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UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND

DEPARTMENT OF PSYCHOLOGY

M.A. RESEARCH PSYCHOLOGY

RESEARCH REPORT

Women's work?

An exploration of the lack of male interest in the field of professional psychology in South Africa

ROBERT JAMES WILLIAMS

A research report submitted to the Faculty of Arts, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Masters in Research Psychology by Coursework and Research Report

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Declaration

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

Signed: ___RJW___ Date: 16 March 2014

Abstract

This research explored the possible reasons for the lack of males in professional psychology in the South African context, by examining the reasons why second and third year, male psychology students decide not to enter postgraduate studies in psychology. A mixed methods research design was employed. The quantitative aspect consisted of the administration of a questionnaire including the Male Attitude Norms Inventory-II (MANI-II), a questionnaire measuring levels of hegemonic masculinity, to test for the degree to which hegemonic masculinity may influence the decision to pursue or not to pursue postgraduate studies in psychology. The qualitative aspect involved semi-structured, one-on-one interviews with second and third year undergraduate, male, psychology students who specified that they did not intend on pursuing postgraduate studies in psychology. This aspect of the research was designed to determine the possible reasons for the decision not to pursue postgraduate studies in psychology, as well as to assess the degree to which masculinity affects this decision. Quantitative results showed that there was not a significant difference on the MANI-II between groups (although certain individual items did show significant results). The results of the qualitative interviews showed that many issues were potentially contributing to distorted and negative views of professional psychology, although a major finding was that the participants viewed their masculinity as being incompatible with the requirements of professional psychology and that professional psychology would be an unfulfilling career. Recommendations included greater education on the reality of the work involved in professional psychology as well as possibly increasing the exposure of undergraduate males to postgraduate and professional male psychologists as well as greater consultation to improve the media's representation to reflect the realities of psychological practice.

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1 Introduction

The lack of interest of male undergraduate psychology students to follow on to postgraduate studies in psychology and subsequently to follow a career in psychology, has led to an increasing feminisation of professional psychology in South Africa (Skinner & Louw, 2009). For the purposes of this research, feminisation refers to the increasing numbers of female psychology postgraduates and professionals in South Africa, relative to males, to the point where women dominate the field of psychology in South Africa by a large margin (Health Professions Council of South Africa, 2013). This has occurred in all fields of psychology; however is particularly the case in the more applied fields of clinical, counselling and educational psychology.

According to the Health Professions of South Africa (with which all practicing psychologists in South Africa must register) there are currently 5,328 practicing female psychologists and only 2,237 practicing male psychologists (Health Professions Council of South Africa, 2013). In addition, there are 768 female student psychologists compared to only 236 male student psychologists, indicating a continuation of the trend (Health Professions Council of South Africa, 2013).

1.2 Rationale

There are a number of possible factors that may be contributing to the feminisation of psychology in South Africa. The first possibility is a unique South African male masculinity that is incompatible with what South African males perceive the profession of psychology entails, resulting in male students moving away from psychology as a profession. This could be a factor on its own or could be combined with how psychology as a profession is presented in the university setting; including the structure and content of the courses which itself may possibly be influenced by the feminisation of the field (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991). In addition, perceptions of the gender makeup of the psychology student body, particularly postgraduate students, may contribute to the perception of psychology as a feminine profession or as potentially unsuited to males.

The feminisation of psychology has many potential implications for the profession as a whole and it will be argued that this feminisation may be undesirable for several reasons. It is suggested that in a field such as psychology it is desirable to have a relatively even distribution of genders amongst professionals, both for research and practical purposes. With an increase in the number of female psychologists in the field, it is likely that there would be an increased interest in women's issues. Although this is not necessarily a negative factor in and of itself (considering the historically male dominated nature of the field), it could result in a neglect of research into contemporary issues unique to males (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991). In addition, gender can have an effect on the outcomes of psychotherapy as well as help-seeking behaviours of males in society.

Internally, the trend of feminisation may have effects on the profession itself, including lowered wages and a decrease in prestige, which may have an impact on the profession's attraction for males, as well as a changing work structure to accommodate multiple roles. This change in work structure involves the shift away from professional psychology being a full-time occupation to being more flexible to accommodate female dual roles of working as well as having to be heavily involved in family life (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991). What this means is a shift away from psychology being viewed as a full-time and financially sustaining career for individuals to a job designed around the societal roles of females (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991).

Also, "decisions made regarding recruitment and retention of students in psychology are direct determinants of who will be the psychologists of tomorrow...in essence....educators are gatekeepers to the profession" (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991, p. 362). Externally, this phenomenon leads to a relative shortage of male therapists (clinical, counselling and educational) therefore impacting on the ability of clients to choose the gender of their therapist. However, in addition, the traditional male stronghold of research psychology has also come to be dominated by females (Skinner & Louw, 2009). Whilst female dominance within the counselling aspects of psychology could be partially understood through it being viewed as 'emotional work', this shows that this phenomenon of feminisation within psychology is not limited to adherence to societal roles or gender stereotypes, but is a universal occurrence across psychology in South Africa.

It could well be that a self-reinforcing system has been created whereby the loss of prestige and financial reward within psychology, as well as the perceptions of psychology being a 'females-only' profession due to the dominance of numbers in psychology, serves to discourage males from entering the profession and consequently the lack of males entering the profession serves to contribute to the aforementioned issues (Rozenweig, 1994). As Rosenweig (1994) puts it, these processes result in "devaluation of the field and feminisation stimulating each other" (p. 571). Consequently, this leads to a situation of "too many females and not enough males" (Skinner & Louw, 2009).

Thus there is a clear need to elucidate some of the reasons behind the lack of interest of males in the profession of psychology, particularly in the unique South African context.

1.3 Research Aims

The aims of this research were to quantitatively measure whether there is a relationship between South African men who subscribe to a hegemonic masculine ideal and their decision not to pursue postgraduate studies in psychology. The research then deepened the understanding of what influences male undergraduate students to decide against continuing on to postgraduate studies in psychology by qualitatively exploring their reasons.

By doing so, this research sheds light on the reasons behind the lack of interest from men in pursuing psychology as a career in South Africa and in turn to possibly allow interventions to

be developed to encourage a more even representation of the genders in all areas of professional psychology in the South African context.

1.4 Research Questions

I. Is there a significant relationship between the decision not to pursue postgraduate studies in psychology and high scores on the Male Attitude Norms Inventory II (MANI-II) (a measure designed to assess hegemonic South African masculine ideology).

II. What are the reasons undergraduate male psychology students choose not to enter postgraduate psychology?

III. Do male undergraduate students perceive psychology to be incompatible with their masculine identity?

IV. Does the way that psychology is presented during their studies influence their decision not to pursue psychology as a career?

V. Does the current gender imbalance in the student body impact on the decision of undergraduate male students not to pursue postgraduate studies in psychology?

Chapter 2: Literature Review

2.1 The current situation

Research by Skinner and Louw (2009) illustrates that psychology as a profession in South Africa is dominated by women. This is especially true in the applied fields such as clinical, counselling and educational psychology, but is also applicable in the research field. In 2002, 74% of students majoring in psychology at South African universities were female and 78% of Masters Degrees in psychology were awarded to females. Although this feminization is occurring internationally, such as in the USA, Canada and Europe, there may be factors unique to South Africa that are contributing to this phenomenon locally. In addition, since 1992, male numbers of postgraduate students have remained constant while numbers of females have increased dramatically (Skinner & Louw, 2009).

Table 1 below shows the current breakdown of numbers of professional psychologists by gender in South Africa.

	Gender				
PracticeField	**FEMALE**	**%**	**MALE**	**%**	**TOTAL**
CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY	1,857	**69**	835	**31**	**2,692**
COMMUNITY SERVICE CLINICAL PSYCHOLOGY	85	**74,6**	29	**25,4**	**114**
COUNSELLING PSYCHOLOGY	1,180	**72,9**	439	**27,1**	**1,619**
EDUCATIONAL PSYCHOLOGY	1,133	**77,6**	327	**22,4**	**1,460**
INDUSTRIAL PSYCHOLOGY	921	**63**	540	**37**	**1,461**
RESEARCH PSYCHOLOGY	152	**69,4**	67	**30,6**	**219**
TOTAL	5,328	**70,4**	2,237	**29,6**	**7,565**

Table 1. Breakdown of number of registered professional psychologists in South Africa by gender and field (Health Professions Council of South Africa, 2013)

However, contrary to this trend, the boards of regulatory and professional psychological associations in South Africa are still male dominated. The Professional Board of Psychology of the medical regulatory body in South Africa, the Health Professions Council of South Africa, is male dominated with 7 out of 11 executive positions being held by males currently (HPCSA, 2013). In addition, the executive board of PsySSA (Psychological Society of South Africa) has only two female members out of nine positions (Psychological Society of South Africa, 2013). Although superficially this may indicate a high level of male participation in psychology in South Africa, this in fact serves to highlight the relation of gender to power, prestige and financial reward, to be discussed subsequently in this literature review. This illustrates that even in a profession dominated by females, males will be drawn towards those

positions within that field that are most compatible with their masculine identity, while avoiding those seen as incompatible.

Feminization of the field of psychology is not restricted to South Africa. Since 1990 the European average for the proportion of female psychologists has gone from just below 55% to just above 70% in 2000 (Olos & Hoff, 2006). In the USA in 2005, 72% of students receiving PhDs in psychology (the minimum qualification required to practice professionally in the USA) were female and 75% of students entering masters level psychology degrees were female, indicating a continuation of the trend (Cynkar, 2007). Skinner and Louw (2009) have noted that although feminization of psychology is a worldwide phenomenon, the phenomenon is further advanced amongst academia and research psychology in South Africa than in the so-called 'heartland' of the field in Europe and North America.

2.2 Implications of feminisation for psychology

2.2.1 Implications for research in psychology

Research plays a critical role in psychology. It serves to further the knowledge base in the field and to effectively inform the more practical aspects of psychology. It can be said that together with the feminisation of psychology, there has been an increase in emphasis and numbers within the applied aspects of the profession, such as clinical and counselling psychology (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991). The possible reasons for this will be examined in

subsequent sections, however, practice always needs to be informed by research and with the number of practicing psychologists far outweighing those of research psychologists in South Africa, the problem could arise that the theoretical and research aspect of the discipline could be relatively neglected resulting in practice that is based on the practitioner rather than grounded in research. This is especially important in a South African context, where much of the research that has been undertaken overseas may not apply to this unique context, resulting in practice that may not be as effective as it could be. There is much need for locally specific research and investigation, rather than simply relying on international research, which may be neglected due to an overemphasis on counselling practice.

Even within the small number of research psychologists working in South Africa, there is a dominance of females. While this is not necessarily a negative thing in itself, it is possible that it could lead to a relative neglect of contemporary issues affecting South African males.

2.2.2 Implications for psychotherapy

With regard to the psychotherapeutic setting, the feminisation of psychology could be said to have a large impact on the formulation and implementation of psychological interventions (Philipson, 1993). A therapist's gender potentially has a significant impact on the way in which the client is perceived by the therapist (Shapiro, 1993) and also how the client views the psychotherapeutic process and the therapist (Nadelson & Notman, 1997). Differing values resulting from gender differences in the therapeutic setting can have a negative impact on the outcomes of psychotherapy. The degree of comfort and 'fit' in relation to the therapist is

crucial for the development of a positive and strong therapeutic alliance, upon which the effectiveness of therapy is based (Nadelson & Notman, 1997).

Willyard (2007) posits that male clients need to have the option of seeing a male therapist due to the perceived ability of male therapists to fully understand their problems and issues, something a female therapist might struggle to do. Willyard (2011) also notes due to the increasing feminisation of the profession of psychology, we are fast approaching a situation where there will be too few male psychology professionals available to serve the male population. The perception of psychology and psychotherapy as highly feminised (Willyard, 2011) could also affect help-seeking behaviours of men who would possibly be deterred from seeking therapy due to its perceived feminine nature, particularly considering that males have traditionally been reluctant to seek psychological help due to gender stereotypes (Robertson & Fitzgerald, 1992).

2.3 Internal consequences of the feminization of psychology

2.3.1 Occupational Prestige

It has been suggested that occupational prestige, referring to the status associated with being in a certain profession or line of work, diminishes when increasing amounts of women enter said profession (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991). Devaluation theory assumes that women are culturally devalued in society and, as a consequence, tasks traditionally performed by females

or areas of work with a majority of females are seen as less valuable than male-dominated occupations (Magnusson, 2009).

A study by Touhey (1974), in which undergraduate students were asked to rate the prestige and desirability of certain professions, with one group informed that there was to be a sharp increase in the numbers of females within that profession and the other not given that information, showed that professions were rated as less desirable and prestigious when it was believed there was to be a large increase in the amount of women within that field. However, subsequent research by Suchner (1979) and Crino, White and DeSanctis (1983), who all attempted replication of the Touhey (1974) study, failed to produce similarly significant results, suggesting the results of that study may be inaccurate.

Research shows that integrated professions, those with more or less an even distribution of males and females, have higher occupational prestige than both female dominated and male dominated professions (Cotter, Hermsen, & Vanneman, 2004; Magnusson, 2009). However, male-dominated professions do have a slightly higher prestige level than female-dominated professions (Magnusson, 2009), although not as pronounced as the earlier literature had suggested. Additionally, research also found that "care work" (including psychology) did not have lowered occupational prestige when compared to other professions despite being dominated by women (Magnusson, 2009). The literature therefore shows a lack of empirical proof for the notion that occupations with increased female numbers have substantially lower prestige than those which are male-dominated. However, these studies were conducted outside of South Africa and so their applicability to this context needs to be treated with caution.

Importantly, wage returns on occupational prestige were found to be less for women when compared to men, indicating that even if occupational prestige was not substantially lower, the fact that a profession was dominated by women meant that wages would be lower (Magnusson, 2009).

An American Psychological Associationtask force in 2000 acknowledged and confirmed the international trend for the declining number of men in psychology and posed the question as to whether this male exodus would lead to a devaluation of the profession as a whole (Task force of women in academia APA, 2000). This question is still valid and important to the current day and is something that this research tries to address.

