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Constructions of Masculinity Within a Non-Traditional Marriage: A Comparative Case Study

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Abstract

Empirical research exploring the physical health of female sex workers and their risk of contracting and spreading sexually transmitted infections has been over-researched. There have also been numerous studies conducted on sex workers highlighting physical violence, rape and stigmatisation. There is, however, little empirical evidence exploring the personal lives of female sex workers especially with regards to their husbands and the impact that their wives choice in career may have on the constructions of their masculinity. Accordingly, this research aimed to qualitatively explore and understand, via a comparative in-depth case study with two married couples, how the masculinity of a man, who is married to a high-income female sex worker, may be constructed, as compared to a man who is married to a woman who is not involved in the sex industry. It was found, after conducting semi-structured, one-on-one interviews with each of the married couples, that the males constructed their masculinity in relation to their wives occupation, their income in comparison to that of their wives, their wives sexuality, familial and historical notions regarding infidelity, certainty regarding paternity, and issues of romantic jealousy (both sexual and emotional). It was found that, at least for the man from a non-traditional marriage (where his wife was a FSW), by constructing and reconstructing one's masculinity (when faced with perceived threats regarding one's sense of masculinity), one is able to reclaim the typical patriarchal characteristics. This is done by strongly conforming (and potentially overcompensating by doing so) to traditional masculine and social patriarchal standards and/or by constructing one's masculinity to align with a more liberal feminist perspective. Therefore one demonstrates a contemporary appreciation of gender equality and non-traditional gender roles for one's female partner.

Keywords: Masculinity, intimate partners, social constructionism, female sex workers feminism and stigmatisation.

Declaration

A research project submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts in Psychology (by coursework and research report) in the Department of Psychology, School of Human and Community Development, at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, 15th March 2013.

I, Shannon Bell, declare that this research project is my own, unaided work. It has not been submitted before for any other degree or examination at this or any other institution.

_____ _____

Shannon Bell **Date**

307073

Master of Arts in Research Psychology

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Aim

The purpose of this comparative qualitative research was to develop an account of how masculinity is constructed within a non-traditional marriage, from both a male and female's perspective. This was done by investigating whether or not the masculinity of males (one of which was the husband of a female sex worker) in their various roles as husband, father, breadwinner and sexual entity, would be, or has been, affected by his wife's profession as a high-income female sex worker (FSW). In addition, the perspectives and views of their wives were investigated regarding the spousal intimate relationship (with the husbands' masculinity being a contributor towards the dynamics within this type of relationship). By conducting this research, an attempt was made to bridge the theoretical gaps that exist with regard to masculinity within non-traditional intimate sexual relationships. Furthermore, this research highlights the fact that a disciplinary shift in focus should occur with regards to public health psychology. This shift would enable a focus to be placed on the holistic aspects (including the personal intimate relationships) of those who are marginalised and stigmatised (such as sex workers and those involved in their interpersonal relationships).

1.2. Rationale

It was apparent, through the examination of the literature reviewed for this research, that there was a significant gap within the existing empirical research on the emotional and personal lives of FSWs, as well as how their chosen profession had impacted on their familial structure, especially that of their long-term (spousal), intimate male partners (Jackson, Bennett & Sowinski, 2007). Rather, the research literature has primarily focused on the public health implications of the sex industry, which included a plethora of reports on the risks and consequences of FSWs contracting sexually transmitted infections (STIs) (Jackson et al., 2007). It would seem that there has been a historical and constant need in society to portray FSWs as a risk to public health (Jackson et al., 2007; Long, Mollen, & Smith, 2012; Ngo et al., 2007; Outwater et al., 2000; Panchanadeswaran et al., 2008; Sloan & Wahab, 2000). As a result, the notion that FSWs are "dirty, disease-ridden" individuals has been reinforced which, in turn, adds to the already existing stigma of these individuals (O'Neill, 2001, p. 33). In addition, by concentrating on the sex workers' professional sexual behaviours, with regards to matters of public health and risks to the social health system, one

ignores other facets of sex workers' lives, such as their familial structure and spousal relationships.

The few studies that have investigated the personal and familial relationships of the FSW have shown that the "intimate relationships tend to be emotionally, psychologically, and physically unhealthy" (Kissil & Davey, 2010, p. 15). In other words, the relationship that exists between a husband and his wife, who is a FSW, could be considered to be problematic (or, at the very least, non-traditional) in a multitude of ways, due to various reasons. For example, according to Panchanadeswaran et al. (2008), FSWs may experience various episodes of violent behaviour at the hands of their husbands, which may be due to "sexual jealousy and constant suspicions of infidelity" (p. 109). Violence can take on various forms (whether it is emotional, physical, sexual and/or verbal) and may occur due to numerous reasons, such as jealousy (experienced by the husbands), as well as the fact that the husbands may have to confront issues regarding their wives having sexual intercourse with other males for financial reward, as well as the concern over health issues, such as HIV/Aids or sexually transmitted infections (STIs).

In addition to the above, violence within a marital relationship may occur due to the male's masculinity being in a crisis, as existing literature shows that masculinity is strongly associated with these matters mentioned above (Jewkes, 2002; Wade & Brittan-Powell, 2001). None of the research literature that was consulted for the development of this study has been directed towards the investigation of the construction of masculinity of the FSWs' long-term intimate male partner.

By applying the social constructionist perspective to this study, it emerges that the concept of gender (which encompasses both masculinity and femininity) is socially constructed and emerges within the social realm (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998; Francis & Skelton, 2001; Payne, Swami & Stanistreet, 2008; Swain, 2000; Young & Collin, 2004). Thus, masculinity is produced and reproduced through the interactions that take place with individuals, institutions and the world in general (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998; Shimp, 2001). By constructing masculinity within the social realm, gendered roles are produced. For a male, these roles include, but are not limited to, being dominant, independent, a breadwinner and a protector (Francis & Skelton, 2001; Payne et al., 2008). By investigating non-traditional forms of intimate relationships, one will be able to demonstrate how masculinity is constructed when one's masculinity is in crisis (such as having a wife as a FSW).

The sex industry is particularly stigmatized due to the nature of the work, and as such, FSWs status in society is portrayed as marginal (Ngo et al., 2007). These social stigmas relate to the non-traditional relationship that exists between the husband and wife (who is a high-income FSW). Due to the FSW being vulnerable to stigmatisation, it may, in turn, affect the individuals around her (especially individuals with whom she has a close and personal relationship). In addition, this vulnerability can be further spread to particular social ills (such as the violence that was mentioned earlier). Given the above, one can see that psychology has a responsibility to explore, understand and try to alleviate these vulnerabilities to stigmatisation. It is hoped that this research will serve as a platform in order to raise awareness to such vulnerabilities that exist both within the FSWs, as well as the individuals that are a part of their personal lives.

From the above, it becomes apparent that there needs to be an examination of such areas as it may result in awareness being created with regard to the impact on the familial structure. It is hoped that this study adds to the existing bodies of literature regarding masculine identity for men who find themselves in intimate relationships with FSWs, where their masculinity and sense of personal and self-worth is potentially challenged. It is hoped that by highlighting the potential tension in masculine identity seen in males who are married to high-income FSWs (as opposed to males who are not), a greater awareness and thus, a greater interest in such studies, will be created. In addition, it is for the above reasons that specific attention needs to focus on whether or not the masculine identity of men married to high-income FSWs is impacted upon.

Chapter 2: Literature Review and Conceptual Framework

2.1. Introduction

In line with the aims of this study, this literature review has been guided by literature that addresses the issues surrounding sex work, social stigmatisation, traditional masculinity and issues raised when gender roles and patriarchy are challenged (as within the non-traditional spousal relationship between a wife, who is a high-income FSW, and her husband). The literature obtained was pivotal in directing the findings and analysis of this research, which will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

This literature review will focus on different areas aimed at exploring and understanding key areas. Firstly, a definition of sex workers will be provided in order to grasp the subject at hand. High-income FSWs, as opposed to streetwalkers, were the main focus of this research. In addition, stigmatisation is discussed, as it is the social stigmas that exist surrounding sex work and sex workers, which influence perceptions which, in turn, may influence the way in which one's masculinity may be affected and constructed. The concept of masculinity, within the social constructionist perspective, will be examined, as it enables one to gain an understanding of how one's masculinity is constructed within the social realm. Furthermore, the male sexual proprietariness theory will be discussed, which offers a contrast perspective to the social constructionism section, as it examines the evolutionary side of masculinity. Reference will be made to sexual infidelity, romantic jealousy, interpersonal aggression and violence and lastly, patriarchy and income. Furthermore, both the liberal and radical feminist stances will be briefly discussed as, through the research, it emerged that the participants either constructed their masculinity within the liberal and/or radical feminist perspectives. Lastly, personal intimate relationships will be extensively discussed as a means to understanding the male participants and their construction of masculinities, as well as the relationships with their wives.

2.2. Defining sex workers

In order to meet the aims of this study (to investigate the potential impact that being married to a high-income FSW has on her husband's construction of masculinity), it is necessary to briefly outline the notion of high-income sex work in the South African context. Sex work is defined as a "process that involves a transaction between a seller and buyer of a sexual

service" (Kissil & Davey, 2010, p. 2). This definition is provided by the World Health Organisation (WHO) and demonstrates a clinical definition that sees sex workers as individuals who are selling a service in exchange for a monetary benefit. High-income FSWs are different to 'streetwalkers' in the sense that streetwalkers are sex workers who offer their services to clients (who approach the sex worker on the street) and thus, are highly visible to the public (Kesler, 2002; Raymond, 2004). Due to their high visibility, they are more inclined to be discovered by law officials and arrested, as sex work in South Africa is illegal. In addition, 'streetwalkers' usually rely on their clients to take them to other locations in order to perform sexual acts. The fees that they charge are lower than any other form of sex work (Kesler, 2002; Ngo et al., 2007). The fees may be "R20 per session and [they] live in desperate conditions" (Luiz & Roets, 2000, p. 27). These rates are usually established by a third party individual, such as a 'pimp', who 'owns' the streetwalker and receives a portion of the income that she earns.

In contrast, high-income sex workers operate in private areas where there is a low degree of visibility and thus, less danger of being arrested. Clients who use the services of high-income FSWs go to a private, discreet location (usually a house in the suburbs) that operates as a 'brothel'. High-income FSWs are able to charge a high fee. As stated by Luiz and Roets (2000), these fees can be "in excess of R10 000 a month" (p. 27). The rates are dependent on the type of sexual service that is given, as well as the duration of interaction that is requested by the client. Thus, the female participants for this study will be high-income FSWs who operate out of a private residence and are thus, able to regard sex work as an occupation that forms part of a professional business model. These women do not consider themselves to be victims and/or have not been coerced, by third party individuals, into being participants of sexual exchange (Kissil & Davey, 2010). This was demonstrated in Bell and Howard-Payne's (2011) study whereby it was found that high-income FSWs felt that they were independent females who made a conscious choice to enter into the sex industry without influence by third party individuals.

When one relates the above to the research at hand, it is apparent that females who are sex workers, in general, constitute a non-traditional aspect of society. These females are earning an income by selling a sexual service to males rather than partaking in the traditional aspects of society such as, being the primary care-taker of their children and family, and remaining sexually monogamous with their husbands (something reiterated by patriarchal ideologies regarding the role of the wife). In addition, being married to a high-income FSW further adds

to the development of a non-traditional relationship as the females are earning an income that is relatively high and may be substantially higher than the husband's income (again, a notion that goes against patriarchal ideologies).

2.3. Stigmatisation

Social stigmas that are attached to sex workers still exist in today's society, whereby sex workers are used as scapegoats for a host of social and moral concerns (Kissil & Davey, 2010; Long et al., 2012; Sexton & Maddock, 1980). These social stigmas have a strong influence on sex workers as it can affect numerous aspects of their lives, such as everyday social interaction and personal relationships (Bell & Howard-Payne, 2011; Ngo et al., 2007). As discussed in O'Neill (2001), throughout society female sex workers are being categorised as "tarts, hookers, whores, slags" (p. 94) who are "polluted, decadent and decaying" (p. 126). These negative connotations create the stigmas that exist and thus, have a strong impact on the way the females perceive themselves and how others perceive them. The stigmas that the females have to live with has "a profound impact on the women's lives, as reflected in their self-perceptions" as well as in the way in which they regard others as perceiving them, and how they interact in the world around them (Sallmann, 2010, p. 154).

It is logical, therefore, to consider that such social stigmas may impact on the way that a husband may view his wife (who chooses to be a high-income FSW). Snyder, Tanke and Berscheid's (1977) study, on perceptions and behaviour related to stereotypes, demonstrated that the stereotypes and/or social stigmas that are apparent with specific individuals and/or groups has an impact on the way in which one treats that individual and/or group. In other words, due to the negative social stigmas that exist regarding FSWs, this may have an influence on the way in which the husband feels about and views his wife and thus, may influence the way in which his masculinity is constructed as factors, such as shame, may impact on him. However, a study conducted by Peracca, Knodel and Saengtienchai (1998) demonstrated that the social stigmas attached to a sex worker does not hinder the chances of a FSW getting married. As stated, "a woman's involvement in commercial sex is not an insuperable barrier to their choice as a wife" (Peracca et al., 1998, p. 259). They do later add that the social stigmas attached to being married to a FSW causes community disapproval which, in turn, may add strain to the marriage thus, the chances of a failed marriage increases (Peracca et al.,1998). Thus, one may say that FSWs rebel against the norms in society regarding the way in which females should conduct themselves, particularly regarding sex

and sexuality, as well as their roles within society. Due to the fact that this occurs, social stigmas arise which, in turn, affect the husband and his sense of masculinity and/or the construction of his masculinity. Having a wife as a FSW (which is atypical as she is going against the norms of society) may cause the husband to respond in certain ways, which may not have been the case if he was in a traditional marriage. Thus, the husband's masculinity (and how it is constructed) will be responsive to the atypical situation of which he has chosen to be a part.

For this research, an investigation took place into whether or not the negative social stigmas that exist had, or may have had, any bearing on the spousal interaction which, in turn, may have impacted on the way in which the husband viewed his masculinity in his various roles, including his role as a husband, to a woman who works in the sex industry. Secondly, an investigation took place into whether or not the negative social stigmas regarding the sex industry had an influence on the way in which the married couple (where the wife was not a FSW) either spoke about the high-income FSWs or the way in which they viewed them as individuals. Lastly, an examination into the construction of the husband's masculinity took place by focusing on how his masculinity responded to his wife's choice in career, as well as how he constructed his masculinity knowing his wife was involved in a non-traditional occupation and the impact that it had on the traditionalism of the marriage.

2.4. Masculinity

Masculinity is a complex term to define as it encompasses multiple meanings due to multiple masculinities being identified (MacDougall, 1997). Thus, there is a multitude of ways of understanding the concept of masculinity.

2.4.1. Hegemonic masculinity

"Men are typically measured against a monolithic standard of hegemonic masculinity" (Willer, Rogalin, Conlon & Wojnowicz, 2013, p. 982). For numerous authors, hegemonic masculinity is driven by the prevailing need of males to demonstrate what they are not (Connell, 1995; Franklin, 1984; Noone & Stephens, 2008; Prinsloo, 2003; Speer, 2001; Wade & Brittan-Powell, 2001). Numerous authors have used the term hegemonic masculinity in order to represent the masculine identity 'typically' portrayed by society and benefit from its existence (Connell, 1995; MacDougall; 1997; Noone & Stephens, 2008; Speer, 2001; Swain, 2000). For Connell (1995), hegemonic masculinity is the "masculinity that occupies the hegemonic position in a given pattern of gender relations" (p. 76). As mentioned by Jackson

(1991), hegemonic masculinity "asserts the 'naturalness' of male domination, based on solidarities between men as well as on the subordination of women" (p. 201). In other words, hegemonic masculinity is the dominant positioning of the male and the subordination of minority groups (such as females and/or other groups based on sexual orientation and race). According to Payne and colleagues (2008), an individual, who adopts a hegemonic masculinity, is seen as being constructed as a masculinity that is more desirable than other forms of masculinity (in a patriarchal society). If a male does not portray such characteristics, he is seen as an outsider, or what Connell (1995) has termed, subordinate masculinity. Through adopting a hegemonic masculinity, a male is constructing himself according to the traditional roles a male is meant to adhere to - as suggested by a patriarchal society (Widiss, 2012). A traditional role males are meant to adhere to in a patriarchal society is being the breadwinner of the family and thus, being the only financial provider (this will be unpacked further in subsequent sections).

For Connell (1995), "relations of subordination" exists between groups of males, as other forms of non-normative or non-traditional masculinities, such as homosexuality, arise (p. 78). In other words, in order to demonstrate one's masculinity and/or prove one's masculine identity, one needs to establish (to oneself and others), that one does not possess characteristics of the 'other' (feminine or other perceived minority group characteristics) due to the fact that one may be socially excluded, ridiculed and generally subordinated. For Payne et al. (2008) this entails placing importance on being independent and not demonstrating characteristics, such as help-seeking behaviour, as this portrays one as being powerless and autonomous. This idea of distancing oneself from what one is not is called 'Othering.' According to Francis and Skelton (2001), there exists social pressure to construct one's masculinity in an acceptable way or one will be exposed to marginalisation and/or being 'Othered.' It can, therefore, be stated that some males who live within a patriarchal society construct their masculinity in order to portray themselves as having characteristics that are considered the norm, such as being independent, dominant, a breadwinner and provider. Thus, one may consider husbands who adopt a hegemonic masculinity as constructing their masculinity in relation to a particular social or familial role-fulfilment (this will be discussed in subsequent sections). When commenting about South African society, Jewkes and Morrell (2010) state that, "the society is strongly patriarchal, and violence against women is widespread" (p. 7). In other words, even though the South African constitution has embraced feminist perspectives, the society still remains patriarchal, as is seen through the violence that

males exert over females as a demonstration of power and control. Having said this, however, an essentialist perspective believes that a gendered identity is not constructed through society and societal ideologies but rather, is developed based on the fixed biological characteristics of an individual.

2.4.2. Essentialism

According to DeLamater and Hyde (1998), research adopting an essentialist perspective centers around the "biological determination of sexual behaviour" (p. 11). Thus, one way in which gender (both femininity and masculinity) may be understood is through taking an essentialist perspective. According to Sayer (1997), essentialism is when "objects have certain essential properties which make them one kind of thing rather than any other" (p. 456). When applying the essentialist perspective to gender, essentialists state that the "differences between the sexes are of an intrinsic nature, closely associated with physical, physiological, and/or spiritual differences" (Crompton & Lyonette, 2005, p. 602). In other words, an essentialist views the two sexes (males and females), and how their gender identity is developed, as having biological differences due to bodily characteristics such as genes, and physical attributes (such as a vagina and penis). Thus, the different gendered identities of the participants for this research would be viewed being developed due to the physical attributes that they have rather than, the specific social situations that they find themselves in. One would therefore expect the male participants to have developed similar masculine identities and consequently, the females would have similar feminine identities.

Thus, for essentialists, the body is seen as a fixed entity whereby ideas surrounding how one should act and identify themselves as a male and female are taught due the specific bodily attributes that one has (Hoffman, Hattie & Borders, 2005). Thus, if this research were to take an essentialist stance, one would examine the way in which the participants' gendered identities have been developed based on the physical attributes the participants have. However, "essentialism is often counter-posed to social constructionism" (Sayer, 1997, p. 456) and thus, does not view an individuals' gender as being developed within and existing within specific social contexts. According to Choi and Hon (2002), "through enculturation, social institutions (such as family and school) and societal culture make people believe that gender inequalities are a natural outcome of different biological traits" (p. 324). In other words, even though an individual's body influences the way in which one behaves and interacts in society, this research does not take an essentialist perspective stance. Rather, it is believed that it is through the process of socialisation, one is able to learn and thus, internalise

and construct what is meant by one being ‘masculine’ or ‘feminine’ (Connell, 1995; Franklin, 1984; Giddens, 1989; Prinsloo, 2003). Individuals develop and exist within social contexts and thus, their construction of their gendered identities is primarily influenced by society and the interactions with which they partake in. For this research, a social constructionist perspective is adopted as a way of demonstrating how the male participants’ masculinity is constructed (especially regarding the male whose wife is a FSW).

2.4.3. Social constructionism

From a social constructionist perspective (also understood as 'anti-essentialist' and 'anti-realist'), gender is seen as a concept that is not biological and fixed but rather, is a concept that demonstrates male and female's behaviours and identities as one's that are socially constructed (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998; Francis & Skelton, 2001; Payne et al., 2008; Swain, 2000; Young & Collin, 2004). As mentioned by Choi and Hon (2002), gender is a “culturally determined behavior and personality characteristic that are associated with, but not determined by, biological sex” (p. 232). In other words, ideas surrounding masculinity and femininity arise due to one's culture, the interactions that one has with other individuals in their external environment and by language (Courtenay, 2000; DeLamater & Hyde, 1998; Korobov, 2005; Patton, 2002; Payne et al., 2008; Shimp, 2001; Young & Collin, 2004). Thus, by adopting a social constructivist perspective, one sees individuals as not being restricted to being just male or female but rather, as individuals who encompass behaviours of both genders thus, developing a unique gendered identity. According to Gerson and Peiss (1985), it is “a set of socially constructed relationships which are produced and reproduced through people's actions" (as cited in Courtenay, 2000, p. 1387).

Being a female or being a male is constructed and enacted when one interacts with other individuals and the world around them and thus, are active agents. Ideas surrounding gender “are constructed institutionally” so that males and females will “internalize the belief that women and men are supposed to behave differently and show different abilities in everything… even if no biological explanations are found for these differences” (Choi & Hon, 2002, p. 232-233). In other words, for all the individuals in the world, the views that they have are founded on the social and cultural perspectives that they have which, in turn, influences the way in which reality is shaped (Patton, 2002; Schneider & Ingram, 2008). For Young and Collin (2004), social constructionism identifies the historical and cultural location of the specific construct. As mentioned by Payne et al. (2008), gender is something that is performed and thus, differing contexts enable the construction of one's masculinity or

femininity to be flexible and result in different expressions arising. When one relates this to masculinity, it is a "life-long ongoing performance" and thus, one constructs themselves and is constructed by the social context in which they are located (Swain, 2000, p. 96). Thus, individuals use their gender identities to engage with and interact with others, as well as the wider society (Archer, Pratt & Phillips, 2001).

