and guys are more focused on individual tasks that happen even though they, they might be ad hoc. So, I'd say that from, from my point of view I think girls fit more of the routine.

In extract 32 BF states that the roles that men and women perform in the home environment are "accepted" and that women "generally fit into it pretty well". Consequently women are more adapted to the "software stuff" such as washing in comparison to the "hardware stuff" such as gardening and plumbing that men perform. This appears to confirm Collinson and Hearn's (1996) assertions that many men dislike the more mundane tasks that are often associated with women. The contrast between 'hard' and 'soft' perhaps symbolically re-emphasizes some men's perception of women as more delicate and less able to do 'tough' jobs. This may be based on traditional understandings of gender roles. In BF's opinion, women do the more "routine" functions at home, whereas men are better equipped to do "ad hoc" tasks. BF's constructions may also be a tactic to escape being involved in the majority of domestic tasks which are often more time-consuming than "ad hoc" tasks.

BF presents his case in an essentialist manner- as though these gender differences are inherent and thus correlate with people's natural inclinations. Past patterns of gendered behaviour may act as a way of influencing BF's constructions and performances of gender roles in the domestic sphere. The above seems to underline the historical nature of gendered scripts mentioned by Butler (1999).

EXTRACT 33

I: MMM, and then a girlfriends, um, role in the relationship… what do you, what do you feel that is?
JK: I think a girlfriend is… women in general, I think they, they more adapted to the finer things in life, you know, um, like the little things and, you know, uh… good taste in terms of your home and that type of thing. I mean, I've… if I get a place or so, and I buy, and I buy, say, if me and my girlfriend move in together and we buy stuff and so, you know, certain stuff I might like and stuff, but I'd, I'd let her do the most of the, of the household stuff and.
I: MMM.

JK: You know, stuff like that. I think women have better taste in terms of things like that than men.
I: MMM.
JK: I think I'll have, probably I'll have my braai area… or my, you know, (his name)'s space.
I: MMM.
JK: That I will rig out, but the rest of the house she can have.

In the domestic sphere JK states that women are "more adapted to the finer things in life" and have "good taste in terms of your home". By symbolically handing his house to his girlfriend, JK may also be handing over the responsibility for the domestic tasks. His opinion seems to reflect a societal discourse which is based on more traditional understandings of gender differences. JK's discourse certainly does not conform to the equality-based ideals of the New Age Man proposed by Morrell (2001). By stating that his space in the home will be "my braai area", JK seems to confirm the notion that some men portray an aversion to the domestic sphere (Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003). His "braai area" may be a way in which JK separates himself from the "finer things" that his partner adds to the rest of the house. A hegemonic ideal that is perhaps prevalent is that men are not involved in "the finer things in life", as these are associated with femininity and are thus contrasted against the image of men being 'tough adventurers' whose focus is rather on public life.

EXTRACT 34

BZ: It's interesting, if you think a lot of women now are trying to be career women… it's interesting that they're trying to do that, because they're- at the end of the day someone's gonna have to look after the kids, and, there's basically the decision there that someone, someone'll look after my kids for me. Which is fine cos the guy, I suppose, the guys have been doing that for years, but, what is, uh, I don't know, what is the best for the child? Or if, or maybe that's not the question. Best if the woman has no child.

In reaction to women "trying to be career women" BZ seems to allude to a functionalist perspective centering on the fact that his partner should look after the children. It seems that BZ is uncomfortable with the changes that are occurring in the gender order. For him, children seem to complicate the matter of domestic responsibilities. It would appear as though his views might reflect more accommodating responses in a scenario that does not including children. In his mind, it is either better for the child to have a stay-at-home mother or for his wife to not have a child at all. He seems relatively unsure on this matter and seems to be attempting to 'move with the times' when he states that "the guys have been doing that for years". This seemingly implies that the perceived current 'deflection' of responsibility of child care by mothers has been practised by men in the past.

The above opinions seem to reflect these men's attempts to separate themselves from the domestic sphere. Thus, the maintenance of various ideals consistent with the status quo appear

to be sought by these participants. Traditionalist notions of women being at home seem to inform these opinions. Morrell (2001) maintains that seemingly traditionalist, defensive perspectives underlie both defensive and accommodating responses to change. These categories of responses are thus not watertight and are quite fluid. Therefore, although the above extracts would appear to contradict some of the other points in this particular sub theme, the contradictory nature of some men's responses to transitions has been noted (Morrell, 2001).

4.3.2 Men as 'natural' decision makers

Some of the participants construct themselves as being the leaders and decision makers in their romantic relationships. This perhaps reflects the value some men place on power and interpersonal dominance (Luyt & Foster, 2001). By placing themselves in the leadership role men are essentially attempting to assume a more dominant position in relation to their partners. Power, as Connell (2002) conveys, is essential to the way that people relate to one another. This attitude seems to be influenced by hegemonic notions of the ways in which men and women relate to one another. These extracts perhaps reflect these men's perceptions of the continuing hegemony of masculinities over femininities in the sphere of romantic relationships.

EXTRACT 35

I: Okay, um, in a romantic relationship… what would you say is your role?
JK: I would say, uh, uh, when it comes to impor-, important decisions or so, I would say I think, uh, I can make the best decisions. Uh, with what I've experienced so far, you know, I, I think it's, talking in terms of that.
I: Ja.
JK: I do think I make better decisions, um, ja, uh. How do you say, I want, ja, I want to be the head of the relationship, definitely.

By JK stating that he wants "to be the head of the relationship" he suggests slightly more than what is overtly stated. The most obvious interpretation is that he values being the leader in the relationship. By doing this, he places himself in a position of dominance. Being "the head" could also be a reference to being associated with rationality and the ability to think. Thus, for logical thinking, at least, he is autonomous of his partner, and she is thus reliant on him. This concurs with Jansz (2000), who states that one of the characteristics valued by contemporary men is that of autonomy.

The fact that JK asserts, "I can make the best decisions" provides a certain level of insight into the fact that he seems to have certain essentialist notions of men and women. Essentialist notions, according to Gardiner (2002), are understandings of gender which are based on certain

fundamental characteristics. These characteristics are considered to be natural or based on universal laws. By JK currently being single, the comparison of his ability to his future partner's ability indicates a stereotype based on an essentialist understanding. His assumption is that regardless of his partner's capabilities, she will make poorer decisions than he is capable of. Thus, the belief that men are essentially better decision makers and leaders is evident.

Interestingly, JK's claims of being a decisive leader seem to be made with a lack of conviction and surety. This discrepancy might indicate that he is not comfortable conveying such traditionally hegemonic representations to the interviewer. He may possibly fear being labelled as overly dominant or sexist. It may also indicate that he is ambivalent around what he is stating. The view that men need to be leaders and decision makers may, in his mind at least, be contested for a variety of reasons. Certain discourses influenced by traditional notions of patriarchy might come into contrast with newer discourses centering on men being more accepting and sensitive. This would suggest that JK might be unsure of how to express his views.

EXTRACT 36

I: Okay, okay, um, then, in a romantic relationship… I mean, you even think about, um, your own romantic relationships… what would you say is your role, um, as a man?

KL: Uh, well I think, uh, decisiveness is a big part of it. Um, from my experience, um, as a man, deciding on what, what needs, or what, what should be done or what can be done. Um, the woman would, or the girl would, uh, sort of look to the guy for the decision making on, sort of, a lot of the, lot of the issues.

I: MMM.

KL: And, from, from the, from the, the more small, and inconsequential, sort of, *(mimicking voice)* "where are we gonna go out to eat?" to the bigger, *(mimicking voice)* "what should I do with this, what should we do with such and such a person, how do we, how do we go on from here, how do we deal with that?"

In extract 36, by KL stating, "the woman would, or the girl would, uh, sort of look to the guy for the decision making" he seems to place females in a decidedly lower position of power when changing her status from "woman" to "girl". Symbolically, he has constructed the female as more dependent as she is being referred to as a child. This perceived dependency of the female on the male is re-iterated when KL says, "(mimicking voice) 'where are we gonna go out to eat?' to the bigger (mimicking voice) 'what should I do with this, what should we do with such and such a person, how do we, how do we go on from here, how do we deal with that?'". By stating this he portrays females as being confused with regard to a great variety of issues. Male rationality and autonomy are thus re-affirmed in these statements. Men's higher power and status are also highlighted in his comments.

EXTRACT 37

I: In your romantic relationship, um, what would you say your role is as a man?
MM: Uh, the thing is, to me, it's *(long pause)*, I'm the head of our *(unclear)*… um, I need to make, I'm the one that's supposed to make the decisions, to decide on what we're gonna do... but, yes, she's the one standing next to me, and supporting me. So I'll, I'll definitely ask her for advice, but with finances, I'll ask… for me I'm a very uncertain person to some extent. So I'll always, like find out, you know, as much as possible about the situation, to get as much as possible advice about something, before I decide on, on what to do… but, my role there is- at the end of the day, I'm the one that's supposed to make the decisions, although she might, she might have influenced me with her, her, um, opinion or whatever, but I'm still, at the end of the day, the one that decides.

MM's views seem to reflect traditionalist understandings of gender roles. Butler (1999) states that people's actions are informed by historically based scripts and discourses. These are powered by people's performances, or behaviours and interactions. MM's repeated use of the word "supposed" indicates some awareness of a possible idealistic gendered script. He seems to know what is 'expected' from him. His insertion of this word may also indicate ambivalence around the decision making role. By him stating what he is "supposed" to be doing, and by him referring to himself as a "very uncertain person" he seems to possibly present some ambivalence regarding his 'leadership' position in his relationship.

EXTRACT 38

I: MMM, okay, um, in your romantic relationship, um, in your romantic relationship, what would you say is your role, um, as a male?
OP: As a male, I don't want to use the word leader… that's not a nice word to use, I don't want to be the leader in the relationship, or the one who wears the pants.
I: MMM.
OP: But, in our relationship, or me and my girlfriend's relationship she looks, she looks up to me… she looks up to me because I'm older than her, than her… I've got more life experience than her, but I don't force it on her. If I know she's making a mistake, I'll tell her, but I'll still let her make that mistake, so she can learn for herself.

In extract 38, even though OP states that he does not want to refer to himself as "the leader" or "the one who wears the pants" it would appear that this might be how he perceives himself. He positions himself as 'the hero' who is admired by his girlfriend. He also places himself in the knowledgeable role in the relationship- he knows much more than his girlfriend as he is older. She is thus more likely to make mistakes. It almost appears that he is taking a parental role in the relationship. The obvious by-product of this is that he assumes a power position in the relationship.

A further interpretation of OP's discourse might be that it emphasizes a willingness on his behalf to be accommodating to his girlfriend. Although his opinions seem to be based on certain traditional notions of gender roles (the man being more knowledgeable), OP does not

want to “force it on her”. Thus, this seems to correlate with Morrell’s (2001) idea of accommodating responses including certain traditionalist aspects. Affirming this is the fact that although OP seems to want to maintain his position of male power in the relationship, he seems receptive to the idea of equality with his girlfriend. In other words, his fundamental value seems to resemble the traditional value of the man being the leader, although he is attempting to ‘keep up with the times’ by not being overly dominant in the relationship.