2.3.2 Lowered Income

A possible second implication of the feminization of the field is lowered income (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991). It is well known that women have been historically discriminated against when it comes to salaries and wages, consistently receiving lower pay in almost all occupations relative to men. Occupations traditionally dominated by women have almost always been associated with lower financial compensation (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991). A report by The National Science Foundation in the USA in 1990 showed that female psychologists earn consistently less than their male colleagues (National Science Foundation, 1990b).This trend appears to have continued, with a national sample of psychology faculty

staff in universities in the United States showing that female faculty members earn significantly less than their male colleagues (Crothers, et al., 2010).

The possibility of this factor influencing the decisions of men to enter the field of psychology is well illustrated by the theory of Strober (1984). Strober (1984) theorized that in a patriarchal society, men have first choice of professions and choose those that are most lucrative in terms of prospects for advancement, financial gain and working conditions. However, when an occupation is seen to be less desirable by men, they begin to leave or have less numbers entering, which are then taken up by women wishing to gain financially by entering a formerly male profession. The end result is that men leave the profession *en masse* due to the increased amount of women and therefore lower prestige and income follow, resulting in a 'self-fulfilling prophecy' (Strober, 1984).

According to Ostertag and McNamarra (1991), a possible solution to the lowering of income when women enter the profession, is not to restrict women from entering the profession, but rather to "examine the attitudes, values and interests of men who are choosing not to enter or remain in the field" (p. 362), which in part is what this proposed research will attempt to do.

2.3.3 Training and teaching of psychology

Any change in the demographics of a profession is likely to influence the training and teaching of that field, as in the case of psychology, where the increased female presence of

academics at universities may influence many aspects of training and teaching. The presence of many more females on selection panels for postgraduate psychology courses is likely to have some effect on who is selected for training, in two opposing ways. It could be the case that in order to correct previous male dominance of the discipline, female academics would be more likely to pick female over male candidates. On the contrary, male candidates may be preferred in an attempt to correct the current gender imbalance. However, this may not necessarily be related to the gender distribution of the selection committee, as previously feminist psychology strived for the elimination of sex as a criteria for selection and parity of gender in the profession, rather than for female domination (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991).

Secondly and perhaps a more relevant point is that the increased number of female academic staff, to the point where the majority of psychology undergraduate lecturers are female, may influence the perceptions of undergraduate male students, so that they begin to perceive psychology as a 'female profession'.

Thirdly and finally, the dominating presence of women in the teaching of psychology may affect course content, structure and curriculums (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991). A possible change is an increased focus on women's issues and topics within the teaching context (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991) as well as an emphasis on women in the applied aspects of psychology, rather than in research or academic areas, which, as already discussed, is a favoured area amongst female psychologists.

2.3.4 Gender and Career choice

Psychology by its very nature is concerned with the other rather than the self. Whether applied or research focused, psychological practice is primarily based on understanding why people behave the way they do in order to contribute to knowledge in the area or be engaged in therapeutic assistance (Plotnik & Kouyoumdjian, 2010) All psychology is based on learning about and\or helping others. This means that individuals working in the field need to have a sense of the other rather than just a sense of self, in essence requiring at least a degree of empathy for good results to be achieved.

Baron-Cohen (2003) proposed a biologically intrinsic basis for individual differences when it comes to empathy, known as the Empathising-Systemising (E-S) theory. E-S theory proposes that individuals differ with regards to their propensity to empathise (that is to identify other's thoughts and feelings) and to systemise (that is to analyse or construct relationships in non-social domains) (Baron-Cohen, The essential difference: Men, women and the extreme male brain, 2003). Sex differences on these two constructs have been found, with females generally scoring higher on the empathising side, and males scoring higher on the systemising side (Baron-Cohen & Wheelwright, 2004; Baron-Cohen & Wheelwright, 2003). This gender difference has implications for career choice, with those rating higher on systemising more often being interested in scientific, analytical and rule based careers while those rating higher on empathising often prefer more person-centric, interaction based careers (Baron-Cohen, 2003). Evolutionary determinants are said to be the primary cause of these differences on E-S, as females traditionally have had to form bonds with children and look

after them emotionally, while males have typically been required to be more practical and analytical with regards to activities such as hunting and tool-making (Baron-Cohen, 2007).

As has already been explained, psychology is very much a person-centred, interaction-based profession, meaning that males would inherently be disinclined to enter into a career such as psychology. However, there is much debate as to the degree to which these gender differences exist with regard to E-S, and whether it holds true in all areas. It has been suggested that these differences are minor if they do exist and that sex differences cannot always be explained using this theory (Nettle, 2007).

2.3.5 The environment

Gender stereotypes and expectations play a large role in determining people's behaviour throughout their lives. When thinking about career choice, it is wholly possible that societal norms regarding gender behaviour heavily influence the career choices of men and women. As Correll (2001) argues, "cultural beliefs about gender channel men and women in substantially different career paths" (p. 1725). This occurs through a mechanism by which societal gender stereotypes alter beliefs in individuals about their ability to perform certain tasks based on their gender (Correll, 2001). This has been shown consistently with regards to the lack of female participation in science and mathematics, with the lack of female numbers not accounted for by ability but rather perceived societal and cultural barriers based on gender (Bucherri, Gurber, & Bruhwiler, 2011; Hazari, Sonnert, Sadler, & Shanahan, 2010; Catsambis, 1994).

Philipson (1993) states that taking care of the elderly, children and the mentally ill have to a greater extent become the domains of women in modern society. In addition, the more involved a profession is with empathetic activities such as caring and nurturing, the more it is seen to be the province of women (Ussher & Nicolson, 1992). These types of work have been termed 'emotional work', with females generally being seen as more suited to be able to perform this work than males (Erickson, 2005).

This societal norm can be reinforced at every level of social interaction and experiences, from the approval or disapproval of a parent or friend, all the way to perceptions and experiences gained from observing and participating in the activity at university or the workplace. This research attempts to discover whether societal norms are affecting individual male decisions not to enter professional psychology in South Africa and if so, where the reinforcements for these norms are originating so that steps may be taken to make psychology more attractive to men as a profession.

2.4 Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as "the form of masculinity that is dominant in a society…hegemonic masculinities silence or subordinate other masculinities, positioning these in relation to itself such that the values expressed by these other masculinities are not those that have currency or legitimacy" (Morrell, 1998, p. 608). As a result, hegemonic masculinity sets up an idealized notion of what it means to be a 'real man' within a particular

culture, dictating ways of behaving and being. Thus hegemonic masculinity privileges one version of masculinity over others, granting men who embody this version with power and prestige (Morrell, 1998).

Hegemonic masculinity is not the same in all contexts and can vary greatly in different countries and amongst different cultures. As Hearn and Morrell (2012) discuss, history, location and other factors can have an influence on hegemonic masculinities in different locations. As an example, hegemonic masculinities vary greatly in South Africa when compared to Sweden (Hearn & Morrell, 2012). Many factors in South Africa have contributed to its unique form of hegemonic masculinity amongst different groups of men. South Africa's colonial past together with the continual conflict brought about by discriminatory and exploitative policies of first the British and then of the Apartheid system introduced by the Afrikaner Nationalist government have combined to influence and shape current masculinities amongst different groups (Morrell, Jewkes, & Lindegger, 2012).

2.4.1 Hegemonic Masculinity and Psychology in South Africa

The development of a measure by Luyt (2005), designed to assess hegemonic masculinities among South African males, gives clues as to the nature of the hegemonic masculinity amongst South African men. The items on the scale (known as the Male Attitude Norms Inventory II (MANI-II)) are intended to indicate aspects of a hegemonic South African masculinity.

Several items on the scale appear to be incompatible with the implications of the feminization of psychology that have already been discussed. These include: “A man is successful if he makes a lot of money”; “Men should have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows them”; “Men who teach children or cook in restaurants should be proud of what they do”; “A successful man should be able to lead a comfortable life”; “Men should have a job that earns them respect”; “To be a man you need to be tough”; “Men who cry in public are weak” (Luyt, 2005). Although the other items on the scale may also be indirectly related, the above items are most incompatible with the possible implications of the feminization of a profession: lowered income and lowered occupational prestige. In addition to these aspects, it may be the nature of the work itself that is incompatible with masculine ideologies in South Africa. Psychology as a profession, particularly the counselling and clinical fields, requires an acknowledgement of the importance of personal insight, experience and feelings and to engage in self-reflection. Psychology in general has been described as caring (Magnusson, 2009) and emotional (Olos & Hoff, 2006) work and masculine ideologies may discourage male participation in such a field.

As highlighted earlier, leadership of influential bodies involved in the development and regulation of psychology in South Africa are male dominated. Although this may seem contrary to the trend of feminisation, it may in fact serve to reinforce the notion that hegemonic masculinity in South Africa influences males to pursue positions of power and prestige within the profession rather than be involved in the day-to-day practice of psychology, the nature of which may be undesirable to South African males.

In the case of hegemonic masculinity, behaviours deemed appropriate for males are learnt and reinforced amongst young boys. This is illustrated in a study by Bhana (2009), which although limited in scope, shows how primary school teachers seek to reinforce and reward a certain type of dominant masculinity and punish, or at least de-incentivize, more feminine behaviours amongst boys at a South African primary school (Bhana, 2009).Through interviews with teachers at a Durban primary school, this research found these schoolteachers in primary school to be "bearers" of masculinity in that they served to reinforce stereotypical gender rules and ways of being in young males such that the only way that they felt it was possible to be seen and acknowledged was to be disruptive and to act in a "rugger bugger" manner (Bhana, 2009).

Later in life, hegemonic masculinity is also perpetuated in contexts such as homosocial heterosexual settings, where certain behaviours consistent with dominant masculinity are accepted and rewarded, while behaviours that are deemed deviant are punished and those exhibiting such behaviours ostracized (Bird, 1996). An example here being engagement in traditionally male oriented activities, such as sport, being more acceptable and expected in groups of males as opposed to other activities, such as those in the arts. Therefore, it is quite possible that choosing a career such as psychology, being potentially incompatible with the prevailing hegemonic masculinity in South Africa, would not be allowed within male homosocial heterosexual groups.

2.5Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT)

Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) is based on Albert Bandura's understanding of the determinants of human behaviour. This theory proposes that behaviour is a result of reciprocal determinism, and has been applied to the area of career choice to aid in understanding and aiding career choices amongst individuals, resulting in the development of SCCT as proposed by Lent, Brown and Hackett (1994).

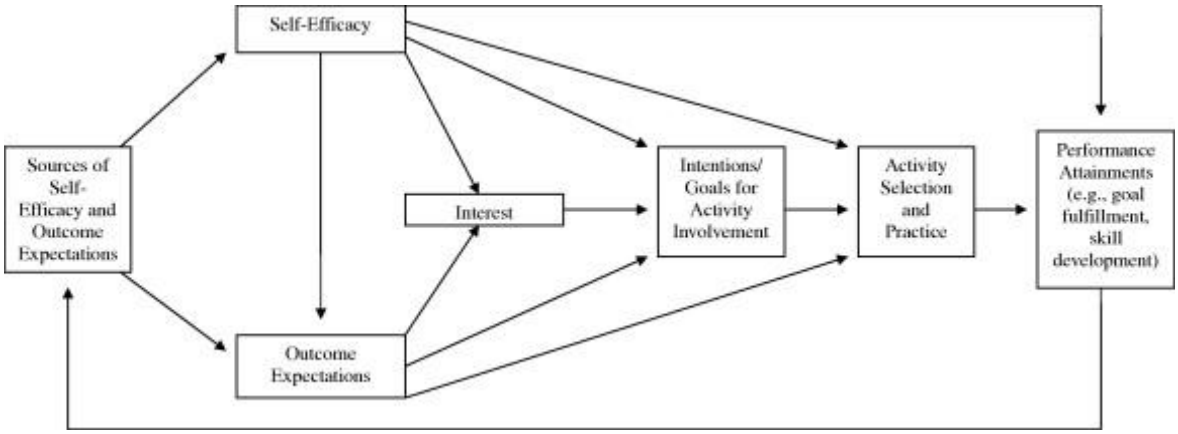


Diagram 1. Social Cognitive Career Theory

This particular theory is grounded in Bandura's original concept of self-efficacy, referring to an individual's belief that they are likely to succeed in certain tasks or accomplish certain goals by following certain behaviours (Bandura, 1994). With regard to career theory, self-efficacy can be said to refer to beliefs linked to areas of specific performance and achievement which can then influence initiation and maintenance of particular behaviours, in this case the decision to pursue a career path, even in the face of obstacles and difficulties

(Lent, 2005) In addition to self-efficacy, outcome expectations are also a very important influence in the selection of a career. These refer to an individual's beliefs about the consequences of engaging in a certain behaviour, in this case whether the potential career choice is perceived by an individual to have the potential to fulfil his\her needs (Lent, 2005). Although more complex, this is based on Bandura's original idea that perceived reward or punishment can have an influence on an individual's behaviour (Bandura, 1994).

Both self-efficacy and outcome expectations are determined by four sources of learning experiences: vicarious learning; social persuasion; personal performance accomplishments; and physiological and affective states (Leung, 2008). Self-efficacy and outcome expectations interact to form individual goals, referring to the intention to engage in specific behaviours and persist in them even in the absence of any external reward or validation (Lent, 2005). The formation of these goals, or lack thereof, then serve to reinforce or weaken self-efficacy and outcome expectations, consistent with the social cognitive nature of the theory.

The actual manner of these interactions are explained in the interest, choice and performance models of SCCT. The interest model specifies that career interests and consequently goals arise because of feelings of positive self-efficacy within that particular area of work or study and also because of positive outcome expectations when engaging in that area of work or study (Leung, 2008). The choice model posits that career choice arises as a result of interaction between outcome expectations, self-efficacy and interest over time and highlights the importance of the environment in this process, whereby certain environmental restrictions, such as lack of social support, can lead to an alteration and compromise in career choice (Leung, 2008). Finally, the performance model posits that prior perceived

performance and achievement in the specific area will serve to influence whether the person will continue to pursue a particular career, with over-confidence possibly resulting in under preparedness for tasks and too little confidence resulting in performance anxiety (Leung, 2008). These three models are not separate but rather serve to highlight different aspects of the career decision making process and more than one can be used to understand particular career choices.