Western and Africa societies have reinforced the idea that there exist two genders in society namely; masculinity and femininity, and these genders are constructed in opposition to one another (Francis & Skelton, 2001). Thus, it is through societal influence that gender identities are formed. According to Jackson (1991), gender identities are developed from birth as a child is moulded into a socially accepted form of masculinity or femininity. For Howard and Hollander, gender identity is "one's inner sense of oneself as female or male" (as cited by Choi & Hon, 2002, p. 232). This process of constructing one's gender identity is not done for a fixed period of time but rather, is a process that is created and re-created throughout one's life and is "confirmed, negotiated and modified on daily basis" (Jackson, 1991, p. 201). Jackson (1991) mentions the idea of cultural politics in order to describe the site where gender identities are constructed. It is "a domain where meanings are constructed and negotiated, where relations of dominance and subordination are defined and contested" (Jackson, 1991, p. 200). In other words, it is a space that provides an understanding into the different gender identities, how they are constructed and culturally distinct, as well as how they are different from one another (Jackson, 1991). Thus, there are numerous gender identities that can be developed in males and females that may be seen in different places and times.

When one specifically examines masculinity, it is through the process of social learning and societal pressure of how masculinity should be constructed that males are taught, from a young age, that they are expected to portray certain characteristics such as aggression, dominance, independence, competiveness, forcefulness, rational thinking, breadwinner, protector and so on (Francis & Skelton, 2001; Moynihan, 1998; Payne et al., 2008). "Different masculine identities will be produced from differential locations within and across social divisions, entailing different relations of dominance or subordination in relation to other racialised, gendered, classed group" (Archer, Pratt & Phillips, 2001, p. 432). Thus, for this study, the researcher needed to take into account a number of factors when analysing the data of the husbands such as their background and/or upbringing, their positionality with regard to the female interviewer and so on. This needed to be done in order to gain an

understanding into the different masculine identities that may have been constructed throughout the interview process. As mentioned previously, if a male does not construct his masculinity in accordance to these characteristics, he is seen as the 'Other' in a patriarchal society. In addition, Franklin (1984) points to masculine traits such as “sexual aggression and sexual dominance” as being learnt and constructed through the process of socialisation (p. 189).

For a research allocated within a South African context, it seemed appropriate to study and, in doing so, understand the various contexts that may have had an influence on the participants and the way in which their gender identity has been developed. Therefore, the personal background of the participants was considered in order to understand how that context may have influenced the way in which they constructed their sense of self (especially the husbands). In addition, the context in which they were being interviewed was taken into account as individuals may change their construction of self in order to conform to the norm of the situation in which they find themselves.

In other words, the way in which the husbands constructed their masculinity in the interview may have been influenced by the gender of the interviewer, as well as the topics that were being addressed. Furthermore, the husbands’ construction and portrayal of their masculinity may have been influenced by the fact that the interviews were being electronically recorded thus; social desirability may have had an impact. This will be explored further in the findings, discussion and limitation sections of this report. For this research, an exploration into the masculine traits demonstrated by the husbands took place, as it needed to be seen whether or not such traits were constructed in a context which raised topics that challenged one's sense of masculinity. These characteristics can result in gender stereotypes, which in turn, can (and will often) be concretised as social norms that generate an expectation of a ‘typical’ masculinity.

2.4.4. Sex Role Theory and gender stereotypes

In contrast, Kimmel (1986) speaks to sex role theory which implies that gender is “two fixed, static and mutually exclusive role containers” (as cited in Courtenay, 2000, p. 1387). In other words, female and male personalities are fixed singular entities and thus, are innate. Through this notion of what femininity and masculinity is, stereotypes emerge which result in typical traits being accustomed to either being a female or being a male. Through adopting such stereotypical traits, this may result in what Addis and Mahalik (2003) term ‘gender role

conflict.' According to Courtenay (2000), research has demonstrated that it is males who experience more social pressure than females to conform to the stereotypical traits of what a male should be. Such traits may include (but are not limited to), "independent, self-reliant, strong, robust and tough" (Courtenay, 2000, p. 1387). For this research, an investigation took place into whether or not the male participants had embraced a typical hegemonic masculinity and whether or not their masculinity had been, or would have been, impacted upon due to their wife's choice in becoming a high-income female sex worker. Furthermore, and in line with the aim of this research, an examination into the way in which the husbands constructed their masculinity with regard to certain situations (such as being married to a FSW, infidelity, paternity and being a pimp), took place.

For this research, the husband's shift in the construction of masculinity may occur due to the fact that his wife is a female who works and thus, goes against the patriarchal ideologies of society. An even more critical reason for this shift may be due to the fact that the female engages in the act of selling a sexual service to other males thus, earning a substantial income. By the FSW working and earning a substantial income, the challenge on the husband's masculinity may be grand, which demonstrates a non-traditional relationship. It will be demonstrated, however, that the husband (whose wife is a high-income female sex worker) denies such claims yet, through his interaction and talk, a differing opinion emerges. The above explanations centre on how masculinity is constructed within the social realm of society. However, there are theories which refute this and centre their explanations towards evolutionary factors.

2.5. Male Sexual Proprietariness Theory

The male sexual proprietariness theory is situated within evolutionary theory (Cousins & Gangestad, 2007; Daly, Wiseman & Wilson, 1997; Serran & Firestone, 2004; Sesardic, 2003; Wilson & Daly, 1996). According to Wilson and Daly (1992), this theory states that it is "the tendency to think of women as sexual and reproductive 'property' they [males] can own and engage" and thus, it is "not just the emotional force of [the male's] own feeling of entitlement but to a more pervasive attitude [of ownership and control] toward social relationships [with intimate female partners]" (p. 85, as cited in Block & DeKeseredy, 2007, p. 8). In other words, it is from a human evolutionary perspective that males have been given and thus, feel a sense of entitlement in having control and power of females' reproductive and sexual capacities (Daly et al., 1997; Serran & Firestone, 2004). Furthermore, it is through evolution

and the adaptation process that society has enabled males to believe that females are their sexual property and thus, when a male marries a female; she is seen as exclusively his.

When one applied this to husbands of FSWs, it needed to be examined whether or not the husbands viewed their wives as exclusively theirs and thus, as sexual property. FSWs engage in sexual activities with numerous males on a daily basis and thus, when one views this in a patriarchal, traditional society, the relationship between a FSW and her husband is not viewed as a monogamous and exclusive relationship. Furthermore, due to the above ideas, the male needed to be understood, as this has an influence on the way in which the male constructs his masculinity. If, however, the male adopts a post-feminist, gender equality point of view, he may not perceive females to be his property and thus, this needed to be explored within the research. According to Willer and colleagues (2013), pressure is created by society on males to construct a masculine gender identity that complies with patriarchal ideologies of what a male should be and if this is compromised, a male may engage in what they term, masculine overcompensation. Masculine overcompensation is when "men react to masculine insecurity by enacting extreme demonstrations of their masculinity" (Willer et al., 2013, p. 981). In other words, when one's sense of masculinity is face with threats, a male tends to try to overcompensate from this through engaging in behaviours and adopting attitudes, which will create the impression to himself and/or others that he is masculine. There are various ways in which male proprietariness may be threatened, if a male adopts a patriarchal, traditional perspective, and thus, may result in the exertion of violence. Numerous authors have discussed these threats and for this research an exploration will be done on the link between sexual infidelity and jealousy, interpersonal aggression and violence, and patriarchy and income.

2.5.1. Sexual infidelity and romantic jealousy

"Jealousy is not an emotion but variable sets of reactions to specific kinds of situations involving potential or actual loss of a romantic relationship to a rival" (White, 2008, p. 211). In other words, jealousy is a state that is provoked when one thinks that there is a threat to one's personal intimate relationship and thus, behavioural reactions may occur towards the perceived threat (Cousins & Gangestad, 2007; Goetz, Shackelford, Romero, Kaighobadi & Miner, 2008; Schützwohl, 2008). For this research, the notion of romantic jealousy will encompass sexual, as well as emotional jealousy. When one relates the above to husbands of FSWs, one can see how, due to the fact that the wife is interacting with males usually unknown to the husband, he may become jealous, as he does not know the relationship that

could form between his wife and the other males, as well as the fact that they are engaging in sexual activities with his wife. It can be said that jealousy and infidelity are linked.

It has been mentioned by some that males are more concerned with, and respond more to, sexual infidelity, whilst females are more concerned with, and respond more to, emotional infidelity (Goetz et al., 2008; Seto, 2003; Schützwohl, 2008). According to Goetz and colleagues (2008), the difference in types of jealousy is seen due to "differing adaptive problems regarding relationship" (p. 482). For this research, an understanding into the husbands definitions of infidelity needed to be examined, as within a patriarchal society an individual engaging in sexual activities with an individual outside of one's marriage constitutes not being monogamous and thus, engaging in infidelity. By implication, it can be said that if one follows patriarchal ideologies, being married and being a FSW is classified as sexual infidelity. This is a threat to male sexual proprietariness as it threatens one's masculinity, as well as threatens the understanding that males control female reproductive and sexual capacities. Thus, by the husband's wife being a FSW, she may be threatening his masculinity and how it is constructed, as he may consider her constantly engaging in infidelity thus, his sense of masculinity, control and dominance may decrease. In addition, "the discovery of infidelity is viewed as an exceptional provocation, likely to elicit a violent rage" (Wilson & Daly, 1996, p. 2). Due to being jealous, the male's behavioural reaction to discovering one's relationship is not stable and sexual infidelity is occurring, is usually through the use of intimate partner violence (Shackelford, 2001). Furthermore, various authors, such as Daly and colleagues (1997), Serran and Firestone (2004), as well as Wilson and Daly (1996), have demonstrated that there is a link between male sexual proprietariness and intimate partner homicide. Further elaboration on interpersonal violence will be discussed later.

There are positive and negative tactics, known as mate-retention tactics, which are used by individuals in order to retain one's intimate partner and thus, decrease the chances of infidelity (Cousins & Gangestad, 2007; Goetz et al., 2008). Positive tactics demonstrated by males may include behavioural tactics such as being caring, spoiling his partner, being attentive and saying kind and thoughtful things (Cousins & Gangestad, 2007). Negative tactics which may be demonstrated by males may include controlling tactics such as violence and punishment if the male thinks his partner is interested in another individual (Cousins & Gangestad, 2007). The abovementioned tactics may be used in order to control the challenges brought upon the husbands' masculinity which, in turn, may influence the construction of

masculinity. With regards to the study at hand, it was investigated whether or not the husbands used any of these tactics in order to control for issues around infidelity, as well as examining the way in which they constructed their masculinity.

For this research, an exploration into whether or not the husband of the FSW demonstrated jealousy was done in order to gauge the extent to which his masculinity may have been affected due to his wife's choice in profession. Furthermore, being a FSW involves engaging in sexual activities with numerous males on a daily basis and thus, if one views this through a traditional perspective, it is seen as infidelity as she is not being monogamous to her husband. It is for this reason that definitions of infidelity were explored in order to gauge whether or not the husband felt that his wife's profession constituted as infidelity.

2.5.2. Interpersonal aggression and violence

According to Jewkes (2002), when one's masculinity is in a crisis, one may resort to some form of violence whether it is verbal, physical, emotional and/or sexual. As discussed by McCarry (2007), aggression and violence, for males, is an "integral constituent of normative masculinity" (p. 410). According to Willer et al. (2013), males are sensitive to their status as a male and thus, when their sense of masculinity is threatened, their response is seen through behaviours that one may associate with masculine traits such as aggression and violence. This may be the case due to the fact that males have a need to be seen as masculine in their eyes, as well as others. In other words, when males are unable to meet the social expectation (as set up by standards of traditional patriarchy) of being the primary financial provider in a family situation, there is a risk of violence occurring as they are trying to resolve their crisis through exerting their male dominance over perceived inferior individuals, such as females (Good, Borst & Wallace, 1994; Jewkes, 2002; Krishnan et al., 2010; Lazarus, Tonsing, Ratele, & Van Niekerk, 2011; McCarry, 2007; Wade & Brittan-Powell, 2001).

In other words, patriarchy has a set of standards that outline set criteria for a man's ego or sense of self (as outlined in the social constructionism section), and when these are challenged, males tend to overcompensate by reverting back to particular 'masculine traits', such as aggression and violence, so as to gain a positive sense of masculine self. As mentioned by May, Strikwerda and Hopkins (1996), males resort to violence in order to dismiss feelings of vulnerability that may arise, which is socially regarded as personal weakness.

FSWs challenge the norm of a patriarchal society, whereby females should not be earning a higher income than their husbands (Wildenboer, 2004). By placing such challenges on the husband's masculinity, he may revert to forms of violence in order to regain control and dominance over his wife. Husbands may do this through verbal abuse (such as calling them derogatory names in reference to their occupation as FSWs), and/or physical abuse. This is demonstrated by Lazarus and colleagues (2011) study where they found that risk factors for interpersonal violence exerted on females related to "identity, power and control needs, loss of traditional masculine role, inability of the man to fulfill [sic] male role expectations" (p. 28). This directly links to the male sexual proprietariness theory, which states that males who feel they have lost a sense of control over their partner, often resort to acts of violence in order to reinstate their position within the relationship and control his partner's sexuality (Cousins & Gangestad, 2007; Daly et al., 1997; Goetz et al., 2008; Serran & Firestone, 2004; Wilson & Daly, 1996).

In addition, a study conducted by Bhattacharyya, Bedi and Chhachhi (2011) on north Indian villages revealed that the majority of domestic violence occurred due to the wives challenging the male authority and/or the wives not performing their duties. This, once again, speaks to the patriarchal ideologies being inculcated into the mind-sets of society and when challenged, brings forth violence. When relating violence to males and females who are in an intimate relationship, males' vulnerability may occur when their identity is threatened as a result of having "lower status or fewer resources than their wives", such as husbands of FSWs, where the wife is engaging in sexual acts with numerous males and earning a higher income than him (Jewkes, 2002, p. 1424). This can be related to the abovementioned section on patriarchy whereby the females go against the patriarchal ideologies of society and enter into the workplace. Regarding the research at hand, FSWs are individuals that challenge the patriarchal ideologies of society with regards to working, bringing in an income to a family unit (which is more than likely significantly higher than their husbands), as well as selling a sexual service. In doing so, their husbands' masculinity may be constructed in ways that seek to over-compensate any sense of emasculation, which, in turn, may result in a form of violence being directed towards their wives.

As mentioned by Kissil and Davey (2010), being sexually and physically abused, as a FSW, is a consequence of social stigmas that exist in society (social stigmas will be discussed in subsequent sections). As discussed in Sallmann (2010), there are myths amongst society about sex workers, which claim that FSWs cannot be raped and violence against these

females is deserved and normal as it is a part of their occupation. In other words, it is believed that FSWs are sexual property to be used and have control over as they are individuals that are freely offering a sexual service to individuals that they do not know. Thus, it is believed that exerting control over FSWs is justified (even if this entails a form of violence). The criminalisation of sex work signifies that they are unable to report the violence to authorities without implicating themselves as being criminal under South African law (as sex work in South Africa is illegal). Thus, not only may FSW be living with violence (both at work and home) but, they may be living with discrimination by authorities, clients and society in general based on their choice in occupation (Jackson et al., 2007; Sallmann, 2010; Sloan & Wahab, 2000). However, there is a gap in the literature with regards to violence demonstrated by the male intimate partners (especially husbands) of female sex workers.

2.5.3. Patriarchy and income

Throughout history, society has been governed along patriarchal lines. Patriarchy is a "theoretical explanation for the subordination of females" and the superiority and dominance of males within a society (Coward, 1983, p. 7). As discussed by Wildenboer (2004), males have been demonstrated as occupying the public sphere of society thus, are seen as primary financial providers for the family (i.e. breadwinners). In contrast, females have been seen as having "an obligation of bearing and raising children and seeing to the domestic matters" (Wildenboer, 2004, p. 209). This idea regarding the superior positioning of males is what Barrett (1980) names the "hegemonic definition of family life", whereby the family life is organised in such a way that the male is the "breadwinner with [a] financially dependent wife and children" (p. 204). In other words, a patriarchal society envisions females as the subordinate gender, whereby they occupy the private sphere and partake in activities that are located within the domestic space (Fox, 1980). "Women were associated with, in short, an unchanging biological role and a romanticized community of the past, while men were imagined as agents of all social process" (Collier, Rosaldo & Yanagisako, 1997, p. 75). Thus, by subordinating females and restricting them to the domestic sphere, one is reinforcing the ideology that males are the dominant and stronger gender.

Furthermore, by reiterating dominance of males, it is reinforcing the notion that males are in-control of others (specifically individuals perceived to be inferior), which includes the control of females, their lives and their bodies (Kesler, 2002). According to Jackson (1991), one way in which males reinforce oppression is seen through "patriarchal controls over women's bodies and reproductive rights" (p. 199). In other words, males assert their masculinity

through controlling the way their female partner physically looks, their contraceptive usage and so on. However, patriarchal ideologies are being challenged and thus, a shift in perceptions with regard to restricting females from entering the public sphere, is occurring. Globally, countries have non-discrimination policies in place in order to enable equality of the sexes. This is stated by Miller et al. (2000), whereby it was demonstrated that the United States of America has enforced this by the "equal opportunity legislation" (p. 272). In addition they state that South Africa does not tolerate gender discrimination in the workplace as it "has been outlawed" "with the passing of the Labour Relations Act in 1995 and the Employment Equity Act" (Miller et al., 2000, p. 272).

According to Panchanadeswaran et al. (2008), females are taking the lead in becoming providers for their families (especially financially) since entering into the workplace. Drago, Black and Wooden (2005) state that globally, there has been a transformation occurring in both the family structure and the employment structure whereby females are beginning to challenge the gendered roles that have been seen in patriarchal societies. Due to this transformation, females are becoming professionals in the working sector, which sometimes results in the female becoming the primary income contributor within the family (Drago et al., 2005). Thus, there has been an increase in the appearance of females becoming the breadwinners of the family due to them earning more than their husbands. This is especially demonstrated by high-income FSWs as these females challenge (either consciously or unconsciously) patriarchal ideologies, as they are not only working women, but are also likely to be receiving a substantial income. The amount of money earned may be similar to, or even more than, their husbands.

This is discussed by Kesler (2002) who mentions that high-income sex work is amongst the only job that is paid more than most males**.** However, according to Wade and Brittan-Powell (2001), by females becoming present in the workplace, it threatens a male's sense of masculinity, which may lead to consequences such as exertion of male dominance through the use of aggression and violence. This is reiterated by Bhattacharyya and colleagues (2011) whose study revealed that in order to control the increased household income and to "counter the threat to the image of the male bread winner" the husband may turn to violence (p. 1679). As mentioned by McCloskey (1996), females have an increased chance of facing domestic violence if she is employed and her husband in unemployed and/or her income level is higher than that of her husband's as this constitutes as a threat to his masculinity (as cited in Willer et al., 2013).

It is the aim of this research to examine whether or not the husband's masculinity, and the way in which he constructs it, is influenced by the fact that his wife is a working woman, as well as the fact that she usually brings in a substantially higher income than him. By demonstrating whether or not this affects his masculinity and the way in which it is constructed, it will be seen how he responds to such threats to his masculinity and whether or not violence is used in order to regain his sense of control and dominance over his wife.

2.6. Feminist Debate

Debates that exist within society, with regard to sex workers, centre on whether one exercises choice in becoming a sex worker and/or if empowerment occurs with sex workers. For some, there is choice and empowerment; however, one needs to question whether or not empowerment and choice are the case for all sex workers and whether or not this perspective is seen by individuals not involved in the sex industry. Others may contest this and say that there exists no female who would sell sex out of choice and that any form of selling sex is humiliating to females. At the forefront of this debate are feminist studies and literature.

Feminism contains "various social movements that are dedicated to ending the subordination of women" (Bryson, 1999; p. 5). As discussed by Bryson (1999), feminism includes numerous theories that function as instruments in order to comprehend the subordination which takes place against females. However, sometimes tension exists between the differing theories and thus, their arguments and ideas are in contestation with one another. As demonstrated in Kissil and Davey (2010), there are two main areas of thought namely, radical feminists and liberal feminists. These two feminist debates may have an influence on the way in which a male constructs his masculinity. In other words, if a male adopts traditional patriarchal ideologies, his construction of his masculinity, when relating it to feminism, will differ from another male who constructs his masculinity from a post-feminist, gender equality perspective. Below will be an outline of the two feminist debates and how they are applied to FSWs, as well as the construction of masculinity.

2.6.1. Radical feminism

The oppression of females within a patriarchal society is the primary focus of radical feminists (Beasley, 1999). Oppression (including sexual oppression), occurring towards females, is taking place due to an imbalance in power relations and thus, issues surrounding power and male dominance are at the forefront of radical feminist examination (Beasley,

1999; Bryson, 1999). It is, according to radical feminists, the role of the female to gain a sense of power over themselves (including their bodies) (Beasley, 1999). The radical feminist ideologies can be related to the subject of FSWs.

When relating radical feminism to sex work and sex workers, it is seen that they do not believe that FSWs voluntarily enter into the sex industry but rather, are seen as vulnerable entities that are exploited and exposed to sexual violence (Kissil & Davey, 2010). Thus, according to radical feminists (the 'anti' sex worker group), sex workers contribute "to the devaluation and objectification of women" due to the fact that they are providing a service to satisfy male sexual needs through the "commodization of female sexuality" (Kissil & Davey, 2010, p. 7). It is through the sexual acts that they are engaging in that they are contributing to and reinforcing male domination and sexual oppression of females (Kong, 2006). In other words, radical feminists believe that FSWs do not exercise choice but rather, are sexual slaves and objects working within a patriarchal system (Kong, 2006). It is therefore, the opinion of radical feminists that sex work is wrong (Davidson, 2002).