Men’s perceived higher power and status are highlighted in many of the above extracts. This emphasis on men’s power over women is represented in institutions such as business environments, sporting institutions, and the mass media. Furthermore, these seem to be influenced by historically based discourses which have contrasted the perceived ‘power’ of men with the ‘dependence’ of women. This would suggest that although masculinities are fluid and contested, underlying patriarchy is, to a certain extent, embedded in many institutions and various discourses which, in turn, impact on people’s attitudes and behaviours. This would help to explain why change on a mass level is so difficult to achieve and, at times, slow to come to fruition (Connell, 2005).

4.3.3 Contested responses regarding women in the workplace

Many of the participants express views that contradict one another with regard to the topic of women in work contexts. Some even express a level of intrapersonal ambivalence related to the issue. This fact confirms Connell’s (2005) assertion that professionally trained men tend to be divided on the matter of gender re-structuring in the work environment. The above is understandable given the notion of multiple masculinities being constructed within multiple contexts. Morrell (2001) states that the significance of such thinking is that there is confirmation that not all men are the same. Men construct their masculinities, and thus their attitudes, differently according to general societal discourses, contextual factors as well as individual systems of meaning. Defensive, accommodating and progressive responses to various societal changes are thus dependent on numerous factors and symbolic structures. Consequently, hegemonic and subordinated constructions of masculinities are complex and may shift from context to context. Thus, certain actions and attitudes could be regarded as hegemonic in one context, whereas other actions and attitudes of those same men could be more subordinated in other contexts. A good example from Theme One is found in extract 8 where AA is able to express his aggression in the context of the pub, although this representation is far less acceptable in a professional environment where he conforms to a professional work culture.

EXTRACT 39

BZ: It's interesting, if you think a lot of women now are trying to be career women, it's interesting that they're trying to do that, because, they're- at the end of the day someone's gonna have to look after the kids, and there's basically the decision there that someone, someone'll look after my kids for me… which is fine cos the guy, I suppose, the guys have been doing that for years, but, what is, uh, I don't know, what is the best for the child. Or if, or maybe that's not the question. Best if the woman has no child.

I: MMM.

BZ: But, but it's, you know, it's interesting there's, there's things that the woman… the roles of women are changing so much, especially now and stuff.

I: MMM.

BZ: Because 20 years ago every mother looked after their kids.

I: MMM.

BZ: Well almost, and then, um, ja, these days it's, these days it's completely optional. Some people don't even, don't even have kids, and they're not phased by that at the least. Ja, I think that going forward women are going to come back to how they used to be, a little bit. I think there's gonna be a shift, and then a shift back again.

In extract 39 BZ professes to be relatively unsure of the merits of women entering the workforce. He refers to the current situation and compares it to the past, when it was perhaps accepted that women would look after the children. BZ's repeated use of the word "interesting" perhaps helps him to conceal his displeasure with the changing roles of women. It may also indicate his lack of surety regarding his actual feelings on the matter. His assertion at the end of extract 39, where there will be "a shift back" to how things were, perhaps indicates a slightly defensive response, as defined by Morrell (2001). He seems to desire a change back to how society was, perhaps in an attempt to re-assert the traditional status quo of women looking after the children. BZ seems reasonably uncomfortable with the perceived changing structures of contemporary families.

EXTRACT 40

OP: I don't degrade them, but I don't like it when a woman wants to equal a man, and generally I think in the world today a lot of problems come because of women that wants man jobs, and they want to run the show. As soon as things get hot, they can't handle it, and I've seen it not once, I've seen it a lot of times.

I: MMM.

OP: But I don't want to degrade them. They've got the, they've got their place and if they're able to handle it, I'll give it to them… handle pressure situations and stuff like that, I'll give it to them, but, I think a, a, a, a woman, it's not, that's actually old saying, but, to me a woman must provide for the house, look after the children, do their thing. Me as a man, I want to be the provider, and basically that's, that's, that's more the Afrikaans way, Afrikaner's way, but I'm stuck into that, I like that way.

Extract 40 provides a good example of a defensive response as defined by Morrell (2001). Although OP repeatedly states that he does not want to "degrade" women, he asserts that "problems come because of women that wants man jobs". By stating this he seems to be constructing certain jobs as being naturally appropriate for men, and thus unsuitable for women.

Consequently, women should "provide for the house, look after the children, do their thing" - women's place is accordingly constructed by OP as being in the domestic sphere. He seems to feel that disrupting this causes "a lot of problems". Traditional, patriarchal understandings of gender are thus evident in OP's discourse. Hegemonic constructions of men being able and powerful are what OP seems to be highlighting and defending. He portrays most women as incapable, which forms part of the reasoning for his belief. Although stating that "if they're able to handle it, I'll give it to them", he seems quite sure that women are not able to "handle it". It is perhaps this symbolic contrast of 'capable versus incapable' which magnifies men's power in OP's construction. This seems to confirm the notion that contrasts are effectively utilised in order to highlight self definitions (Edwards, 2006). OP thus feels that women are unable to handle situations where "things get hot". He states that he has "seen it a lot of times", although makes no specific reference to particular examples. It would also appear that a great deal of OP's identity is based on his perception of the "Afrikaner's way". The traditional "Afrikaner's way" seems to be central to the discourse which forms the foundation of OP's desire for the traditionalist breadwinner-homemaker dichotomy being upheld.

EXTRACT 41

AA: But as soon as you get women in the team dynamics changes. You have to be sensitive and you can't necessarily talk ugly words and, um, and, but any case, everybody runs their team their, their way. I prefer styles to say it as it is… call a, call a, uh, spade a spade and um, sometimes it does… you do hurt people's feelings and men is easier, men hide their feelings well, or whatever. Um, and you won't cry, start crying in a meeting in front of your, your colleagues, where women, uh, certain women tend to do that, and that was quite bad. So I was quite glad to see her not wanting to work for me anymore, um, but I will never, ever, ever, ever work again for a woman in my life.

(A little later)

AA: Never, ever again. Uh, ja, it has to really, the maturity and the career has to be so much because you give me freedom and I've, I, um, I will deliver no matter what, and I don't mind a man krapping in my slaai *(fiddling in my business)* and asking the uncomfortable questions… but I do think a woman has got too much to, to, um, prove still, because us males are all pushing them down. So when they come into a point of power they have, they have to perform double as hard- which is bad. But then they also push double too hard, or they, um, ja, or they see how the males do with their team – they try to do the same with the males, and a male does not like… the male is the hunter, the male is the male lion, or whatever, it doesn't like the female lion to suddenly gooi, gooi shots *(call the shots).*

In extract 41 AA's sentiments, as in extract 40, seem to be informed by a very defensive discourse. For AA, women are difficult to work with as he feels that women are overly emotional and "push double too hard" in attempts to motivate their teams. He seems to feel that women acting in a dominant manner is 'unnatural'. His views appear to reflect some men's resistance to women entering various leadership positions and perhaps exemplifies Edwards' (2006) assertion that various discriminatory practices and discourses on the part of men are aimed at undermining the progress made by women in the workplace.

AA defines women as 'other' in the work context when he states that "the team dynamic changes" as soon as women are introduced. This might suggest that the work environment AA has been exposed to is still male dominated, and he seems more comfortable being surrounded by other men. This seems to correlate with the notion that certain professional fields remain male dominated (Kimmel et al, 2005) Overall, a discourse enmeshed with the desire to maintain the status quo seems to be evident throughout extract 41. AA's assertion that women should not be leaders can be seen as an attempt to help maintain patriarchal dominance over women in the work context.

EXTRACT 42

MM: But I don't think about a woman should be submissive to a man or there's no roles for a woman in a big corporate environment. You get really, uh, sometimes you will just get a, my experience from a working, um, environment is that sometimes you get this woman who gets to her, her, a senior position and, in a corporate world and then all of a sudden she starts a bit by being too much bossy, um, just too, ja, I think it's more a, what you call it, assertiveness, becomes too assertive. You just want to prove a, a point, like… so , ja, then, then you can…but you can get men exactly the same but they don't, um, they not into your face like a woman would be.

Extract 42 seems to exemplify a mixture of opinions and discourses. Aspects of accommodating and defensive responses seem to form the foundation of MM's attitude. MM states that women do have a place in the formal working environment, although he does seem to place certain limitations on this. He appears to believe that assertive women are "into your face" and he seems to feel that this is difficult to deal with. MM may be alluding to the fact that women might be better suited to 'lower' positions where they will not be overly "assertive". This seems to contradict his earlier statements focussing on the idea that "I don't think…a woman should be submissive to a man". This would further highlight Morrell's (2001) notion of the sometimes conflicting and contradictory nature of men's responses to gender transitions. The fact that an accommodating perspective (women not needing to be submissive to men) is merged with traditionalist perspectives (women not becoming too assertive) also affirms Morrell's (2001) assertions on the matter.

EXTRACT 43

AA: I do believe the man is the man and the woman is the woman, uh, and I always believe it's bad to say it… but the woman's probably 'kaalvoet agter die kitchen' *(barefoot in the kitchen)* washing the dishes, that's why they've got small feet, but I do believe if I can afford it they can have, um, I don't want my wife to be a maid and look after *(unclear)*, but again… I would love her to have a career so that we have something in common to talk about when we get home. I don't want her to sit home and, uh, I just working and she just lives off this man.

Extract 43 highlights the ambivalence AA seems to feel with regard to women as well as the female role in relationships. Although he seems to feel that his partner should work, it would seem that this reasoning lies in her conversational utility to him in the evenings. Regardless of underlying motives, an accommodating discourse is evident as he does not seem averse to his partner working. This lack of resistance to women's liberation is one of the most important aspects of the accommodating perspective (Morrell, 2001). AA does, however, allude to certain traditionalist discourses which position women in a more subservient, domesticated position. He achieves this positioning by joking about women being "barefoot in the kitchen". Yet again, the presence of multiple discourses indicates the fact that men's responses to gender changes are neither consistent nor simple (Morrell, 2001).

EXTRACT 44

I: The changing roles for women, let's say in the workplace or at home… what's your view on that?

(A little later)

JK: Certain aspects I would say is good.

I: Okay.

JK: Certain aspects not.

I: Okay, the good aspects?

JK: Education and that type of thing. Yes, um, I think, I, I think it's very important, you know, um, for both a mother and a, and a father to work.

I: MMM.

JK: I think it, it can virtually double your income. It can, you can look after yourself more properly… look after your children more properly.

I: Ja, ja.

JK: I would say, if I, if I met a girl or, and I married her I would say I would, if, if my income allows it one day, yes, I would want her to be a housewife, you know, and look after the kids or… but, I would say I would at least want her to work till in her 40s.

In extract 44, JK expresses an accommodating discourse as he agrees with the importance of women being educated and working. He provides financial benefits as the main reasoning behind this response. The fact that his wife's income will "virtually" rather than 'actually' double their income suggests a slightly traditional outlook on the matter though. The implication is that his wife's income will not be equal to or more than his salary. Furthermore, he would prefer his wife to be a housewife later in their relationship. All this suggests that he may view his salary as being the primary income in the family, whereas his wife's income is perhaps regarded as more supplemental. Although it would appear that he is willing to move with the times, JK maintains a certain level of his male power through the above points. This seems to confirm Morrell's (2001) notion of accommodating responses to gender change.