2.5.1 Social cognitive career theory and the feminisation of psychology

SCCT has been proven to be a very effective framework in understanding career choice and has been used with success in many international studies (Arulmani & Easton, 2003; Patton, Bartrum, & Creed, 2004; Nota, Ferrari, Solberg, & Soresi, 2007). In addition, SCCT has been used successfully in South Africa by Buthelezi, Seabi & Alexander (2009) in a study designed to understand adolescents' perceived career challenges and needs in a disadvantaged context, as well as by Eaton, Watson, Patton and Foxcroft (2004) in their investigation of sex differences regarding career decision making amongst South African high school students.

It can already be seen how some of the proposed factors involved in the male lack of interest in professional psychology in South Africa fit well with SCCT, and utilising this framework allows for a greater understanding of how these different aspects may result in a reluctance of men to enter into a career in psychology. For example, using factors already discussed in the literature, possible influences such as perceived occupational prestige and lowered income

could be seen to negatively contribute to poor outcome expectations amongst males, interacting with the proposed social constraints of hegemonic masculinity that these career traits are not desirable, hence resulting in the decision not to enter post-graduate psychology. In addition, possible perceived dominance of females in both student and academic numbers, as well as course content, could negatively contribute to self-efficacy through social persuasion and vicarious learning. These short examples illustrate that SCCT is the most suitable theoretical framework for understanding and interpreting how different influences may combine to produce an outcome, such as the feminisation of a profession.

Chapter 3: Methodology

3.1 Introduction

The research used an embedded mixed methods design in order to attempt to answer the abovementioned research questions. Information regarding the research design, including sampling method, data collection, data analysis, quality and ethical considerations will now be discussed. As the research made use of a mixed methods design, it is necessary to discuss these aspects both on a general study-wide scale, as well as for the quantitative and qualitative aspects of the study.

3.2 Paradigm

Mixed methods research is seen as integrating the two traditionally opposed worldviews of positivist and relativist research in a complementary and compatible manner: "making quantitative data intelligible in its context and making qualitative data justifiable" (Bartholomew & Brown, 2012). Tashakorri and Creswell (2007) define mixed methods research as "research in which the investigator collects and analyses data, integrates the findings and draws inferences using both qualitative and quantitative approaches or methods in a single study" (p.4).

As Barnes (2012) notes, in South Africa much psychological research has been defined by the so-called ‘paradigm wars’, creating unhelpful distinctions and limiting the scope and value of research. Instead, it is argued that it would be very valuable to embrace both forms of research and the contribution they can make, particularly in the form of mixed methods research, in the South African context (Barnes, 2012).

3.3 Research Design

This research made use of a concurrent embedded mixed methods strategy which involves the simultaneous collection and analysis of quantitative and qualitative data (Creswell, 2009). This approach has a primary method, in this case qualitative, that is used to guide the research, as well as a secondary method, in this case the quantitative aspect, which is nested within and supports the primary method (Creswell, 2009). This strategy has several strengths. The use of two methods allows for a more complete overall picture of the participants and a more adequate answering of the research questions. At the same time the strengths of one approach can make up for the weaknesses of the other and provide broader perspectives than the use of one method alone (Creswell, 2009). As Morse (1991) notes, a primarily qualitative design could embed a quantitative aspect to enrich the description of the participants. This strategy is appropriate for the current research as the main aims of this research were to on the one hand explore the reasons for lack of male interest in professional psychology (which is well suited to a qualitative exploratory approach), while at the same time to determine whether masculine ideologies may play an important role (an aspect which can be measured quantitatively).

The qualitative aspect of this research attempts to explore possible factors that may be influencing the lack of male representation in professional psychology in South Africa, including how hegemonic masculinities are reinforced (i.e. through friends, family, etc.) and how these are seen to be incompatible with psychology and whether this has to do with how psychology is presented at undergraduate level or an overall impression of the field (and where that impression comes from).

The quantitative aspect attempts to determine whether there is a significant relationship between the decision not to pursue postgraduate studies in psychology and scores on a measure designed to assess traditional, hegemonic, South African masculine ideology

3.4 General Sampling Process

The current research, as it was primarily interested in establishing the reasons for lack of male representation in postgraduate, and consequently professional psychology, made use of purposive sampling. Purposive sampling involves selecting cases that are good examples of the phenomenon being examined (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006).

The first general criterion for inclusion was that the participant must be male and an undergraduate psychology student at a South Africa university. This is because this research is specifically interested in student choices within psychology in a University setting. The

second criterion for inclusion was that the student must be male. This is because the proposed research is only focused on the experiences of male students and so including female participants would serve no purpose. The final and perhaps most important criterion for inclusion was year of study. Second and third year students were chosen over first year students because they have had adequate exposure to the field so as to enable them to adequately reflect on the impact that their psychology courses have had on their decision to continue or, more importantly in this research, not continue on to postgraduate study in psychology. In addition, it is assumed that because they are further advanced in their studies, their decisions in this regard are likely to be more considered and more serious, as they are closer to finishing their degree and will be more aware of the implications of their choice than just beginning their degree.

Prospective participants were asked to participate in the proposed research by addressing second and third year classes. Separate samples were obtained for the qualitative and quantitative aspects of the research as will be detailed in the accordant sections below.

3.5 The Qualitative Study

Qualitative research involves taking people's subjective experiences seriously as "the essence of what is real for them, making sense of people's experiences by interacting with them and listening carefully to what they tell us, and making use of qualitative research techniques to collect and analyze information"(Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006,p. 271). This

allows us to better understand and illuminate complex social phenomena and individual mental processes.

Specifically, this part of the research made use of an Interpretive Phenomenological Analysis (IPA) approach. This approach aims to explore "in detail how participants are making sense of their personal and social world" and to try and "understand what it is like from the point of view of the participants" (Smith & Osborn, 2008, p. 53). At the same time, IPA sees the person as a cognitive, linguistic and physical being and assumes that people's inner thoughts and processes can be objectively assessed through what they say, bringing it closer to the realist paradigm while still retaining its qualitative properties (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

This approach was appropriate for this research as the aim is to try and understand and explore the personal and social factors that influence male undergraduate students' decisions not to continue with postgraduate study of psychology. In addition, IPA's ability to view the person objectively means it is easily complemented and was complemented by the quantitative aspect of this research rather than being diametrically opposed in its assumptions.

3.5.1 Qualitative Sampling

Fossey, Harevey, McDermott & Davidon (2002) suggest that "qualitative sampling is concerned with information richness, for which two key considerations should guide the

sampling process: appropriateness and adequacy" (p.726). The goal of the qualitative part of this research was to explore, in detail, the possible factors influencing and assisting to determine male undergraduate students' decisions not to continue to postgraduate study in psychology.

Regarding sample size, there is no minimum required number of participants when conducting qualitative research of good quality, however the number of participants should be adequate enough to extract enough data to give a full and comprehensive account of the topic for investigation.(Fossey, 2002). A relatively small sample size is actually a strength of the IPA approach, as IPA is committed to a detailed interpretive account which can only be realistically achieved with a small sample size, with larger sample sizes possibly being overwhelming and causing the researcher to miss important details (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

Therefore, considering appropriateness and adequacy, a sample of six second and third year undergraduate, male, psychology students were recruited to participate in the qualitative part of the study , the only additional criteria being that they do not intend on pursuing postgraduate studies in psychology. This allowed for the exploration of the research question: What are the reasons undergraduate male psychology students choose not to enter postgraduate psychology?

Regarding the sample collected, there were three 2nd year undergraduate students and three 3rd year undergraduate students for a total of six participants.The even distribution with

regard to year of study allowed for the results of the study to more accurately represent the population being investigated.

In the interests of anonymity and confidentiality, demographic information was not collected for the qualitative sample. The benefit of making the participants more comfortable and secure, thereby allowing for a more honest and open interview, outweighed the gathering of demographic data, which may have made the participants feel vulnerable and\or exposed due to the personal nature of some of the questions. In addition, the provision of complete anonymity and confidentiality removed the perceived threat of future persecution resulting from answers given regarding academic staff and\or course content.

3.5.2 Data collection

Data for this aspect of the research was collected through one-on-one, semi-structured interviews conducted by the researcher. The goal of IPA research is to analyze how participants make sense of and perceive their personal and social worlds and therefore a flexible data collection instrument is required (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Semi-structured interviews allow for flexibility, as although an initial interview schedule is prepared, the initial questions can be modified in response to what the participant says and interesting, sometimes unintended, important areas can be further probed as needed (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

The interviews took place in the Research Master's common room in the Psychology Department, Umthombo Building, at the University of the Witwatersrand. The setting allowed for the interviews to be conducted without interruption and in complete privacy.

An interview schedule was constructed, as this enables the researcher-interviewer to focus the discussion on the desired topic so that relevant information can be obtained and difficulties might be anticipated (Smith & Osborn, 2008). In the current research, an anticipated difficulty was that the participants may be reluctant to seem critical of, or prejudiced against, males in the psychological field as they would be aware that the researcher is a male psychology masters student. The interview schedule was constructed so as to allow, in so far as it was possible, the participant to share his views without feeling the need to restrain himself, thereby reducing the possible impacts of the halo effect (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006). Some level of rapport was established with participants through basic questions not relevant to the research that were asked prior to the interview and which were not recorded. This was done to minimise any difficulties and enable the respondent to feel at ease and free to give information (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

The questions were designed with the theoretical framework of Social Cognitive Career Theory (SCCT) in mind. Therefore, the questions were constructed in order to assess what factors may be contributing to the choice not to enter postgraduate study, and consequently, professional psychology. As per the theoretical framework employed, the concepts of social persuasion, vicarious learning, personal performance and physiological and affective states were used to guide construction of the questions. Previous literature was used to focus the questions to assess the impact of previously identified factors such as income, prestige and

masculinity. The semi-structured nature of the interview allowed for the identification of any new factors that may be contributing to the participants' career decision, as the questions were designed to allow for the respondents to identify issues salient to them rather than simply verifying or refuting previous assertions made in the literature, thereby being compatible with the exploratory nature of this part of the research, while at the same time having focus.

The full interview schedule may be found in the attached section marked Appendix A.

All interviews were tape recorded and transcribed. Tape-recording allowed for the gist as well as possibly important nuances and expressions to be captured and in addition allowed the interview to run smoothly, freeing up the researcher to establish rapport and follow and adapt to what the respondent was saying (Smith & Osborn, 2008). Transcription allowed for the analysis to take place. In IPA, all spoken words, false starts, pauses, laughs etc. were transcribed but semantic features required of other methods were not included (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

3.5.3 Data Analysis

The core of analysis within IPA is meaning and the primary aim is to attempt to understand the content and complexity of those meanings rather than how often they occur, as is the case with other theme-based analyses (Smith & Osborn, 2008)

Analysis within IPA takes place in four stages: Looking for themes; Connecting the themes; Continuing the analysis with other cases; and the Write up (Smith & Osborn, 2008). As this research had more than one participant, an idiographic approach was taken, where transcripts of individuals were read and analyzed separately before broader connections and generalizations were made.

The following illustrates the process of analysis that was undertaken.

3.5.3.1 Looking for themes in the first case

This first phase of the analysis involved reading and re-reading each interview transcript, making notes of interesting and\or important aspects of what was said during the interview (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

3.5.3.2 Connecting the themes

Connections between the emergent themes were made and superordinate or overarching themes were identified and then checked with the transcript itself to make sure the emergent connections are compatible with what the person actually said and so that phrases supporting the themes can be identified for inclusion in the final report (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

Superordinate themes were then listed with the relevant subordinate themes under each. During this process certain themes were dropped or reorganized according to relevance and richness (Smith & Osborn, 2008)

3.5.3.3 Continuing the analysis with other cases

The above two steps were followed for each transcript. The tables of themes for each transcript were compared, being careful to not only notice convergences but also divergences in the data (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

Following this, a final table of superordinate themes was drawn up. These themes were selected based on prevalence, the presence of rich data to back them up and whether the theme illustrated other parts of the account (Smith & Osborn, 2008).

3.5.3.4 Writing up

In this final phase, the themes were transformed into a narrative account, where the themes were explained and illustrated with extracts from the interview transcripts (Smith & Osborn, 2008). The thematic analysis process is discussed in the results section, while the relationship between the results and the literature review and research questions is explained in the discussion section of this report.

3.5.4. Analysis Tools

Analysis was conducted using computer assisted qualitative data analysis software (CAQDAS). There are many benefits to using this approach as opposed to more traditional pen-and-paper methods of analysis. This includes an enhanced ability to organise data, easier access to the data and overall a more efficient process of data analysis (Banner & Albarran, 2009). The more streamlined process when using CAQDAS allows for the freeing up of resources from clerical and administrative tasks, such as filing and sifting through paper, to the actual process of analysis (Banner & Albarran, 2009). Easy and quick access to the results of analysis also allows for a focus on interpretation and discussion in the report rather than constantly paging back and forth to find suitable excerpts of data (Banner & Albarran, 2009).

Despite the above benefits, it is also suggested that CAQDAS may have disadvantages. This includes privileging of data, retrieval and coding processes distracting from actual analysis and a deterministic and rigid process (John & Johnson, 2000). However, through being conscious of these drawbacks, the researcher may actively minimise these by being aware of when they might be occurring and thus through a process of self-checking avoid these, while enjoying the benefits that CAQDAS has to offer (Banner & Albarran, 2009).

The current research made use of CAQDAS known as Dedoose. Dedoose is an open source, widely-used, qualitative data analysis package available from www.dedoose.com. Several social science studies have successfully used Dedoose for their qualitative analysis, (Brammer & Morton, 2014); (Omoighe, Castel, & Bingenheimer, 2013) as well as a

phenomenological study by Weiss (2012). These studies indicate that Dedoose is very well suited for analysis in the current research.

The analysis process within Dedoose will now be described.

3.5.4.1 Process

Once an account has been created with Dedoose, the researcher created a new project and proceeded to upload each of the interview transcripts to the programme. Once this had been completed, the researcher began coding each of the transcripts. Coding is the process whereby meanings are attached to relevant excerpts within the text, with the possibility of multiple excerpts illustrating a common meaning. Each transcript is read separately and a code list is generated, where new excerpts illustrating a code are added and new codes that are found are added to the overall code list.