When one relates the perspective of radical feminists to the construction of masculinity, and more specifically to the way in which husbands of FSWs construct their masculinity (which is the main focus of this study), one may begin to understand the behavioural reactions which may be seen. As is in line with radical feminism, males who adopt a patriarchal outlook and reinforce gender inequality, may construct their masculinity through exertion of dominance and power (as seen through physical violence and aggression). By implication, the husband of a FSW, who constructs his masculinity in this way, may feel that his masculinity is being challenged and/or is in crisis is by having a wife as a FSW, and thus, tries to reclaim and/or reinstate his masculinity through reverting to typical (traditional) traits such as aggression and dominance. One may say that a husband of a FSW, who adopts a radical feminist stance, does this is by seeing himself as the owner of his wife's body (as reiterated by patriarchal ideologies) and therefore, impacts his perspective of his wife and the stigmas that surround her being a FSW. Thus, for radical feminists, the social stigmas that exist about FSWs have an impact on the way in which a husband may view his wife (who is a FSW) and subsequently impacts on the way in which he treats her. The above relation to the construction of masculinity coincides with male sexual proprietariness theory. The above opinions, however, are in contrast to the liberal feminist's views on sex workers and males in society.

2.6.2. Liberal feminism

Liberal feminist ideologies focus on equality of the sexes and ways in which improvement and development within society can take place (Bryson, 1999). Initially females, in a patriarchal society, were portrayed as "biologically incapable of the full development of reason" and were seen as individuals that were non-rational and dependant on males (Bryson, 1999; p. 10). According to this point of view, inequality of the sexes was reinforced, as males were portrayed as rational whereby freedom of choice and autonomy were seen. However, liberal feminists believe that females are equal to males and thus, have the same sense of worth and rights when it comes to employment, autonomy and education (Bryson, 1999). Below is a discussion of how liberal feminist ideologies are applied to sex work.

Liberal feminists view female sex workers as autonomous individuals that have exercised their freedom of choice and thus, have made an active decision to enter into the sex industry (Kissil & Davey, 2010). Furthermore, it is the opinion of the liberal feminists that a female sex worker has the authority to negotiate the sexual service she offers whereby she makes her own choice with regards to which clients she sees and the rates that she will charge (Kissil & Davey, 2010). Through active decision making, sex workers are viewed as individuals who have voluntarily entered into the sex industry and thus, are seen as entrepreneurs who own their own sexuality (Kong, 2006). Thus, liberal feminists do not typically align themselves with the social stigmas that exist in society about FSWs but rather, see them as females who earn an income to support their families and discredit the social stigmas that exist about them. This research has taken a liberal feminist stance as it is believed that female sex workers are active agents and they are autonomous individuals that have freedom of choice and that control their own sexuality. Below is a discussion of how liberal feminism is applied to constructions of masculinity.

By applying liberal feminist ideologies to masculinity, one is able to grasp an understanding of how this may influence the construction of masculinity as the males who adopt such a perspective are enabling the promotion of gender equality. Through embracing a post-feminist society, males view females in an atypical manner (if compared to the patriarchal society) and thus, as individuals who are independent, rational and are free to enter into the public sphere and generate an income so as to make them legitimate financial contributors to the household. Furthermore, males may respond in different ways (as compared to patriarchal males) to situations that challenge their sense of masculinity, as well as the construction of their masculinity. With regards to husbands of FSWs, if they adopt a liberal feminist stance, it

would seem that they would embrace the fact that their wives are working women and bring in an income. They would not be seen as males who view themselves as owners of their wife's body and thus, his views of his wife may not be impacted upon by the social stigmas that exist in society. The husband's sense of masculinity would not be threatened by his wife's involvement in the sex industry as he would view her as providing a service for which she is remunerated.

When one relates the two differing perspectives to the research at hand, it was investigated whether or not the husband and the married couple (where the wife is not a FSW) view high-income FSWs as being business women who have chosen to enter into the sex industry or whether or not they have been forced into such a situation due to the circumstances in which they find themselves. In addition, the perspective of the high-income FSW was also looked at. An examination of the husbands was done in order to discover whether or not their perceptions of their wives may affect the way in which they treat or would treat their wives and consequently, how it would have, or has, affected them personally, as males. Lastly, considering how the husbands constructed their masculinity based on which feminist perspective they subscribe to, formed part of the study's investigation. It was investigated whether or not the husbands' aligned with either a liberal or radical feminist position as their alignment with these perspectives may have had an impact on their view of FSWs. This allowed for the researcher to grasp an understanding of how having a wife as a FSW would impact on the way in which the husband constructed his sense of masculinity. One may add that it is the social stigmas that exist in society that contribute to the opinions that the husbands form and thus, is an aspect that need to be examined.

2.7. Personal Intimate Relationships

According to Nichols (2012), marriage is seen as an agreement between, and a union of, two individuals. Thus, this event allows two individuals to join together on a permanent contractual basis. Throughout the literature consulted, it has been seen that marriages (especially traditional marriages) perpetuate societal gender norms in order to reinforce roles and responsibilities seen to be assigned to individuals based on their sex (Bandali, 2011; Widiss, 2012). In other words, traditional marriages follow the patriarchal ideologies of society surrounding gendered norms about roles and responsibilities of the husband and wife. According to Spence and Helmreich (1978), gender roles are "appropriate behaviors that is

‘positively sanctioned for members of one sex and ignored/negatively sanctioned members of the other’ in a given culture” (as cited in Choi & Hon, 2002, p. 233). In other words, it is through performance of these roles that stereotypical expectations are met which align with traditional gender ideologies seen in patriarchal society. Thus if one relates this to marriage, it is the compliance with these roles and responsibilities by both spouses that allows for the marriage to be a success and for there to be an increase leave of satisfaction (Bandali, 2011; Perry-Jenkins & Crouter, as cited in Vannoy & Cubbins, 2001).

These roles and responsibilities include that, it is the responsibility of the husband to be the financial provider and have dominance whilst the wife would be responsible for the domestic duties and nurturance (Bondali, 2011; Cody-Rydzewski, 2007; Cunningham & Saayman, 1984; Widiss, 2012). Thus, according to Cody-Rydzewski (2007), within a traditional marriage, the male is seen as the dominant sex due to his masculinity and thus, females are usually disadvantaged as they are seen as submissive and inferior. Furthermore, the roles that are followed are formed on the basis of “sex-role stereotypes consistent with the traditional model” and thus, are performed “in an automatic, nonreflective manner” (Cunningham & Saayman, 1984, p. 366). Having said this, however, roles within marriages are changing in present day society – especially the role of the wife.

According to Hiller and Philliber (1982), the shift in roles that is occurring is adding stress and conflict to marriages. Conflict within the marriage is usually seen when these roles and responsibilities change or are challenged in order to reflect non-patriarchal ideologies that encompass the notion of gender equality (Vannoy & Cubbins, 2001). As mentioned previously, challenges which may cause conflict within a marriage may be due to the fact that the husband’s masculinity is being threatened. As stated by Hiller and Philliber (1982), the “breadwinner role validates a man’s masculinity" (p. 56). One way in which a male’s masculinity may be threatened is through his wife working within the public sphere. By her having an occupation she may have a higher status than her husband and/or she may be earning a higher income than her husband (Cody-Rydzewski, 2007; Cunningham & Saayman, 1984; Hiller & Philliber, 1982).

In other words, conflict between spouses is as a result of challenges to role allocation. By having a wife who is successful in her occupation, this increases the tension and conflict within the marriage (Hiller & Philliber, 1982). By having a wife whose occupational achievements exceed her husbands, the male’s gender identity is threatened (Hiller &

Philliber, 1982). Thus, for the husband, his masculinity is at issue as he and others may begin to question his ability to be a provider and/or he may begin to become uncomfortable (Hiller & Philliber, 1982). Thus, one can say that the way in which a husband constructs his masculinity may be related to the fact that his wife has an occupation, as well as the type of occupation she has. In addition, a male's masculinity is constructed on the basis of the role in which he plays within the marriage and/or family. The above can be related to the research at hand.

Lack of empirical research literature exists with regard to how high-income FSWs are able to maintain personal intimate relationships (especially marriages). This may be due to the fact that it was found from this research that there was a lack of participation from the male intimate partners themselves as they were too embarrassed and/or uncomfortable speaking about their partner's choice in career. This may speak to the fact that they their masculinity may be affected by the female partner's choice in profession. From the literature consulted for this research, most speak to the fact that FSWs cannot sustain a lasting relationship as the relationship is seen as physically, emotionally and psychologically problematic (Kissil & Davey, 2010). Dalla (2004) states that the marriage between the FSW and her husband tends to be dysfunctional. Peracca and colleagues (1998) study found, however, that if a sex worker and her husband truly love and understand one another, they have a chance at having a successful marriage. In their study, the factor of love was emphasised as they found it was the formula to a lasting marriage between a FSW and her husband. Furthermore, a study conducted by Arunachalam and Shah (2008) found that the assumption that a FSW cannot be married is incorrect as they discovered in Ecuador and Mexico, 29 per cent and 20 per cent respectively, of the sex workers were married. However, due to the fact that female sex workers are earning an income from engaging in sexual intimacy (usually a physical act reserved for the space occupied by a socially approved version of a 'legitimate' romantically involved couple), it affects the nature of one's personal intimate relationships/marriages and, in turn, may influence the husband and his sense of masculinity (and how he constructs it). As mentioned in previous sections, a husband who adopts traditional (patriarchal) ideologies regarding his role within society and the familial structures may face a masculinity crisis if his wife is a FSW who earns a substantially higher income than himself. This may result in him feeling shame, which may speak to the fact that there is a lack of literature on husbands of FSWs.

According to Jackson et al. (2007), female sex workers attempt to keep the two spheres (work and home life) separated as the stressors of work may infiltrate into the personal relationship thus creating tension, especially with the nature of the relationship. This may be a mechanism adopted by the FSW to keep her husband distant from the work that she does and, as such, protects him and his masculinity from the reality of the nature of her work. In addition to the above, husbands may become vulnerable due to them being jealous and/or suspecting infidelity (Brewis & Linstead, 2000; Panchanadeswaran et al., 2008). This jealousy and/or suspecting infidelity speaks to male sexual proprietariness theory. Thus, this places added pressure and/or tension on the relationship as the wife is engaging in sexual acts with multiple men in order to earn an income which defines their relationship as non-traditional. A study conducted by Peracca et al. (1998) demonstrated that the husbands of FSW do not have to turn to aggression or acts of violence to counter the threat to their masculinity but, sometimes they act like a pimp. As mentioned, "the man takes the role of the pimp. In these cases, the man is attracted to a prostitute as a marital partner because he wishes to live off her earnings" (Peracca et al., 1998, p. 261). In other words, this may be a mechanism adopted by the husband in order to protect the crisis that his masculinity may face due to his wife being a FSW. By taking on the role of her pimp, the husband is reinstating and thus, re-constructing his masculinity to align with traditional, patriarchal ideologies of gender roles and characteristics such as being dominant, powerful and independent.

For this research, the dynamics and shifting roles of non-traditional and traditional married couples were investigated in order to demonstrate the differing constructions of masculinity. It was investigated whether or not mechanisms have been put into place in order to maintain a marriage without issues constantly arising. Furthermore, an exploration into whether or not mechanisms were put into place by the FSW to protect her husband's masculinity was conducted. In addition, the way in which the husband deals with a perceived threat to his masculinity, was explored. Lastly, perceptions surrounding the functionality of the marriage were also investigated.

2.8. Research Question

How do the husbands of high-income FSW's construct their masculinity (through their talk in research interviews)?

2.9. Conclusion

From the above, it is apparent that there is a lack of literature and empirical research conducted on husbands of FSWs and the way in which their masculinity is influenced and constructed in relation to their wife's choice in career. For this research, sex work is the selling and buying of a sexual service. Being a sex worker is seen as atypical in society (especially South Africa, where it is illegal). Two feminist perspectives have been provided namely; radical and liberal feminism. It was the aim of this research to explore whether or not the husbands of the FSWs adopted a post-feminist, gender equality perspective as this may have an influence on the way in which their masculinity is constructed. Due to the fact that sex work is illegal, social stigmas arise about the sex industry and the individuals who work within it. It is these negative social stigmas that may have an influence on the husbands of FSWs (such as the way in which they views themselves and their wives) and the way in which their masculinity is constructed. Furthermore, this research has aligned itself with the social constructionism perspective which states that masculinity is socially constructed and thus, it is the interactions, the culture and language in society which enable males to construct their sense of self. It is through these interactions that societal norms are reinforced and thus, certain traits are demonstrated as being 'masculine'. By understanding the way in which the male constructs his masculinity in certain contexts and by discussing certain topics, one is able to demonstrate whether or not his masculinity is in crisis. According to the male sexual proprietariness theory, if a male's masculinity is in crisis (through threats of infidelity, jealousy and paternity issues), he may resort to forms of violence to reinstate and reconstruct his masculinity to align with traditional, patriarchal norms. By examining the husbands of FSWs' masculinities and the way in which they construct them when faced with a perceived threat, one is able to demonstrate whether or not the male sexual proprietariness theory holds true with regards to resorting to violence.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1. Introduction

For the purpose of this research, a qualitative study was conducted in order to explore, examine and understand whether or not a male's masculinity was influenced by his wife's choice in profession (namely a high-income female sex worker). This study was situated within a critical and constructionist paradigm as the research relied upon thematic analysis and conversation analysis. In addition, this research is allocated within a relativist ontology and subjective epistemology. In other words, this research examines a reality that is unknown but, is interpreted and constructed whilst, the researcher acts an active agent who contributes experiential knowledge (Annells, 1996). This research took the form of a comparative case study due to the limited scope of access to the target population required for this study. "A case study is a very detailed research inquiry into a single example seen as a social unit" (Payne & Payne, 2004, p. 31). According to Kaarbo and Beasley (1999), a comparative case study is "the systematic comparison of two or more data points ("cases") obtained through use of the case study method" (p. 372). In other words, this research was conducted with the participation of a small number of participants; however, this did not hinder the quality of the study as the interview data gathered was expected to be rich, in-depth and detailed. Even though the findings from a case study are not generalisable (as is the case with most qualitatively orientated studies), the development of new insights into the area that has been investigated took place and aided in demonstrating where the direction of future research should be focussed on (Payne & Payne, 2004). It was advantageous to conduct a case study for this research as there was a limited amount of research centring around high-income female sex workers' husbands identities, as well as the effect it had on the marriage dynamics.

3.2. Sample and Sampling

The target sample for this research consisted of two married couples from Johannesburg, South Africa. The first couple consisted of a husband and his wife, who was a high-income female sex worker, based in Johannesburg, South Africa (case study#1). The second couple consisted of a husband and wife, both of which had no dealings with or connections to the sex industry (case study#2). According to O'Leary (2004), a certain number of steps should be engaged with, in order to select the correct case (as determined by the aims of the study).

Firstly, one should define the case that one wants to examine. For this research, the specific case was married couples whereby there was a husband who was married to a high-income female sex worker and a husband who was not married to a high-income female sex worker. Secondly, one should establish how many cases one is going to examine, and for this particular research, two married couples were interviewed.

The limited amount of participants interviewed was due to the nature of the study, as well as the lack of willingness to participate. Lastly, the process of actually selecting the cases for study needs to take place. The "selection of cases is generally non-random, with researchers handpicking cases on a pragmatic" basis (O'Leary, 2004, p. 117). For this research, the researcher relied upon a personal contact (who provides a health-care service to sex workers in Johannesburg) in order to select a specific sample thus, it was non-random. Thus, according to O'Leary (2004), the researcher has made use of a pragmatic selection that involved access to a sample that was, in essence, a difficult sample to obtain access to. Difficulty in access was due to the fact that sex work is illegal in South Africa, as well as the fact that the most of the potential participants, who were husbands of high-income female sex workers, did not want to take part in the research (this will be further discussed in the reflexivity section).

This research made use of both a convenient, as well as a purposive, sampling strategy. A convenient sample is one whereby one can access "any cases in any manner that is convenient" (Neuman, 2000, p. 196). The sample for this research was convenient due to the fact that a rapport had been established between the high-income female sex worker who had been invited to participate in this study (as well as her husband) and the researcher, due to previous research conducted with this participant (where the researcher had conducted several personal interviews with the female participant regarding her professional and personal sexual identities). The benefit of having the existing rapport afforded the researcher the opportunity to ask questions that the female sex worker may have originally been offended by. She was, however, not offended due to the trust relationship that had been developed. By the researcher relying upon purposive sampling, she was able to select informative participants who were able to accommodate an in-depth investigation, such as the one carried out in this study. Purposive sampling enables one to "select cases with a specific purpose in mind", which caters to the needs of this study (Neuman, 2000, p. 198). The sampling criteria for participant inclusion were: they must be over the age of 18, they must be English speaking (as the interviews were conducted in English), they must be legally married,

the male participant must be aware of his wife's work as a high-income female sex worker (if her profession is a sex worker), and both the husband and wife must agree to participate in the study.

In case study#1, the high-income female sex worker was telephonically contacted first (by the researcher) and was asked if she would be willing to participate in the study by informing her as to the nature of the study, as well as what participation would involve. Once she agreed to participate, it was established whether or not she would be able to have a discussion about this research with her husband. This was done so as to avoid the husband feeling 'ambushed' by the researcher when she contacted him telephonically to invite him to participate in this study. With regards to case study#2, the researcher did not know the couple personally and thus, the husband was initially contacted by the researcher as his telephone number was provided by the personal contact of the researcher. Once he had agreed to participate, it was established whether or not the researcher would be able to have a discussion about this research with his wife. Thereafter, the researcher contacted the wife telephonically. Once the researcher had contacted the participants telephonically, to invite them to participate in the study, it was determined whether or not they met the above sampling criteria. Once it was established that the participants met the criteria, they were asked whether or not they would like to participate in the study. However, if they did not meet the criteria, they were not asked to participate in the study.

In order to meet the criteria for a comparative case study, the similarities between the two case studies need to be highlighted. Case study#1 consists of Clyde (35 years old) and Brenda (33 years old) who have been married for five years. They have a three year old son and, at the time of the interview, Brenda was seven months pregnant with a baby girl. Brenda has an eleven year old daughter from a previous marriage. They had been dating for 4 years before they got married. They met at a brothel where Brenda was working as a FSW. Both of them were dating other individuals but, according to Brenda, they had a "one-night-stand that never ended." However, Brenda states that Clyde was never her client. It should be noted that both Clyde and Brenda were dating other individuals at the time that they met and thus, were not monogamous in their previous relationships. This needs to be noted as it aids in the uncertainty of the definition of infidelity seen when interviewing Clyde and Brenda.

Case study#2 consists of Craig (38 years old) and Karen (36 years old) who have been married for six years and dated for four years before getting married. They do not have any

children together but, Craig does have two sons from a previous marriage. They met at a restaurant through friends who were dating one another. None of them have openly stated that they have made use of services offered by individuals within the sex industry.

When one looks at the similarities between each individual the following is found. Craig, Karen and Brenda were raised in religious homes whereby attending church was a weekly occurrence. Both Karen and Brenda are Roman Catholic. Furthermore, at least one partner in each marriage has been married previously and has a child from the marriage namely; Brenda and Craig.

3.3. Data Collection: Semi-structured interviews

For this research, two married couples from various areas of the northern suburbs were interviewed. The two couples were similar in certain aspects such as age, race, duration of being married and religion (both the wives were Catholic). This was beneficial as it enabled the researcher to make a comparative analysis which, in turn, allowed the researcher to see whether or not there were any differences in the way in which masculine identities were constructed, by both male participants and their wives.

The collection of data took place through the utilisation of semi-structured, in-depth one-on-one interviews, conducted with the four participants. According to O'Leary (2004), by using semi-structured interviews, flexibility can occur with regard to the order in which the questions are discussed thus, allowing for a natural flow of the conversation. This therefore, allowed for specific questions to be asked but, also enabled the participants to become active in the interview process by developing their answers further through more detail. With regard to the research, by conducting semi-structured interviews, the male participants had the opportunity to reveal and engage with the various aspects of their personal identities to the extent that they felt comfortable.

In case study#1, the wife was able to divulge information, from a perspective different to the other participants, on the impact that sex work had on her husband's masculinity within the marital relationship. In addition, through the use of hypothetical situations, the female participant from case study#2 was able to provide insight into her personal perspective on her husband's potential reaction to her being a FSW and the implication of such on his masculinity (and the construction thereof). The interview schedules were constructed to allow for further probing and expansion of answers (for example: why do you say that?). The initial

interview schedules (see Appendix E for the separate interview schedules) was developed based on the body of literature outlined in the study (in Chapter 2 of this thesis) and acted as a guide that elicited key issues and themes regarding personal views of self, sexual and masculine identities, as well as the possible effect sex work has and/or would have on one's personal intimate relationship.

3.4. Reflexivity

> It is important to realise that the researcher's identity and experiences shape the ideas with which they go into the field, their political and ideological stance, and there is an analytic cost if this interplay of person and research is not taken into consideration (Holland, 2007, p. 204).

In order to engage in the act of being reflexive, one needs to understand the term 'reflexivity.' According to Macbeth (2001), "reflexivity is a deconstructive exercise for locating the intersections of author, other, text, and world, and for penetrating the representational exercise itself" (p. 35). In other words, one needs to take into account both internal and external factors to the self in order to fully engage in the analytic process. As discussed by Macbeth (2001), there are two types of reflexivity namely; positional reflexivity and textual reflexivity.

Positional reflexivity is how one's position has an influence on the data gathering and analytic process of a research (Macbeth, 2001). It was important to acknowledge that the researcher played a role within the research and thus, was a subjective instrument that had an impact on the way in which the interview process was carried out and perceived (by the participants). In contrast, textual reflexivity focuses on how one produces, represents and engages with the data (Macbeth, 2001). Therefore, one needs to take into account how the researcher impacts on the analysis of the data as it was her subjective interpretations that brought forth certain ideas and themes. As stated in Holland (2007), the researcher experiences emotions, subjectivity and memories that would affect the analysis and understanding of what occurred throughout the interview process. It was for the above reasons that this research required the researcher to keep a diary in order to reflect on the thoughts, feelings and understandings of occurrences throughout the research process. "The capacity to be reflexive is at the core of human agency and understanding" and thus should not be ignored (Lyons & Coyle, 2007, p. 132).