EXTRACT 45

I: Okay, okay, and then… a woman's sort of changing roles, um, in society?
KL: Um, I don't think there's, there's straight 0 and 1 changes. I think they're more transitioning changes, due to changing in the way the civilization is, is progressing. Where jobs, uh, women want now work, um, full-time, and, because they're working full-time… some, some people, sort of guys, would, uh, would, uh, volunteer to stay with their children, to stay at home rather. If it just, for me if it makes sense, uh, consider it, rather than, uh, a woman's role is at home in the kitchen. That's also my view type thing. There's been changing needs and changing, changing outlooks on, on women.

In extract 45 KL expresses his opinion in a very objective manner. It would appear that he is of the opinion that women's changing representivity in the work context is positive and "makes sense". The objective manner in which he conveys his thoughts, however, might suggest that his opinion was constructed rather carefully. This might impact on the genuineness of his reply. What his reply might allude to is the social acceptability of a tolerant, 'new-age' opinion that centres on gender equality. Beyond the above, however, KL does seem to express an opinion that accepts the increased representivity of women in the workplace and perhaps alludes to a response which represents more accommodating and progressive constructions. This perspective may also seem to match with contemporary expectations in South Africa.

The contested nature of various men's responses to the issue of women in the workplace may be based on a mixture of older and newer constructions and discourses. The various contradictions expressed by the participants may reflect a tension between patriarchal ideologies and concepts of equality that are particularly evident in post-apartheid South Africa. A mixture of traditionalist and accommodating discourses are evident throughout and exemplify Morrell's (2001) descriptions of men's responses. Morrell (2001) believes that men's responses to changes are not simple and clear cut. Often they seem to be complex and tend to contradict one another.

4.3.4 Progressive responses to gender differences

Among many middle class, professional, mostly white young men the idea of the 'new man' is prevalent (Morrell, 2001). Progressively liberal viewpoints seem to act as indicators of these men's middle-class, educated status. Many of the participants express the opinion that they believe that gender differences are no longer evident, particularly in the work environment. These views, however, seem to be contradicted by other views by two of the same men stipulating gender differences. This apparent ambivalence yet again seems to further confirm Morrell's (2001) contention that responses to change are often contradictory.

EXTRACT 46

I: First of all, starting off, what, for you, does it mean to be a professional man in South Africa today?
MD: Well, I suppose it means that I work and support myself
I: MMM
MD: Um ja, I don't see the difference between man and woman.
(A little later)
I: Okay, um, just, sort of, staying on that sort of, um, half idea, um, what would you say is your role in a romantic relationship? Um, your role as a man in the relationship and perhaps even your girlfriend's role as, as the girlfriend in the relationship?
MD: Uh. I don't *(speak simultaneously- unclear)*. No, I don't buy into that… about there being a, a male role and a female role in the relationship.
I: MMM, but your guys relationship specifically. I mean, what sort of roles do you, because obviously everybody will fit certain roles, whether or not they based on other things or, whatever or not, they just something that you guys have worked out?
MD: Well, I don't know. At the moment, she's a student and I'm earning a salary, so it is leaning towards that traditional, where I'm a male, kind of, if I, if we go to dinner I'll pay.
I: MMM
MD: Like, just because I'm in that position.
I: Of the situation at the moment.
MD: Ja, ja, but when I was with her in *(name of city)* she would, you know, take me out for meals.
I: MMM
MD: So, um, I think it just, it's just defines itself at, depending on the situation and the environment.

In extract 46 MD pre-empts a question regarding gender differences by stating that he feels there is no longer any difference between men and women. He seems to feel that women are able to support themselves and that the gender divide is no longer evident to him. MD constructs the roles in his relationship as being based on equality rather than traditional notions. His discourse appears to reflect Morrell's (2001) progressive response as he rejects traditional notions of men needing to be providers in relationships.

EXTRACT 47

KL: Being a man…
I: *(interrupting)* What does that entail?
KL: Uh, well, I think the, the lines are being a little bit blurred nowadays between the man usually being a dominant role in the workforce or other professionals, whereas now you find, uh… as opposed to the more dominant men, you get dominant females now too.

In extract 47 KL seems to feel that gender differences are less evident in modern times. KL appears to feel that women have become more dominant- which, in his opinion, is in line with men. He relates these contemporary similarities to the workplace largely. His view that the changes have primarily occurred in the workplace, where women have adopted more 'male' characteristics, may perhaps reflect the transitions experienced in South Africa, specifically in the labour market. The South African government is regarded as heavily interventionist, and has played a vital role in promoting gender equality, specifically in the workplace. It would

seem that being a man is still closely linked to the workplace as KL specifically refers to it as an example in his reply to the interviewer's question. He does seem to feel that this traditionally male context has become more equal though. KL's acknowledgement of women adopting the male attribute of dominance in the workplace does, however, affirm the centrality of masculine values and attitudes in many professional work environments that Collinson and Hearn (1996) assert.

EXTRACT 48

I: Okay and, and then for you, I mean the male aspect of everything. What does that encompass or entail?
EF: Um, I don't know. It's a tricky one *(unclear)* it's so straight… equal in my mind these days that… there's no real difference that I see if you know what I mean.

EXTRACT 49

I: Um, emotions, um, how do you deal with them? Um, with difficult emotions or different emotions?
EF: At work or just in general?
I: At work and in general.
EF: Um… at work you definitely shouldn't, I believe you shouldn't show, especially *(unclear)* it becomes a masculine thing. I think a woman, in general, generalizing, would show more emotion than a guy would.
I: In a work environment?
EF: Ja
I: Okay
EF: Or in general
I: Okay
EF: I think, uh, I don't know if that's medically proven. I don't know
I: MMM
EF: Uh, but in general I think that's what's perceived.

In extract 48, EF's statement that it is a "tricky one" immediately alludes to the fact that he may have mixed feelings regarding gender differences. He states that he does not feel that there is any difference between men and women. Later in the interview, in extract 49, he mentions that women are far more emotional than men in general life. His mention of it potentially being medically proven indicates that his definitions might be based on essentialist, biological understandings of gender differences such as those mentioned by Schneider (2005). EF's dominant discourse, however, could be seen to reflect accommodating or progressive responses as mentioned by Morrell (2001) as it would appear that he is accepting of various changes.

EXTRACT 50

I: For you, what does it mean to be a professional man in South Africa today?
BZ: A professional man, I suppose it means a little bit different to what it used to mean. Um, there's, there's less emphasis on man in a business these days than, than professional. You have to… I

mean obviously you have to operate yourself as professional as possible the whole time but, um, in terms of, of business beliefs there's not much, I can't see the gender discrepancy anymore.

EXTRACT 51

I: MMM, okay, um, what are your views on women?
BZ: Geez that's broad, um, *(Pause)* well, wo(men), okay, women are, there's a big drive to, or it seems there's a big drive to say that we're all the same, but there's no ways we're exactly the same. Um, women, um, women will, it always…there's lots of place to talk about. If I talk about the work, a little bit, women are different at work than men are. Women are, in general *(unclear- speaks softly)*, but they're very, um, emotional, moody, and, and you, you don't know what's gonna pitch up today, whereas with a guy you can see he's cross and you can leave him alone. Women you won't even know that, ja, um, women are a little bit unknown. In general, um, very emotional.

In extract 50, BZ seems to feel that the centrality of men has been de-emphasized in the work context with the result that he no longer "see(s) the gender discrepancy anymore". This view may reflect the political and power changes that have occurred in post 1994 South Africa. In extract 51, later in the interview when he is perhaps more comfortable with the interviewer, BZ refers to certain perceived pressures to adopt the view that all men and women are equal. In this extract he defines men and women as being vastly different with regard to emotions and predictability. According to this opinion women are highly unpredictable and difficult to understand, whereas men are the opposite. This exemplifies the idea that gendered definitions are often understood in dichotomous terms (Gardiner, 2002). Thus, it would appear that certain contradictory viewpoints are also expressed by BZ, although it seems that the latter extract reflects his true opinions.

The above extracts indicate accommodating and progressive responses to the changing gender order, although these discourses are at times contested. On the one hand it would appear that the opinions reflect a newer acceptance of diversity and equality, while on the other hand certain traditional notions of gender differences might inform the contradictions. Given the social changes which have recently been experienced in South Africa, the ambivalent feelings are perhaps understandable.

4.3.5 Summary of Theme Three

Defensive, accommodating, and progressive responses seem to be evident throughout Theme Three. Purely defensive responses seem to be relatively rare among the participants and are often intertwined with more accommodating constructions whereby a lack of resistance to the improvements in women's societal position is the main feature. The contested nature of men's

responses to gender transitions is thus highlighted in Theme Three and this would appear to confirm Morrell's (2001) contention that men's responses do not fit into separate, concise categories. Traditionally hegemonic discourses based on specified gender roles, such as 'women as homemaker', seem to conflict with more contemporary discourses centering on equality in the current study. It would also appear that the various transitions in post-apartheid South Africa have resulted in a plethora of complex and at times contradicting discourses which influence men's responses. Hearn (2007) states that certain trends during the 1990s, such as globalisation and more concentrated labour processes, have resulted in the re-affirmation of men being separated and marginalised from the domestic and care-giving spheres. This aspect of the contemporary context seemingly informs various attitudes (the dichotomous roles of men and women in the public and domestic spheres) which contradict the values espoused by the post-apartheid constitution of South Africa where equality in the various spheres is advocated.

By some men utilising traditional understandings of gender roles women are constructed as 'belonging' in the domestic sphere. By doing this a counter image is perhaps produced whereby men can regard and highlight themselves as 'tough workers'- notions aligned with Theme One. These men's dominant position in relation to women is thus maintained. This manner of defining one's identity through counter images confirms Edward's (2006) views on the matter.

The presence of more accommodating and progressive responses is an important aspect of this theme. It indicates that men's responses to changes in gender relations are not rigid. It also denotes a certain level of receptiveness in these professional men to the transitions which are and have been experienced in contemporary South Africa.

4.4 Theme Four: Men in relation to the work environment- The impact of work.

Traditionally, work has been understood as forming the fundamental basis of masculine identity (Edwards, 2006). Although the notion of men being the sole providers has diminished in recent times, the influence of work-related ideals on men's self constructions still seems evident. Historically, possible links between various masculine forms and types of occupations have been witnessed. The relatively recent shift towards occupations based more on technical knowledge (for example, professionals) could be viewed as influencing various changes in the representations of masculinities. Connell (2005) describes a new dominant ideal in masculine construction- the transnational business masculinity. This form advocates a cosmopolitan lifestyle where the accumulation of economic power and controlled emotionality are important values (Connell, 1998). The market-oriented climate of the globalizing transnational

masculinities has brought a more individualistic approach to gender (Hearn, 2007).In the context of globalization the impact of transnational business masculinities seems immense with regard to influencing and defining masculine constructions centering on work and professional identity (Morrell, 2007).

Theme Four explores various expressed discourses which centre on certain work-related values (for example, the importance placed on the control of behaviour and emotions in the work environment). The important roles that professional work and particular ideals (relating to more global masculinities such as the transnational business masculinities) play in these men's constructions and understandings are also explored.