In this case, when using the IPA thematic method of analysis, this process can be viewed as using the data to generate themes, where those themes can then be grouped into overarching themes or subordinate themes, creating a code list or list of themes as well as their associated extracts. This further illustrates how use of CAQDAS is particularly suited to different types of thematic analysis and the current research.

3.6 The Quantitative Study

3.6.1. Introduction

A quantitative approach aims to study stable and unchanging external realities where the researcher adopts an objective and detached stance, employing a methodology that controls and manipulates variables taken to constitute external reality, including an independent variable (IV), which is manipulated to see if there is a change in the dependent variable (DV) (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006).

In the quantitative part of this research, the independent variable was whether or not the participant intended to continue with psychology and the dependent variable constituted their score on theMale Attitude Norms Inventory-II (MANI-II). As such, this aspect of the research assessed whether hegemonic masculinity has an effect on the decision to enter postgraduate study in psychology.

3.6.2. Sampling

3.6.2.1 Sampling Strategy

Sampling involved two methods, using a purposive strategy (Terre Blanche, Durrheim, & Painter, 2006).The first sampling method involved obtaining participants by addressing

second and third year undergraduate psychology classes, briefly summarising the current research and asking for volunteers. Those who indicated they were willing to participate were administered a paper questionnaire which was completed during the class and then returned to the researcher directly after the class ended.

The second sampling method involved the administration of an online questionnaire on Surveymonkey (www.surveymonkey.com). The content of the questionnaire was identical to the manually administered version, the only difference being that it was completed online at the participants' convenience. Participants completing the questionnaire through this method were recruited by advertising the research on various online study forums and asking for participants. This contributed to the diversity and representativeness of the sample, as the online participants were not necessarily all from the University of the Witwatersrand, although this information was not collected in the interests of anonymity and confidentiality.

The data obtained through these two methods was then combined to constitute the complete sample.

3.6.2.2. Sample Characteristics

An overall sample size of 57 was obtained (n=57). With regard to race, 5.3% of participants identified themselves as Asian (n=3); 24.6% as Black (n=14); 10.5% as Coloured (n=6); 5.3% as Indian (n=3) and 54.4% as White (n=31).

56.1% of the sample were currently enrolled in 3rd year (n=32) and 43.9% in 2nd year (n=25). In the sample, two participants failed to disclose their age. The age of participants ranged from 20 to 54 years of age (M=24.67; SD=7.628). Finally, 70.2% of participants indicated that they intended to continue on to postgraduate study in psychology (n=40), while 29.8% indicated that they did not intend to pursue postgraduate studies (n=17).

3.6.3. Data collection

Data for the quantitative aspect of the study was collected through administration of a standardised questionnaire administered to each participant. There were two parts to the questionnaire. Section A asked for basic demographic information, including race, age and year of study. In addition, to answer the broad research question participants were asked whether they intended to pursue postgraduate studies in psychology. The additional demographic information was asked in order for additional analyses to be run using these variables, so as to possibly discover additional contributing factors beyond the research question.

Section B of the questionnaire consisted of the MANI-II. This instrument is designed to measure hegemonic masculinity in an individual, with high scores indicating more adherence to dominant masculine ideology (Luyt, 2005). This scale consists of forty likert-type questions, where the respondent indicates their agreement or disagreement with a given statement related to masculine ideology (Luyt, 2005). Each item gives five options: Strongly agree; Agree, No opinion, Disagree and Strongly Disagree; where the respondent must

indicate which option corresponds most closely to his own opinion regarding the given statement.

The MANI-II has been demonstrated to have excellent internal reliability, with a Cronbach Alpha of 0.90. In addition, all the items displayed an inter-item correlation above 0.2 (Luyt, 2005).The MANI-II has exhibited good convergent validity with similar scales, including the MRNI (Male Role Norms inventory), the GRSS (Gender Role Stress Scale) and the GRCS-I (Gender Role Conflict Scale). Although the original version of this measure was developed in the context of gang research in Cape Town, South Africa, the revised version of this scale was developed using a population of male students from the University of Cape Town in South Africa (Luyt, 2005), making it appropriate for use amongst the research sample, as it consists of male students from a South African universities.

A full copy of the questionnaire can be found in Appendix B.

3.6.4 Data Analysis

For the analysis of the data, two groups were created. The two groups consisted of those who did not intend to pursue postgraduate psychology (n=17) and those who did intend to pursue postgraduate psychology (n=40). This separation into groups was designed to answer the research question: is adherence to hegemonic masculinity related to the decision whether or

not to pursue a career in professional psychology and furthermore, whether hegemonic masculinity may be incompatible with a career in psychology.

Originally, it was intended that a t-test for independent samples would be employed to test whether there is a significant relationship between the decision to pursue postgraduate studies in psychology (yes or no) and scores on the MANI-II. However, the t-test for independent samples is a parametric test that requires certain assumptions to be met to be employed. The assumptions of normal distribution, random independent sampling and homogeneity of variance were not met and therefore a non-parametric test of relationship, the Mann-Whitney U Test, was employed to test for a relationship between the two variables. Although not as powerful as the parametric t-test, the Mann-Whitney U test is a suitable test to employ for this analysis.

All statistical analyses were conducted using SPSS.

3.7 Mixing

In mixed methods research, mixing refers to the times during the research that the quantitative and the qualitative are combined: either at the beginning of the research, at the end of the research, or somewhere in-between those two extremes (Creswell, 2009).

In the case of the present research (a concurrent design) the mixing was embedded. This form of mixing occurs at the data analysis stage of the research after all the data has been collected (Creswell, 2009). Embedded mixing is where the secondary data form is embedded within the primary database and performs a supporting and supplementary role in the study (Creswell, 2009).This strategy was appropriate for this research as the primary focus of the research was to explore reasons for the decision of male undergraduate students not to pursue postgraduate studies in psychology, which is well suited to the primary qualitative aspect. However, assessing masculine ideology quantitatively will provided additional information as to what may be contributing to this decision. Therefore, the quantitative aspect was embedded within the primary qualitative part and as such the results of the quantitative study will be discussed in terms of how it contributes to and informs the qualitative part of the study.

3.7 Self-Reflexivity

The researcher acknowledges that his subjectivity and the research process itself woud have had aninfluence on the data gathered and the outcomes of the final report. As Willig and Stainton-Rogers (2008) point out, the researcher makes an investment in the knowledge-makingprocess.

The researcher acknowledges that by virtue of him being a man, this had an impact on the selection of the research topic. It was the researchers own experiences as a man within the field of psychology that was the main motivation for pursuing this area of research.

The selection of the quantitative instrument partially reflected a bias in the assumptions of the researcher regarding the characteristics of individuals in the sample. The researcher had had little experience conducting interviews prior to this research and so initially the interview process was anxiety provoking, however this did not affect the interviews to a significant degree.

The formulation and interpretation of the qualitative aspect of the research is by its nature a subjective process and the researcher acknowledges that the ideas the researcher brought into the research may have had some degree of impact, however the researcher was conscious of any bias that would arise during formulation and analysis, meaning this research was data led rather than researcher led.

3.8 Ethical Considerations

In order to ensure that the minimum of ethical standards were met, the research was submitted for approval to the internal ethics process of the School of Human and Community Development and an ethical clearance certificate was obtained (Appendix G) . The sample was not considered to be a vulnerable population. Several ethical issues were considered for the research. The first was informed consent. All of the participants of the quantitative study were presented with a participant information sheet containing the details of the research (see Appendix C). The participants for the qualitative phase of the research were presented with another participant information sheet (see AppendixD), outlining the nature of this part of the research. They were then be asked to sign an informed consent form stating that they agreed to be interviewed (see Appendix E) and a separate consent form for the audio recording and transcription of their interview (see Appendix F). Second was the issue of confidentiality.

The participants were made aware, both verbally and on the consent and information forms, that their identity would be kept confidential and all identifying information would be withheld whenever the results of the study were communicated.

Participants were also informed that their anonymity would be maintained in the final report (and any subsequent publications), by referring to them using a pseudonym such as Participant 1, 2 etc. Also the identity of all persons mentioned by them was kept anonymous through the use of pseudonyms. Participants were informed that all data generated and recorded by the research would be kept in password-protected files and/or locked drawers belonging to the researcher. All data will be kept for a period of 2 years (should publication of the results occur) or 6 years (should no publication occur). After this time, all data will be destroyed or deleted.

Third was the issue of autonomy. All participants were informed that they were under no obligation to participate in the research and that their participation was voluntary. Also, it was stated that they were free to withdraw from the research at any time without consequence and that if there were any aspects of the research they were uncomfortable with, they were free to abstain from that particular aspect if they wish.

Last was the issue of emotional distress. If during any phase of the research a participant became emotionally distressed or upset due to an item in the questionnaire or a question in the interview, they would have been referred to the on-campus Psychology Clinic at the Emthonjeni Centre where help is available at a minimal fee. The contact number of the centre was found on the participant information sheets for both phases of the research.

Chapter 4: Results

The results of the qualitative aspect of the study will be presented first as it constitutes the primary methodology in this research. Following that, results from the quantitative aspect will be presented.

4.1 Qualitative Findings

As already discussed, themes were extracted from the data using Interpretative Phenomenological Analysis, through a process of coding in Dedoose CAQDAS. Presented below is a graph showing the number of codes that were extracted from each interview.

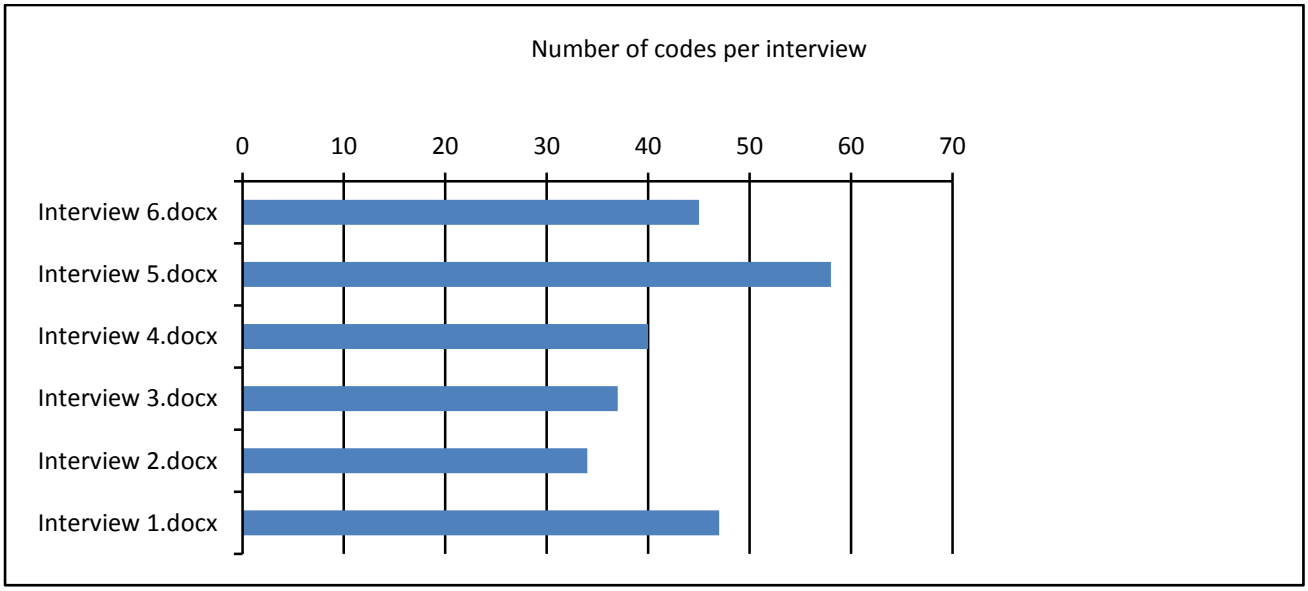


Table 2. Number of codes by interview.

As can be seen from the above chart, the extraction of codes was even across interviews, ensuring that the data reflects the responses of all the participants, giving more representative findings. The codes were then sorted into themes and, where appropriate, themes were collapsed into superordinate themes. Below is a table showing the superordinate and sub-themes that emerged from the data. Overall a total of 20 themes were found, with some including sub-themes.

Table 3 below lists the superordinate and sub-themes that were found:

Superordinate Themes	Sub-themes (If applicable)
1. There is a negative perception of professional psychology amongst society and peers	1.1 Psychology is inferior when compared to other professions 1.2 Psychology is portrayed negatively in the media 1.3 To be a psychologist brands a person with certain characteristics
2. There are aspects of undergraduate psychology that are found to be unsatisfactory and\or are perceived to be negative aspects of studying it	1.1 Content of certain courses is not found interesting or enjoyable 1.2 Studying psychology is difficult and time consuming 1.3 Course content is irrelevant to the South African context 1.4 Lecture quality was bad
3. There are alternate career paths that participants prefer to psychology	1.1 Media 1.2.Law 1.3 Medicine 1.4 Science\Mathematics

4. There is insufficient financial reward within professional psychology	1.1 Psychologists earns less relative to other professions 1.2 Within psychology there is a choice between making money and helping people 1.3 Psychology as a profession cannot provide financial freedom
5. Friends have an impact over the decision not to enter professional psychology	1.1 Friends from outside the field are sceptical of psychology 1.2 Friends see psychology as being incompatible with the individual 1.3 Psychology is considered a pseudo-science
6. Gender has an influence over the decision not to enter professional psychology	1.1 Men have societal roles assigned to them that are incompatible with psychology as a profession 1.2 The numbers of female students and lecturers encountered make psychology unattractive to males 1.3 Course content is oriented towards feminine interests or theorists 1.4 Females are more empathetic, caring and understanding than males
7. There are perceived limitations associated with studying postgraduate psychology	1.1 There is no room for advancement or ambition in psychology 1.2 The nature of work is limited 1.3 Psychology postgraduate studies are excessively long 1.4 There is no room for creativity in psychology
8. Masculinity plays a role in the decision not to enter postgraduate psychology	1.1 Males should be powerful 1.2 Males have to support emotionally and

	financially 1.3 Males should be leaders 1.4 Males should be confident and responsible 1.5 Men should be emotionally restricted 1.6 Men should be strong, competitive and successful
9. There is a need for both male and black psychologists	1.1 There is a lack of both male and black psychologists
10. Parents influence the decision not to enter professional psychology	1.1 Participant seen as incompatible with psychology or is seen as more suited to another profession 1.2 Parent's profession(s) influence career choice 1.3 Studying psychology is excessively long and expensive 1.4 Psychology not viewed as financially rewarding
11. There are aspects of psychology enjoyed by participants	1.1 Industrial and Neuro\Cognitive psychology are enjoyed 1.2 It is important for lecturers to be engaging
12. Psychology is not a prestigious profession	1.1 Psychologists are not as prestigious as doctors 1.2 Neuropsychology and Industrial psychology are more prestigious than other psychology fields 1.3 Men should be doing alternate qualifications
13. Men have certain reasons for studying psychology	1.1 A desire to know how the mind works 1.2 Enjoy experience of it in undergraduate study

14. Entry requirements for postgraduate study in psychology are perceived to be a barrier	1.1 High mark requirements\Requirement of consistency from first year 1.2 Interviews are stringent 1.3 Requirement of empathy and understanding 1.4 Requirement of PhD
15. Psychology has roles to play	1.1 Psychology plays a role in serving the underprivileged 1.2 Psychology fills the leftover role from other professions 1.3 Psychology can help prevent gender violence
16. Psychology and Science	1.1 Psychology is seen as unscientific or a pseudo-science 1.2 Neuropsychology is seen as more scientific and therefore more desirable than other fields in psychology 1.3 Interest in psychology based on working of mind and science element

A brief description of each theme, together with selected quotes from participants(based on salience and relevance)will now be given:

Theme 1: There is a negative perception of psychology in South Africa amongst society and peers

This theme shows that participants perceive professional psychologists to be viewed in a negative manner when compared to other professions, especially other health professionals.