The information contained in the diary focused on areas such as, why the researcher chose the specific topic, their personal views on the topic, how they were affected by the data gathering process, the way in which they may have been affected by the responses given by the participants during the interview process and so on. In addition, attention was brought to the possible power dynamics that occurred between the researcher and the participants as it influenced the way in which the researcher felt towards the participants. Through this, it had an impact on the way in which the data was analysed. The information contained in the diary enriched the analysis of the data that was gathered through the interviews. The personal comments of the researcher, regarding the above, are outlined below.

I became interested in the topic of sex work and sex workers during my undergraduate years where I was exposed to a Sociology course on gender. It was through conducting a mini research on sex workers that I realised that sex workers were being portrayed in a certain manner and consequently, being affected by such views. Through the need to gain more in-depth understanding of female sex workers, I decided to do my honours thesis on high-income female sex workers and the differences and/or similarities between their personal and professional sexual identities. It was through this thesis that I discovered that limited research had been conducted on intimate partners of sex workers and the impact that it may have on these males and their identities. Thus, my Master's thesis topic emerged.

Throughout this process I experienced mixed emotions. On the one hand I was frustrated and angry with the potential participants and society. I took on this topic as I had a guarantee by various individuals that they were willing to participate. As time went on and it was time to interview the participants, they began to avoid my attempts to contact them and/or declined to take part in the research. Due to this, the focus of my research had to change. Instead of only interviewing married couples, where the wife was a high-income female sex worker, I needed to interview a couple where both the husband and wife had no dealings with or connections to the sex industry. On reflection, it seems that the social stigmas that exist in society surrounding sex workers may have had some influence on the lack of participants. As was mentioned by one of the participants that did not want to take part in the research, "Being able to speak about what is going on is not easy. I don't wanna talk about it cos what she is doing is wrong." This, in effect, created determination to prove a point that the pre-judgements that society has made are incorrect as the personal lives of sex workers are not taken into account. The lack of concern for the impact that sex work has on sex workers, as well as their intimate partners was a concern. This raised awareness that I needed to keep an

open-mind and not make judgements when conducting the interviews and analysing the data as it may compromise the quality of the data and findings.

Interviewing the participants was, at times, easy and at other times difficult. With regards to case study#2, it was at times difficult to interview them as it seemed that they found the topic difficult to grapple with. However, as the interviews progressed, they were more forthcoming with their views, which made the experience more enjoyable for me, as the researcher, and the interviewee. Through these two interviews, I could see the views of society being vocalised and, as such, this motivated me to have the voice of the high-income female sex worker and her husband heard. With regards to case study#1, the interview process was great. They were open to answering all the questions posed to them and did not come across as hesitant in sharing their points of view. This was refreshing for me as they wanted their stories to be heard and gave me encouragement to do just that.

From the above, it can be seen that the researcher both influences and is influenced by the research topic and process. It was through the researcher's honours thesis, and the apparent lack of research conducted on male intimate partners of sex workers, that an interest ensued where the researcher wanted to gain more insight and add knowledge. Through the keeping of a diary, the researcher realised that mixed emotions arose when it came to the research process, as well as the interview process. These mixed emotions may have impacted on the way in which the research was carried out and/or analysed. Having said this, however, the researcher does not feel that this impact was negative in nature but rather, positive, as it enhanced the research through the acknowledgement that the researcher played a role in the research. In order for the study to be conducted, certain procedures needed to take place, which are discussed below.

3.5. Procedure

Once ethical clearance from the University of the Witwatersrand Ethical Committee had been issued (MPSYC/12/001 1H), the researcher contacted the participants telephonically to invite them to participate in the research by informing them of the nature of the study (see Appendix A for the separate telephonic schedules). The telephone number of the high-income female sex worker was obtained from a personal contact (who works with the population) of the researcher. Once the wife agreed to participate in this study, the researcher asked for her husband's contact details so as to be able to invite him to participate in the study as well. With regards case study#2, the researcher contacted the husband first, and obtained the wife's

contacted details from him. It should be noted that the researcher contacted numerous other individuals to participate in the research, however, their participation was disregarded as they did not respond, they were not willing to participate or they did not meet the criteria in order for a comparative case study to take place. For the couples who accepted the invitation to participate in this study, a suitable date and time were set up with each husband and each wife to be individually interviewed by the researcher.

The interviews for case study#1 took place in July 2012, whilst the interview for case study#2 took place in December 2012. The time difference took place due to the fact that there was a lack of willingness to participate from husbands who are married to high-income FSWs. As a result, the focus of the research shifted to include a couple where the husband was not married to a high-income FSW. This impacted the research by shifting the focus to more of a comparative research which focused on the traditional and non-traditional constructions of masculinity.

For confidentiality, anonymity and security reasons (for both the researcher and participants), the researcher met the participants individually and outside of their place of work and/or home. In South Africa, sex work is illegal thus, by conducting the interviews at another location (as opposed to the female sex worker's place of work, or the family home), it limited the ethical and legal issues that may have arisen whilst conducting such research - such issues may include raids by the police, for example. By conducting the interviews at another location, anonymity was secured (to the greatest extent possible) for the participants as no one from their work or home was able to see that they were participating in a study. Given the sensitive nature of the study, the researcher did not wish to compromise the personal integrity of the participants.

Before the interviews began, a participant information sheet (see Appendix B) was given to the participant by the researcher (who conducted the interviews). Once they had read the information sheet, they were asked to sign an informed consent form (see Appendix C) which indicated that they understood the nature of the study, as well as what was required of them (regarding their participation in repeat interviews), and that they agreed to participate in the study. In addition, the participants were required to sign a participant consent form for audio recording (see Appendix D). Each interview was recorded using a Dictaphone. Each interview did not take more than one hour to complete. Throughout the interview, the researcher made written notes about their thoughts and/or impressions. These notes were used

in the reflexivity section (to be discussed shortly). Due to the expected length of the interview, the participants were invited to help themselves to the refreshments provided by the researcher.

The participants were asked to keep the participant information sheet, which had both the researcher's and the researcher's supervisor's e-mail address. In addition, the contact numbers for free counselling were included on the participant information sheet and could be used at the discretion of the participant. This enabled them to make contact with the researcher one year later to request a one page summary that would outline the findings of this study.

Once the interviews had been concluded, the data was stored in a box, within a locked cupboard at the residence of the researcher. This was to ensure no one, besides the researcher and the research supervisor, had access to all data collected. Furthermore, all documentation that enabled the identification of the participants to occur (including their contact numbers) was placed onto a document and saved on a password protected laptop.

3.6. Ethics Appraisal

Due to the sensitive, legal and ethical nature of this research, a number of issues needed to be addressed. One such issue was that the interviewees may have felt that they were obligated to answer interview questions that they felt uncomfortable with (as these questions may be of a sensitive and/or personal nature). In such cases, the participants were reminded that they had the right to not answer any questions that they did not wish to and they could withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. To allow any concerns that the participant might have had regarding the confidentiality and anonymity of their responses, the participant were assured that no identifiable information from the participants would be recorded on the transcription of the interviews or included in the final research report (as pseudonyms would be used), that only the researcher and her supervisor would have access to the raw data, and that the data gathered from the interviews would not be shared amongst the participants. In other words, at no point during the research process would the husband or wife have direct access to the information received by the researcher of the other partner.

A participant information sheet was provided before the interviews began that explained the purpose of the research that was being conducted (see Appendix B). Information within this form explained that participation was voluntary, anonymous (as pseudonyms were used in the

write-up) and if they wished, the results of the research could be given to them (in the form of a one-page summary), if they contacted the researcher one year later. In addition, the contact details of free counselling services were provided if the need arose to utilise such services. The numbers of free counselling services were provided due to possible risks that may have arisen with the participants as a result of this research. Risks that may have arisen, which are out of the researchers control, include (but are not limited to) the husbands feeling depressed or emasculated whilst their wives may feel depressed or violated (as a result of possible interpersonal violence). These risks may have arisen due to the types of questions asked and/or the participants discussing, amongst themselves, the answers provided within the interview and so on. The participant information sheet may read as if permission to be interviewed has already been given due to the fact that the prior telephone conversation, with the potential participants, established whether or not they wanted to participate in the research. By consenting (over the telephone) to be interviewed, a time and place was set up. Participants signed a letter of informed consent for participation (see Appendix C) and audio recording of the interview (see Appendix D) to show that they had read and understood the requirements and aims of the study.

Once the data had been collected, it was stored in a box in a locked cupboard. The completed research will be reported in the form of a research report to the Psychology Department and the University of the Witwatersrand. The final report will be read by the researcher's supervisor and other members of staff within the Psychology Department. A hard copy of the research report will be kept in the University library.

3.7. Data Analysis: Thematic Analysis and Conversation Analysis

The data gathered for this research was limited in quantity, but, however, was not limited in quality. It was felt that using one method of analysis to gain an in-depth understanding of the data would not do justice to the views and voices of the participants. It was thus decided that, in order to provide an eclectic analysis of the data, one primary analytic would be used but, a second analytic technique would be used to inform the primary one. These two analytic techniques provide different perspectives on the same aspect of the data and thus, aid in providing a thorough analysis. The primary method of analysis was thematic analysis, which was informed by using conversation analysis.

3.7.1. Thematic analysis

The primary method used to analyse the data gathered from the semi-structured interviews was through the use of thematic analysis. According to Braun and Clarke (2006), it is through this analytic method that one typically identifies themes which "represent some level of patterned response or meaning" within the data (p. 82). The primary focus of thematic analysis is paying attention to the content (i.e. what is said) rather than how something is said (Reissman, 2008). As mentioned by Braun and Clarke (2006), analysing data using thematic analysis is not a linear process but rather, involves a 'back-and-forth' process. Having said this, however, a step-by-step process, mentioned by Braun and Clarke (2006), has been used to analyse the data for this research. These steps are; (1) acquainting oneself with the data (this is through reading and re-reading the data), (2) "generating initial codes", (3) going into the data and identifying themes, (4) "reviewing themes", (5) identifying what each theme includes and linking the data to each theme, (6) writing up of the report where the themes are clearly stated with extracts from the data present (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p. 87). Through following the above guide to analysis, a number of 'small' themes emerged such as views of FSWs, sex work, differing ways in which masculinity is constructed, infidelity and so on. In order to form a concrete understanding of the findings, a number of these 'small' themes were linked together to form logical main themes which encompassed all of the above. Overall, the analysis of the data brought about ideas surrounding typical and atypical constructions of masculinity (which is the main aim of this study). By analysing the data using thematic analysis, it enabled one to fully understand how masculinity is constructed when certain topics are raised, and how one reacts to threats to one's masculinity. It was through this analysis that a comparative study was able to take place as it allowed one to see the similarities and differences between the traditional and non-traditional marriages, as well as the typical and atypical constructions of masculinity. Further elaboration of these themes will take place in Chapter 4 of this research report.

3.7.2. Conversation analysis

In contrast to the above, an additional analysis using Conversation Analysis (CA) was conducted in order to inform the analysis done using thematic analysis. CA is mainly used to study the interactions that occur in talk, as one's identity is usually developed and maintained in the interactions that individuals partake in (Billig, 1999; Korobov, 2001; Ten Have, 2007; Wooffitt, 2005). This form of analysis is in line with social constructionism as it is believed that "we construct and are constructed by" society and history (Korobov, 2001, p. 3). In other

words, CA enables one to examine the conversation and interaction that is occurring as it is believed that the actions that the participant is engaging in is a product of the present moment and may change throughout the conversation. This is reiterated by Korobov (2001) who states that the utterances that occur are context shaped and would likely change if the context changes. In other words, the primary aim of CA is to investigate how individuals are saying something and what they are saying about it rather than looking internally (at internal "psychological" processes and/or states) and, in turn, constructing assumptions about what is going on. This was important for this research and the analysis of the interviews as, the way in which the participants (especially the husbands) constructed themselves (their masculinity and femininity) and whether or not this changed in the course of the interview, was a primary focus. With regards to the husbands, by examining the change in the utterances and the language spoken, it enabled the researcher to see whether or not their masculinity was threatened and the way in which they might have constructed and re-constructed their masculinity according to the context in which the interview was situated, as well as whether or not they perceived the topic to be a threat to their masculinity.

By examining the data in detail, one is able to record the social categories that appear through the interactions that the participant is engaging in (Korobov, 2001). Thus, categories emerge through observing the actual talk that occurred during the interview rather than the perceived understanding of the talk that occurred (Huth, 2011; Wooffitt, 2005). In other words, by analysing data using CA, one must look at the actual data produced by the participants and the language and the way in which it is constructed, in order to understand what is being said and to see categories emerging. CA looks at the 'facts', as they are produced by individuals being interviewed, rather than formulating assumptions and thus, the particulars such as language, tone, hitches and word use are an essential aspect of this analytic method (Edwards, 2006). This is in contrast to thematic analysis, whereby the focus is on the content rather than on the particulars of language. For this research, by examining sections of the interview in detail (such as the hitches, the pauses, the tone of voice, the specific words used and so on) one was able to see how constructions of one's self began to emerge and how it changed depending on the topic that was raised and the context. This was only possible through the transcriptions that were done.

In order for CA to take place, the recordings were transcribed verbatim using Jefferson lite. This transcription technique captures the specifics of language that are not generally transcribed, such as the pauses, the hitches, the emphasis placed on words and so on (Potter

& Hepburn, 2005). By making use of such a method of transcription, important details are captured which aid in a more in-depth understanding of what is happening (Jefferson, 2004).

CA was selected rather than traditional Discourse Analysis (DA) as the preferred method of analysis for a number of reasons. DA rarely places emphasis on how interaction is managed and thus, does not focus on social action that takes place through language use (Wooffitt, 2005). Furthermore, DA allows for researchers to bring forth their own assumptions and/or ideas surrounding the object that is being analysed (Billig, 1999). According to Billig (1999), by having such assumptions, categories are being imposed onto the participants. This is in contrast to CA whereby the researcher does not have pre-existing assumptions but rather, allows for the participants to guide the analysis through the examination of their interactions, and the talk/text that they engage in (Billig, 1999).

This distinction is pivotal for this research as the interviews with the participants (especially the husbands), and the interactions that occurred between the participants and the researcher, provided key findings when one examined the categories that emerged and the meanings, understandings and interpretations of them. In addition, the researcher approached the research without her own assumptions which could dominate and influence the analyses. Instead, the researcher focused on the examination of language in order to understand interaction and language usage in the interviews. In order to do this, the transcript, which was transcribed through the Jeffersonian technique, aided as the researcher was able to examine the exact words used by the participants, as well as the way in which they interacted with the researcher thus enabling an understanding into the constructions of gender identity. There are, however, a number of potential issues when making use of such an analytic method.

Firstly, CA analyses small pieces of information in detail, which is restricting (Wetherell, 1998). Having said this, however, one does not need to analyse a large piece of data in order to gain an in-depth understanding of what is occurring (as seen in this research). Furthermore, it should be noted that what occurs within a smaller piece of data may have a broader impact. Secondly, it has been suggested by some that cases chosen for analysis by the researchers are biased as the researchers are invested in the analytic argument that is presented (Silverman, 2004). Lastly, tension exists between whether the analysis of data should focus on the rich surface and language or whether one should analyse the data internally at the cognition of the individuals being interviewed (Edwards, 2005, 2006) For this paper, a look into the rich

surface and language will take place, as well as examining the internal cognition of individuals in order to provide an eclectic perspective on the data gathered

Chapter 4: Findings and Discussion

4.1. Introduction

This chapter is devoted to the discussion of the thematic categories that emerged out of the thematic analysis (and informed by conversation analysis) of the semi-structured interviews as described in Chapter 3. The overall theme that emerged was typical versus atypical constructions of masculinity. This theme encompasses numerous sub-themes, which speak to different findings of the interviews. By examining such themes one is able to unpack the types of issues that surround the differing dynamics of a marriage whereby the wife is a FSW, as well as the differing perspectives of such a marriage. Furthermore, by engaging in such topics, it will emerge how the males accept and/or resist the societal ideologies surrounding masculinity whilst their masculinity is being challenged through threats such as having a wife as a FSW, paternity, infidelity and jealousy. The reaction to such threats was explored as it is these reactions which reiterate how their masculinity is constructed. This speaks to the construction of masculinity whereby it was examined how the husbands constructed their masculinity in different contexts and when different topics arose. It should be noted that throughout the findings and discussion chapter, reference will be made to the pseudonyms that have been used in order to protect their identities and ensure anonymity in the reported findings. For case study#1, Clyde is the husband of the FSW and Brenda is the FSW. For case study#2, Craig is the husband and Karen is the wife.

4.2. Sex as Work

For this section, focus is placed on how comfortable each of the married couples was with the topic of sex work. This is an important finding as it demonstrates the differences between the couples when it comes to discussing sex work and personal aspects of their lives.

It was found with case study#1 that discussion centring on the topic of sex work was more readily engaged with by Clyde and Brenda as they were open to discussing their opinions and perspectives. For both Clyde and Brenda, there was no hesitation when divulging information. Brenda gave the sense that she was comfortable discussing sex work and, more specifically, the work that she does and the impact that it may have on her. However, Clyde demonstrated both comfort and discomfort with the topic. He was comfortable with the topics by reporting on his experiences with individuals within the sex industry. This may be the case

as he mentioned that he was raised in an environment where sex work was embraced (his father owned a brothel). He recalled two stories whereby he had his first "experience" with a sex worker at the age of 16 and his mother organised a farewell party for him at a brothel.

```
21   Cl:                                                    whe:n    I
22          was 16 (.) I was introduced to my first brothel a:nd (0.4) that
23          was through my father. Then (.) since then I've always been in
24          the brothels I (0.3) I did .hh I built dungeons for ↓brothels I
25          did driving for brothels u:m .hh I uh: (.) >dated a lot of the
26          girls<
```

From the above extract, one can see that Clyde demonstrates a sense of being comfortable with the topic of sex work and sex workers. This alludes to the fact that he has constructed a masculinity based on the background in which he was raised and thus, embraces sex work and sex workers.

It was found, however, that Clyde felt uncomfortable with the interviewer using the term "sex industry" as he felt that it conjured up negative connotations.

```
255   Cl:   Not yo: (0.4) >there's where you're saying it wrong< uh: .hh
256         it's not that (0.7) if you say the ↑sex industry then it (.) it
257         throws a bit of a (.) a ↓taboo onto it.
```

As can be seen from the above, Clyde feels that by using the term "sex industry", one is demonstrating that there are taboos (line 257) which come with such a term, which he highlights as being wrong. This speaks to the way in which Clyde has constructed his idea of what sex work is. His perspectives and thus, his masculinity, have been constructed on the basis of his upbringing and his past experiences with the sex industry. Clyde has embraced the sex industry as he works within it (by selling products), and thus, does not view it in a traditional way whereby negativity and social stigmas are attached to it. Having said this, however, by him not wanting to call the industry the "sex industry" but rather, the "adult entertainment industry", it seems he is creating a euphemistic term in order to cope with the type of work his wife engages in. Thus, one can say that in this context in the interview, he is portraying and constructing a masculinity that seems to both embrace sex work due to his past experiences, however, he is also protecting his masculinity by creating a euphemistic term to lessen the "taboo" that is associated with it. Furthermore, Clyde demonstrates being uncomfortable during the interview when discussion moved towards his personal life,

especially when questions were raised about his son. This will be discussed further under "masculinity constructed on the basis of fatherhood."

In contrast to Clyde, it was found that case study#2 were more resistant to discussing sex work and sex workers. This was found in the length of the pauses that were taken, as well as the use of the word “um” when asked to provide perspectives and opinions. The above may be due to the fact that Craig and Karen were thinking about how they would either phrase their opinions and/or it may be because they never had to think about such a topic. This points to the fact that both Karen and Craig may have been constructing themselves and their answers in ways that were deemed appropriate from individuals that did not know much about the sex industry thus, issues around social desirability may have arisen. When asked to voice her understanding of what she thought sex work was, Karen stated in a circular, uncomfortable and, eventually, ‘matter-of-fact’ manner that it was the selling of sex in order to bring in an income. The circular and uncomfortable manner was seen by the following:

70 In: ↑How would you define sex work?

71 Ka: Sex work?

72 In: Sex work

73 Ka: (0.8) Sex work .hhh we:ll (0.4) ↑I kind of thinks it’s (0.3)
74 kind of like (0.5) a: (0.3) You mean just the ↑term?

75 In: Ja.

76 Ka: (0.3) Um I think it’s quite euphemistic .hh um: I think
77 obviously like your (0.8) sex (0.3) we: don’t see it in a great
78 light .hh u:m (.) how would I define it (0.4) um: we:ll
79 >obviously someone who makes her money< ↑or his money (.)um: by
80 using ↑sex.

As one can see, Karen being uncomfortable was demonstrated by the use of the word "um" throughout the interview with numerous pauses taking place.

Karen presented herself in an unemotional manner as she did not initially demonstrate a self that was outwardly opinionated about the sex industry. It was through the analysis of the way in which she spoke (the pauses and the words), that one was able to see her discomfort with the topic (as demonstrated in the above excerpt). The way in which she constructed herself in this specific context was based on social desirability. However, her discomfort with the topic

may have been constructed based on her upbringing as she is describes it as "staunch Catholic" where sex work and sex workers are frowned upon. Being uncomfortable with the topic was also found with Craig who initially was resistant to the idea of speaking openly about such a topic. His answers were short and, as with Karen, seemed 'matter-of-fact.' This may be an indication of social desirability as he gave answers that one would expect by individuals not involved in the sex industry. However, as the interview progressed, he became more comfortable with the topic as seen through him openly displaying emotions about the topic (such as frustration and being defensive). Thus, as the interview progressed, it seemed as if Craig's construction of his masculinity shifted away from being politically correct whereby he seemed to accept sex work and sex workers, to a more honest masculinity whereby he seemed to be less thoughtful in his answers and stated what was on his mind. His construction and reconstruction of his masculinity became more apparent as the interview progressed as he was made to engage with and think more about the topic at hand. This ambivalence surrounding sex work filtered into the perceptions that the participants were seen to have about FSWs.