4.4.1 'Professional' work as a contemporary ideal

Historically, employment has provided many men with economic resources, positions of power, as well as the symbolic benefits of salaries and skills (Collinson & Hearn, 1996). Masculine identities, like all identities, are constructed and reconstructed in social interactions through the simultaneous processes of identification and differentiation (Collinson & Hearn, 1996). With the global rise of masculinities organized around technical knowledge (for example, the professions), many masculine identities seem to be based on identifying with being educated and knowledgeable. The pervasiveness of the influence of these forms of masculinities globally and locally are thus proposed (Hearn, 2007). All of the men in the study have been involved in some form of tertiary education and the vast majority have attained university degrees. Many express the opinion that their professional status provides them with a sense of great pride by allowing them the opportunity to compare favourably with other, less educated men. This contrast seems to highlight their sense of achievement and provides an important indicator of their dominant masculine identity. Whereas older hegemonies gained respect from aggressive dominance, this newer form of hegemony seems to gain it from professional status. This confirms notions stipulating the importance of status for many men (Luyt & Foster, 2001; Willott & Griffin, 1996)

EXTRACT 52

I: In South Africa today, what does it mean to be a professional man?
(A little later)
KL: Well, it's maybe getting a little bit more respect from peers, where you work, um, showing that you've, you've, you've put in the grunt work and getting the, the, gotten the result, uh, just puts you one, one little step higher as far as how people, uh, view you.

In extract 52 KL associates his tertiary education with getting "respect from peers". This is aligned with Luyt and Foster's (2001) concept of interpersonal dominance that is evident in traditionally hegemonic masculinities. KL's reference to his studying as "grunt work" associates his studies with very primal, robust images. He may be attempting to merge his studying with these hyper-masculine images. The above points further suggest that similar images and values (for example, men asserting their dominance) are relevant for masculinities organised around direct dominance as well as those focussing on technical knowledge. These forms are merely represented in different ways (overtly aggressive versus knowledgeable). This correlates well with transnational business masculinities whereby men assert their dominance through various 'neutral' business practices rather than overt violence (Hearn and Parkin 2001). Furthermore, KL's assertion that his studies place him "one little step higher" suggests a hierarchy of masculinities in which professional masculinities seem to have ascendancy in particular contexts. Thus men with degrees, according to KL, seem to occupy a hegemonic space within masculine constructions.

EXTRACT 53

I: First off all, for you, what does it mean to be a professional man in South Africa today?
MM: Um, I think it's a great privilege to be a professional man, um, especially if you think about it. You put in a lot of effort and work into it, to get where you are today. So, um, ja, um, it's something to be proud of and to know that you, you, you can be still distinguished from some of the others, uh, within your peer group, and, ja, certain people. It's really, ja, it's a nice feeling.
I: MMM, okay. So it's a privilege… something to be proud of.

In extract 53 MM is of the opinion that his professional, educated status is a symbol of his success and achievement. It allows him to compare favourably with his peer group, and seems to place him high on the hegemonic hierarchy. Yet again, the value of interpersonal dominance and competition between men is confirmed (Luyt & Foster, 2001). His education, in signifying both his intelligence and hard work, provides him with higher status in relation to less educated men- again affirming professional masculinities hegemonic space within society. All of the above contribute to his confident "nice feeling".

EXTRACT 54

I: And then being, being a man… what does that mean?
JK: Uh, ja, I, I think in terms of being a man it, it, it does, it does mean a lot. I mean, I, I, how do I say, I don't see, say for arguments sake I'm with someone, uh, you know, a guy that's a mechanic or something like that, uh, I, I wouldn't say he's, he's inferior to me in any way. I would just say, you know, I feel, the fact that I've, that I've, I've got a good education and that type of thing, you know, I feel, I think I feel more confident than him.

In extract 54, JK is careful not to present himself in a judgemental manner. His comparison of himself and "a mechanic" seems to confirm the above assertions positioning educated, professional men in a hegemonic space. JK believes that his education gives him more confidence than someone without a degree. The above evaluations of the value of education and professional identity confirm the notion that masculinities organised around technical knowledge are challenging for hegemony in the world order and seem to influence men's understandings (Connell, 2005).

4.4.2 The value of self-control in men's work-related lives

As already stated, provision for families seems to be an important aspect of the 'male role' for many men. Thus employment and the resultant remuneration are also highly valued. Furthermore, autonomy appears to be constructed by many contemporary, professional men as being central to their identity (Jansz, 2000). If these issues are transposed onto the future work life of men, a possible anxiety around future provision and autonomy can perhaps be expected. Some of the men in the current study confirm the above assertion by expressing a certain level of anxiety either around their future ability to retain their occupational positions or their ability to be autonomous and thus exempt from the whims of their employers. The possible implication of this is that some of the participants may feel that having occupational independence at a certain age differentiates them from 'other' men. Thus, occupational autonomy could be seen to influence the hegemonic ideal of autonomy amongst some of the participants. It would appear as though the anxieties and work demands expressed by these men influence their views on the need to act 'responsibly' and manage their lives according to a 'plan'. This seems to correlate with the transnational business masculinities where men 'manage' their emotions, bodies and general lives very carefully (Connell, 2005).

Connell (2005) states that men representing transnational business masculinities have a strong awareness of change. They seem to experience a heightened uncertainty regarding their place within the world and gender-order (Connell, 2005). Thus, the men in this study might also exemplify this uncertainty due to their expressed anxieties. This perceived anxiety is perhaps heightened by various transitions that South Africa has undergone post 1994.

EXTRACT 55

I: What does earning an income mean at the moment?
(A little later)

EF: It's also about planning for your future a little bit as well. I don't save, like… bought a few apartments and stuff like that. It's about setting yourself up for, for a later stage in life as well. Um, I mean there's no point in like blowing the money on boozing every weekend and buying all sorts of rubbish… you've got to think a bit logically as well.

I: Providing a, what… a freedom sort of thing later?

EF: Ja, ja, I mean, ja, I mean, you're going to get to a certain point where you just don't really want to work anymore, or you want to take 3 months off, or you want to do something different.

In extract 55 EF emphasises the importance of planning for his future. Although he seems to feel that he does not save enough, he has purchased apartments which seem to act as future investments. Aligned with the notion that responsible, conscientious behaviour is valued, EF appears to be averse to an indulgent current lifestyle. This seems to contradict the consumptive lifestyle associated with young men representing transnational business masculinities (Lakes, 2008). The fact that EF needs to "think a bit logically" about his present actions in terms of their impact on later life does, however, appear to confirm a different aspect of transnational businessmen- the ideal of these men managing themselves and their own actions very conventionally (Connell, 2005). EF's value on future autonomy is exemplified by his desire to be adaptable in the workplace (by being able to take 3 months off or by being able to change occupations). This latter point perhaps represents an anxiety around being reliant on a workplace that is felt to be unpredictable and changing.

EXTRACT 56

MM: At current point…at this stage it's, um, especially I think within my working environment, um, where I'm not, where I'm employed at the financial institution, there is…there is…there's a big…frightening, if you want to call it like that. To me, like, where you, I need to have myself set up in life, and be able to do my own thing after 40, because after 40 they will start looking at retrenchment, or start replacing you, *(unclear)* because you becoming then too expensive, and, unless you're becoming a big director or a really big senior manager which is really valuable to the company that they can't really replace. Um, so that's, that's one aspect in life when you at this age, and I need to move onto, to, put myself up for something after, after 40. When I think, if you think back to, to my parent's, uh, era… they… my parents are now in their 50s… the, the, the things that they, that wakes them up, um, in the evenings is the same things that wakes me up. It's just what do they do after 65, did they do enough, uh, did they accumulate enough over the years.

I: Okay, so I mean, you saying there's a lot of similarities with types of things that you worry about to what your parents worry about, but now it's just different time frames.

MM: Ja, it's the, ja, ja, like, now on a earlier, earlier age in your life you need to be, you're already aware of those things. You only thought about once your kids will be finished with varsity and you've *(unclear)*. So, um, to some extent yes, um, I think, um, in terms, at an earlier age you think about that.

In extract 56, MM's perception of his and his co-workers anxieties is quite evident. He refers to it as a "frightening" experienced at the institution where he works. This anxiety seems to impact on a desire to be autonomous by the age of 40 and reflects the strong awareness of change exhibited in transnational business masculinities (Connell, 2005). After 40, according to MM, workers usually become more vulnerable. As already discussed in the Themes One and

Two, men's constructions have often been contrary to appearing vulnerable and weak. Thus, MM seems to feel it is essential that he has himself "set up in life", with greater autonomy in his financial life by the age of 40. This anxiety around the future could be seen to impact on MM placing great value on responsibly controlling his current personal as well as professional life.

EXTRACT 57

AA: But, for me, what worries me is a few things. Um, I wanna retire when I'm 49. I do worry that I sometimes don't have enough, um, I didn't save enough or some of my investments that I made or some- I trust people too often… I freely give away sometimes big amounts of cash on the shake of a handshake… that does worry me, that something like that's gonna bite me, especially because I hate losing money.

(A little later)

AA: That worries me, because I *(unclear)*, when I'm retired at 49, I actually wanna enjoy my life. I wanna play golf. Uh, that, ja, so it worries me that I might get skin cancer. It worries me that I might be fat and, uh, stuff like that. You want to enjoy your life and you, you lose so much of your life during those years you're chasing wind and you chasing a career.

In extract 57 AA has a retirement age of 49 in mind. He seems to have made provisions for this to occur and it would appear that he has controlled his actions and behaviours rather carefully in the past, again affirming this ideal of transnational business masculinities proposed by Connell (2005). It also seems that this focus on early retirement has led to AA placing central value on his work life, as opposed to other aspects of life related to enjoyment. AA's anxieties are based on questioning whether his provision for his future has been adequate. He also seems to worry that his focus on 'controlled responsibility' and work, which have perhaps led to him "chasing wind", might be unjustified by the rewards of his retired life. He is afraid that certain extraneous variables, such as ill health, will curtail his ability to enjoy his retired life (which involves playing golf). He seems to have ambivalent feelings around his current focus on work. It would appear that he has sacrificed a great deal of his energies in the pursuit of future happiness. He appears unsure of whether this is the correct tactic. This lack of surety represents a certain level of vulnerability within AA, which seems to be contrary to Theme One.

Extracts 55-57 have represented perceptions that highly value 'controlled' actions and behaviours in some men's lives. These views express a focus on 'working hard' at a young age and reaping the rewards later in life. A great deal of anxiety seems to drive these discourses.

In extracts 58 and 59 a different, contesting view is offered. These discourses place greater value on enjoyment of current life, and shift the focus away from work. This latter point seems to contradict the ideals of acquiring economic resources advocated by contemporary professional masculine hegemonies (Connell, 1998).

EXTRACT 58

CM: I'm trying to enjoy life more… Um, have a, a more balanced life. Um, trying to exercise when I get the time and, you know, just enjoying, like, what *(name of city)* has to offer as opposed to, you know, just being stuck in the rat race. Obviously it's, it's very important, you know, it's still important to, um, to be like successful, but I try and limit that from 8 to 5 and then after hours, you know, try and stick away from work and that.

(A little later)

I: And what do you think brought that about? That change in focus for you.

CM: I think I was just, you know, I was so focused on work and, and trying to, to get ahead that I, I ended up finding myself so stressed out about work and, um, I wasn't… you almost feel like life's passing you by, you know, and, um, enjoying the, like… for example we went to, like, *(name of place)* for a weekend. I hadn't had a holiday in, in a year and it was actually so nice, and then you realize how, um, wound up you get in things.