In addition, the impact of the media is evident in its reinforcement of already existing stereotypes surrounding the practice of psychology.

"With doctors and psychology I think there is a negative perception. But I think the perception is flawed generally, like how psychologists are not as professional and you only see Freud made it famous...lying on the couch and say what you feel and people see...the psychologist always saying so how do you feel and that sort of thing."

"The media does play a role, making the audience see what it wants to see about psychology."

"Well, the first thing that comes to mind is what they see on TV. They see a guy behind a desk in a beautifully decorated room with books all around them on a chair telling you their life story. That is the first point of reference that the general population gets of psychology."

"you know they call them quacks and its kind of not a very positive way of thinking of them"

Theme 2: There are unsatisfactory and negatively perceived aspects of undergraduate psychology studies

This theme illustrates participants' dissatisfaction with the lack of contextualisation in their coursework and shows a desire for what they study to be relevant to their society and

environment. A lack of perceived diversity within the coursework is also expressed with too much focus given to certain topics and not enough given to others.

“I think there's a large emphasis on personality psychology....not that its not interesting...but I think in a university undergrad course it focuses specifically on that and maybe could be a bit broader. So like we've never touched on sport psychology or something like that....so in first year it focuses a lot on theories which are important...but it doesn't incorporate new contemporary thinking."

"Well, I'm doing the research design course and I was interested to take it but now that I'm coming towards the end of course I've realised I'm definitley not interested in the research aspect of it...so if I had to carry on it wouldn't be in research....just getting all the data and analysis.."

"Well social, the whole group thing doesn't interest me. With developmental...the whole personality thing is interesting...but anything with children has never really interested...not really hasn't interested i just find it sad that stuff happens to children"

"Helping crazy people on the couch."

"Yes, definitely, the coursework we've done is not really relevant to the South African context because we do Freud, we do all these people from other countries, from European countries

and we don't really focus on what South Africans have contributed to psychology and what South Africans should be looking at in terms of psychology there have been a few things that we have looked at for instance Foetal Alcohol syndrome and those things and those affect South Africans directly but i don't think there's enough. I feel that focus of psychology should be on South Africa and Africa and i feel that South Africans have a lot to contribute"

Theme 3: There are alternate career paths that are chosen over psychology

This theme gives an indication of what participants career paths include, indicating a desire to enter into professions that they see as more compatible with themselves as well as which happen to be more traditionally male oriented in the nature of their work as well as the numbers of males in the profession. Options include law, medicine and media.

"I've always been interested in entertainment and the arts of performing. I don't always think that I am made for the stage rather the aspects behind it...like journalism...once again the reasons why people do things they do. Because the entertainment industry is such a big part of pop culture that I am a part of so for me its been a natural progression"

"I guess when i find myself reading cases, you have to read the judgements, understand the points of law, how they arrive at their conclusions, the rulings they make, its just very analytical. All the thought that goes behind their judgements...i just find it very rewarding and fulfilling."

"It sounds quite weird because I'm doing a BA but I plan to go into physiotherapy and obviously psychology is an important part of that but I wanna be more hands on"

"Well, I'm doing molecular cell biology so I'm planning to go into bioinformatics, cancer research, one of those fields"

Theme 4: There is insufficient financial reward within professional psychology

Financial reward is seen as being an important part of prospective careers, as well as important to the participants themselves as part of being a man. Professional psychological practice is not seen as financially fulfilling on its own and there is also a belief that helping areas of psychology are not financially rewarding.

"I love psychology but I also love law, that's what I want to do at postgrad level and also I think it's, that I will earn more money doing law"

"With regards to making money out of it, I dont think there is a lot of money that can be made unless you want to go into academia and carry on into your PhD and have your own practice on the side so I don't think there is a lot of money that can be made out of it which is why I settled to go into the media"

"...but I guess you also have to earn money so I understand people just wanna do it professionally to have an income...."

"The competitiveness, the need to succeed. In the society that we live in men are definitely seen as...maybe that's changing but men are seen as wanting to succeed and economic stability and financial freedom so I definitely think that in terms of those things certain decisions are made with regard to career choices"

Theme 5: Friends have an influence over the decision not to enter into postgraduate studies of psychology

Two major aspects emerge from this theme. Firstly, participants' friends view the participants as being incompatible with professional psychology, questioning the participants suitability on a level of personality as well as job satisfaction. Secondly, there is a level of disapproval experiences by participants regarding the perceived non-scientific nature of psychology and that that makes psychology undesirable as a profession.

"I've always perceived psychology differently. I've always thought of it as lame...it's interesting because I want to understand why I think in certain ways. I think because my peers are generally in science they are sceptical because there is no clear cut definition of

OK a thought is this....its open to interpretation. I think because of that interpretation they sort of disregard it as factual. They would probably sort of ridicule me."

"They would first ask me if I would be able to pursue it because a lot of my friends are in the arts, in the drama, so it's difficult for them because a lot of them did struggle with psychology and the ones that are doing it are always saying you need to have time management and time keeping skills, you need to be passionate about it, you need to want to do it, you shouldn't do it for the money, there's a lot of hard work that goes into it. So there's always this interplay between the friends who found it difficult and the ones who are doing it and say, if you wanna do it and you think you can handle it then come through and do it but you can't do anything else on the side"

"So if I told them I was going into psychology they wouldn't be shocked or stunned...but they'd definitely be seeing a change in me because that's not the person they know."

"I think my closest friends are like my dad and my stepmom. I mean my best friend is always telling me I need to go and do something more creative, I have too many ideas."

"Whereas the stigma that's sort of attached to psychology from my friends who don't do it it's a pseudo-science."

Theme 6: Gender has an influence over the decision not to enter postgraduate studies of psychology

Three important views emerge from this theme. The first is that there is a perceived gender bias in what is taught in psychology and how it is taught, with feminine based subject matter being taught from a female perspective by a majority of female lecturers. Second is that participants notice a large discrepancy in the ratio of female to male students, with females being the vast majority, particularly in later years. Finally, there is a view that females are fundamentally more suited to the work involved in professional psychology.

"I think there is some sort of natural bias you would expect. For example with a male lecturer, teaching industrial psychology there are male attitudes that sort of underpin his lectures, whereas a females teaching social psychology or....there's a sort of a female vibe in terms of, in the example when she'd say "when we women tend to be more duh duh duh..." so I've noticed subtle differences between lecturers"

"Just thinking about my current courses, the examples given are I'm a female and this is how I'd react in a certain situation. It does this year, I've noticed this, not so much in first year."

"...just looking at Wits...there's a lot more female psychologists than there are male psychologists. I would also say linked with that is opportunities in the workplace."

"Yes, definitely, I don't think a lot of guys who do psychology, in class, even at first year it's a huge class with lots of guys and girls but at second year the numbers start going down, guys start leaving psychology and in third year it's even worse. Cause I mean in my third year class there were a lot of ladies and most of the guys I spoke to said they weren't going to pursue psychology"

",,,most of the lecturers that we get are female and it's very difficult to relate to that if it's always a female coming in and teaching you which i think is another problem that we've had."

"And maybe one aspect of that is the empathetic understanding of people and that may be because of the biology of women...that they are more caring then men are..."

"I suppose in South Africa a lot of females are seen as the mothers of society so they have those very gentle sensitive characteristics whereas men are seen as the workforce, and they are more of the labour force in terms of something more physical and technical. So I think that women have that gentle sort of nature that would lead them to that sort of thing. I think generally, they are because they've been brought up in that society, they'd probably be more suited. You do get some males that are more sensitive, but on the whole i would say females are better suited to counselling"

Theme 7: There are perceived limitations to studying post-graduate psychology

Participants view the studies required to enter into professional as being too long and where job opportunities would not be as easy to come by. This length of study would also have negative financial implications for the participant and his family. In addition, there is a perception of professional psychology being rigid and not allowing for individual expression or creativity.

"…but for me I definitely find psychology is limited in this country...to maybe find a potential job one day wouldn't be the same as if you had a BComm, where straight away you go and that's it. I think with psychology you need more experience...more time...it's limited to an academic area so if you become a psychologist you almost bound to be in the university...that's how I see it."

"…so it's just a matter of it's too long to pursue, it's seven years, and there are other kids in the family who need to be looked after."

"It's creating something. I think I have a different outlook...so being able to create something that I have made and control"

"I think, I'm a creative person and I couldn't see myself being able to be creative in that field"

"It seems very routine. I don't know if I could sit in the same place the whole time"

Theme 8: Masculinity plays a role in the decision not to pursue professional psychology

There are several characteristics identified as being important by the participants with regards to their masculinity and what it means to be a man to them. These are competitiveness, confidence, strength, power, assertiveness, leadership, responsibility and the need to be emotionally and financially strong and supportive towards others.

"...would just say people generally perceive a male as being powerful and having responsibility and so on"

"I don't why this keeps coming to mind, but confidence."

"...think generally, males are supposed to have a job and be supportive financially. Because obviously your wife will be pregnant and so on."

"...one day I am going to be the head of my family. I'm gonna have a partner who's gonna depend on me to be strong.."

"You do have to be a leader."

"I think males are viewed as powerful and higher up socially than females."

"Males are supposed to be seen as powerful and assertive whereas females are kind and caring"

"The competitiveness, the need to succeed. In the society that we live in men are definitley seen as..."

Theme 9: There is a lack of black and male psychologists for therapy and as role models

One participant expressed a view of professional psychology not being racially diverse enough and, as a consequence, not providing role for models for the encouragement of young black males to enter the profession**.**

"...because there is a shortage of black male psychologists because it's important to have as much diversity as possible in the field of psychology in South Africa"

"…it's quite white, there are a lot of white people that do it, so there are not a lot of black role models who are there to help you out to carry on with psychology out there"

Theme 10: Parents have an influence on the decision not to enter post-graduate psychology

Both subtly and overtly, parents have an influence over the career choice of their son. Overtly, parents express unhappiness with the job prospects as well as perceived lack of financial reward within professional psychology. In addition, parents express their view that their child may not be suited to professional psychology. Subtly, parental profession and family career history appear to influence career decisions of the participants.

"Maybe one of the influences is that my family history is on the medical side. So maybe because I've chosen psychology to begin with maybe that's one element of it and I'm working towards physiotherapy..."

"I guess my dad's a lawyer and that just affirms and helps...makes me decide on that one"

"suppose my parents would be supportive because that's just how they are, so if I wanted to psychology...thumbs up by all means...its not like you should be doing something more with your life…"

"I think their initial reaction would be that I shouldn't. When they think of psychology they think of someone who is out there doing pro-bono work, helping orphans or something, and don't get paid for it...so I think from that sort of like as in financial gain, no definitely not. But I don't think they understand the full spectrum of psychology...you know you could make a living as a psychologist"

Theme 11: There are aspects of psychology enjoyed by males

Two main areas of interest are identified by participants as being the most enjoyable during their studies. The first is industrial psychology due to its influential nature in the workplace and, to a much greater extent, the areas of cognitive and neuropsychology, also identified as being more male dominated than others areas of psychology.

"Definitely the mind. How biology and cognition how there's the interplay between the two. I really find that amazing."

"Neuropsychology also, maybe is a male dominated industry."

"Of the psychology part, the neuropsychology has been pretty interesting"

"Well the brain has always interested me, even when we did it in biology in school, with the abnormal psychology...I dont really know...the novelty of learning about stuff like that"

"...like guys doing industrial psychology, how do you make people more efficient in the work place its actually very important, it runs the world...and if you can understand and take advantage of it you also will get by a lot better"

Theme 12: Psychology's prestige is in doubt

Professional psychology is looked down upon relative to other careers, such as medicine, commerce and law and performs the left-over role from other professions rather than having its own important purpose. Within psychology, neuropsychology is identified as an area that is more prestigious than the other areas.

"I believe in the world psychology is important because a lot of what the doctors can't do in terms if prescribing drugs, psychologists has the rest to deal with"

"I think if you had to compare a doctor and a psychologist you gonna probably value the doctor more, there's a perception. A doctor is seen as more professional than a psychologist"

"Extremely prestigious [neuropsychology] ...I don't think a lot of people are doing it. I heard it's going to be passed in 2014. Everyone wants to do community psychology and industrial psychology which people regard as mickey mouse fields so I think there is this ladder, there is this hierarchy and people look at it from that. Psychology as a whole is ok but they wanna be very specific as to which psychology you are doing. So then they rate you oh you're doing neuro wow, brilliant, amazing stuff"

"Like maybe if you're a man and you're doing psychology you're looked down upon because maybe you should be doing a financial degree or a BComm or something like that"

"Well, I know people have said to me that to work as a psychologist who works with people who have something wrong, there has to be something wrong with you."