4.3. View of FSWs

Case study#1 and case study#2 differed in their points of view regarding FSWs. It was found that the majority of the comments about FSWs were stated by case study#2, the traditional married couple. This is not surprising as individuals not in the sex industry usually hold negative views of FSWs (Jackson et al., 2007; Kong, 2006; Ngo et al., 2007; Orchard, 2007; Sallmann, 2010).

```
114   Cr:   Um sex worker um: (1.3) I suppose that's a nice word for a
115         prostitute. Um: well Karen and I were talking about it earlier
116         today it it means the same thing (1.2) it's like a sanitary
117         engineer um: why do you call them an engineer? (0.5) I mean you
118         still doing the same job uh. Sex work (0.4) ja um: (0.3)
119         prostitute (0.5) that's what it is, sex for money.
```

Craig makes use of the word "prostitute" to describe a FSW (lines 115 and 119) and mentions that sex work is a "nice" term to use to describe individuals that make their money from having sex. By using the word "nice" (line 114), Craig is demonstrating that words usually used in replacement of sex worker derive negative connotations. Furthermore, it demonstrates his own view point that one should refer to sex workers as prostitutes and does not regard them as "nice." Karen highlights the fact that using sex worker instead of another term is

"euphemistic" which is similar to Craig's perspective that it is a "nice word." Craig's view of FSWs becomes apparent as one examines the interview further. Whenever he spoke about FSWs he would use "someone like ↓that." The drop in the pitch of the voice (as indicated by the ↓), as well as the emphasis placed on the word "that", demonstrates he has a negative view of FSWs and distances himself from them. The way in which Craig constructs FSWs can be applied to the way in which he constructs his masculinity as, by having a negative view of FSWs, he is constructing himself as a typical individual in society that views an individual who deviates from the traditional norms of society as someone whom he does not want to associate himself with and thus, distances himself from. Similarly this is done by Karen who comments

165 Ka: I don't care rea:lly with what they do hey. I just (0.3) don't
166 really want to surround myself with ↓that. If that's the way
167 she makes her money then that's the way she makes her money.
168 But (0.4) I'm not (1.0) I don't really want to associate myself
169 with ↑that.

Again, the emphasis on the word "that" (lines 166 and 169) demonstrates how she distances herself from FSWs and seems to demonstrate FSWs as foreign from herself. From the research conducted by Bell and Howard-Payne (2011), it was found that FSWs also made use of 'Othering' which enabled FSWs to distance themselves from other females in society that are not sex workers. As will be demonstrated in a subsequent theme, patriarchal society views FSWs in a negative and demeaning light and thus, is associated with factors such as being disease carriers, dirty, individuals who break up marriages, whores and so on. It should be noted that there exists a tension within patriarchal society which judges FSWs but, also creates a sexual demand for the FSWs by demonstrating them as individuals that are valued on the basis of their sexual worth. Consequently, typical females in society (such as Karen) do not want to associate themselves with such aspects and thus, distance themselves from being viewed in such terms.

The view of FSWs in a negative light was seen throughout Karen and Craig's interviews. Karen said she could never become a FSW as she is educated and does not want to be objectified (this will be discussed further under stigmatisation). Karen mentions an aspect of how she thinks males construct their masculinity when going to an individual offering a sexual service. Karen points to the fact that she feels that males who go to FSWs view FSWs as mere objects to satisfy themselves (the males) and thus, are adopting a typical traditional

patriarchal outlook whereby the male views females as property and/or objects that are there to pleasure the male. This is something mentioned by the male sexual proprietariness theory. She mentions that even if she was in a substantial amount of debt, she would not want to become a FSW as it would be embarrassing - especially coming from a "staunch Catholic background." Craig comments on the FSWs themselves by calling them "sad people." By using the word 'sad', he is constructing a masculinity that seems to judge FSWs as individuals that are atypical. In other words, it seems that Craig pities FSWs as they would have to be 'sad' individuals to enter into, and work within, the sex industry. He questions why they would want to enter into such an industry unless they were materialistic and abusing drugs. He raises further questions around how a FSW has the ability to live two separate sexual lives

300 Cr: But (0.2) I can't see how (0.2) someone can be intimate with
301 you uh: (0.7) from a ↑sexual sort of (0.4) point of view and
302 (0.1) and (0.4) stuff and (0.2) and two hours later you jumping
303 onto some other strange guy that she doesn't even know.

One can see that Craig is grappling with the idea of how a FSW can engage in sexual activities with other males and afterwards go home and be intimate with her husband. Again, Craig is demonstrating a masculinity that is constructed within a patriarchal society as he is reiterating that fact that it is deemed wrong for a female to engage in sexual activities with multiple males (whether for pleasure or for work) hence, the reason why he cannot grasp the idea of a female engaging in such activities. The above was questioned in a research conducted by Bell and Howard-Payne (2011) whereby it was found that FSWs put coping mechanisms in place in order to negotiate their professional and personal lives. This was reiterated by Brenda who commented that she is able to "go blank" and "become somebody else" when she is with her clients. To further illustrate Craig's negative view, he uses the terms "filthy animal" and "special type" to describe the client who makes use of the services offered by FSWs.

Through using such terms, this seems to reinforce the perspective that Craig has a negative view of the sex industry and individuals involved in it. As such, he is demonstrating himself and thus, constructing his masculinity as different to males who are clients of FSWs. He does this as males who make use of the sexual service offered by FSWs are thought to be individuals that either do not have female partners who would engage in sexual activities with them and/or do not deem the amount of sexual intimacy between them and their partners is adequate and thus, seek sexual satisfaction through other means. The terms he uses to

describe the clients conjure up images of individuals that are predators and not normal - something he distances himself from as he repeatedly mentions he has not been to a FSW. Thus, when speaking about clients of FSWs, Craig constructs himself as someone who does not have the characteristics of males who go to FSWs and who does not need to engage in sexual activities with FSWs. Craig is, therefore, 'Othering' himself from the client but, embracing the patriarchal, judgmental views of FSWs.

Clyde provided both a positive and negative point of view when describing FSWs. This may be due to his family history. He mentioned that he was brought up in an environment that embraced the sex industry and sex workers. In addition, he commented that he had only dated females that were involved in the sex industry. From the above, one can comment that Clyde's construction of his masculinity centred around acceptance of FSWs as he does not involve himself romantically with typical females in society and thus, one assumes he has a positive outlook towards FSWs. He used the term "working girls" rather than sex workers, or other derogatory terms, throughout the interview. An example of this is when he states,

801 Cl: they talk ↑hey .hh and that's one thing about
802 a working girl (.) they never <shut up>

By calling FSWs "working girls" (ling 802) he is providing a positive image of sex workers as he is demonstrating them as females who are working rather than solely focusing on the type of work that they are engaging in (as is typically done in society). Having said this, however, he does refer to them as 'girls', instead of women, which conjures up images of females that are young and dependent. It can be said that, by Clyde referring to them as 'girls', he is positioning himself and constructing his masculinity as dominant.

The negative aspect of FSWs that he comments on is their ability to constantly speak. The comments surrounding this aspect were said in a joking manner, as he was laughing. However, he did comment that "for all the tea in China they can't <shut up>." The emphasis on "shut up", as well as the drawn-out way in which he states it, demonstrates his frustration on the fact that they cannot keep quiet. One needs to question Clyde's understanding of females and their role within society. Throughout the interview he views FSWs in a positive light whereby they are individuals that provide a sexual service and he does not have a problem with this. However, as seen above, as soon as these females transcend the gendered roles that are deemed as the norm in patriarchal society, he views them in a negative light. By commenting on the fact that FSWs talk too much, he is creating the idea that FSWs do not

add value beyond being able to provide a sexual service to others. Thus, one can say that his masculinity is constructed on the basis that there exists gendered roles, one of which is for females not to dominate a conversation and/or contribute so much to a conversation. Talking too much may be seen as a social stigma attached to FSWs which influences various aspects of both the FSWs life, as well as the husbands of the FSWs. Below is a discussion of additional social stigmas that exist.

4.4. Masculinity constructed on the basis of stigma

In society, FSWs are viewed as abnormal whereby they are seen as individuals that are disease-ridden, non-human and immoral (Bell & Howard-Payne, 2011; Jackson et al., 2007; Kong, 2006; Ngo et al., 2007; Orchard, 2007; Sallmann, 2010). The social stigmas attached to such views filter into the personal relationships that FSWs have with their male intimate partners and as such, their marriages are seen as non-traditional.

The topic of social stigmas did not feature prominently in the interviews conducted with case study#1. It was, however, found that the social stigmas mainly stemmed from Karen whilst Craig briefly made reference to social stigmas when directly asked. Thus, it can be said that it is the females in society that have more of an issue with sex work and FSWs rather than males in society (Bell & Howard-Payne, 2011). As mentioned previously, females in society do not want to be associated with FSWs and the characteristics that they are seen to have as these portray one in a negative manner thus, by reiterating verbally the social stigmas that FSWs have, one is engaging in "Othering" as a distancing technique. Furthermore, it seems as if Craig's reluctance to discuss FSWs and the social stigmas attached to them may be due to constructing masculinity within the interview that is non-judgmental and not aligning his points of view with societal ideas about FSWs. Thus, one can say that Craig may be adopting a liberal feminist stance whereby he does not view females as individuals to own and his view of FSWs have not been influenced and/or impacted upon by the social stigmas that exist. Some social stigmas mentioned by Craig, which aligns with the distancing technique adopted by Karen, is that females in society believe that FSWs are “gonna take my husband” and thus, perceive them as being a threat to their marriage. In addition, Karen compared sex work to objectification.

149 Ka: It kind of objectifies you (0.5) You’re objects and .hh I can’t
150 see myself doing that becau:se .hh I’ve been educated and (0.3)
151 I don’t want to be objectified.

Through discussions with Karen, it was found that she makes the assumption that FSWs are not educated (line 150) and you would have to have a low self-image as sex work "devalues you as a person" and objectifies you (line 149 and 151).

This reiterates the patriarchal ideologies that exist about FSWs. In addition, Karen is alluding to the patriarchal ideologies about females whereby they are seen as sexual objects (especially when one enters into a marriage). Thus, one could say that Karen adopts a radical feminist stance when discussing sex work and sex workers as her views are being impacted upon by the social stigmas that exist. Inadvertently, Karen is alluding to the nature of the male that seeks the sexual service offered by FSWs. She says that the males who go to FSWs construct their masculinity on the basis of being able to objectify females and only see value in them as sexual beings. Again, by bringing up issues surrounding ownership of the female body, it would seem that Karen is aligning herself with a radical feminist point of view. She begins to question the background of FSWs.

```
413   Ka:   (0.6) maybe they were children that were sexually ↑abused .hh
414         you probably find on the surface everything is like .hh so
415         (0.3) like .hh perfect but a subversion comes from underneath
416         where (.) um: where the (.) the sex abuse comes out
```

Thus, from the above, it seems as if Karen believes one should go back into the childhood of the sex worker and see whether or not child abuse occurred as she believes that one needs to have had a traumatic past to become a sex worker. Once again, Karen is engaging in the act of "Othering" by constructing a type of individual that becomes a sex worker. Through her comments, she is demonstrating that an individual needs to have had certain experiences and have certain characteristics in order for them to be a sex worker. Karen's perception about FSWs is a common perception seen in society whereby it is thought that for a female to become a sex worker, she would have had to have a traumatised childhood that more than likely involved abuse of a sexual nature (Dalla, 2004). Furthermore, she alluded to the fact that sex workers do not come from upper or middle-class backgrounds and thus, seem to be individuals that have that "materialistic value for money." This is echoed by Craig who comments that FSWs must be materialistic or they are feeding a drug habit as he believes that would be the "trigger" for them entering into the sex industry. The above points of view coincide with the literature reviewed whereby it has been stated that FSWs tend to enter into the sex industry due to pre-existing drug habits (Brewis & Linstead, 2000; Kissil & Davey, 2010). Through Craig's comments on the social stigmas that exist on FSWs, one gets the

impression that he does not say much due to him not wanting to construct himself as a judgmental individual but, the comments that he does provide allude to the fact that he has constructed a masculinity that does not view FSWs in a positive manner as he demonstrates them in a way an individual from a patriarchal society would (as a materialistic and/or drug-taking individual).

As mentioned by Peracca et al. (1998), the social stigmas that exist in society may place added pressure on a non-traditional marriage as it may begin to influence the husband's perspectives and/or have an impact on his masculinity. However, it was found that this was not the case with Clyde, as he openly stated when asked whether or not social stigmas impact upon him, "<No::> no. I don't give a shit. I don't give a shit." The repetition seen in the above demonstrates his need for the interviewer to understand that he does not care about the social stigmas that exist. It should be noted that this may not be the case as later on in the interview he suggests that he has been affected by the fact that his wife is a sex worker and works within the sex industry (this will be shown in subsequent sections). Thus, Clyde gives the impression that in this specific section of the interview, he is trying to construct a masculinity that coincides with hegemonic masculinity as he does not demonstrate emotions and wants to appear unaffected by the work in which his wife engages.

4.4.1. The “Golden Rule”

As has been mentioned throughout the above findings, individuals put mechanisms in place in order to cope with situations which threaten their sense of self. The “Golden Rule” was a topic brought up by Clyde as he felt that in order for an intimate male partner of a FSW to manage with what she does as a profession, he needs to adopt this one “Golden Rule.”

```
151   Cl:   That is the golden rule if you keep to that rule the only time
152         we ever talk about it is if if it's a client that's really
153         vulgar and stuff like that then she'll tell me about it. But
154         other than that, it's a golden golden rule. If you stick by it
155         you'll be fine.

234   Cl:   You do you-you just um like I said golden rule never talk about
235         it. If it's got nothing to do with me I don't wanna know about
236         it and if you keep that rule you going to have a blissful time
```

The "Golden Rule", according to Clyde, is not speaking about what his wife does as a profession. Thus, he makes use of avoidance as a coping mechanism. He believes that if you “keep it separate you’re gonna have loads of fun.” In other words, due to Brenda's work as a

FSW, he has constructed a masculinity based on avoiding reality. He feels that by not facing reality, he will be happier as he will have "fun." This alludes to a masculinity that is affected by the social stigmas that come with having a wife as a FSW as one does not avoid and/or dissociate oneself from an event that does not have an effect on one's sense of self (and the construction thereof). This speaks to Bell and Howard-Payne's (2011) research whereby it was found, through interviews conducted with high-income FSWs, that they do not speak to their male intimate partners about the work that they engage in as it creates tension and additional issues thus, it is a mechanism put into place between the partners.

It was found that Clyde makes a concerted effort to avoid thinking about what Brenda does. He thinks that if he begins to think about his wife's professional occupation, "you're going to stress yourself out every day." When further probed to think about it, he said

135 Cl: Yes (0.4) I have once or twice on (.) and .hh it really
136 irritates me and then I think (0.3) no (.) this is not for me
137 and then I <u>just</u> ↑blank it out again.

Again, this is a demonstration of avoidance, denial and/or dissociation from reality. Interestingly, the mechanism of avoidance and/or dissociation from reality was a finding in Bell and Howard-Payne's (2011) study whereby it was found that FSWs engage in this mechanism with their clients in order to perform their job effectively. Clyde later goes on to describe how, if he begins to think about it, he goes and cleans the pool or does something where he can "take my [his] mind off it." Again, he has constructed a masculinity that does not engage in confronting the reality of the situation and this is due to the social stigmas that exist as the nature of his wife's profession is not traditional and is frowned upon by patriarchal society. Furthermore, when probed on what constitutes infidelity, Clyde commented that having emotions for someone else, besides your partner, is infidelity. When commenting that his wife may have emotions for a male client but, he would not know, he commented that it is something to think about "but once again, if you keep to the golden rule then you're going to be happy" thus, demonstrating the lack of willingness to think about his wife as a FSW. This, in turn, constitutes a way in which he protects his masculinity.

For society, males should not react emotionally to any situation as they are seen as rational beings. Therefore, one can say that when Clyde begins to think about his wife as a FSW, emotions arise which may, in turn, have an impact on his masculinity (and the way in which he constructs it) as he begins to revert back to avoidance. By "blank[ing] it out again" he is suppressing that which makes him feel less of a man. The above scenario demonstrates how

mechanisms are put into place by Clyde to protect his masculinity. His wife is a high-income FSW who engages in sexual acts with other men (in addition to Clyde) which is an atypical or non-traditional situation within a marriage. By engaging in mechanisms to compensate for a compromised masculinity, it demonstrates that Clyde wants to be seen and constructed as a typical male in society. Below will be a discussion on other ways in which the husbands demonstrate and/or construct themselves as the typical male.

4.5. Masculinity as the typical male

As discussed by numerous authors such as, Courtenay (2000), Franklin (1984) and Moynihan (1998), society expects males to behave in such a way that demonstrates masculine traits such as aggression, independence and dominance. From the findings, it was seen that in some parts of the interview, the husbands portrayed themselves as the "typical" male that society deems as the norm and their wives enabled the males to feel and act like the "typical" male.

This was seen when Craig was asked how he would react if he found out his wife was a sex worker, to which he responded

158 Cr: ho- how can she she have du-dual roles without me really
159 knowing about it

He goes on to add that he continuously calls her and would therefore, be able to quickly realise if she was a FSW. His wife is a teacher and, even when she is on school holiday, they constantly speak thus; he knows where she is and what she is doing all the time. This indicates that there is a degree of control in case study#2. Craig is constructing a masculinity based on parent-child control issues. In other words, he is constructing himself as a hegemonic male, whereby he has a degree of control and dominance over his wife and he knows her exact location all the time - as if he is treating her like his child. Comparatively, case study#1 also has a degree of control within it. Clyde gave an example of how he sometimes has to stand over Brenda and tell her to get out of bed and go to work. Clyde's construction of his masculinity with regards to this excerpt is similar to Craig's as he is acting like Brenda's father by standing over her and telling her what to do. He engages in dominance and control over Brenda which may be a form of compensating for a threatened masculinity as he stills needs to feel that he is a dominant male within their relationship.

641 Cl: if I don't do things like that then she'll lay in
642 bed the whole day and that will drive me crazy (0.7) I'll go
643 (0.4) I'll <↑fucking> be up the wall.

Through the above excerpt, it can be said that Clyde controls his wife as he tells her what to do when it comes to her work. This is seen earlier in the same excerpt where he called himself his wife's pimp (as discussed earlier). His aggression and/or frustration is seen through the language he uses such as "crazy" and "fucking." These emotive words were emphasised in the conversation as the tone of voice became louder, indicating how strongly he felt. By demonstrating strong emotions, one needs to raise awareness to a masculinity that may be threatened and/or a masculinity that is constructed based on hegemonic ideologies of masculinity. In other words, as stated previously, by Clyde making use of emotive words which demonstrate aggression and/or frustration, he is disclosing a masculinity that has a need to be in control and dominant over his wife. If she does not do what he asks her to do, his masculinity is challenged and he will go "crazy" and go "fucking up the wall."

Throughout the interviews with the wives, it became apparent how they enabled their husbands to act and feel like the "typical" male portrayed by society. In case study#1, Clyde comments that Brenda boosts his ego through complimenting him on his physical appearance compared to her clients.

```
561   Cl:   Um some parts of me are quite large a:nd we've had this
562         discussion before, her and I, and about pecker size and I've
563         come out quite on top [laughing]

565   Cl:   So things like um she li: if you boost a guys ego in that sense
566         that um she says you know you've got a bigger shlong and things
567         like that, that I can live with and that will boost my sex
568         drive
```

Males pride themselves on penis size and thus, through commenting that his penis is larger than that of her clients (lines 561 and 566), Brenda is inflating Clyde's masculinity which enables him to feel more like a man thus, he will construct a masculinity based on being "macho" and a 'man.' For males, penis size is equated to their sexual prowess and their sense of "manhood" (Lever, Frederick & Peplau, 2008, p. 129). Brenda either does this because it is the truth or she wants to make her husband feel better due to her line of work. Brenda, however, did not mention the above in her interview which may either be an issue around positionality (as the researcher is female and she did not feel comfortable speaking about it) or because she has never said it to Clyde and he merely mentioned it to portray himself as , and/or feel like, more of a man.

This latter comment may have more truth to it as Clyde mentioned scenario's which, at times, seemed to suggest that he was constructing his masculinity in a "macho" manner that coincides with what patriarchal society reinforces with regards to hegemonic masculinity. For example, Clyde mentions that he comes from a family where criminal activity was a norm and their definition of "having fun" was selling stolen goods. He and members of his family were, and are, involved with gangs and individuals who are currently "celebrities of the underworld." Later in the interview he comments that gang members from Hells Angels wanted him dead. Thus, it seems as if Clyde is constructing his masculinity in a "macho" manner as topics of criminality kept being mentioned throughout the interview. By mentioning such stories, he is placing himself within a dominant and powerful position thus reiterating his masculine characteristics.

This is seen further when he mentions that his wife will divorce him if he does not have sex with her at least three times a day. In other words, Clyde states that his wife would want to end their marriage of five years if she does not engage in sexual activity with him at least three times a day. It seems as if Clyde's comment is a method used to assert his masculinity by demonstrating his wife as an individual that suffers from nymphomania (as previously mentioned) and thus, he portrays him and his wife as individuals with high sex drives. Portraying oneself as a male and reiterating and reinstating one's masculine traits is a defense that one may turn to when their masculinity is in crisis and/or threatened (Good et al., 1994; Jewkes, 2002; Krishnan et al., 2010; Lazarus et al., 2011; McCarry, 2007; Wade & Brittan-Powell, 2001). This may be the case with Clyde as he is presenting different "macho" scenarios which enable him to demonstrate himself as a masculine male despite the fact that his wife is a high-income FSW.