EXTRACT 59

EF: So ja, I then went to *(name of University)*, whatever, finished off there, um, but my goals I think at first was very… I think everyone just wants to at varsity, all they want to do is go and sort of work and earn money and be independent and, um, I think it was a very materialistic view of, of the world. Um, getting, getting, getting the best job that you can, earn the most money, sort of thing. Things change when you start working, I think. You realize that, that your life is so short and things go by so quickly that, that you, you, it's more, more than, than that.

I: MMM

EF: It's about really, it's about like finding happiness if you know what I mean.

(A little later)

EF: Um, now it's more about what can I do with that? Like, now it's travelling… it's now, you can do all those extra things because you, you're earning more. Um, so it's about, sort of, your life gets a bit, um, I don't, um, I don't know what the word is, but you know what I mean. You can do more with your life than just actually living

I: Ja

EF: And that was quite frustrating for a lot of people. The first two years you just, you just earn enough to live

I: Ja

EF: Um, and you can't do anything that great.

I: The money's really there for the basics.

EF: Ja, and now, like, that you earn more you can, you can do more than just the basics, um, so, it's not, it's obviously not about the money- it's about what the money can do for you. Um, it's about living, it's about doing things that you actually want to do now.

In extract 58 CM appears to have shifted his focus, which had previously centred on work. It seems that he now places greater emphasis on 'de-stressing' himself. This shift in focus has allowed CM to travel and find greater meaning in current life, although he still seems to value success in a work sense. EF, in extract 59, states that he greatly values happiness. He has shifted from a "materialistic view" and also seems guided by the need to extract meaning from his existence. In extract 59 EF also focuses on aspects such as travelling, and states that life is "about doing things that you actually want to do now". CM and EF seem to express various anxieties around not enjoying their lives. It appears that it is this anxiety which has driven their more pleasure-driven actions. This shift away from the centrality of work could be considered to represent a progressive discourse, as advocated by Morrell (2001). This is stated as these

extracts present a relatively novel manner in which masculinity can be represented- in comparison to extracts 55-57 at least.

4.4.3 The unemotional context of work

Collinson and Hearn (1996) state that masculine values influence most organisations. This extends to the expression of emotions in the workplace. Consequently, emotional inexpression seems to be advocated in many work contexts. It is argued that many managerial positions are still regarded as masculine in their style. Thus, key characteristics of managers often seem to be based on control of their emotions, whereas other workers are perhaps not always in such full control of their affect (Collinson & Hearn, 1996). Some of the participants in the current study seem to express the opinion that emotional expression is not appropriate in the work context. Rather, it seems that objectivity and the control of oneself is greatly valued by some of the participants. This seems to correlate with values espoused by the transnational business masculinities (Connell, 2005).

EXTRACT 60

I: Let's first of all, sort of, maybe speak about, about professional, sort of, being somebody who's gone to university, working, sort of, in their field… that kind of thing.
BF: I'd probably say working in a, in a formal environment where objective is, is one of the key, key things to, to solving problems and issues.
I: MMM
BF: And dealing with, with solutions, and professionals I think don't show a lot, a lot of emotions., and they're more about the task at hand and dealing with other people who also see the same, same view of finding solutions without a lot of emotion involved.
I: Okay so…
BF: The whole professional side of things… acting professional and in all your conducts acting professional as well.
I: Acting professional?
BF: Communicating professional. It's about being, being relatively objective.
I: MMM
BF: And not, not making decisions on emotion.

BF seems to feel that being a professional man entails being "objective". He expresses the view that control over self and emotions is essential in the business world. Thus, the proposition that rationality is seen as important in professional work contexts (Connell, 2005) seems to be confirmed. It is this rationality which seems to inform the global forms of transnational masculinities (Connell, 2005). According to BF it is this objectivity that helps to focus professionals on "the task at hand" and assists in solution finding. His view that others in the industry are similar to this indicates that objectivity and emotional control might represent a

hegemonic ideal in the work context. Consequently emotional expression, especially in a work environment, appears to be marginalized according to BF's comments.

EXTRACT 61

I: Um, certain other rules, something like, 'boys don't cry.'?
BF: I'd say there's times for that. I think it's, in, especially in, in the bank there's, a large… I think a large portion of the males don't, don't cry. I think it's, it's only, it's only acceptable on certain circumstances or very sad cases.
I: Okay.
BF: But I'd say that it, it just, it creates curiosity I'm sure
I: MMM
BF: And generally people don't like that, unless they're looking for attention they don't particularly want anyone else to know that they have a weakness and that they are, that they are sad.

In extract 61 BF states that emotional expression, in the form of crying, is "only acceptable in certain circumstances or very sad cases". He perceives men in the banking sector to be relatively similar in the fact that "a large portion of the males" do not express their sadness to others. This perspective re-affirms the point that a lack of emotional expression seems to represent ideals espoused by certain hegemonic constructions of masculinities (Jansz, 2000). For BF, showing emotions in the work context either "creates curiosity" or conveys a weakness to others. Thus, emotional control seems to be an important signifier of being an educated professional who fits into the organisational culture.

EXTRACT 62

EF: Um, I think, at work, I don't think you should show your, your emotions. Obviously if like someone passed then, that's very understandable.
I: Ja.
EF: But if you're having issues with, you know, in your personal life, whatever, you shouldn't show those, those issues at work. You should just try and be as professional as possible.
(A little later)
EF: You should try and be as, um, sort of, fair and neutral as possible.
I: MMM
EF: And not let your… it's difficult to, to cut it off completely, but, as long as you're realizing you do snap, you're realizing you… they don't, and you should, you should, you know, apologise or something.
I: MMM
EF: Um, but you should definitely try and keep that separate to the work environment.
I: MMM
EF: Cos I mean, people at work, you know, probably don't know what's going on in your life. Like, you can't, you know, you can't just take it out on them. It's, it's not their fault.

In extract 62 EF states that displays of emotion are only acceptable in extreme cases, such as when "someone pass(es)". Other "personal" issues need to be contained within the individual. For EF, being a professional means being "fair and neutral". In the event that "you do snap", it is vital for EF that he is able to realise this, and thus control it. Thus, the idea of the professional

man being 'in control', and objective is re-affirmed as being vital and correlates with the values adopted by transnational business masculinities (Connell, 2005). Losing control and expressing emotions is definitely frowned upon and is perhaps deemed un-professional.

EXTRACT 63

BZ: There's, there's one guy who's kind … pissing me off at work now.
I: MMM.
BZ: But um, he's, he's having little jabs at me the whole time and it's, it's probably, uh, I haven't spoken about it and, and, at this stage I probably will need to at some stage.
I: MMM.
BZ: But I, I don't know if I'm going to either.
I: MMM, okay, and at the moment, how's it feeling for you? I mean it seems like…
BZ: Ja, I know, um… I suppose I'm trying to avoid him a little bit… which is difficult. He's sitting next to me. So I'm just trying to, I sort of distanced myself from the problem.
I: MMM.
BZ: And ja, I suppose it, it could turn out to be not so serious at the end but maybe if, if it carries on it would be more serious.
I: Okay, so at the moment it feels like it's building up?
BZ: Ja.

Whereas the previous examples have referred predominantly to expressions of sadness, extract 63 provides a good example of a professional's reluctance to express anger in the work environment. Although BZ admits to experiencing anger (his co-worker is "pissing" him off) he has thus far been unable to express this anger to the co-worker. He has rather avoided confronting the co-worker, who sits next to him in the office. This is a good illustration of the value placed on 'self control' so evident in the comments of many of these professional men. It perhaps exemplifies transnational business masculinities' shift away from the expression of overt violent aggression (Hearn and Parkin 2001). Being 'strong enough' to control your emotions now appears to represent a favourable ideal of contemporary, professional masculinities. More dominance-oriented forms of masculinity, at least in a work environment, seem to have become more marginalised according to the above extracts

It would appear as though certain masculinities and the work context may have a circular relationship whereby they have a mutual impact on one another. Work, as a social institution, may act as a context in which the value of emotional inexpression in men is re-affirmed through the actions, norms, discourses, and attitudes of the workers. In a highly competitive work environment displays of weakness might provide others with an advantage. Thus, emotional control seems to be vital in maintaining an image of power, dominance, and possibly hierarchical position in the organisation. The impact of these work related views would appear to overlap with some of the participants general constructions of their masculine presentation (appearing tough, dominant and 'in control').

4.4.4 The important role of work in men's social lives

Connell (2005) states that many men representing transnational business masculinities build networks of links in the working environment whereby a level of conformity and gender conservatism is evident. The participant's in this study seem to indicate that the work environment is an important source of friendships and contacts. Many express good relationships with work colleagues. If the social discourses that people come into contact with on a daily basis can be assumed to have an important bearing on attitudes, and if it is considered that a significant proportion of people's lives are spent in the work environment, the possible influence of the work context on these men's constructions evident. However, the work environment is made up of many individuals, so the impact of people in shaping the work environment is also re-affirmed. The complexity of social constructions is evident as the influences of individual systems of meanings are balanced against both global and local business and masculine ideals.

EXTRACT 64

AA: I do think I've run my career too hard that I haven't made time to make friends here and it is quite difficult. In *(name of city)*, 99% of my friends were colleagues, and there I was always the, let's say not dominant, but I was always boss if they were colleagues… uh, working for me, and… now it's actually nice, because now we can all be equals in the relationship

In extract 64 AA asserts that the vast majority of his friends are work colleagues. Although he states that he enjoys the current equality in these relationships, in the past various occupational hierarchies were evident which defined him as dominant in his friendships with work colleagues. Although he was friendly with many of his colleagues his higher occupational standing provided him with power on symbolic as well as practical levels. The work context thus presented him with an important source of friendships, although defined various aspects of these relationships. It would seem that AA may be seeking to move away from comradeship, as defined by Levy (2004), to more genuine, meaningful relationships with other men.

EXTRACT 65

I: Okay, and, and your relationship with bosses and stuff like that?

CM: No, very good. I mean, my boss is, he's actually a personal friend of mine. Well, we've become personal friends, you know. He's very, um, easily approachable about anything. I mean, I can chat to him, we socialize together. I've tried, I've tried not to, um, get too sociable with him lately, because I've seen that if there is a problem, it's more difficult for me to approach him, um, because we've got a, a friendship, you know. So that, that, that has made it a bit diff(icult)…more difficult. So I've tried to distance myself a bit in that respect.

I: MMM
CM: Um, but ja, very approachable about everything. Um, I get on…I generally get on, on with everybody.
(A little later)
CM: Ja, um, obviously because I work with people that I know on more of a personal level as well.

Extract 65 provides an interesting possible insight into relationships in the formal working environment. CM states that he has become "personal friends" with his boss. They are able to socialize together and seem to have forged a relationship. It would appear, however, that certain aspects of the work context seem to curtail the development of this friendship. CM has found himself trying to not "get too sociable with him lately". It seems that certain work demands (to maintain a 'professional' relationship with hierarchically higher men) have inhibited their personal friendship, and lead to a slightly more distanced relationship. Thus, it is possible that work, although being an important context in which friendships are made, may define certain limitations in these friendships. Boundaries and a certain level of emotional distancing and detachment are strategies that may be employed to maintain a 'professional working relationship' and this may influence various discourses surrounding men's attitudes to friendships. The above exemplifies Connell's (2005) observation that a desire for closer male bonds is often obstructed and difficult to achieve for many men.