Theme 13: Men have certain reasons for studying psychology

Participants not only expressed a desire to study psychology because of its usefulness in understanding and working with people, but also because their first reaction once beginning to study psychology was that of enjoyment and interest.

"It was something that interested me. I've always been fascinated with the philosophical side of the mind...and obviously psychology deals with the more practical elements of it. Not just

the abnormal but also the normal cases and how we function in society, so I wanted to learn more about that I think and that really interested me a lot. I'm enjoying it now."

"I think, I've always found behaviour kind of interesting, so that's kind of why I chose to do it."

"So I thought psych is quite nice, it wasn't actually something that I wanted to study, I just enjoyed it and wanted to carry on doing it because it was a lot of fun and I understood it and did very well and just thought i should carry on doing it."

"How to handle people, defuse situations before they get out of hand"

"...and then where psychology comes in..I will understand the people I'm meeting"

"Well, the thing is, I wanted to have an understanding of interpersonal relationships and stuff so that when I do go into the work world I'll be able to apply that sort of knowledge. Use those skills to better myself."

Theme 14: Entry requirements to postgraduate studies in psychology are perceived to be a barrier

There is a lack of knowledge surrounding the entry requirements and procedures regarding post-graduate psychology. Participants emphasised a perceived requirement for empathetic understanding for all postgraduate psychology entry while exhibiting a distrust of what the perceptions of the selectors might be of them.

"First of all, you have to be professional in your approach and obviously not have any subjectivity when you with, doing research or around other people"

"Empathetic understanding. You not just doing it for the sake of it, you care about it, you have certain goals you want to achieve in that area and you obviously have to have a good knowledge base. As long as you professional, you not just doing it for the sake of it."

"I have no idea what the system is like...like I heard from a guy [name deleted] that for the clinical...you have to go through interviews that are incredibly stringent…"

"…you have to have that empathetic understanding of others. I mean, you might disagree with the person but you have to look at it holistically, they might think after that that guy is mental or something."

Theme 15: Psychology plays certain roles in SA society

Participants identified different roles for psychology in South Africa, including addressing social problems, individual issues and relatively trivial issues such as sex differences with regard to driving.

"...it's very important to have somebody who's a mediator between people...you know that sort of thing."

"In terms of research, we don't know if men or women are better drivers...and no one else is going to do that research so definitely. Definitely very important."

"Especially in South Africa, we have so much gender violence and that sort of thing and rape and corrective rape that we dont fully understand and psychologies role is very important in that."

"Yes, and also I think to also realise that maybe their prejudices are getting in the way of seeing one. So if I do tell them they should...then they would see that actually they are helping them understand what they're going through."

Theme 16: Science and Psychology

Participants expressed a greater interest in certain areas of psychology (neuropsychology) more than others because they are more 'scientific'. Those areas that were viewed as not as scientific, mostly the counselling areas, were seen as more suitable for women. Psychologies progress is seen as synonymous with increased use of technology and increased focus on the biological aspects of human behaviour.

"I think it would depend on what sort of field I go in to in terms of postgraduate so more cognitive neuroscience or neuropsychology would be fine because its more content based but if it's a counselling psychology it just seems that its probably more the stigma that is it's for females so it definitely would alter my decision as not going into counselling but rather neuropsych."

"I really enjoyed, excited about the new science element. How they use the tools of science to investigate the mind."

"I think people are drawn into the neuropsychology because it's something more scientific."

Table 4 below illustrates the frequency of themes in each interview. Important themes occur over multiple or all interviews whereas less important themes are less relevant across interviews indicating that they are not as widely held opinions or beliefs compared to others. Overall, this table shows that the actual practical experience of psychology (such as difficulty and teaching) by participants has less of an impact than gender, masculinity, parents, perceived requirements of post-grad psychology, external perceptions of psychology, the perceived non-scientific nature of psychology and the relevance and role of psychology in South Africa.

Table 4 Indicating the presence of a particular theme\code in each interview

	Interview 6	Interview 5	Interview 4	Interview 3	Interview 2	Interview 1	**TOTAL**
Aspects enjoyed							
Courses	1			1	1		**3**
Industrial		1					**1**
Neuropsychology\ Cognitive	1	1	1	1			**4**
Teaching				1			**1**
Aspects not enjoyed							
Courses	1	1	1		1		**4**
Experience of Psych							
Difficulty						1	**1**
Expectations		1					**1**
Quality						1	**1**
Relevance						1	**1**
Time						1	**1**
Teaching				1			**1**
Chosen Career							
Law\Commerce				1			

Media		1	1				**2**
Physiotherapy	1						**1**
Science\Maths					1		**1**
Financial Reward						1	**1**
Financial Freedom		1					**1**
Financial Need				1			**1**
Less than others				1		1	**2**
Friend Influence							
Different fields					1	1	**2**
External Expectations		1					**1**
Perception of psych			1		1		**2**
Gender Influence							
Course content		1	1		1		**3**
Numbers	1	1	1		1	1	**5**
Societal Roles	1	1		1	1		**4**
Suitability	1	1	1		1		**4**
Limitations							
Creativity		1	1				**2**
Length of Postgrad studies		1				1	**2**
Opportunities	1	1		1	1		**4**
Personal			1	1			**2**
Masculinity							
Confidence	1	1	1				**3**
Family	1	1					**2**
Leadership	1		1				**2**
Society	1	1					**2**
Strength	1		1				**2**
Success		1					**1**
Need for male psychologists						1	**1**

Parental Influence							
Employment and finance	1	1	1	1	1	1	**6**
Perception of psychology	1		1	1	1	1	**5**
Perception of professional psychology				1			**1**
Comparison to others	1			1			**2**
Media	1	1		1			**3**
Practice	1	1	1	1		1	**5**
Prestige							
Fields	1			1		1	**3**
General View	1	1	1	1	1		**4**
Race						1	**1**
Reason for doing Psych							
Personal Interest	1	1	1	1	1	1	**5**
Skills		1		1	1		**3**
Requirements							
Academic\Professional	1	1	1	1	1	1	**6**
Emotional\Personality	1	1	1	1	1	1	**6**
Responsibilities and needs							
Financial						1	**1**
Personal			1			1	**2**
Professional						1	**1**
Role models							
Community						1	**1**
Role of psychology					1		**1**
Research	1						**1**
Society	1	1	1	1	1		**5**

Science and Psychology		1			1	1	**3**
Self		1				1	**2**

Table 4 Indicating the presence of a particular theme\code in each interview

4.2 Quantitative Findings

4.2.1 Descriptive Statistics and Distribution analysis

Table 5. *Descriptive statistics of groups*

Group	N	Mean	Median	Standard Deviation	Kolmogorov-Smirnov Test	p-value
1 (Postgrad=Yes)	40	116.6250	120.500	16.78	.662	.773
2 (Postgrad=No)	17	115.9412	113.000	14.25	.670	.761

4.2.2 Inferential Statistics

The Mann-Whitney U test was utilised as MANI-II scores are at least normal, as shown by the non-significant Kolmogorov-Smirnov result (p=.590), and there was no random sampling.

	QTOT
Mann-Whitney U	293.000
Wilcoxon W	446.000
Z	-.820
p-value	.412

*significant at 5%; p>0.05

The results of the Mann-Whitney test show that there is not a significant difference on scores on the MANI-II between those undergraduate males who do want to pursue post-graduate psychology (MDN=120.5) and those who do not want to pursue post-graduate psychology (MDN=113), U=293, p=.412, r=0.11

Table 7 presents the results of the Mann-Whitney U test and answers the question: Is there a significant difference in MANI-II scores by post graduate intention?

Table 7 indicating Mann-Whitney U test statistics by item for the MANI-II

	Mann-Whitney U	Z	p-value
Q1	320.000	-.379	.705
Q2	295.000	-.703	.482
Q3	307.000	-.636	.525
Q5	323.500	-.308	.758

Q6	275.500	-1.032	.302
Q7	226.500	-2.183	*.029
Q8	279.500	-1.125	.261
Q9	259.000	-1.545	.122
Q10	304.000	-.660	.509
Q12	281.500	-1.069	.285
Q13	317.500	-.450	.653
Q14	332.000	-.145	.885
Q15	300.500	-.718	.473
Q16	303.000	-.665	.506
Q20	286.500	-1.135	.257
Q21	327.000	-.237	.813
Q22	261.500	-1.427	.154
Q23	258.000	-1.575	.115
Q26	336.500	-.107	.915
Q27	227.000	-2.208	*.027
Q28	257.000	-1.576	.115
Q29	336.500	-.066	.947
Q30	302.000	-.778	.436
Q31	302.000	-.758	.449
Q32	315.500	-.444	.657
Q35	310.500	-.586	.558
Q37	272.500	-1.286	.198
Q38	258.000	-1.564	.118
Q39	277.500	-1.137	.256
Q40	329.000	-.212	.832
RQ4	266.000	-1.094	.274
RQ11	334.500	-.101	.920
RQ17	251.500	-1.941	.052
RQ18	282.500	-1.040	.298
RQ19	336.000	-.080	.936
RQ24	271.000	-1.344	.179

RQ25	322.500	-.341	.733
RQ33	328.000	-.065	.948
RQ34	287.500	-1.011	.312
RQ36	210.500	-2.531	*.011

*Significant at $p<0.05$

There is not a significant overall difference of scores on the MANI-II (p=.412). However, there were significant differences found on item 7 (p=.029, r=0.28), item 27 (p=0.27, r=0.29) and item 36 (p=.011, r=0.33). Item 7 consists of the statement: "Men should think logically about problems". Item 27 states: "A man's decision should not be questioned". Finally, item 36 says: "It's not always a man's task to ask someone out on a date".

Chapter 5: Discussion

The results of the research will now be interrogated and related back to the research questions and the relevant literature.

5.1 Qualitative Findings

To begin this discussion, it is necessary to highlight the theme regarding masculinity and what it means to be a man in the participants' view, so that this may act as a semi-reference point for the rest of the discussion. This is because many of the identified themes and issues are highlighted when considered in reference to the participants perceived notions of masculinity and how these may be incompatible with them. This is because the theme of masculinity emerged as a defining feature and common thread amongst the other themes that emerged and so it would be useful to interrogate the findings through the lens of the participants self-identified masculinity.

Several main ideas emerged regarding masculinity. The first was that a man should be powerful. Powerful, in this context, refers to the ability to influence and affect the lives of others. This is also identified as having a physical, overt aspect to it. On a practical level, participants see themselves as having to provide financial and emotional support to their families\partners (if not currently, then certainly in the future). Emotional support referring to

being "strong" and "unemotional". Also, the participants identified being a leader as well as being assertive, successful and competitive as integral parts of masculinity. These ideas regarding masculinity should be kept in mind throughout this discussion as they are integral to trying to answer the question as to why males are not entering professional psychology.

The first qualitative theme that emerged from the participants' interviews showed that there is currently a negative and\or skewed perception of what it means to be a psychologist in South Africa. This includes the belief that the psychological profession is inferior in status when compared to other professions, such as being a medical doctor. This links very strongly to Theme 3, in which participants identify their preferred career choices as medicine, law, media or science\mathematics. While participants do not necessarily identify these as more prestigious than psychology, it cannot be denied that these professions are given high regard within general society. It is possible that in addition to the prestige issue identified, there is something about the work involved in these professions themselves that is attractive to the participants.

As identified in the literature review, males have a higher propensity towards systemising (Baron-Cohen, 2003), and the professions identified as more desirable by the participants have a high level of structure and adherence to rules. This may serve to explain the participants' preference. The identification of media as a career choice by one participant may appear to be an outlier, but is in fact very telling. When asked why media was chosen, the participant identified the freedom for creativity that was felt to not be present in psychology. This is very interesting, as it could be said that psychology is unattractive from

two opposing angles, one being its lack of systems and rules, and the other being its lack of room for creative expression, leaving it in some form of no-man's land.

When considering the media's influence, it is very interesting to note that a psychologist is seen by participants to be portrayed as a ‘hero and saviour’ in movies and television. While at first glance this may seem like a positive view, the idea that being a psychologist requires one to constantly live up to that role in their everyday work may be intimidating to some considering psychology as a profession, particularly men, who are not used to the idea that males can be involved in such ‘emotional’ work, as will be elaborated on later in this discussion. The media is also seen by participants to portray the day to day work of psychologists in a very one-dimensional and skewed manner. Participants see the media portraying psychological work as very formulaic, with repeated references to Freudian notions of patients lying on a couch while simply talking about "their feelings" or "their life story" while the psychologist passively sits there. This is very interesting, as it conflicts directly with the notion that the psychologist is the hero and the saviour as it is difficult to act in that manner while being so passive and may be part of the intimidation already alluded to.

Tellingly, participants identified a view that to "work with people who have something wrong with them means there has to be something wrong with you". This speaks to an implicit understanding that psychological work requires some level of empathy between patient and client, however shows that there is little distinction drawn between clients and psychologists in the media, possibly adding to the intimidation and risk factor identified by participants. This also speaks to a perceived lack of boundaries between psychologists and their patients in the media, perhaps adding to the uncertainty surrounding psychological work. As one

participant explains, "people's first contact with psychology comes from the media", linking to another who said that the media "makes the audience see what they [the media] want people to see about psychology".

Although in the literature review occupational prestige was mainly spoken about in terms of the numbers of women within a profession (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991), it is suggested here that the media, as a manipulator of perceptions, has a generally negative impact on how the participants and possibly society view psychological practice and hence decreasing its occupational prestige and contributing to the lack of male participation in professional psychology.

When talking about prestige specifically, participants alluded to the fact that psychology is not seen as a prestigious profession. Similarly, as when talking about the media, participants identified psychology as being viewed as inferior to medicine because it is "more professional". When using the word professional, it is possible that the participants are referring to the view of psychologists portrayed by the media. Medicine is seen as something that has structure, boundaries and systems, the use of which results in a positive, quantifiable and most importantly, verifiable outcome. There is a clear distinction between doctor and patient suggesting a desire for some level of power, not necessarily negative, over the patient. In contrast, psychology is seen to have no structure, very little standard systems and outcomes that are not necessarily readily visible. As one participant notes: "learning about cognitive psychology is very very interesting. Because obviously seeing the behaviour that occurs in society...but kind of linking that back to the body and seeing the neural processes, that's very interesting", showing the desire for verifiable and tangible outcomes. This is in

contrast to a view given on child psychology: "I know you study why and how children do things and in the real world it's not as easy to apply. It's not that clear cut, it's not that right. So yes I am learning about it and I know the basics...but when I'm in a real world situation I don't see a way that it could definitely apply. One theory or one aspect could apply".