4.6. Masculinity constructed on the basis of fatherhood

According to the male sexual proprietariness theory, paternity may be one of the threats to one's masculinity (Belhadi, 2006; Sesardic, 2003). One would assume that having children with a wife that is currently a FSW would pose as an issue with regards to paternity as she is having sexual intercourse with numerous men (in addition to her husband). This, however, did not seem to be the case with Clyde and Brenda. At the time of the interviews, Brenda was pregnant with their second child and Clyde did not doubt that he is the biological father of the child. They have a 3 year old son together however, they have not conducted a paternity test as Clyde believes he was conceived when Brenda was taking a break from being in the sex

industry. Furthermore, Clyde has no doubt that he is the biological father to his son due to the fact that "you can see it plain as day." One needs to raise questions around why Clyde has not conducted a paternity test to conclusively determine whether or not he is the biological father of his son. It can be said that he may be engaging in a form of avoidance as he may be denying and/or not accepting the profession his wife has chosen to work within. His avoidance of the reality of his wife's profession influences the way in which he constructs his masculinity as it seems as if he is protecting himself and his sense of masculinity by not getting a paternity test done and wholeheartedly believing that his son is his biological child. When probed about the paternity of the unborn baby, Clyde became short and defensive in his answers and even changed the subject. By responding in such a manner, it raises questions around his certainty about the paternity of his child and again, it seems as if he is protecting his sense of masculinity.

210 In: Okay (.) and your pregnant - your wife's pregnant now?
211 Cl: Mmmm:
212 In: Again?
213 Cl: (0.7) Mmmm:
214 In: Have you ever had questions?
215 Cl: Mmmm::. No (.) The one thing u:m (0.4)my wife is very very
216 adamant about everything is with a condom (.) everything. So
217 um: (0.4) I know that I can trust her in that way and .hh (0.3)
218 my wife's a bit of a nymph as well (.) and so it actually
219 spares it (0.3) actually uh: (.) is a bonus for me
220 In: So: you're not concerned at ↑all?
221 Cl: It (0.4) doesn't bug me

From the above, one can see that Clyde believes that the unborn baby is his biological child as his wife uses condoms with all the clients that she sees (line 216). Awareness needs to be raised to the fact that there is a contradiction in Clyde and his construction of his masculinity throughout the interview. As was seen in the theme "Masculinity as the typical male" Clyde has a lack of trust when it comes to his wife getting out of bed and going to work as he often has to tell her to do so (which speaks to construction of his masculinity based on control and treating his wife as a child). However, in line 216, he completely trusts her to use condoms with her clients (something which he does not know as a fact), which speaks to a masculinity constructed on the basis that he does not have to watch over and control his wife and/or treat her as a child. A further contradiction can be seen when he calls his wife a "nymph" (line

218). The characteristics of an individual who suffers from nymphomania is an individual who does not have control over their sexual desires (Groneman, 1994) and thus, one needs to question whether she would, by Clyde's definition, really have control enough to use condoms with all of her clients.

He may be using this as a mechanism to cope and protect his masculinity from the work that his wife is engaging in as he cannot be certain that she uses condoms with every client. He later goes on to add that it does not "bug" him and he is not concerned about the paternity of his unborn child. If the above comment is to be taken at face value, one cannot apply the male sexual proprietariness theory to Clyde as he is constructing a masculinity that is not in crisis and/or threatened by paternity issues. He, therefore, does not engage in a form of violence to re-assert a dominant and controlling masculinity but rather, does not perceive the paternity of his children as an issue. Having said this, if one applies the above to a social constructionist perspective, it can be said that one should not take Clyde's comments at face value as he is constructing his masculinity to suit the context and the situation in which he was currently located, in the interview. He may be constructing a masculinity that does not seem to be disturbed by the paternity of his children in order to protect his sense of self and demonstrate himself as a traditional, patriarchal male. This may be the case as seen in the following examples.

Clyde demonstrates being uncomfortable during the interview when discussion moved towards his personal life, especially when questions were raised about his son, as seen below.

```
176   In:   Okay. And you mentioned you had a little kid, Jordan=

177   Cl:   =Oh Jords (0.2) my (.) my son [smiling] .hhhhhhhhh
178         [coughs](1.7) What do you wanna know?
```

By taking in a deep breath (as demonstrated by .hhh), the cough and the long pause, one gets the sense that he is uncomfortable with the interviewer shifting the interview to a subject concerning his son. A further demonstration of his discomfort with the topic of his children is seen when he changes the topic in the course of discussing the paternity of his unborn child. The change in topic became sexual in nature whereby he states that his wife is "a bit of a nymph" (line 217). One can interpret this as a mechanism used to protect his masculinity which further raises questions around whether or not he is certain about the paternity of his children.

Another example is seen when he comments that his wife is a nymphomaniac (line 218 in the previous excerpt), thus enabling him to portray himself as a male who engages in sexual acts with his wife quite often. By using the term "nymph" he is indicating that his wife is atypical to most females as she has a high sex drive which, in turn, categorises her as not normal - as society considers males to be individuals that have a high sex drive. By raising the topic of his wife being a "nymph", he is constructing masculinity as a male who is the only individual who can satisfy his wife's (who, according to him, is an abnormally sexed female) sexual appetite. It should be noted that males tend to make up and inflate such stories to make themselves feel like and/or look like more of a man to others thus, constructing themselves as a typical patriarchal male (Harland, n.d.). One can state that questions surrounding the paternity of the children did not visibly impact on and/or threaten Clyde's masculinity as he wholeheartedly felt that he was the biological father of his children. However, through changing the topic, and commenting on his wife being a nymphomaniac, it may be an indication of paternity being an issue that has threatened his masculinity.

4.6.1. Normalisation

Constructing masculinity in order to "fit-in" with the norm of society is done often and this research is no exception. It was found that through the interview conducted with Clyde, he made a concerted effort to use the term “normal family life” when describing his immediate family.

```
2   Cl:     It's a normal family life you know (0.3) you keep (.) you keep
3           work as work and you keep family as family so: what actually
4           happens is when um: (0.2) when 5 o'clock comes and then (.) we
5           cut off then (0.5) um: we go fetch Jordan from school and
6           things like that and (.) we have a ↓normal family life like (.)
7           uh (0.5) from the time w-w (0.2) because she's got a house also
8           that she runs with girls um (0.2) from the time I take Jordan
9           to school or (.) she takes Jordan to school from about 8
10          o'clock then we get the house ready for the girls that they
11          come in by 10 .hhh somewhere there and then from (.) then from
12          10 til 5, it's a house but after that it's normal family life.
```

The term “normal” is seen in lines 2, 6 and 12. By reiterating the term “normal” it creates the sense that Clyde is trying to give the impression that, even though his wife is a FSW, he has a “normal family life.” Through placing such emphasis on normality, it demonstrates that he wants a “normal family life” as his present situation is regarded as non-traditional and

atypical, which goes against what is considered the norm in society. By repeatedly emphasising the term "normal" Clyde seems to be constructing a masculinity that is longing to be seen as a typical and traditional father and husband. He is trying to convince the interviewer that he, as a man and a father, is normal and even though his wife's occupation involves being a FSW, this does not hinder the fact that they live a traditional family life. Furthermore, he may be constructing masculinity in defence to the social stigmas that exist, thus demonstrating that such stigmas do not affect his masculinity as he is a typical male and father who has a "normal family life."

This need for normality is confirmed by Brenda through the interview conducted with her.

584 Br: Um: I think he's alright hey (0.4) I (0.2) I don't think it's
585 (0.1) I think it as we're getting older and you know (.)
586 there's more (.) more of a family and it's a family environment
587 I think it does get to him. I also try not to work when he's
588 around (0.1) just because there's time that he needs my
589 attention and he needs me to be here and ↑not that other
590 person. He needs (0.2) he needs his wife and it's difficult to
591 swop and change between the two so: (0.1) I try not to work
592 when he's around (0.2) He has been at home and I've worked
593 before and he's been okay with it (0.4) He doesn't really have
594 an issue. Um: (0.6) but I think it's getting to a point where
595 he kinda needs his wife more than he needs money [laughing]
596 (0.3) it sounds bad (0.4) not that he needs my money but if you
597 get what I'm saying.

Through the above excerpt, it is found that she believes Clyde is longing for normality and the traditional marriage and family environment. An impression is given that case study#1 is becoming more of a family unit, as another child is arriving soon, and thus, Clyde is demonstrating a need to have more of a “normal family life.” As stated in lines 587 and 595, Clyde’s masculinity is being affected by the fact that his wife is a FSW as she said that “it does get to him” whilst adding that she feels that he needs attention from his wife more than the income that she is bringing to the family. This need to move towards a family environment that is considered “normal” is not directly discussed by Clyde in his interview, which speaks to the need to demonstrate himself as not being affected by his wife working as a FSW. Clyde is trying to portray himself in a "macho" way as revealing a threatened or affected masculinity means becoming vulnerable and reverting to feminine traits (Harland,

n.d.). Another way in which a male feels or acts like a typical male is through having partner exclusivity.

4.7. Masculinity constructed on the basis of partner exclusivity

Little research has been conducted on the husbands of FSWs due to the fact that most individuals within society believe that FSWs cannot be married and/or are not human and thus, do not have a "normal" life where an intimate male partner and children exist as it is dysfunctional (Dalla, 2004; Kissil & Davey, 2010). However, as has been shown with this research, there are FSWs that have husbands and these husbands do know about their wife's choice in career.

The hypothetical situation posed to case study#2 brought about interesting findings with regards to the possible reaction Craig may have if he found out Karen was a FSW. Both Craig and Karen commented that he could not accept his wife being a FSW and would leave the marriage. When Craig was asked how he would react to finding out Karen was a FSW he stated

146 Cr: (2.3) Again (0.3) I mean I wouldn't be married to someone like
147 ↓that so: [laughing] ja (0.8) i-i-i-i- it's it's it's almost a
148 stupid question because I-I know I wouldn't be married to
149 someone like ↓that.

Through the above, it is found that Craig considered the thought of Karen being a FSW, without him knowing, an impossibility and a unfair comment (lines 147 and 148). He comments that he would not be married to someone who is a FSW (lines 148 and 149). This speaks to the construction of a masculinity that is strong-willed and certain about his perceptions as he feels that partner exclusivity is the basis of a marriage. This may be rooted in his upbringing whereby it was seen that his parents are still married and there has been no incidences of infidelity and/or non-commitment. When asked whether or not he would have married Karen if she was a FSW, he commented

171 Cr: Um: no (0.3) I don't think I would have married her (1.7) ↑No I
172 wouldn't have married her (0.5) ↑definitely ↓not.

By making us of the words "I don't think", Craig demonstrates that he would not be absolutely sure if he would have married her but, he might have. A change of heart is seen when, after thinking about it for a bit, he states that he "definitely" would not have married

her (as seen in line 171 with a long pause). This speaks to a masculinity constructed on the basis that a marriage is a commitment whereby loyalty and partner exclusivity are a must. If the boundaries of loyalty are transcended, Craig adamantly states he would not stay in the marriage and thus speaks to a masculinity that would be affected by non-commitment. The male sexual proprietariness theory states that when a male's masculinity is threatened and/or in crisis, the male will resort to a form of violence in order to regain his sense of masculinity and reinstate his dominant, controlling nature.

This, however, is not the case with Craig as he would leave the marriage rather than engage in violence. Caution does, however, need to be taken when examining this as Craig may be constructing a masculinity in the context of the interview and as such, he may not have revealed a violent nature which may (or may not) exist. Nevertheless, his reaction to the above demonstrates adamancy and strong feelings as he places emphasis on the words "no" and "definitely." An additional example of a masculinity that would be affected if he found out if Karen was a FSW is through the following.

139 Cr: ↑No why would I want to be married to someone like ↓that and
140 and and there there'd there can't be love in that ty-type of
141 relationship.

When discussion began on FSWs, Craig's tone of voice changed and he came across as more uptight and defensive. He commented that some of the questions asked were "stupid" as how could I even present to him a question that would ask whether or not he would stay married to his wife if he found out she was a FSW. Through the above response, one can see that Craig not only emphasises the word "that", which speaks to his opinion of FSW, (which has been mentioned in the "view of FSWs" theme) but, he would not stay married to his wife as he feels that love does not exist in a marriage where the wife is a FSW. Thus, one can say that by finding out his wife is a FSW would pose as a threat to his masculinity as his responses clearly indicated a negative opinion of FSWs and the dynamics of their marriages. In order to deal with the threat, however, Craig would not turn to violence (as mentioned by the male sexual proprietariness theory) but, would rather leave the marriage. Thus, this reiterates the fact that, by a female engaging in sex work, Craig views it as going against partner exclusivity, which has implication on one's masculinity and its construction. He, therefore, would engage in the act of protecting his masculinity by leaving the marriage rather than engaging in a form of violence in order to reclaim and/or reinstate his masculinity within the marriage.

This is backed up by Karen who comments "I don't think I'd have a husband" (meaning Craig would leave her). This reiterates Craig's perspective whereby being a FSW would impact upon his masculinity as his wife is going against the marriage vows of loyalty and commitment. When asked whether she thought Craig would have married her if she was a FSW she said,

188 In: Okay. Do you think he would have married you?

189 Ka: No. ↑Definitely not. A-a-and it's also his self-esteem (0.3) I
190 think like he's got a good self-image and why would he want
191 any other man bonking his wife? (0.2) I-I don't think he's the
192 type to allow (.) I think he's too (.) he's got too much like
193 self-value (0.3) I mean he's not interested in someone else
194 sharing me I'm not interested in sharing him if he was a:
195 gigolo (0.7) Okay I (.) wouldn't want that. It's just I (1.7)
196 On a moral level (0.2) and also on a jealous level okay (0.5)
197 how dare you (.) touch my wife or my husband.

198 In: Ja okay. Um: so say you were a sex worker and he was married to
199 you (0.3) a:nd he did find out. Do you think it would change
200 the way he: (.) viewed you as a woman (0.4) as a wife?

201 Ka: ↓Ja.

202 In: How do you ↑think it would have?=

203 Ka: =He'd leave me. I'm sure he would (0.6) I mean he's broad
204 minded in some ways (.) but I think on that level he won't be
205 tolerant of it.

206 In: Okay. (0.7) Do you think it would have changed the way he
207 treated you?

208 Ka: I (0.1) I think he would have just said go. I (.)I'm not sure
209 if it would have ↓changed him in the way he treated (.) me. I
210 just think he would have said look (0.1) just go (.) this this
211 this is not for me.

Karen demonstrates Craig in a positive light whereby she thinks that he would not react in a violent manner if he found out she was a FSW but rather, would merely leave the marriage. She does not feel he would treat or look at her in a different manner. The comments made by Karen demonstrate that she does not think Craig's masculinity would be impacted upon if she

was a FSW as he has a "good self-image" and "self-esteem" and would merely leave the marriage.

One needs to question whether or not his "good self-image" is due to partner exclusivity or whether or not it exists due to his good "self-esteem." It seems as if his "good self-image" is due to his partner exclusivity due to the fact that his masculinity and the image that he has constructed would be damaged if his wife was a FSW. His defensive nature, his strong, adamant feelings, as well as the fact that he would leave his marriage due to his wife engaging in sexual activities with numerous males outside of the marriage, all speak to the fact that his masculinity (and its construction) would be compromised and damaging to his self-esteem. This is confirmed by Craig's comments that give the impression that his masculinity would be impacted upon due to the denial he shows throughout the interview by saying things like "I mean (0.5) that would never happen to me. It couldn't happen to me." Furthermore, through the emphasis he places on certain words, this demonstrates strong feelings which may be an indication of the impact that it may have on his masculinity.

In addition, it was found that Clyde's masculinity and the construction of it has been affected due to his wife's choice in career, which compromises ideas surrounding partner exclusivity. According to Clyde, being married to a FSW has not affected him as a male or his masculinity and the fact that Brenda is a FSW does not bother him. However, it was found that Brenda discusses a different side to Clyde which he does not reveal in the interviews.

316 Br: He's a
317 very shy person so: (0.4) I think he's not comfortable talking
318 about his whole (0.1) experience [laughing] (0.8) He's ↓kinda
319 freaked out about it.

The above excerpt from Brenda's interview, demonstrates a perspective to Clyde that enables one to see a way in which his masculinity may have been impacted upon. By Brenda saying "he's kinda freaked out about it" demonstrates that she disagrees with what he said about "not [being] bothered" by her being a FSW. Brenda is constructing Clyde's masculinity through characteristics that would typically be applied to females such as; "shy" (line 317) and "freaked out" (line 319). By using such terms, she is portraying her husband as a male who has an emotional reaction to the fact that she is a FSW. This, however, was not portrayed by Clyde, which speaks to numerous factors, one of which is social desirability about what it entails to be a man. As mentioned previously, males revert to acting "macho" and over-the-

top when their sense of masculinity is compromised (Harland, n.d.). Clyde was constructing himself in the interview as a male whose is confident and unaffected by his wife being a FSW. However, by Brenda commenting that he "freaked out about it" (line 319), one gets the impression that Clyde's masculinity is impacted upon and he will not admit it as he wants to be seen as a typical male portrayed in a patriarchal society. One way in which masculinity and its construction can be threatened is through perceived infidelity.

4.8. Masculinity constructed in the face of infidelity

One way in which one's masculinity may be threatened, according to the male sexual proprietariness theory, is through sexual infidelity (Goetz et al., 2008; Schützwohl, 2008; Seto, 2003; Shackelford, 2001; Wilson & Daly, 1996). The topic of infidelity created much debate for the participants, especially for Clyde. According to Buss and Shackelford (1997), infidelity is “extramarital sex” (p. 193). This is what is referred to as sexual infidelity whereby one is engaging in sexual activities outside of the marriage (Goetz et al., 2008; Schützwohl, 2008; Seto, 2003; Shackelford, 2001; Wilson & Daly, 1996). These definitions, however, were not completely adopted by case study#1. It should be noted that Clyde and Brenda both come from families that are divorced due to incidences of infidelity. This may be important, especially for Clyde, as coming from a background of infidelity may have influenced the way in which he has constructed his sense of masculinity and the view he has about the role he has to play as a husband. Clyde believes that his wife is not “cheating” on him as she is being paid to engage in sexual acts with other males. If, however, he had to engage in sexual acts with another woman, who was a FSW, it would be considered to be cheating.

This latter comment was, however, changed as the conversation progressed, as demonstrated by the following excerpt.

491 In: What if there's emotion involved?
492 Cl: Then she must pack her stuff and duck.
493 In: Okay. Even though she's getting paid for it?
494 Cl: .hhh emotions from which side?
495 In: Her side
496 Cl: Then she must pack her stuff and leave.
497 In: Okay. A:nd you wouldn't know (.) But (0.3) you wouldn't know.
498 Cl: Ah true (0.4) Um: something to think about (.) but (0.7) once
499 again, if you keep to the golden rule .hhh then you’re happy.

500 In: And if you had to sleep with another woman and pay her (.)
501 that's cheating?
502 Cl: Well yes (0.4) yes.
503 In: You'd consider that cheating?
504 Cl: Well no .hh my wife would consider that cheating.
505 In: And you would?
506 Cl: Mm: (.) ja:(0.5) I'd have to have a deep thought about that one
507 S: Okay
508 Cl: Because uh: you know it's different for guys (0.7) but in a
509 nutshell yes .hh it is cheating (0.4) you dipping your your
510 your lollipop into places it shouldn't be so yes it would (.)
511 it would constitute as cheating even though there's no
512 emotional bond.
513 In: Okay. And if there was an emotional bond that's (0.3) that is
514 cheating for you?
515 Cl: uh:: it's um: (0.7) ja. Yes (0.3) If there is an emotional bond
516 that's cheating. If you're just doing it (0.3) okay wait (0.4)
517 If there's an emotional bond it's cheating .hhh if you're
518 you're doing it for money (0.4) it's not cheating but (.) if I
519 have to do it because I'm not getting anything at home (0.3)
520 that means it's cheating.

Throughout the above, Clyde demonstrates what seems to be confusion as he goes back-and-forth with what the meaning of infidelity is for him and other individuals (such as his wife and society in general). Initially, he comments that if emotion is involved between two individuals, then that is infidelity (lines 515 and 517). In other words, Clyde is commenting that if there is a connection between two individuals, beyond a sexual and/or physical one, it would be considered infidelity. Thus, he is demonstrating that infidelity compromises his masculinity, as partner exclusivity would not exist anymore as his wife has formed a personal, emotional connection with another male. According to Goetz and colleagues (2008), Seto (2003) and, Schützwohl (2008), the male sexual proprietariness theory, males' ideas of infidelity is more sexual in nature whilst females ideas of infidelity tend to be both sexual and emotional in nature (with more of an emphasis on emotional). This, however, does not seem to be the case with Clyde as he seems to be more uncomfortable with the idea of his wife having an emotional connection with other males thus, his understanding of infidelity centres around emotional infidelity. It can, therefore, be said that Clyde constructs his

masculinity within a non-patriarchal perspective with regards to what a male's understanding of infidelity should be.

However, if no emotion is involved and you are a FSW, that is not infidelity (line 518). When probed about whether having a sexual encounter with another FSW constitutes as infidelity, he initially said it would (as seen in line 502) but, later changes this to say that Brenda would consider it infidelity (as seen in line 504). When asked whether he thought engaging in sexual intercourse with a FSW would constitute as infidelity, he hesitated for a bit, as seen in line 506, with the pause and the drawing out of the word "ja", and comments that he would have to think about it. This reluctance and confusion relates to the comment made in line 508, "you know it's different for guys." It seems as if Clyde is constructing males as individuals that have sexual needs and need to be sexually satisfied (whether that means looking outside of the marriage or not). By commenting that males are different to females, he is alluding to the fact that if a male goes outside of a marriage to seek sexual satisfaction (without an emotional connection), that is not considered as infidelity in his eyes. The construction of his masculinity, with regards to infidelity, seems somewhat contradictory which may stem from his upbringing whereby his parents divorced due to infidelity thus, he may see it as a norm. However, society does not consider it a norm, which is where his confusion may lie as it is frowned upon.