EXTRACT 66

MM: Because you're so busy with work and all of a sudden you communicate, you start building relationships at work as well… with one or two people, because you see them on a daily basis and, all…as soon as you start a relationship then you would start trusting them then with more confidential stuff and… which you will discuss with them. It's stuff that you won't want to discuss with that friend at, uh, that you only see once every 6 weeks and stuff like that, because you kind of getting out of touch with each other… and, to me, you can't, uh, a relationship is really a one…it's a physical contact. You can't, you can't have a, try to maintain something over the phone.

In extract 66, MM states that "physical contact" is an important aspect of friendships. It would appear that he has lost contact with many of his previously held friends who do not work with him. The fact that he sees his work colleagues "on a daily basis" means that he builds closer relationships with them. The language that MM employs indicates a rather objective approach to friendships when he states, "All of a sudden you communicate" with others at work, and once a relationship has been established "you would start trusting them with more confidential stuff". The possible objectivity and rationality of the workplace may influence MM's understandings of adult friendships. For him, just as work data is confidential so too is friendship concerned with the sharing of 'confidential' information. This seems to correlate with the fact that transnational businessmen manage their lives very conscientiously (Connell, 2005).

Work as an important influence on and source of friendships is exhibited in the above extracts. The work context seems to define various power relations for AA as well as CM, for example. It would thus seem that certain patterns (reflected by various limitations and boundaries) in these relationships are defined by the work environment. By some of these men forging friendships at the workplace it would also seem that these men are able to maintain friendships based on work related interests rather than purely on emotional connection. This notion would appear to correlate with traditional ideas of men's relationships often being constructed as instrumental (Fivush & Buckner, 2000).

4.4.5 Summary of Theme Four

It would appear that the work context seems to define various issues related to these men needing to 'control' their own behaviour and emotions. It also seemingly has an influence on many of the participant's friendship networks and stipulates various ideals for these contemporary men. The overriding principles of Theme Four seem to correlate with the values espoused by transnational business masculinities that Connell (2005) identifies. The fact that many of the participants value accumulating economic and occupational resources, managing their own behaviours conservatively, and appearing objectively 'in control' of their realities appear to testify to the above assertion. It would seem that local constructions of masculinities are informed to a great extent by the global influence of transnational business masculinities. The ideals espoused by these forms seemingly act as important indicators of hegemonic masculinities and play an important role in these men's identity constructions.

The fact that many hegemonic ideals (men as emotionally inexpressive, men as 'in control') are evident in these men's discourses regarding work re-affirms the possible importance of the work context. The work environment could thus be seen to represent a re-affirming structure for these hegemonic ideals whereby various global, local, and individual constructions of masculinity can be enacted. The working environment, as a product and reflection of globalization, thus seems to act as an arena through which the hegemonic ideals linked to transnational business masculinities are defined and transmitted. The proposition that many middle class occupations are characterized to a large degree by highly masculine values and assumptions (Collinson & Hearn, 1996) is also therefore supported.

The contesting views expressed in this section yet again confirms Connell's (2005) notion of multiple masculinities being constructed in the context of a variety of discourses. By some of

the participants dividing on the issue of focusing either on 'hard work' or 'enjoyment of life' this contestation is evident.

Finally, many of the men in the current study express high regard for the ideal of men being educated and involved in professional occupations. This fact highlights and affirms Connell's (2005) notion that technically-based masculine forms are challenging for hegemony in the world order at present. This global shift towards an increased focus on tertiary education is perhaps magnified in contemporary South Africa where competition for occupations and opportunities is possibly perceived by these white men as being immense. This could be due to the fact that a larger proportion of the population has increased access to various resources (such as education) in post-apartheid South Africa with the result of more people competing for opportunities.

It would seem that technically-based forms of masculinity are not fundamentally different to more traditionally hegemonic forms though, as both espouse the value of dominance, emotional inexpression, and appearing 'in control' in relation to others. This might suggest that certain ideals of hegemonic masculinities have not necessarily changed in a fundamental sense. The work context, as has traditionally been the case, still seems to represent many hegemonic masculine ideals. In South Africa, which has been particularly male dominated, the breadwinner-homemaker dichotomy has been particularly evident. Such patriarchal understandings of the work context and the roles of men and women therein seem to still inform a certain level of these men's constructions. Furthermore, these understandings are interpreted by individual men, and thus the wide range of responses to women's increased representivity in the workplace is understandable.

4.5 Theme Five: Men in relation to the changing social context- Men's attitudes to their relative loss of power

Historically South African gender ideology has been male dominated, and influenced to a great extent by the white minority. Many public discourses focusing on gender and race have been heavily influenced by government propaganda (Morrell, 2001). In this context many white males enjoyed a hegemonic or complicit space in South African society whereby women and non-whites were marginalised. The stereotypical view of South African men centred on them being authoritarian and unforgiving (Morrell, 2001). White men received an unequal

distribution of power and resources, with the result of many white men feeling defensive about various challenges (particularly those posed by women, black people, and other men) to their advantage.

In relatively recent times various transitions have been experienced in South Africa. The post-apartheid government has been highly active in generating gender policy focussing on a more equitable distribution of various resources. Morrell (2001) states that some men are slightly unsettled by these changes. Walker (2005) asserts that the challenge to men's traditionally dominant roles has led to various crisis discourses informing common-sense understandings of the situation. Morrell (2001) contends that defensive responses often utilise such discourses. Consequently, a perception in men of being victimised is a possible by-product.

With the above in mind this section focuses on various discourses which suggest some of the participants understand themselves to be victims of discrimination in the contemporary climate. This discrimination includes fears around occupational security, various disparities in the domestic sphere, and general laws and conventions which seemingly place men at a disadvantage. These men appear to feel that the new challenges posed to men (and in particular white men) are disproportionately large in comparison to other demographic groups. The emphasis on race in many of these discourses seems to suggest that race and gender are considered to be similar in the minds of some of the participants in the current study.

4.5.1 Constructions of men as 'victims' of discrimination

In this sub-theme the perception of males being unfairly treated is evident in the comments of the men. Part of this view seems to be influenced by an awareness of the changing gender order in South Africa, which Connell (2005) also notes among transnational business masculinities. It would seem as though the participants believe that men's relative position is under-valued in contemporary society. Many of these perceptions could be considered to underlie some men's desire to turn back the feminist tide- although this is often implied rather than overtly stated. Such discourses seem to represent defensive responses which Morrell (2001) identifies. Defensive responses, as already stated, are often permeated by the language of men being in

crisis (Morrell, 2001). Such discourses are seemingly in response to the challenges posed to men by modern feminism as well as South Africa's changing political climate- where the dominance of the white minorities' political influence has shifted (Morrell, 2001). Such movements as the South African Association of Men assert that men are currently being discriminated against, and white men are experiencing a decline in their standards of living (Morrell, 2001).

EXTRACT 67

AA: I don't think it's currently where we are… it's probably amazing being a man, because we the whole time reverse discriminated against. There's… the whole time women get thrown in our face… uh, woman bosses, uh, but also being a white male is also a pain in the gat *(bum)*. That's the worst you can be. A male is bad, but being, being a white male is bad *(worse)*.

In extract 67 AA emphasizes what he perceives to be 'double discrimination' against himself when he states "a male is bad, but being, being a white male is bad (worse)". His view highlights an opinion that men, and particularly white men, are experiencing a low hierarchical position at present. Being a white male in South Africa, in AA's opinion, is "the worst you can be". This discourse, which utilizes a crisis mentality, resembles the defensive response to various changes and exemplifies Morrell's (2005) observation on this type of response. Morrell (2001) states that such defensive responses have been evident among white South African men for many years. During the apartheid era brittle masculinities were evident amongst many white men who were fearful of challenges to their privileged position. Although not overtly stated, it seems as though AA desires the restoration of the older context where it was not "a pain in the gat (bum)" to be a man.

EXTRACT 68

JK: Women's rights is totally screwed up. Um, just to, to name a simple example- my sister was married to one enormous man, um, very, very big guy. *(JK describes the man briefly)*, but a massive man.

I: MMM.

JK: And, my sister is, how do you say… the abusing kind. She won't hesitate at all to, you know, to physically climb into a guy and hit the shit out of him, or whatever… and he never, ever hit her back… um, and I think that's one thing, you know, when they ended up getting divorced he said in court, you know, he said, 'This, this, this woman used to beat the crap out of me', and the judge looked and said, 'Sir, look at your size. How can that tiny lady beat you up?', and I think that's unfair. Um, if he had to hit her back, he would be in shit as well. So, I think that's unfair. Um, I think a lot of women take advantage of that thing, ja, men cannot hit women, or whatever. I don't agree with that. Make no mistake, I do not believe that a man should ever touch a woman, but I also don't think that gives a woman the right to lift her hands for a man- not at all.

In extract 68 JK seems to feel that the rights allowed to women leave men at a distinct disadvantage in certain situations. From his perspective women are protected by law, although the same protection is not provided to men. He seems to feel that women "take advantage" of the situation, and he alludes to the fact that this disempowers men. The above seems to have aroused a feeling of inequality in JK. Accordingly, men are in a weakened position, which is in contradiction with older constructions of men being in a more dominant position.

EXTRACT 69

I: On the changing roles for women, let's say in the workplace or at home… what's your view on that?

JK: I think in certain terms it's a bit unfair. Um, I think men is, men is always, men have always been the breadwinners and head of the household and that type of thing and, uh, uh, I feel, in certain terms I feel women's rights nowadays are unfair, um, and I think a lot of women take advantage of it and, uh, I don't think it's a good thing. Uh, uh, *(Pause)* I suppose in certain terms it's, it's a good thing. You know, on the, I mean if I, if I sit and think now if I've got a daughter one day, yes I would definitely want her to have a good education and so, but, uh, certain aspects I would say is good.

In extract 69 JK expresses the view that some women "take advantage" of "women's rights". Connell's (2005) assertion that many professional men may have mixed feelings surrounding this issue seems to be confirmed by JK as, although he feels that there are positive aspects of greater equality (based on his desire for his daughter to receive a "good education"), he views many other aspects of women's increased rights as "a bit unfair". The above discrepancy seems to represent a mixture of defensive and accommodating responses. This concurs with Morrell's (2001) argument that men's responses to gender transitions are rarely mutually exclusive and consistent. Rather, they are often overlapping and complex. It would seem that JK's predominant response in extract 69 is more accommodating though as, in keeping with modern times, JK appears ready to accept certain changes in the gender order and thus not actively deny gender equality.

EXTRACT 70

I: How do you feel about the changing role of women in the workplace?

BF: I think, I think it's good if they… if, if they want to work and they want to do something, but I'd say that they must also realize that there are, there are rules to, to working as well and that they can't, they can't use their previous, previous disadvantage, if you want to call it that, to, to their advantage… and they have to play by the rules, rules there… but I think… I'd say it's all fine as long as their, their emotions and the professionalism is, is kept intact.

I: Okay

BF: That they don't take advantage of a situation.