This speaks to three things. Firstly, referring back to systemising theory, men in general prefer systems and rules which psychology is seen not to possess. Secondly, the lack of distinction between patient and psychologist means that there is less perceived power to be had in a therapeutic relationship. Finally, with regards to prestige, verifiable physical outcomes are much more likely to achieve acclaim and recognition in a shorter time than engaging in long-term therapies as a psychologist where the outcomes are not always guaranteed and not necessarily overtly obvious. It could be that as a result of this, those males that do end up becoming professional psychologists are pulled more towards certain ways of working than others. An example of this could be a preference for working in a more cognitive behavioural framework, where outcomes are seen to be more predictable and ways of working are more systematic.

Therefore, success as a doctor is likely to gain more prestige than success as a psychologist. Although this has focused on medicine, very similar things can be said for the other identified career choices. Law and media both have perceived systems and rules in place for how to conduct the work and also verifiable outcomes such as winning cases or a successful advertisement campaign. In addition, these professions provide some level of power over those they are working with, for example audiences and defendants, which psychology is not perceived to have.

However, professional psychology is not universal, and it emerged that certain types of professional psychology were more appealing to the participants than others. The sub-discipline of neuropsychology emerged as more desirable to the participants, on several levels. Firstly, it is perceived to be more scientific than the other types of professional psychology, such as counselling and clinical. It may be useful at this point to note the sub-theme regarding the relationship between psychology and science. Many of the participants (as well as people close to them, such as friends and family) viewed aspects of psychology to be "pseudo-scientific". This obviously has negative connotations. However the field of neuropsychology and to some degree industrial psychology were identified as desirable due to their “more” scientific nature. This raises the question as to what is so important about psychology needing to being scientific rather than non-scientific for male students. Reference could be made again to the male systemising brain being more attracted to these more "scientific" elements. However, it could be argued that there are other factors at work here.

In addition to systemising, power relations and outcomes could be said to be at play. The more intimate, emotional forms of professional psychology, such as counselling and psychotherapy, are often presented as collaborative endeavours between patient and therapist rather than directive. In the case of neuropsychology, it could be said that the power is much more firmly located within the professional in relation to the patient with regards to knowledge and procedures. This is in contrast to the counselling forms where many theories posit the therapist and client to be equal partners in the process, theories which have been taught to the participants at undergraduate level. Neuropsychology also results in quantified, verifiable outcomes. Once a neuropsychologist has diagnosed a neurological difficulty, based

on observed symptomology, this can then be viewed as a success. This is in stark contrast to the much muddier terrain of diagnosis in the clinical and counselling fields of psychology. Given the above and given that there is no current registration category available for neuropsychology in South Africa and only one programme which only accepts 6 individuals per year, this leaves little room to pursue this career option within psychology in South Africa.

Noticeably linked to occupational prestige is the perceived level of financial reward within that profession. Although the literature suggests that psychology is seen universally by men to not be financially rewarding (Ostertag & McNamara, 1991)., the responses given suggest an alternate view. The participants indicated that there are different aspects of psychology which are differential in their financial reward. The aspects involved in "helping people" such as clinical, counselling and educational psychology were seen to be the least financially rewarding while academia was seen to be the most financially rewarding, closely linked to the PhD qualification. This is very interesting because when asked about the roles that psychology should be playing in South Africa, participants identified helping the underprivileged and helping to deal with gender violence. In addition, participants identified the contextualisation of psychology within South Africa as an important issue for them. This suggests that there is not a lack of interest or capacity within males to think about or even perform the more caring roles within psychology but that the perceived lack of financial reward, as well as prestige, are in conflict with self-identified aspects of masculinity such as success, power and financial support.

Men may or may not (and to differing degrees) value the scientific aspects of psychology due to the abovementioned reasons, but as illustrated in the beginning of this discussion, lack of emotional expression and being "strong" are seen as important aspects of masculinity which seem to impact on the decision of whether to pursue a career in psychology. This seems to lead to the more 'emotional work' of counselling forms of psychology to be viewed as unattractive or incompatible with their masculine identity. Importantly, participants located females as being more suited to the counselling areas due to their view of females being more traditionally empathetic and nurturing, suggesting that role would be more appropriate. The participants did not specifically locate themselves as being unable or unwilling to engage in counselling but rather that females would be more suited. What this suggests is that there is an implicit rather than an explicit view of themselves as being incompatible with most forms of psychology due to masculine role requirements, rather than an active disinterest or disdain for the emotional aspect of psychological work.

In addition to the above implicit incompatibilities between masculinity and psychology, participants identified certain overt features of their undergraduate psychology class and studies that may be influencing their decision not to pursue postgraduate studies in psychology. The participants said that they had noticed a vast disparity between the numbers of female and male students, specifically noting that every year the number of male students declined until females were the vast majority in their final year of undergraduate study. While not explicitly stating that this deterred them from pursuing postgraduate studies in psychology, it is entirely possible that this disparity would cause the male minority to possibly feel out of place and therefore less likely to want to pursue a career in psychology. In addition, participants noted that they felt course content was geared towards feminine topics and\or theories and that most of the lecturers were female. This could make

psychology seem at best unwelcoming and at worst unsuitable for males. Although this perceived female bias is not necessarily negative, it is entirely possible that this perceived bias could have an impact on male students with regards to their career decisions towards or away from professional psychology.

Of course it is difficult to ascertain the impact that this perceived bias has when compared to the previously discussed influence of media and masculine identity. It would be appropriate here to discuss barriers to postgraduate psychology studies explicitly identified by participants. The length of study required to enter into professional psychology was identified as an dissuadingfactor by the participants. However, the preferred career paths identified by participants (such as medicine and law) are not significantly shorter than that required by psychology, except possibly in the case of media (although one could argue that establishing a successful career in the media may take a long time). Rather than the length of study itself, this could be rather highlighting the fact that when considering career choices of similar length, the one that will be chosen is the one that is appealing in other areas, such as perceived fit with a masculine identity, as well as issues to do with power and financial reward.

When practically considering the possibility of gaining entry into postgraduate psychology courses, the respondents identified several issues. The major issues revolved around selection procedures. The requirement of consistently high marks, as well as stringent interviews, were seen as being unfair and possibly even intimidating. Very interestingly, empathy and understanding were identified as being a requirement for postgraduate study in psychology.

Given that this discussion has shown that these perceived requirements may be seen by males to be intimidating or unattractive, this perceived requirement could easily be seen as a barrier.

Career decisions are also significantly influenced by social relationships, especially those with family and friends. Participants identified that their parents viewed them as being incompatible with psychology as a profession and more suited to another profession. This is fairly direct and powerful and together with the factors already discussed would surely influence a career decision away from psychology. There was also an identified desire to follow in a parent's footsteps with regards to career choice. This is a less direct but just as powerful form of influence. The additional identified parental belief that psychology is not financially rewarding serves to further reinforce the already discussed perceptions around financial reward in psychology. Additionally, the statement by parents that psychology is too long and expensive as a reason to not pursue it(when the alternatives are similarly time consuming and financially draining), illustrate that some parents hold the belief that a career in psychology is not worth the time and resources when compared to other careers.

In summary, subtle masculine views and ideals could be seen to be affecting the career decisions of undergraduate males by influencing their beliefs around not only their ability to perform the work required in professional psychology, but also that a career in psychology would be unfulfilling and undermine their masculinity.

5.2 Quantitative Findings and Mixing

The results of the quantitative part of the study will now be discussed with reference to the qualitative discussion.

A hypothesis of this research was that conforming to hegemonic masculinity would play a role in the participants decision to not enter into postgraduate studies in psychology. However, the results show that this was not the case, overall. However, this non-significant finding can still be viewed as significant within the context of this research. This finding serves to enhance the qualitative finding that it is not adherence to overt individual masculine ideals that are acting as a deterrent to entering postgraduate studies in psychology, but rather a variety of external and internal influences and pressures that serve to push men away from psychology.

At first glance, the finding might suggest that hegemonic masculinity does not have an influence over career decisions with regard to psychology. As the qualitative discussion has demonstrated, it is very likely that masculinity does play a role in the lack of male interest in professional psychology in South Africa. However, the way that this masculinity influences career decisions is implicit rather than explicit. The dissatisfaction expressed by participants with regard to lack of contextualisation of psychology in South Africa, as well as the roles that it should be playing within society, illustrate a measure of empathy and self-reflection not compatible with hegemonic masculinity. This is further reinforced by the participants' indication that they would recommend that friends and\or family see a psychologist for

counselling if the need arose, however, actually engaging in the work appears to be undesirable. The participants see themselves as unsuitable not only due to their masculine identity but, perhaps more importantly, due to the perceived superiority of femininity when considering this type of work. It is possible that males see that there is a requirement of themselves to take on more feminine characteristics in order to enter into professional psychology, rather than viewing their masculinity as valuable and important in the world of psychology.

From the above, it could be argued that with regards to professional psychology, men are caught at a crossroads, a ‘no-man's land’. On the one hand there is an expressed desire that psychology should be made relevant and useful(illustrating a belief in the value of the profession) while on the other hand viewing themselves as unsuitable, incapable, incompatible and possibly even unwelcome within professional psychology. Therefore, this suggests that even though males are unlikely to overtly agree with statements found in the scale, such as "a successful man makes a lot of money", "men who cry in public are weak", it does not mean that these aspects of masculinity are not at play, but rather that they are operating on a more subtle level. It is also a possibility that some degree of the Halo effect was affecting the participants responses on the questionnaire, as many statements on the questionnaire could be considered as being discriminatory or derogatory making them difficult to agree with. This could be part of a desire to not only please the researcher, but to avoid seeing themselves as expressing and holding socially undesirable views whether they agree with them or not. In the qualitative discussion it is evident that masculinity does play a role, particularly with regards to women being more suited to the counselling forms of psychology and that their masculinity would be undermined by that type of work.

Interestingly, while the participants' overall scores on the MANI-II were not significantly correlated with a lack of interest in postgraduate study in psychology, three individual items were found to have significant differences between the two groups. These were Items 7, 27 and 36. Item 7 was "Men should think logically about problems". Item 27 was "A man's decision should not be questioned". Item 36 was "It is not always a man's task to ask someone out on a date".

Item 7 supports several aspects of the qualitative discussion and further highlights their importance. This item links heavily to the finding around the perception of the scientific nature of psychology by the interview participants. If psychology is not viewed as scientific and some men see thinking logically as an important part of their masculine identity, then it can be seen how psychology may not viewed as a desirable career. This also serves to highlight the structured, systemised and objective way that men believe that they should think about problems, with emotions not playing a role in the decision making process. Again, this being the possible reason that participants identify more "scientific" aspects of psychology as more desirable to themselves and\or to others. There is a question as to whether men just do think in a systemising manner or if it's more a matter of whether they feel they should. As discussed before, logic and (by association) science, allows for tangible outcomes and verifiers of success. Additionally, working from a scientific perspective endows the professional with power over whomever he is working with. This all links back to the self-identified aspects of what it means to be a man: success, power and strength.

Similarly reinforcing these values is the significant difference found on Item 27. Psychological work is by its nature relatively collaborative and clients are often encouraged to voice criticisms towards the therapist. This could be threatening to males who value power, authority and strength and when combined with a perceived lack of authority, might be enough to deter males from psychology as a profession. Also, this points to a possibility that some males hold a narrow perception of what power and authority means. Empathy and understanding could be seen by some males as dangerous muddy waters that are easy to get lost in without objectivity and authority to fall back on. However, in reality, psychotherapists in training receive strategies and ways with which to manage and monitor their emotions, including supervision and boundary setting, while providing room for the psychotherapist to not have to conform to some overly feminine emotional ideal in being able to perform the role of the psychologist.

Finally, the significant difference found on Item 36 is perhaps the most overt indication of how male stereotypes and societal roles impact on the decision not to enter postgraduate studies in psychology. One of the most traditional societal roles for men has been the task of pursuing and initiating romantic interactions with females. Although not directly related to this research question, adherence to this ideal indicates adherence to other masculine ideals such as assertiveness. Of course, if assertiveness is crucial in this important aspect of life, then it could be that assertiveness is seen to be required in other spheres of life, including work. As a result, the participants may see psychology (particularly the more psychotherapeutic forms of the profession) to be incompatible with themselves due to the need to be seen as assertive and pursuant, aspects not generally encouraged in a psychotherapist's demeanour.

5.3 Social Cognitive Career Theory and the decision not to pursue postgraduate studies in psychology

From the above discussion and utilising the model of SCCT, it can be seen how identified factors could be understood through a social cognitive career theory lens to be resulting in non-selection of psychology as a career path for males.

As can be seen from the Diagram 1 on page 26 above and according to the explanation of SCCT given in the literature review, self-efficacy and outcome expectations are the major determinants of career interest, goal formation and most importantly, career selection. Interests serve to form goals and goals result in actual career selection, all the while being influenced by self-efficacy and outcome expectations.

The goal of this research was to determine the sources of the participants' self-efficacy and outcome expectations and what their self-efficacy and outcome expectations were. As per the earlier discussion, these sources can be said to be a variety of linked factors. Internal conceptions of masculinity play a very large role. The need to be powerful, strong and financially successful heavily influence desired outcome expectations for a career. The career needs to place the man in a relative position of power and be perceived to be financially rewarding in order to meet the desired outcome expectations. As discussed before, the need for power and prestige is closely linked with the importance of science within a potential

profession. Men feel more self-efficacious when considering entering into a profession that is scientific, which then influences their outcome expectations regarding power and prestige.

However, self-efficacy does not only have its source in the individual. Views of female dominance in the student and teaching body, as well as in course content could easily interact with the societal view, also expressed by participants, that females are more capable and suitable for caring and emotional work, to produce a feeling of negative self-efficacy in males when considering their ability to actually perform psychological work.

This negative self-efficacy is then further reinforced by friends and families suggesting that the individual is unsuited to a career in psychology, in addition to undermining the idea by finding reasons for its unsuitability, such as length study and cost, resulting in an outcome expectation that pursuing psychology would not please important people in the man's life, a poor outcome expectation.