This back-and-forth confusion makes one question whether social desirability had a part to play in the answering of the questions as Clyde has engaged in sexual infidelity with other women. This was stated by Brenda who commented on two separate occasions, "Um: the thing is he's also had his indiscretions you know. He's he's he's cheated." It needs to be highlighted that even though Clyde has engaged in infidelity with Brenda, she has apparently forgiven him as she is still married to him, however, as admitted by Clyde, if he had to find out Brenda was not being loyal in their marriage, he would ask her to leave. These double standards raise questions around how society views infidelity with regards to the different genders. It seems as if the act of infidelity has been socially constructed as acceptable if a male engages in it as he has sexual needs that need to be satisfied. However, if a female engages in infidelity, it has been socially constructed as a sin. Brenda later adds:

```
273  Br:    I mean (.) obviously if that's what's gonna make him feel
274         better then do it .hh it's just that (.) that whole emotional
275         .hh I don't want that connection you ↓know. That's the (0.3)
```

276 that's the special part about the relationship is that bond you
277 know .hh I don't want him to have that with anyone else so: .hh
278 if you wanna go book go book them a:nd pay them for their time
279 .hh and come home [laughing]. I ↑know you're gone for an hour.

The above reinforces the earlier statement that Clyde is confused over whether engaging in sexual intercourse with a FSW constitutes as infidelity as Brenda says, in line 279, that she knows he disappears for an hour (a typical time period for a FSW) and as stated previously, he has not remained faithful in his marriage. Thus, it demonstrates that Brenda has reinforced, for Clyde, that infidelity for a male is not an issue as she has accepted his infidelity and not left him due to it. Thus, she has contributed to Clyde's construction of a masculinity that sees infidelity in a gender-based manner.

Brenda aligns herself with Clyde's understanding of infidelity. This may be a defence mechanism adopted by Brenda in order to alleviate her own guilt with regards to her profession impacting upon Clyde's masculinity. This is seen when she comments, “sex is sex, who cares” and thus, if you engage in sexual activities with an individual and it is just about the act, with no emotion, that is not considered infidelity. Thus, it seems that if Brenda adopts the understanding that engaging in sexual activity is not infidelity but, rather an act to satisfy an individual, it justifies in her mind that being a FSW is not bad and is not a form of infidelity. Similarly to Clyde, she believes that it is the emotional connection that distinguishes whether or not one is “cheating” on one’s partner. This is echoed by Craig who believes that a FSW is not “cheating” on her husband as he knows what his wife is doing and is living off the earnings that she is bringing into the family. He states,

361 Cr: It’s
362 not cheating (0.6) its (.) it’s mutual agreement .hh that’s (.)
363 that’s what she does for a ↑living and he’s happy with it a:nd
364 he probably gets a cut on the money so: no (0.3) it’s not
365 cheating.

Craig's perspective is constructed based on his belief that the husband of a FSW is the pimp and that the marriage is a business relationship (this will be discussed further under another theme). Karen, on the other hand, believes that a FSW is engaging in infidelity by having a profession as a sex worker. She believes that even fantasising about another male is considered "cheating." In case study#2, Clyde and Brenda’s opinions are similar in the sense that they both believe that "cheating is value loaded and depends on whose perspective it's

from." Thus, as mentioned by Craig, a husband of a FSW may not be affected by his wife engaging in sexual acts with other males due to the fact that he has adopted a perspective that protects his masculinity through the definition that enables to let him view it as "just a job that brings in an income." From the findings, it can be concluded that in case study#1, Clyde's masculinity is not visibly affected by his wife being a FSW as he does not believe that she is conducting infidelity (either emotional and/or sexual).

There are mechanisms that a male may put into place in order to decrease the chances of infidelity occurring such as mate-retention tactics (Cousins & Gangestad, 2007; Goetz et al., 2008). This is seen in the following excerpt from Brenda's interview.

371 In: Okay (0.4) um: do you think he's been affected at all .hh as a
372 man (0.2) sexu (.) sexually as characteristics of a man that
373 his wife is=

374 Br: =I don't think (0.4) I think it's made him ↑try harder. How bad
375 could that be [laughing]. I think he just tries that much
376 harder you know (0.8) To make sure that I'm also satisfied um:
377 (0.3) I think maybe in some (.)I'm sure it must you know (0.4)
378 I can't see that it can't affect a person. It would affect
379 anyone (0.7) u:m I don't know if it's a ↑huge problem. I think
380 to some degree it's in the subconscious somewhere or (.) it's
381 there but I don't think it's something that is not .hh that we
382 can't overcome you know. It's it's a minor problem (.)
383 everybody's got their issues in their marriages you know.

Through Brenda's account, one gets the sense that Clyde makes a concerted effort to ensure that she is "satisfied" when they are being sexually intimate with one another. This speaks to the literature on mate-retention whereby the male engages in activities which are kind and caring towards his female partner to ensure that she does not look outside of the marriage for sexual satisfaction (Cousins & Gangestad, 2007; Goetz et al., 2008). By conducting mate-retention tactics, it can be said that Clyde's masculinity is being threatened by the fact that his wife is engaging in sexual activities with other males and thus, views her clients as competition. As such, he is constructing his masculinity in opposition to her clients and demonstrating himself as a hegemonic male whereby he sees himself as the only individual that can sexually satisfy his wife. Perceived sexual infidelity may be linked to the male characteristic of being a jealous individual.

4.9. Masculinity constructed on the basis of jealousy

It was found that jealousy was not a topic raised by case study#2. Additionally, it was not a main topic that was raised by case study#1, however, it was briefly mentioned by Clyde and Brenda. Clyde mentions that he is not jealous of Brenda's clients.

168 Cl: Oh
169 (.)the one client waved at her while we were walking around
170 Pick 'n Pay .hh a:nd he waved at her a:nd so .hh she waved back
171 and I said who's that and she says a client and I was like oh
172 (.) okay.

173 In: And you leave it at that? (0.4) you won't discuss it any
174 further?

175 Cl: We don't discuss it (0.4) At all.

He mentions that they do not discuss it further as he does not want to know about it (line 175). Again, as mentioned previously, this may be a mechanism that he puts into place in order to protect a masculinity that is threatened by the reality of the fact that his wife is a FSW. He may not seem outwardly jealous, however, by the mere fact that he does not want to discuss it, demonstrates avoidance. Avoidance of a threat to one's sense of masculinity and the construction of it speaks to the typical male response whereby, when faced with conflict and/or emotion, avoiding and/or dissociating from the issue occurs.

Brenda speaks to jealousy directly by saying the following,

624 Br: [laughing] um no he's he's never been a jealous person and even
625 if he has he's never he's kept it very very hidden that I've
626 never picked up any jealousy from him.

By Brenda using the words "never" (lines 624, 625 and 626) and "very" (line 625) repeatedly, she is emphasising (maybe too much) the fact that Clyde has not led her to believe that he is a jealous person. She did mention one incident whereby he became jealous of a mutual friend of theirs as he had said to Brenda, "If I had one of you at home I'd be happy." Brenda commented that Clyde was upset about this and it was the first time she had seen him jealous. From the above, it should be noted that Clyde does not display jealousy when it comes to incidents involving clients, however, his one display of jealousy occurred when a mutual friend (who does not know Brenda is a FSW) passed a comment regarding her value as a sexual partner. His masculinity was threatened by a comment made by a non-client which

reiterates the fact that he is a "typical" male who is threatened when another male shows an interest in his partner but, this interest is not sexual in nature (as would be the case with a client). This speaks to Clyde's definition of infidelity whereby, if sexual interest is shown by a client, it is deemed acceptable as no emotion is involved. Thus, Clyde is constructing his masculinity on the basis of hegemonic characteristics and emotional jealousy (rather than sexual jealousy, as is the case with the male sexual proprietariness theory). However, when a non-client demonstrates an interest in his wife, it is not acceptable as firstly, he does not know she is a FSW and secondly, there is potential for emotion to develop. Thus, Clyde's masculinity was influenced at that specific time as he viewed their mutual friend as competition as he threatened his sense of masculinity.

Having said the above, however, one cannot clearly link the male sexual proprietariness theory to husbands of FSWs as, with case study#1; the husband does not display acts of jealousy. When he does display acts of jealousy, he does not display any form of violence towards his wife and/or others but rather, avoidance. Another way in which a male's masculinity and its construction is affected is through having a wife who earns more than himself.

4.10. Masculinity as the provider

Patriarchal society depicts females as dependent, nurturers and passive individuals. In a patriarchal society, females are thought of as individuals that should stay at home and look after the children whilst it is the male's duty to be the financial provider (Courtenay, 2000; Jewkes, 2002; Wildenboer, 2004). Having said this, however, both the husbands demonstrated a resistance to the stereotypical male depicted by society with reference to being the primary breadwinner. This was especially prominent when asked whether or not a female should stay at home looking after the house and children instead of working. For Clyde, he was quite adamant that a woman should be working as both a husband and wife should be bringing in an income. Clyde responded in the following way:

443 Cl: Oh hell no. Oh no forget it. It's .hhh a unless you're earning
444 like R100 000 a month, then you can say yes but if you're not
445 then it you can't you can never ever say it. Never ever let the
446 wife unless she's doing something at home to make money, oh
447 hell no. No. Women must work. They must keep their minds
448 entertained.

His reaction to the question was immediate, with his tone of voice louder than most of the other comments he made throughout the interview. This demonstrated that he felt quite strongly about his point. This is reiterated through making use of the word "hell" twice (lines 443 and 447), as well as negative words such as "no" (lines 443 and 447) and "never ever" (line 445) in the excerpt thus, demonstrating a strong disagreement with the statement. From the above reaction to the question, one can see that Clyde aligns himself with and thus, constructs his masculinity within, the liberal feminist perspective whereby he believes that females should work to bring in an income.

The response given by Craig demonstrated a calmer and less forceful opinion of why he thought females should be working rather than staying at home and looking after the children. He provided a positive perspective of females and how they may contribute more towards a job than males.

191 Cr: Not at all. Um (0.8) I think now-a-days a lot of women who are
192 far far better and far far outperform their husbands u:m (1.2)
193 my opinion is women seem to be more focused (.) more organized
194 uh: then men um: (0.7) and as intelligent and (.) and so in
195 certain positions women does the job better than a man .hh and
196 I think it's got to the stage now where if you look at it um
197 (0.5) women perform better than men. And there's certain jobs
198 where I would (.) I would choose to have a women working for me
199 rather than a man. Because they're more efficient (0.4)
200 generally on average more efficient and and and and do very
201 well.

Craig believes females demonstrate characteristics (with regards to being able to financially provide for the household) that are on par to males, if not better than males. Thus, Craig seems to resist patriarchal ideologies of females and the characteristics that they have and also aligns his masculinity with the liberal feminist perspective of female roles in society.

Having said this, however, one needs to take into consideration that both Clyde and Craig were being interviewed by a female researcher. This is important to consider as social desirability may have been practiced during the interview. For Craig especially, this may have been the case as he used the word "um" a few times during the above excerpt which demonstrates that he was thinking carefully about what he was saying. This is demonstrated through the timing of the pauses that he takes as seen in lines, 191, 192, 194 and 199. Thus, it

seems as if Craig is constructing his masculinity according to the context in which the interview is taking place. He seems to be aware of who the interviewer is (the interviewer was female) and thus, may have wanted to portray himself as an individual that embraced gender equality. It seems as if Craig wanted the interviewer's approval and/or validation as he regarded the interviewer as representative of expectations held by a society that embraces gender equality.

Additionally, talk around income demonstrated both a resistance and an acceptance of the societal ideologies of masculine traits. In case study#2, it was found that Craig demonstrated a resistance of the stereotype that males would feel uncomfortable with a female earning more than a male. Craig earns more than Karen and, when asked about how he feels about him earning more than her, he responded:

236 Cr: It's just (0.3) that I (.) I do earn more than her. I mean if
237 she earns more than me I wouldn't feel ↓bad um: we (.) we
238 basically share what we have and and u:m .hh so it definitely
239 doesn't make a difference to me. If she earned more than me
240 (0.4) I'd be a bit upset if (.) if I was earning a lousy salary
241 but you know under the circumstances I'm happy with what I'm
242 earning and if she earned more than me then I'd be doubly happy
243 because it's an income for the family.

To the researcher, by using the word "just", in line 236, it demonstrates modesty about earning more than his wife. This comfort and modesty regarding what he earns may be due to the fact that he has a PhD and thus, is well-educated and has a sense of confidence within himself as a male. In other words, it seems as if Craig's educational background has constructed his masculinity in a manner where it has given him confidence as, someone who has gone to a higher education institution usually obtains a job with a high paying salary. This is emphasised by Karen who comments:

268 Ka: I think I think his ego's fine I mean he's got a PhD. He's he's
269 okay with who he is and he's quite like casual hey.

This casual nature and "comfortableness" with who he is, is reiterated by him saying that if Karen earned more than him, he "wouldn't feel bad" and would feel "doubly happy". Therefore, it demonstrates that he would have no animosity if she earned more than him as the income would be for the family rather than for the individual. This reiterates the previously mentioned finding, whereby it was seen that Craig's perspective aligns with

liberal feminism. This is in contrast to case study#1 whereby competition between Clyde and Brenda was found with regards to being the primary breadwinner.

Clyde was not concerned with the fact that his wife was earning an income through being a FSW as he said he was happy with it, as long as she was not having sex with other males for free. However, later he adds:

777 Cl: Sometimes I bitch and moan about it. >Sometimes, not always<
778 Unless she says I can spend her money then I'm happy as a pig
779 in shit.

The above was in response to the fact that Brenda earns more than him. He uses the word "sometimes" twice (line 777) to indicate that it may influence him on certain occasions but it does not constantly bother him. The symbol "> and <" for this case means that he said the comment very quickly, when measured against how he said other sentences. Thus, one can say that he wanted to make it clear that it was something that did not occur often as this would go against the masculinity that he has constructed, which coincides with traditional patriarchal masculine characteristics. He mentions the fact that he would be happy if his wife said he could spend the money that she earned (line 778). By using the word "her" (line 778), this indicates a clear distinction between her money and his money (something quite different to case study#2). It can be said that Clyde may be trying to compensate for a masculinity that has been compromised due to his wife earning a higher income than him. He does this by re-asserting his masculinity (and the construction of it) and the control and power that comes with it by deciding how he would spend her money. Thus, this is one way in which Clyde maintains a level of control over Brenda. This distinction of whose money is whose is reiterated by Brenda who says, "He owes me a lot of money (0.4) he does [laughing]. He's in arrears [laughing]". With Clyde's above comments, one gets the impression that Brenda bringing in an income and it being higher than his, bothers him to an extent. Brenda confirms this in her interview by stating:

351 Br: So u:m it kinda becomes a competition between us like who's
352 bringing in more money um: (0.5) so: we kinda monitor each
353 other. I think he does (0.4) if I earn more money than he does
354 .hh then ja he does. He gets kinda ↓depressed and ↑oh you make
355 more money then I [laughing].

Brenda used the word “depressed” (line 354) to explain how Clyde reacts to the fact that she earns more money than him, which highlights a masculinity that has been affected, as depression is not a characteristic a male is associated with in a patriarchal society. A more typical reaction from a male whose masculinity has been threatened is through avoidance and/or the exertion of violence (according to the male sexual proprietariness theory). However, Brenda does seem to downplay the impact that it has had on Clyde’s masculinity and the construction of it by using the words “kinda” (line 354) and by laughing (line 355). By making use of these words, Brenda is almost protecting Clyde’s masculinity by not completely associating his emotional reaction with femininity. However, one can still argue that Clyde's masculinity has been impacted upon due to his wife's choice in career as she earns more than him and he has an emotional reaction to such a situation. This is in line with literature, which comments that a male’s masculinity is in crisis if he does not meet the expectations of what a male should do such as being the primary financial provider (Courtenay, 2000; Jewkes, 2002; Wildenboer, 2004).

Having said this, however, Clyde does not actively portray himself as a male who has resorted to forms of violence (whether physical and/or emotional) towards Brenda due to her bringing in a higher income than him. It should be noted that there has been some indication of him trying to reclaim power by monitoring the income that Brenda brings in and thus, he has tried to compensate for a masculinity that has been threatened. Thus, for case study#1, being married to a high-income FSW and the wife earning more money than the husband seems to have threatened the husband’s masculinity, however, the way in which he has dealt with and/or coped with it does not link to the male sexual proprietariness theory, as well as other authors’ perspectives, such as Bhattacharyya and colleagues (2011), Jewkes (2002) and Wade and Brittan-Powell (2001). As previously mentioned, by a husband monitoring his wife and the income that is being brought in, he is reclaiming his control and/or power which seems to demonstrate that the husband may be acting like a pimp.

4.11. Masculinity as the boss

Issues around control, dominance and power were directly and/or indirectly seen within the analysed data. Through these issues, a prominent focus, especially by Craig, was seen on whether or not the husband of a FSW loved his wife or whether or not he was in the marriage for the income that she earned. Consequently, questions were raised as to whether or not the husband was the pimp.

4.11.1. Husband as the pimp

Within a patriarchal society, it is said that males should behave in ways which demonstrate dominance, control and independence and, if a male's masculinity is threatened, a male should reclaim such characteristics (Courtenay, 2000). According to Craig, a husband of a FSW reclaims his sense of masculinity by acting like and /or being the pimp.

421 Cr: he's still gonna control (.) control the woman .hh in ↑fact
422 he's (.) he's the ↓pimp. He's gonna make sure he gets his cut
423 .hh He'll probably slap her arou:nd and get what he wants in
424 any case (0.4) Because a guy like that wouldn't have any love
425 for his wife ↓really

This is just one example, amongst many, of when Craig mentions that he thinks the husband is acting like the pimp. Thus, as seen in line 422, Craig believes that husbands of FSWs are with their wives in order to take a portion of the money earned and do not have love for their wives as they are using them (line 424 and 425). This 'using of the wife for money' was mentioned by Clyde who said, "She used to buy me drinks. ↑That's the only reason why I talked to her." Craig is constructing his masculinity in opposition to a husband of a FSW by stating that the marriage between a husband and his wife (who is a FSW) is not a proper marriage as it goes against the vows one takes (which claims that they love each other). In this context, Craig believes that a husband of a FSW constructs his masculinity based on radical feminist views. These views demonstrate that when one's masculinity is threatened, one needs to reinstate one's sense of masculinity and/or reconstruct one's masculinity by becoming dominant, powerful and controlling. This is something which has been mentioned and seems to exist with Clyde.

Interestingly, Clyde both accepts and rejects the claim that he is a pimp. When asked whether or not he is a pimp controlling what goes on in the house (as his house is a brothel during weekdays), his answer was ambiguous "Ye-ye no. Yes and no." He goes on to add that he jokes around with the other FSWs working from his house by asking where the money is (for rent). However, he clearly states that they do not work for him but rather, "hire a venue" in order to provide a sexual service to their clients. He adds, "Basically I'm like her pimp" and refers to himself as a client in the sense that "basically I am paying her (.) God I'm putting a roof over her head for ↑God's sake."

As one can see, there are contradictions in the way in which Clyde views his positioning within the marriage. Initially, when asked directly whether or not he is the pimp, he debates

with the idea but, ultimately concludes that he is not a pimp. Later, however, he (of his own accord), mentions that he is Brenda's pimp and provides a house for her. These contradictory remarks point to a masculinity that seems to be somewhat confused as he has constructed it based on roles a husband, as well as a boss, should have. In other words, it seems as if Clyde is grappling with whether or not he is a pimp or a husband to his wife. By claiming he is a pimp, he coincides with radical feminist views whereby he is controlling his wife, her income and her business. By being controlling, this points to the fact that his masculinity may be threatened by her being a FSW. Peracca and colleagues (1998) demonstrated that a male does not necessarily need to become violent when his masculinity is threatened but, may begin to act like a pimp. Thus, as is demonstrated above and through Clyde's own admission, his masculinity is threatened due to his wife's profession and thus, has begun to demonstrate that he is Brenda's pimp. This begs the question, is this relationship a romantic or business relationship?

4.11.2. Romantic relationship or business relationship?

This idea of whether a non-traditional marriage involves love was primarily raised by Craig as he grappled with his understanding of what a traditional marriage should be and what he thinks a marriage, where the wife is a FSW, is like (non-traditional marriage). It was found that Craig had a view that a non-traditional marriage, such as case study#1, was not a "normal" marriage but rather, one whereby there was a lack of love.

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139  Cr:    ↑No (.) why would I want to be married to someone like ↓that
140         and and and there (.) there'd .hh there can't be ↓love in that
141         ty-type of relationship.
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When describing a non-traditional marriage, phrases were seen throughout the interview which were worded as follows, "loose relationship", "marriage couldn't be happy", "they probably use each other", "it's that sort of symbiotic relationship it's not love" and "I don't see how you can have just a normal intimacy." In the interview, Craig is constructing masculinity on the basis of traditional patriarchal perspectives of sex work and sex workers. He is aligning his point of view with authors such as Kissil and Davey (2010), as well as Dalla (2004), who comment that a marriage between a FSW and her husband is dysfunctional and problematic. It should be noted that Craig's perspective about the lack of love in a non-traditional marriage develops from being uninformed due to lack of direct, personal exposure to FSWs and their husbands. He mentions that he knows about FSWs and their husbands in Holland as he lived there and individuals have spoken to him about it but, he has not made

use of the services offered by FSWs and/or has not had a personal relationship with a non-traditional married couple. Thus, Craig's perspective, as well as his masculinity, has been socially constructed through the ideologies put forth from society which, in turn, has shaped the way in which he views FSWs and sex work more generally (Bell, 1994; O'Neill, 2001; Sanders, 2005).

423 Cr: Because a
424 guy like that wouldn't have any love for his wife really .hhh
425 it's a (.) it's a business relationship and he's gonna dominate
426 and get the big share there in any case. ↑Make her do the work
427 while he sits and watches television.