In extract 70 BF seems to express rather mixed feelings about the changing gender structure. It appears as though he provisionally accepts these changes as he states, "I think it's good…But,

I'd say that they must also realize that there are…rules to…working as well". His notion that women need to "play by the rules" and maintain "their emotions and the professionalism" suggests that BF accepts women in the workplace when they behave in a manner that is consistent with his understanding of working environments. For BF, emotional expression at work might not be consistent with "the rules". This seems to confirm the centrality of certain masculine values (emotional inexpression) which permeate many work environments (Collinson & Hearn, 1996). Extract 70 seems to illustrate a predominantly accommodating response (Morrell, 2001) as BF does not seem to be overly resistant to changing gender roles in the work context.

The views elicited in this section seem to be aligned with Morrell's (2001) defensive and accommodating responses to change. Many of the participant's discourses appear to be underscored by notions of inequality and men being in a crisis. It would seem that many of these participants feel that women are at a distinct advantage at present, and that men are struggling to competitively cope with the changes. Some of the men allude to a desire to revert back to a situation when men were seemingly more 'settled' in their unquestioned hegemonic space. The accommodating discourses indicate some level of openness to greater gender equality, although given the presence of the defensive responses it would appear that many of the participants have mixed feelings on this matter.

4.5.2 Men's experience of increased stress

Collinson and Hearn (1996), while researching employed males in the insurance industry, note that images of resilience and 'toughness' are often utilised by many men in describing their job related activities. Thus, men construct themselves as being able to 'take the knocks' in a market place that they perceive as aggressive and highly competitive (Collinson & Hearn, 1996). Some of the participants in the current study express opinions indicating that men are being placed under increased pressure in contemporary society. Such discourses are potentially utilized to re-affirm the perception of men's ability to be 'hard' and 'shield' their partners and families from the rigours of the 'working world' perhaps. They also may to reflect and re-affirm some men's notions of a contemporary life, particularly in the context of South Africa, where men are being marginalised and given unnecessary challenges.

EXTRACT 71

I: For you, what does it mean to be a professional man in South Africa today?
(A little later)
BZ: I appreciate being able to do that role. Um, in terms of the role itself, um… it seems to be… talking to a lot of family members as well, it's a lot more stressful than years ago.
I: Okay, and in what sort of things?
BZ: Um, maybe more in a physical point of view. There's a lot more people coming up with stress related illnesses.
I: Oh, okay.
BZ: And it's not uncommon to hear someone speak about that.
I: MMM
BZ: It's just how they…
I: Getting, getting ill from, sort of, stress and stuff like that. What do you think that's linked to?
BZ: Um.
I: The stress and stuff.
BZ: Ja, I suppose it's, it's double edged. It's more awareness and the world being much more high paced than previously.

In extract 71, BZ notes that the faster pace of life and various other aspects have contributed to men experiencing greater levels of stress. According to BZ, this translates into "stress related illnesses". An image of men being 'victims' in contemporary society is perhaps yet again alluded to.

EXTRACT 72

BZ: I think also at varsity there's less of a materialistic, um, for myself at least…You just have to, you've got your room and you've got your food and (unclear) everyone else.
I: MMM
BZ: Everyone's sort of level.
I: MMM
BZ: But afterwards you have to fight for, well not fight for, but there's, there's much more people looking at you because you have this and, and don't have that. And you can choose whether or not to go with that. But it, it definitely must, you never can think about that.
I: MMM
BZ: Ja.
I: What sort of people looking at you?
BZ: Um. No. I just mean peers of, of any sort. Be it family or friends.
I: MMM
BZ: Even if it's not admitted there's, there will always be some sort of comparison going on or ja.

In extract 72 BZ notes that the transition into the working world has entailed the added pressure of his family and friends expectations. He feels that there is a constant comparison and seems to believe he needs to succeed in order to be viewed positively by others. This appears to be consistent with assertions that success and competitiveness are important values in many masculine constructions (Edwards, 2006).

EXTRACT 73

I: What do you think of, in general, the man's role in a romantic relationship is?
BF: I think it's also changed. I think it's changed from the breadwinner to a semi-breadwinner… and I think there's also a lot, lot more pressure on, on a man from, from the home point of view than there used to be. As far as, far as financial pressure, if you want to call it that… but I think there's, there's now more pressure from a, from a home maintenance point of view… or what the woman's chores thought about, or thought to be.
I: MMM
BF: So, it's now relatively accepted that guys can do washing and ironing and cleaning and cooking and stay at home and let, let the wife go off and, and work. So those, those type of things have changed.

In extract 73 BF acknowledges that domestic responsibilities are changing and indicates that he experiences these changes as resulting in a level of pressure. His general view appears to represent Morrell's (2001) accommodating response as he does not seem to resist these perceived changes. Whilst he speaks of a certain level of domestic equality, this acknowledgment seems to contradict BF's statements in extract 32. In that extract BF asserts that women are far better adapted to the more mundane domestic responsibilities such as washing dishes and clothes, whereas men do more of the 'do-it-yourself' tasks. This would suggest mixed attitudes being evident within BF regarding domestic roles in relationships, which again confirms Connell's (2005) contention that men often experience ambivalence with regard to transitions in the gender order.

It would seem that some of the participants experience various aspects of life such as men's changing domestic responsibilities and a faster paced lifestyle as stressful and sources of pressure. This may partially inform the larger discourse that contemporary South Africa entails various challenges for men.

4.5.3 The influence of social expectations and sanctions

It is claimed that the manner in which people act and express their attitudes is influenced by the possibility of various social sanctions being experienced (Edwards, 2006, Butler, 1999). Consequently, people may be more likely to express opinions that are liable to be more acceptable in particular contexts. In this sub theme some of the participants provide an awareness of such social expectations and sanctions. At times this awareness is overtly stated. Thus, the fear of being potentially ostracized by the interviewer seems to have played some part in the responses of these men.

EXTRACT 74

I: What's your view on, um, the more prominent role, let's say, of women in the workplace?
AA: Ja, *(he laughs)* I'm scared if you actually share that opinion you become the one who's sexist or, uh, or racist or whatever… but I don't…I do believe it is great and do support it and love to empower people. I do empower… try to empower my staff and my previous, uh, roles I would have, um, really try to let them grow, um, a level.

Extract 74 displays the importance of context in determining which opinions are likely to be presented. It would seem that AA has a very different view to the one he presents in the interview. He alludes to this opinion, and states that conveying it is potentially risky. He believes that such opinions might lead to him being labelled "sexist" or "racist"- labels which are obviously not desirable to him. He is aware of these social boundaries, and this appears to influence his expressions. In the context of the interview, AA expresses an accepting, tolerant opinion which might be more acceptable in a professional work context where equality based policies and regulations are dominant. It would seem as though AA might express "sexist" or "racist" views in contexts where such attitudes are more tolerated. This confirms the notion that behaviours are often linked to perceptions of social expectations and sanctions (Edwards, 2006, Butler, 1999).

EXTRACT 75

EF: I think the workplace affects people a lot in their personal lives. Um, um I think you have to… I think if you, if you come in with a view that, you know, women should be at home, then you're not gonna be that successful in the workplace.
I: MMM
EF: And often people have to change at the workplace… they have to change the views to become successful and I think that, that relates back to, to their personal lives as well.
I: MMM
EF: Um, I think it might change them… the, um, the type of person that they view as attractive as well. Um, so I think, I think things change, changed a lot from the traditional sense of, of things.

In extract 75 EF states that possible occupational sanctions influence his behaviours and attitudes. He seems to feel that success at work is linked to adopting more 'accepting attitudes'. Consequently, people who express views such as "women should be at home" might be limited with regard to their potential progress in a business. For EF this influence seems to impact on his constructions and understandings both at work and in his personal life.

EXTRACT 76

I: In your romantic relationship, um, what would you say your role is as a man?
(A little later)
MM: At the end of the day, I'm the one that's supposed to make the decisions… although she might, she might have influenced me with her, her, um, opinion or whatever, but I'm still, at the end of the day, the one that decides.

(A little later)

MM: So, uh. I'm not, I don't want to, I don't want you to get the idea that, like, I'm the one that, like, I'm sexist or something like that. She, she, uh, she did prove herself, she can, she…I don't mind… I would love her to, to carry on and have her own practice *(unclear)*.

I: Ja.

MM: Yes, the, the, the woman in business, it's like *(unclear)*, but it's within, within our relationship, I'm still the head of the fam(ily), our family, and she's …

I: Okay, so it's more, more a supportive role sort of thing.

In extract 76 MM is very aware of the interviewer's evaluations. He expresses a viewpoint which seems traditional, yet at the same time accommodating as he wants to be the head of his relationship, although he seems to support his partner having a career. He also expresses concern with regard to being viewed as sexist or being seen in a negative light by the interviewer. Although MM is aware of how his views might be understood, he continues to represent them after he has stated that he is not "sexist or something like that". This acknowledgement seems to function as a form of 'disclaimer' and is thus utilized in an attempt to nullify unfavourable evaluations of his comments.

The above extracts might reflect a tension between experienced and expressed opinions. The context of contemporary South Africa espouses racial and gender sensitivity. It would seem that this has resulted in some men having difficulty assimilating such views into their constructions and understandings. Pre- and post-apartheid attitudes might be informing this tension.

4.5.4 Summary of Theme Five

As Walker (2005) mentions, men's unquestioned traditional roles, which had been guaranteed through patriarchy, are changing and being challenged at present. South Africa's interventionist government has introduced legislations which advocate gender equality (Morrell, 2001). Theme Five highlights various discourses which relate to specific responses to these transitions. Many of these views seem to reflect defensive constructions. Some of the participants overtly state that men are faced with unfair challenges and are victims of various forms of discrimination in contemporary South Africa. Possible reasons for such attitudes are that some men feel threatened by gender equality and affirmative action campaigns which have been introduced. This concurs with similar observations of white Afrikaans males' reactions to their relative loss of power (du Pisani, 2001). Interestingly, these perspectives are elicited from men who still seem to enjoy various privileges due to their educated, employed, middle-class status. These discourses may thus reflect the perceived relative loss of power post-1994, rather than indicating real victimization. Furthermore, whereas globalising influences have had an important impact on these men's gender constructions, it would appear that the local and

individual values underlying their masculine identities remain vital. These values seemingly reflect older defensive attitudes that have been prevalent in South Africa's past where white men have attempted to preserve their relative position of privilege (Morrell, 2001).

Although some of the men in the study seem to perhaps be struggling to assimilate various transitions in South Africa, others appear to have adopted more accommodating responses. These views are marked by the absence of male resistance to women's improved societal status. Many of the accommodating responses are intertwined with more traditionalist perspectives, thus highlighting the multiple influences that appear to impact on men's constructions and understandings of their identity as well as gender relations.

CHAPTER 5
CONCLUSION

This study sought to further understandings of both hegemonic and alternative aspects of contemporary, professional masculinities. Furthermore, aspects of the social context which influence the reconstructions of these understandings were also wanted. To this end the study explored constructions of masculine identity among a group of young, white, professional men.

5.1 Central findings

Contemporary representations of masculinities such as the 'New Age Man' have alluded to the fact that men and masculinities are changing in an essential manner in terms of men being more emotionally expressive, more sensitive to gendered power sharing, as well as men representing themselves in a less dominant manner. The current study indicated that this fundamental shift might be a misleading notion to some extent. Although certain hegemonic ideals, linked to the more global transnational business masculinities and contemporary South Africa's more local political transitions, are changing other general values linked to dominance have remained prevalent in men's discourses. This suggests that certain underlying aspects of men's hegemonic position have remained.