From this excerpt, it can be seen that Craig views a non-traditional marriage as one whereby the relationship is strictly business (line 425) as he later mentions, a husband would not care about his wife if he let her enter and/or stay in the sex industry. Again, throughout his interview he mentioned that "it's (.) it's more a business sort of relationship." He goes on to add

402 Cr: But (0.4) I still don't see that as a proper husband-wife
403 relationship. I think that's like a business arrangement (0.7)
404 Now you're looking after the business interest. A:nd the wife
405 is the business and (.) he's the financial manager (0.3) or
406 marketer

Thus, it can be said that Craig does not regard a non-traditional marriage as a "proper" relationship (line 402) as it does not coincide with a marriage he regards as traditional (i.e. his marriage). Thus, it seems as if Craig is constructing his masculinity on the basis of 'Othering' by distancing himself from individuals who are involved in a non-traditional marriage. He justifies this claim by referring to emotions such as love. His construction of his masculinity not only stems from the patriarchal societal norms of how a marriage should be but, more than likely from his upbringing, where his values and morals from his religious background have a strong hold on the way his masculinity developed. He indicates that he considers a non-traditional marriage to only be in existence due to the husband having a "business interest" (line 404) that he needs to look after as he is the "financial manager or marketer" (lines 405 and 406). Once again, one can see that, in this context of the interview, Craig extends the liberal feminist perspective into the marriage by claiming that not only is the

FSW a business woman who brings in an income but, her marriage is a business whereby she is the worker and her husband is the boss who takes a portion of her earnings.

There was no indication whether or not Clyde or Brenda regarded their relationship as a romantic relationship, whereby love existed, or whether or not it was a business relationship. Neither Brenda nor Clyde mentioned that they loved each other or mentioned an emotional attachment to one another. Having said this, however, one cannot conclusively say that a non-traditional marriage is a business relationship rather than a romantic relationship as they may not have mentioned love due to being uncomfortable with the interviewer (which was not felt by the interviewer), positionality and/or privacy factors. Thus far, Brenda and Clyde have been married for five years and, as mentioned by Peracca et al. (1998), a non-traditional marriage will be success if the FSW and her husband truly love and understand one another. It is suggested that more research should be done on whether or not a FSW and her husband's marriage is based on traditional marriage values, such as love or whether it is a business relationship based on income and material goods.

Chapter 5: Conclusion and Implications

5.1. Summary

From the findings of this research, as well as the literature reviewed, it can be seen that husbands of FSWs have not been a group of individuals that have been closely examined in order to gain an understanding of the way in which their masculinities are constructed and/or influenced by their wives being FSWs. In case study#1, it was apparent that sex work was a topic that they felt comfortable with having a conversation about and this may be due to the overall family upbringing. This, however, was not the case with case study#2 whereby the topic of sex work was initially met with resistance and defensiveness. This speaks to the overall perceptions held by individuals within a patriarchal society whereby sex work is frowned upon and thought of as atypical. This filtered into the perceptions held by Craig and Karen regarding FSWs whereby it was found that Karen engaged in distancing and "Othering" as she did not want to be associated with FSWs. In addition, it was found that, when speaking about FSWs, Craig constructed his masculinity along traditional patriarchal lines whereby he views them in a negative light.

Furthermore, he distances himself from the male clients of FSWs as he talks about them as individuals that would have to have specific characteristics to make use of the sexual services offered by FSWs. Clyde demonstrates both an acceptance and rejection of FSWs, whereby he initially constructs a masculinity that is in line with liberal feminism, however, he later used the term "girl" to refer to FSWs, which brings into question whether or not he constructs his masculinity along radical feminist perspectives, as this demeans woman and demonstrates a sense of control and dominance of the females. This is all linked to the social stigma that is apparent within society. It was found that the "Othering" was an important factor that was demonstrated by both Karen and Craig. In addition, it was found that, in order for Clyde to deal with Brenda being a FSW and the social stigmas that are attached to them, he used mechanism such as the "Golden Rule", avoidance, denial and/or dissociation to deal with the fact that his masculinity was being threatened.

Overall, it was found that the males constructed their masculinity in relation to their wife's occupation, their income in comparison to that of their wife's, their wife's sexuality, familial and historical notions regarding infidelity, certainty regarding paternity, and issues of romantic jealousy (both sexual and emotional). It was found that, at least for the man from a

non-traditional marriage (where his wife was a FSW), by constructing and reconstructing one's masculinity (when faced with perceived threats regarding one's sense of masculinity), one is able to reclaim the typical patriarchal characteristics. Generally it was found that the male sexual proprietariness theory does not hold in this research as the husbands have not, and do not, demonstrate a need to revert to forms of physical violence if and/or when their masculinity is threatened. Rather, they will socially construct their masculinity to suit the situation and the context in which they find themselves.

5.2. Limitations

Due to the particularly sensitive nature of the research study at hand, a number of limitations have been identified. The limitations identified may have had an influence on the interpretation of the findings of the research and thus, with this in mind, one needs to explore the extent of the potential impact.

One limitation, which predominately influenced the direction in which the research shifted, was the lack of men willing to participate in this study, primarily due to the fact that the husbands of the high-income FSWs did not want to be interviewed. It was for this reason that the scope of the research was amended and a new direction was formed. The change in the research direction proved to be advantageous as it allowed for a comparative case study to take place and thus, the differing masculine identities could be identified. However, it also resulted in a number of limitations. Firstly, due to the limited number of participants, the results cannot be generalised to the whole population. One cannot generalise the findings of the "traditional" married couple to that of all married couples where the husband and wife are not involved in the sex industry. Secondly, the results cannot be generalised to all husbands of FSWs, regardless of income range and location. One needs to question the results obtained from Clyde, who was the only husband who did participate, as his responses demonstrated over-the-top ideas and opinions and thus, is not a representation of the actual sample.

Further, the method in which the data was collected influenced aspects of the research. It was due to the fact that face-to-face interviews were being conducted that most of the participants contacted to take part in the research were not willing to participate. This research, therefore, would have benefited from having a multi-method data collection process. A method of collecting the data that could have been used was e-mails whereby the participant would have remained anonymous.

In addition, it has been identified that due to the nature of the research, the researcher found it difficult for in-depth information to emerge from the interviews conducted with the married couple where the wife was not a high-income female sex worker. It was found that this couple found it difficult to be forthcoming in their opinions and views on sex, sex workers and the sex industry in general. This may be due to the fact that rapport was not already established with this couple, as well as the fact that the topic at hand was of a sensitive nature.

It should also be noted that this research may have produced different results if the demographic characteristics (such as race and age) of the sample differed. In South Africa, the diversity amongst individuals, with regards to race, is vast. For this study, only Caucasians were interviewed and thus, the results cannot be generalised to other population groups. Furthermore, this study only examined individuals that were in their 30s and thus, limits the findings to that specific age range.

Attention should be brought to the fact that the researcher is a young female. This may be an issue for a number of reasons. Firstly, because of the age of the researcher, the participants may have felt that she did not have life experience and thus, may have felt uncomfortable in disclosing information regarding their personal views and about their personal lives. Secondly, by the researcher being female, the participants may have felt uncomfortable discussing their personal lives and may have been more comfortable discussing such a topic with a male researcher – especially the male participants. Therefore, as a researcher, one must take note of positionality. The researcher found that her age did not hinder the quality or quantity of the information disclosed. There was also no suggestion that the sex of the researcher influenced the information gathered through the interviews. It should be noted however, that if Clyde was interviewed by a male, the results may have been vastly different as it seemed at times that he wanted to shock but, at the same time, get the approval of the female interviewer. Having said the above, however, the research does add value

5.3. Application of Findings

The results that have been demonstrated through analysing the semi-structured interviews highlight numerous aspects of the findings which may add value with regards to FSWs, husbands of FSWs, and overall, the concept of masculinity.

As was highlighted, when research is conducted on FSWs, the health practices, as well as the public health implications of the sex industry, have been the primary focus. Thus, FSWs and the research conducted on these individuals is primarily framed within a biomedical framework. There is little empirical research focussing on the emotional and personal lives of FSWs, as well as how their chosen profession has impacted on male intimate partners (especially husbands). The findings of this research have highlighted the fact that FSWs have personal lives outside of their profession and thus, they are females that hold various different roles, such as working women, wives, mothers and so on.

These findings can also be used in educating the husbands of FSWs in order that they better understand their wives and the psychological impact that their wives jobs have on them. This research adds to the knowledge gap with regards to masculinity and how it is constructed. This is especially apparent when applying masculinity to the examination of husbands of FSWs.

Masculinity is a term used to describe socially expected characteristics. As such, the findings reinforce social constructionism and that masculinity changes according to the context in which one finds oneself. Through the findings, one can see that there is a shift in the way in which males have constructed themselves. In addition to patriarchal perspectives, males are also identifying with, and thus constructing themselves within, the liberal feminist perspective. These differing perspectives highlight the tensions that males find themselves in with regards to the introduction of feminism into society. Further education of both males and females can reinforce what has already started in society with regards to gender equality. The gap needs to be narrowed and both males and females need the tools to enforce these changes.

5.4. Recommendations and Future Research

In order to examine the change in perspectives and/or opinions due to the interviews conducted, it is recommended that this type of research takes the form of a longitudinal study. In doing so, the development of rapport would be established and thus, richer, in-depth information can be gathered. By conducting a longitudinal study, the change that is seen in one's point of view will be more pronounced. In addition, it is recommended that a multi-method way of collecting data is undertaken – especially if the focus is on the male intimate partners of high-income FSWs. It was found that the lack of participation was due to the males not wanting to be interviewed as they wanted to remain anonymous. It would be recommended that a method, such as e-mails, be employed as they would not have to meet the researcher and thus, would be more comfortable in participating and giving information. Furthermore, it is recommended that research centring on a variety of demographic traits takes place. For example, the research should be spread across race and age categories. This will allow one to fully comprehend the way in which a male's identity may be impacted upon if his wife is a high-income female sex worker. An examination with more husbands, as well as husbands from backgrounds that have not embraced the sex industry, will allow a more thorough and critical analysis of how being married to a sex worker may impact on masculinity. Furthermore, it is recommended that other types of sex work are examined (such as streetwalkers). As is seen in this research, the term 'pimp' is contested and in order to fully grasp the concept, a further examination into the various types of sex workers needs to occur. Lastly, when it comes to using violence when one's masculinity is threatened, the findings refute this and thus, the findings do not align with the male sexual proprietariness theory. This demonstrates that such a theory needs to be revisited as it may not be applicable to most situations where a male's sense of masculinity is compromised (especially a husband of a FSW).

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Appendix A: Ethics Clearance Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: MPSYC/12/001 IH**
PROJECT TITLE:	The masculine identities of men, who are married to high-income female sex workers in Johannesburg, South Africa: A grounded theory
INVESTIGATORS	Bell Shannon
DEPARTMENT	Psychology
DATE CONSIDERED	04/05/12
DECISION OF COMMITTEE*	Approved

This ethical clearance is valid for 2 years and may be renewed upon application

DATE: 20 June 2012

CHAIRPERSON K Cockcroft
(Professor K Cockcroft)

cc Supervisor:

Ms. L Howard-Payne
Psychology

DECLARATION OF INVESTIGATOR (S)

To be completed in duplicate and **one copy** returned to the Secretary, Room 100015, 10th floor, Senate House, University.

I/we fully understand the conditions under which I am/we are authorized to carry out the abovementioned research and I/we guarantee to ensure compliance with these conditions. Should any departure be contemplated from the research procedure, as approved, I/we undertake to submit a revised protocol to the Committee.

This ethical clearance will expire on 31 December 2014

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES

Appendix B (1): Telephonic Schedule (Male)

Hello,

My name is Shannon Bell; I am a Masters candidate from WITS University. I received your contact details from your wife (or from the personal contact). I trust that she (or he) has spoken to you about my study and that she (he) told you to expect my call. I am conducting a research study that is focused on the husbands of high-income female sex workers and how their wife's career choice has impacted them personally. I am interested to find out if your wife's career (or whether your wife's career as a sex worker) has had (or would have had) any impact on the way that you see yourself in general as a man, as a husband, and/or as a father. I would like to invite you to participate in this study.

The interview will last approximately one hour in length. Some of the questions asked will be based on your personal view of your marital relationship and whether you think that your identity has changed due to your wife being a high-income female sex worker. Additional questions may be based on personal feeling towards one another (as a married couple). In order to participate in this study, you must be over the age of 18, be able to communicate fluently in English as the interviews will be conducted in English, you must be legally married and you must be aware of your wife's career as a sex worker (if the wife is a sex worker). If you agree to participate in this study, we will schedule the interview sessions at a time and place that are convenient to you.

Thank you for your consideration.

Appendix B (2): Telephonic Schedule (Female)

Hello,

My name is Shannon Bell; I am a Masters candidate from WITS University. I received your contact details from (name of personal contact) (or from your husband). I am conducting a research study that is focused on the husbands of high-income female sex workers and how their wife's career choice has impacted them personally. I am interested to find out if you think your career (or I am interested to find out if you had a career as a sex worker, do you think it) has had (or would have) any impact on the way that your husband sees himself in general as a man, as a husband, and/or as a father. I would like to invite you to participate in this study.

The interview will last approximately one hour in length. Some of the questions asked will be based on your personal view of your marital relationship and how you see your husband in general but particularly as a man. Additional questions may be based on personal feeling towards one another (as a married couple). In order to participate in this study, you must be over the age of 18, be able to communicate clearly in English as the interviews will be conducted in English, you must be legally married and your husband must be aware that you are a female sex worker (if you are one). If you agree to participate in this study, we will schedule the interview sessions at a time and place that are convenient to you. If you are interested in participating in this study with your husband, please could you give me a contact number for him so that I can talk to him about this study (only if she is a sex worker)? Please will you inform him of our conversation and tell him to expect a call from me within the next day or two?

Thank you for your consideration.

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet

Psychology

School of Human & Community Development

University of the Witwatersrand

Private Bag 3, WITS, 2050

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

Hello,

Thank you for agreeing to participate in my study and for meeting at this venue. As we previously discussed on the telephone, my study is being done as a requirement for my Masters degree and wants to investigate the impact that a wife's career choice, of high-income sex work, might have on the way that her husband sees himself. This can be in relation to how he sees himself as a man in general, as a husband, and/ as a father. I would thus, like to formally invite you to participate in this study.

Please note that your participation in this study is voluntary and there is no penalty for not participating. Involvement in this study requires your participation in a number of interviews over several months. The interview will last approximately one hour in length, which will be scheduled at a time and place that is suitable for you. You will not be obliged to answer any questions that you are uncomfortable with and you have the right to withdraw your participation from this study at any time without consequence.

With your permission, the interviews will be audio taped while I take down some brief notes so that the interview can be transcribed for data analysis. All the data collected for this research will be stored in a locked cupboard and any audio recordings will be kept on a password-protected computer. You have the option of remaining anonymous in which case all transcripts and reports will be given a pseudonym to ensure that your request is fully respected.

It is my understanding that the study will not pose any risks to you. If, however, you feel that you need any professional help as a result from participating in this study, please do make use of the following free telephonic counselling organisations, such as Life Line (0861 322 322) and South African Depression and Anxiety Group (011 262-6396). If you feel that you have concerns regarding the study or if you require any additional information, please contact me

or my supervisor, Lynlee Howard-Payne on (011)717-4522 or at Lynlee.Howard@wits.ac.za to discuss these further.

Thank you so much for your time.

Ms. Shannon Bell E-mail: shannon.bell@students.wits.ac.za

Appendix D: Participant Consent Form

I hereby confirm that I have been briefed on the research that Ms Shannon Bell is conducting.

☐ I understand what participation in this research project means,

☐ I understand that my participation is voluntary,

☐ I understand that I have the right not to answer any questions that I do not feel comfortable with,

☐ I understand that I have the right to withdraw my participation in the research, at any time, I so choose, and

☐ I understand that my identity will be kept confidential and anonymous,

☐ I am over the age of 18 and I am married.

Signed on_____ at _____

_____
Participant Signature

Appendix E: Participant Consent Form For Audio-recording

I _____ have been given the participant information sheet for the study being conducted by Ms Shannon Bell. I have read this information sheet and understand that the interview will be audio taped.

I agree to be interviewed, and realise that all interviews will be audio-taped.

Participant signature: _____

Date: _____

Appendix F (1): Interview Schedule (Husband of sex worker)

1. How long have you been married to your wife?
2. How did you meet your wife?
3. Do you have any children?
4. What do you do professionally?
5. Can you tell me about your family life? (Prompters – are you close with your parents/siblings?).
6. Traditionally males used to go out and work while their wives stayed at home and looked after the home and children. Do you think this still applies in today's world?
7. When did your wife disclose to you that she is (or wanted to become) a high-income sex worker?
8. What was your initial reaction? (Prompters - Do you think it changed the way you viewed her as a woman/wife/mother? Do you think it changed the way you treated her as a woman/wife/mother?).
9. How do you feel about it now?
10. Do you and your wife speak openly (with each other) about her work?
11. Do you think that there is a stigma attached to sex work in South Africa? (Prompter – can you tell me what you think those are? Have they impacted upon you in any way (for example: the way that you see your wife or your relationship with her?).
12. Do you and your wife discuss your relative incomes with each other? (Prompter – do you know what the other earns? How do you feel about what you earn in relation to what she earns?).
13. What are your views on monogamy within marriage? (Prompter – how does the traditional views about monogamy apply to your marriage?).
14. Have there been any challenges within your marriage because of what your wife does for a living? (Prompter – do you ever feel negative emotions (like jealousy or anger) when you consider what she does every day at work?).
15. How would you describe your sexual relationship with your wife? (Prompter – how do you feel about safer-sex practices within your marriage?)
16. Do you and your wife ever get into arguments regarding her work? (Prompter – what do you fight about? How you both react during the fight? How do you try to resolve the fight?).

Appendix F (2): Interview Schedule (Male not married to a sex worker)

1. Can you tell me about your family life?
    - Father and mother relationship/religion/schooling/siblings etc
2. How did you meet your wife?
3. How long have you been married to your wife?
4. Do you have any children?
5. What do you do professionally?
6. How would you define sex work?
7. If you found out that your wife was a sex worker?
    - What would your initial reaction be?
    - Do you think it would change the way you viewed her as a woman/wife/mother?
    - Do you think it would change the way you treat her as a woman/wife/mother?
8. Traditionally males used to go out and work while the females stayed at home and looked after the house and children
    - Do you think this still applies in today's world?
    - Would you want your wife to be at home looking after the children or the house than working to earn an income?
9. Do you earn more or less than your wife?
    - How do you feel about that?
    - If less, are you comfortable with the fact that she earns more than you?
    - Would you, as a male, be comfortable with her earning more than you?
10. In society, sex work comes with stigma attached to it
    - In general, what do you think society thinks about sex workers?
    - In general, what do you think of sex workers?
    - What would you think if your wife was a sex worker?
    - Would you be married to your wife if she was a sex worker? Why/why not?
11. If you were married to a sex worker:
    - Do you think this would affect your relationship, as a married couple?
    - Do you think this would affect you as a male?

12. Knowing the risk of contracting HIV/Aids and other infectious diseases, would you be concerned about your health if she was a sex worker?
13. What is your definition of cheating?
14. Do you think that a sex worker is cheating on her husband/partner by engaging in sexual activities as a profession?

Appendix F (3): Interview Schedule (High-income female sex worker)

1. How long have you been married to your husband?
2. How did you meet your husband?
3. Do you have any children?
4. Can you tell me about your family life? (Prompters – are you close with your parents/siblings?).
5. How long have you worked in the sex industry?
6. Can you tell me why it is that you chose to enter into the sex industry?
7. Can you describe a typical day for you at work?
8. When did you disclose to your husband that you work as (or wanted to become) a high-income sex worker?
9. What was his initial reaction? (Prompters - Do you think it changed the way he viewed you as a woman/wife/mother? Do you think it changed the way he treated you as a woman/wife/mother?).
10. How do think that he feels about it now?
11. Do you and your husband speak openly (with each other) about your work?
12. If you were not able to work as a high-income sex worker (or you chose to leave the industry), what other work would you want to do?
13. Do you think that there is a stigma attached to sex work in South Africa? (Prompter – can you tell me what you think those are? Have they impacted upon you in any way (for example: the way that you see yourself as a woman in general or as a wife).
14. Do you and your husband discuss your relative incomes with each other? (Prompter – do you know what the other earns? How do you feel about what you earn in relation to what he earns?).
15. What are your views on monogamy within marriage? (Prompter – how does the traditional views about monogamy apply to your marriage?).
16. Have there been any challenges within your marriage because of what your work?
17. How would you describe your sexual relationship with your husband? (Prompter – how do you feel about safer-sex practices within your marriage?)
18. Do you and your husband ever get into arguments regarding your work? (Prompter – what do you fight about? How you both react during the fight? How do you try to resolve the fight?).

Appendix F (4): Interview Schedule (Female not a sex worker)

1. Can you tell me about your family life?
    - Father and mother relationship/religion/schooling/siblings etc
2. How did you meet your husband?
3. How long have you been married to your husband?
4. Do you have any children?
5. What do you do professionally?
6. How would you define sex work?
7. In society, sex work comes with stigma attached to it
    - In general, what do you think society thinks about sex workers?
    - In general, what do you think of sex workers?
    - If you found yourself in a huge amount of debt, would you turn to sex work to bring in an income? Why/why not?
    - If you were a sex worker, how do you think your husband would react to it?
    - Do you think it would change the way he viewed you as a woman/wife/mother?
    - Do you think it would change the way he treated you as a woman/wife/mother?
8. Traditionally males used to go out and worked while the females stayed at home and looked after the house and children
    - Do you think this still applies in today's world?
    - Would you rather be a female who is at home looking after the children than working to earn an income?
9. Do you earn more or less than your husband?
    - How do you feel about that?
    - If more, do you think your husband is comfortable with the fact that he earns less than you?
    - If less, do you think your husband would be comfortable with the fact the he earns less than you?
10. If you were a sex worker:
    - Do you think this would affect your relationship, as a married couple?
    - Do you think this has would affect your husband, as a male?

11. Knowing the risk of contracting HIV/Aids and other infectious diseases, would you be concerned about your husband's health if you were a sex worker?
12. What is your definition of cheating?
13. Do you think that a sex worker is cheating on her husband/partner by engaging in sexual activities as a profession?