Many of the participant's self constructions seemed to be closely aligned with images of men being 'tough' and dominant. Such constructions seemingly allowed these men the opportunity to compete favourably with other men, confirming the notion that men often relate to one another in a highly competitive manner. For some, positioning themselves in a powerful position in relation to both women and other 'competing' men seemed important. Such self-definitions appear to be influenced by South Africa's history of more militaristic, authoritarian masculinities being lauded by the apartheid government as well as society in general. There were, however, contesting viewpoints which suggested that contemporary constitutional shifts focussing on equality have impacted on many men's discourses.

With regard to the inner experience of emotions, it seemed vital for many men to negotiate and control their emotional experience as well as expression. This related particularly to the experience and expression of typically 'non-masculine' emotions such as sadness. The above confirmed similar ideals espoused by traditional hegemonies whereby men were emotionally inexpressive. Closely sided with the authoritarian masculinities mentioned previously, it

seemed essential for many of these men to present themselves as opposite to weak by controlling their inner realities. Such 'self-control' appears to reflect societal discourses which place continuing value on men's perceived rationality. Some men's openness to emotional displays indicated that a level of contestation on the matter exists. This might suggest that certain men may be more receptive to expressing their 'non-masculine' emotions more publicly.

Certain patriarchal constructions of women 'belonging' in the domestic sphere were prevalent in the attitudes of certain participants. This provided these men with a counter image that reflected the dominant aspects of their own identities. Such dichotomies have been utilised by patriarchy to justify the oppression of women and non-white South Africans. These defensively-oriented discourses were often, however, intertwined with more accommodating and progressive responses, with accommodating views being most prevalent. These complex and contradictory responses perhaps reflected the plethora of traditional and contemporary attitudes in post-apartheid South Africa. It would thus seem that responses to certain political and social transitions are not simple or uniform.

It seemed that the work context, as a product and reflection of globalization, plays an important role in the constructions and negotiations of certain hegemonic ideals. Some men expressed the value of emotional disconnection, objectivity and appearing 'in control' in their professional capacities. Furthermore, the accumulation of economic resources and the assertion of non-violent dominance were also expressed. These 'masculine values' seemed to permeate the discourses related to the work context and were seemingly informed to a great extent by the ideals linked to the transnational business masculinities. These forms reflect global influences and appeared to impact on local and individual constructions.

Certain participants expressed feelings of victimization with regard to the changing social context. Such expressions reflected the underlying logic behind defensive discourses and asserted that some men feel they are being discriminated against in contemporary South Africa. Such attitudes were linked to men's perceived loss of power and privilege and reflected men's experience of threat posed by various gender equality campaigns.

Findings from this study seemed to affirm certain other research in the area of masculinity studies. A variety of hegemonic and subordinated representations were asserted with explanations being provided that helped account for such forms. The result of the above was that the multiplicity of masculinities was affirmed.

5.2 Limitations and recommendations

The choice of any research sample has significant implications for the contextualization of the research results in general society. With all of the men being white, educated, employed, and middle-to-upper class there is some limitation to the possibility of extending the research findings to more general male populations. Indeed, Edwards (2006) alludes to the fact that various racial and cultural aspects impact on different men's alignments with different representations of hegemonic masculinity. It is recognized that the main utility of the current study was an exploration of a specific group of men reflecting particular influences (such as having greater access to educational resources than other demographic groups). However, in order to acquire views and opinions that are more representative, it is suggested that future research should include a wider demographic array of participants.

Although the current study highlighted these men's gendered constructions, it is felt that more could perhaps have been done to explore the underlying influences. Certain influences were hypothesized and were based on the context of South African society. More biographical information could have aided in this process. It is for this reason that it is recommended that a certain level of life history data collection methods be employed in future research in order to ascertain greater depth on these influences impacting on gender constructions.

Finally, hegemonic representations were perhaps over-represented in the current study. This could be linked to many issues. Firstly, the data collection involved professional men being interviewed by another man. The content of the responses were thus perhaps shaped in a manner in which hegemonic representations were over-presented. Secondly, the interviewer's personal agendas and attitudes seemed to influence the process. The design and structure of the interviews were seemingly aimed at eliciting various hegemonic constructions. Although the researcher was more receptive to interpreting subordinated representations during the data analysis section, the impact of personal biases on the data collection process seemed evident. Given the above, it is thus suggested that future researchers adequately explore their own roles and biases in the process of the research. Furthermore, by having different interviewers the issue of interviewer influence can be an interesting and enlightening aspect of the future research.

5.3 Concluding remarks

It would seem that global and regional influences impact on gendered constructions. It would also appear that individual systems of meaning play a vital role in mediating these various influences. The current study highlights the complex and multiple nature of masculine constructions and allude to the fact that hegemonic forms of masculinities change over situations and time periods. A plethora of influences (for example, discourses, contexts, expectations) impact on gendered understandings. Although the implication of this fact is that masculine representations do shift and change over time, it would appear that certain key, fundamental aspects of masculinities observed in systems of gender relations (relative power in particular) remain relatively constant.

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APPENDIX A: SUBJECT INFORMATION SHEET



UNIVERSITY
OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

School of Human and Community
Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050,
Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: 0798298490
Email: irjulian@hotmail.com

Dear (insert name here),

Hello, my name is Julian Jooste and I am busy conducting research for the purpose of completing a Masters degree in Psychology at the University of the Witwatersrand. I got your name and contact details from (inset name here). My research is focussing on the area of masculinity, and how professional men talk about their experiences of masculinity in various social contexts. Ideas about masculinity and what it means to be a man have been changing quite rapidly in our recent past. This research is important to improve knowledge about the various definitions of masculinity and to better understand what influences men's behaviour. I would like to invite you to participate in this study.

Participation in this research will involve being individually interviewed by myself where we will talk about various issues linked to what I have mentioned above. The interview will be arranged to occur outside of working hours at a convenient venue. If you agree to participate I will contact you to schedule a preferable time for the interview. The interview will take approximately one hour and it will be audio recorded and these recordings will be transcribed (written down word for word). If you would like to participate I will request you to sign the attached consent forms giving permission for the sessions to be recorded and transcribed. All of these consent forms will be stored in a locked and secure area and once the tapes have been transcribed they will be destroyed to ensure the safety and confidentiality of the interview. The transcripts included in my final report will have all identifying information removed. Any mention of names or places of residence, for example, will be removed from the transcripts that are used in the final report. Whilst the tapes are in my possession they will be stored in a securely locked area. Only my supervisor and I will have access to these tapes and original transcripts.

Please note that any information raised in the interview is strictly confidential and my supervisor and I will treat your stories with every respect with regard to this confidentiality

although, as already mentioned, extracts from the interviews will be included in my final report. Please be aware, yet again, that your confidentiality will be protected by way of all identifying information being removed from my report. During the interview you have the freedom to choose as to the level of your participation in our discussion. You can reveal as much or as little as you choose. Please note that, even if you have signed the consent forms, you have the right to withdraw from the research at any time without any penalty against you. Furthermore, please be aware that participation in the interview will not result in any material, personal benefits to you. During or after the interview you have the right to ask for any statements not to be transcribed. It is not expected that the interview will raise any difficult issues for yourself, but should any difficulties arise, you will be given a referral list of psychologists and counseling centres that have been compiled on the Health Professions Council of South Africa's website. I will also provide you with contact details for the Depression and Anxiety Group of South Africa, Lifeline and any employee assistance programs at your organization. The purpose of the above is to provide you with an array of counseling facilities, some of which provide free services.

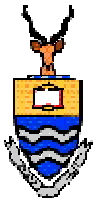
Themes raised in what is said in the interview will be interpreted and written up in the final report of my research. Quotations from the interview will be included in the final report- although all identifying information will be removed, as already mentioned. The final report should be completed by the end of 2008 and will reflect the results of various interviews. I will inform you once the final report is completed and a copy will be made available at the University of the Witwatersrand's library, or a summarised copy of the final report can be emailed to you at that time. If further clarification of the results is needed you will be able to contact me on the cellular number or email address stated in the letterhead above.

If you choose to participate in the study please fill in your details on the consent forms attached and return it to me via the email address mentioned above or fax the form to 086 614 6981. Alternatively you can contact me telephonically on 079 829 8490. Upon receiving notification from you that you would like to participate in the study I will contact you within two weeks in order to discuss your participation. Please note that should you choose not to participate in the research this will not be fed back to anyone and there will be no penalty against you. This research will contribute both to a larger body of knowledge on masculinity, as well as providing you with an opportunity to participate in this process.

Kind Regards

Julian Jooste

APPENDIX B: CONSENT FORM



UNIVERSITY
OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

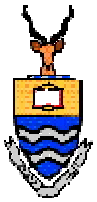
School of Human and Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050,
Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: 0798298490
Email: irjulian@hotmail.com

I _____ consent to participating in an individual interview facilitated by Julian Jooste for his study on men's expressions of masculine identity . I understand that:

- Participation in this interview is voluntary.
- All information arising from the interview will be confidential and will be treated as such by the researcher and his supervisor.
- I would not have been affected in any way had I chosen not to participate in the interview.
- Direct quotes from the interview may be used in the research report, although all identifying information will be removed by the researcher before this.
- That I may refuse to answer any questions I would prefer not to answer.
- I may withdraw from the study at any time and that this withdrawal will not result in any penalty against me.
- Although extracts from my interview may be included in the report, no information that may identify me will be included in the research report, and my responses will remain confidential in that regard.
- I will not receive any personal reward for my participation in the research.

Signed_____

APPENDIX C: CONSENT FORM (RECORDING)



UNIVERSITY
OF THE
WITWATERSRAND,
JOHANNESBURG

School of Human and Community Development
Private Bag 3, Wits 2050,
Johannesburg, South Africa
Tel: 0798298490
Email: irjulian@hotmail.com

I _____ consent to my individual interview, conducted by Julian Jooste for his study on men's expressions of masculine identity, being tape-recorded. I understand that:

- Whilst the tapes are in the researcher's possession they will be stored in a securely locked area.
- Only the researcher and his supervisor will have access to the tapes and the original transcripts.
- All tapes will be destroyed once the transcriptions are complete.
- The main limitation to confidentiality is that extracts from my interview may be included in the report.
- No identifying information will be used in the final transcripts or the research report.

Signed _____

APPENDIX D: BASIC INTERVIEW SCHEDULE FOR INDIVIDUAL INTERVIEWS

1) What does it mean to be a professional man in South Africa today?

2) How would you describe yourself? What things are important to you?

3) What is your general routine getting up in the morning?

4) How do you talk about and deal with emotions such as sadness and stress? Who do you talk to about these emotions?

5) What does earning an income mean in your life?

6) What are your views on the more prominent role of women in the workplace?

7) Please describe your relationships with other people?

8) How do you act differently when at home and when at work?

9) What would you say is your role in a romantic relationship?

10) Are you a father? (If yes) Explain your role as a father? (If no) What will your role as a father in future be?

11) Are there any rules that govern your behaviour, and if so what are these rules? In other words, how are you supposed to behave?