The view that psychology lacks rules and systems (i.e. is ‘unscientific’), while at the same time does not allow for creativity, creates a negative outcome expectation of an unfulfilling and personally unrewarding career. This illustrates perhaps a lack of knowledge regarding the actual career options and actual work involved in psychological practice.

Although much of this has been repeated earlier, through SCCT it can be seen how these identified factors interact with each other to influence a career decision not to enter postgraduate studies in psychology.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

To conclude, the answers that this research obtained in response to the research questions will be examined and summarised and suggestions for possible steps to be taken will be given. In addition, limitations of the research will be explored and directions for future research will be suggested.

6.1 Research Questions

In answer to the first research question (is there a significant difference on scores on the MANI-II questionnaire between those males wanting to pursue postgraduate studies in psychology and those not wanting to?), is that there is no significant difference. However, as has been shown, this non-significant finding is in fact significant when taken in context with the qualitative part of the research. Rather than suggesting an absence of the influence of masculinity on psychology as a career within this population, this finding instead eliminates overt hegemonic masculinity as a contributing factor, but leaves the door open for the possibility that more subtle and intrinsic forms of masculinity could be contributing, a view supported by the qualitative findings.

Based on the qualitative data obtained, it can be said that there are several reasons why male undergraduate students are choosing not to enter postgraduate study in psychology. A major reason appears to be that males do not view psychology as scientific, a view that is reinforced

by friends and family as well as the media. This results in a very narrow interest in neuropsychology, which is viewed as more ‘scientific’ and linked to that, more prestigious.

When speaking about prestige in this research, the literature suggested that the more women in a profession the lower its prestige; and that this would be a main factor in the profession becoming less attractive for males. However, although prestige was identified as a contributing factor, it did not appear to be operating in the anticipated manner. Prestige was linked to alternate careers such as medicine and sub-disciplines within psychology such as neuropsychology. The common thread amongst these is that they are viewed as more ‘scientific’ and less to do with ‘emotional’ work. Why the preference for these aspects? Possibly a preference of the male "systemising" brain for systems, rules and procedures but also quite possibly due to the overtly verifiable indicators of success inherent in more ‘scientific’ work, important for the reinforcement of interest and goals. In addition, more ‘scientific’ work is perceived as allowing for the establishment of an unequal power relationship, where the professional is seen as above the patient or client. The participants saw this as valuable.

A very important gendered aspect also emerged from the research. At a fundamental level, the participants felt inferior when considering themselves in relation to females in the performance of ‘emotional work’. In addition, the participants viewed themselves as a minority, both in terms of being students, as well as professional psychologists and academics. This could certainly be contributing to the phenomenon of a lack of men in the profession of psychology by reinforcing gender stereotypes of suitability for certain kinds of jobs and the roles that men should be filling in society.

This research showed that men are fully aware of the value that psychology has in society together with actually advocating for its use by friends and family on a practical level and also stressing the need for the field to contextualise and make more of an effort to help vulnerable members of society. However, they do not see themselves as willing or able to be a part of this process. Pressure placed upon the participants by friends and family to enter certain careers and see themselves in certain ways, perhaps something that females would not experience or experience differently, propels them away from a career in psychology. This disconnect is perhaps best illustrated by the issue of financial reward. A clear indication was given that within psychology there is a choice between making money and helping people. One cannot do both and to make money one needs to hold at least a PhD and, ironically, be in academia. The 'helping'side of the profession was viewed as pro-bono work or at best very low paying. This then, together with their perceived unsuitability for 'care work', leaves very few options for entering professional psychology.

Running through all of these factors, and perhaps the primary reason why they are so important, is the thread of masculine identity. In answer to the third research question, the research suggests that participants do perceive professional psychology to be incompatible with their masculine identity. The important aspects of masculine identity isolated by the participants were strength, power, assertiveness, success, emotional restrictedness and the requirement of being emotionally and financially supportive. It can be easily seen how these aspects of masculinity are incompatible with the participants' views of psychology. The perceived lack of prestige, financial reward, rules and boundaries, creativity and most

importantly the lack of perceived space to bring masculinity into psychology, were all identified as boundaries to the selection of psychology as a possible career.

Although this research suggests that to some degree the answer is yes to the fourth (does the way that psychology is presented during their studies influence their decision not to pursue psychology as a career?) and fifth (does the current gender imbalance in the student body impact on the decision of undergraduate male students not to pursue post-graduate psychology studies?) research questions, these can be viewed as contributing factors to the main factor identified above.

Perhaps what needs to be altered, at a macro level, is the view of men as needing to be more feminine in order to enter professional psychology. This needs to be altered to a view where masculinity is perceived as having a space and being valued and able to contribute to the profession just as much as femininity. Also, men need to be made aware that the empathetic and caring characteristics required in professional psychologists are not necessarily the exclusive domain of the feminine but can also be expressed in uniquely masculine ways which are also of value. On a more practical level, what stands out from this research is that there is a lack of knowledge surrounding professional psychological practice and procedures. Perhaps what is necessary is that more time is dedicated to educating undergraduate students around the choices in professional psychology, as well as what the work entails, what the demands are, what the benefits are and on an individual level what is required. This of course will benefit all students, but may be especially beneficial to male students who rely on perceptions and opinions of others when making their career choices. Effort also could be made, not only by universities, but also professional psychological organisations, to possibly

correct the view of psychology provided by the media to be more in line with reality by offering to provide professional psychological consulting for both journalistic and popular media such as movies and television series. Pronouncements could also be made, both in class and to the external world, regarding inaccuracies of psychological practice portrayed in the media. Although in theory these suggestions are workable, as one of the participants put it "in the end the media makes people see what they want to see about psychology".

It could also be of benefit to possibly encourage more male academics to teach undergraduate psychology courses. This may help to create the impression amongst young male students that psychology not only needs both men and women in the profession but also that there is space and legitimacy for masculinity within it. Having role models to identify with is important when attempting to encourage certain groups to enter into certain professional spaces. Of course, that's not to say that female professionals could not be role models for male students, but that seeing that it is possible and acceptable for males to be successful and fulfilled within psychology would help to alleviate many of the negative perceptions held by undergraduate male students. In addition to having a greater male lecturer presence, current male postgraduate students could be encouraged to come and speak to undergraduate classes about their experiences and how they view psychology regarding its challenges and benefits. Again, seeing and hearing a man participating in professional psychology may make professional psychology seem like more of an option for male undergraduate students.

6.2 Limitations of the Research

This research has several limitations. Firstly, the sample size for the quantitative aspect was relatively small, which undermined its statistical power and usefulness. In addition, the group sizes were uneven making the comparison not as meaningful as it could have been. Use of the MANI-II questionnaire could be viewed as a limitation, as it could be said to be testing for a very overt form of hegemonic masculinity not evident in this population.

The qualitative sample size was also relatively small, although as described in the methodological section, this can be seen as a strength in this type of research. The use of an interview schedule, although deemed appropriate for this research, may have inhibited the responses of the interview participants although the researcher is of the view that this was not a significant inhibiting factor.. In addition, the questions used were designed by the researcher to address the research questions but have not been tested for validity and reliability, but when saying this it is important to note that these concepts are not as important in the context of qualitative research, and it could be said that to some degree are not compatible with this form of research

The qualitative sample was limited to students from the University of the Witwatersrand. This may impact on the generalisability of the findings. In addition, conceptualisations of masculinity can greatly differ in different societal and cultural contexts together with different styles of psychology teaching and course content, whereas the current research is limited to a South African university context.

6.3 Recommendations for further research

Given that the extent to which the importance of science emerged from the interviews, without it being clear to what extent this is due to a "systemising" type of thinking present in males, it may be useful to conduct a quantitative study comparing scores on a measure designed to assess levels of empathising and systemising amongst those male students who do and do not want to pursue professional psychology.

Research could also be conducted amongst female psychology students to understand their reasons for pursuing professional psychology as well as their opinions regarding the suitability of males for psychological practice. This could help to give an indication of female influence on perceived male unsuitability.

As this research was designed as an exploratory study looking for general reasons for the lack of male participation in professional psychology in the South African context, further studies could be designed to examine specific findings of this research, such as the link between science and masculinity, as well as questions surrounding media portrayal of psychology and the degree to which undergraduate knowledge about psychology matches the realities of the profession.

Research could be conducted regarding male preferences for ways of working within professional psychology and whether any trends exist in this regard, which could help to explore how males see themselves within the field of psychology.

Finally, similar research could be conducted in different contexts, such as different South African universities, as well as in other countries where this phenomenon presents itself.

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Appendix A: Qualitative Interview Schedule

1. Why did you choose to study psychology as part of your undergraduate degree?
2. Why have you chosen not to study psychology at a postgraduate level?
3. What is your overall impression of the field of psychology?
4. What did you like\enjoy about studying psychology? What did you not like\enjoy?
5. Many people believe that psychology as a profession is more suited to woman. Would you agree? Why?
6. What do you think people in general (outside of university) think about psychology and psychologists?
7. If you told your parents you intended to study psychology at a postgraduate level and become a professional psychologist, what do you believe they might say and think?
8. If you told your friends you intended to study psychology at a postgraduate level and become a professional psychologist, what do you believe they might say and think?
9. What kind of role do you believe psychology has in South African society? Would you consider seeing a psychologist? Why or why not?
10. Would you recommend that someone see a psychologist? Why or why not?
11. What attributes do you think make a good psychologist?
12. What are you planning to do after your undergraduate studies are completed?
13. What are your reasons for choosing the mentioned course of action?
14. If you decided to apply to study postgraduate psychology, what do you think your chances would be of getting in?
15. What does being a man mean to you?

Appendix B: Quantitative Questionnaire

Questionnaire

Researcher: Robert Williams

Instructions: This questionnaire consists of two sections, A and B. Please complete both sections.

Section A

Age:_____

Race (mark with x): Asian ☐ Black ☐ Coloured☐

Indian ☐ White ☐ Other (specify):_____

Current level of psychology: Second Year ☐

Third Year ☐

Do you intend to pursue postgraduate studies in the field of psychology? Yes ☐

No ☐

Section B

Please complete the following by indicating with an X the option that best reflects your opinion on each question.

1. A man should prefer sports like rugby and soccer to activities like art and drama.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

2. If a man hurts himself, he should try not to let others see he is in pain.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

3. Men who cry in public are weak.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

4. Men should share their worries with other people.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

5. To be a man, you need to be tough.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

6. Being called a “faggot” is one of the worst insults to a man.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

7. Men should think logically about problems.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

8. Men should appear confident even if they are not.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

9. A man should make all the final decisions in the family.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

10. Men participate in games to win.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

11. Men should be able to sleep close together in the same bed.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

12. Men should have a job that earns them respect.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

13. A successful man should be able to live a comfortable life.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

14. A man deserves the respect of his family.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

15. Men have a sex drive that needs to be satisfied.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

16. Men should feel embarrassed if they are unable to get an erection during sex.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

17. Menwho teach children or cook in restaurants should be proud of what they do.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

18. It is not important for men to achieve orgasm during sex.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

19. It is okay for men to rely on others.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

20. If a man is frightened, he should try and not let others see it.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

21. It is wrong for a man to be seen in a gay bar.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

22. Men should be prepared to physically fight their way out of a bad situation.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

23. It is admirable for a man to take the lead when something needs to be done.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

24. A heterosexual man should not feel embarrassed that he has gay friends.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

25. A man should not worry about the future.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

26. Gay men should be beaten up.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

27. A man’s decision should not be questioned.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

28. Men should be determined to do well.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

29. It is important for a man to be successful in his job.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

30. Gay men are not suited to many jobs.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

31. Men should remain focused in difficult situations.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

32. Men should have the respect and admiration of everyone who knows them.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

33. Men should be able to kiss each other without feeling ashamed.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

34. Men should feel embarrassed to talk about sex with their friends.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

35. Men are prepared to take risks.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

36. It is not always a man's task to ask someone on a date.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

37. A father should be embarrassed if he finds out that his son is gay.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

38. A man should make sure that he knows about sex.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

39. A man is successful if he makes a lot of money.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

40. Men should be calm in difficult situations.

Strongly Disagree ❑ Disagree ❑ No Opinion ❑ Agree❑ Strongly Agree❑

END OF QUESTIONNAIRE – THANK YOU FOR PARTICIPATING!

Appendix C: Participant Information Sheet

Department of Psychology

University of the Witwatersrand

Participant information sheet: Quantitative

Dear Research Participant,

My name is Robert Williams and I am currently enrolled as a Research Psychology Masters student at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for my degree I am required to submit a research report on a particular topic. My research is aimed at exploring the reasons for the lack of male interest in the field of professional psychology in the South African context. To do this I intend to assess to what extent masculine ideology affects male undergraduate psychology students' decisions to continue or not continue on to postgraduate psychology studies. Participants in this research need to be male and currently enrolled as a student in an undergraduate psychology class at second or third year level.

I would like to invite you to participate in my research. In order to conduct the research I will need you to complete a questionnaire designed to assess masculine ideology. This questionnaire consists of 40 items where you will be required to indicate on a 5-point scale whether you strongly agree, agree, have no opinion, disagree or strongly disagree with a given statement. Please note that there are no wrong, right or preferred answers. The only requirement is that you select the option that is closest to your opinion of the given statement.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any stage for any reason, without any negative consequence. You are also free to abstain from answering any item(s) that make(s) you feel uncomfortable.

All identifying information will be kept strictly confidential. All data gathered will be stored in password protected files and/or locked drawers with only the researcher having access to them. All data will be kept for a period of 2 years (should publication of the results occur) or 6 years (should no publication occur). After this time, all data will be destroyed or deleted. In the final report no personally identifiable information will be given and results will be reported only in the form of group statistics.

If you experience any emotional distress during your participation in this research, please be aware that there is a low-cost counselling service at the Emthonjeni Centre on the east campus of Wits Braamfontein that is available if you should need support or help. Their contact number is 011 7174513.

If you have any further questions, please contact me on 0799554457 or rjwilliams.rsa@gmail.com or you can contact my supervisor, Mr. Gareth Mitchell on 011 717 4506 or Gareth.Mitchell@wits.ac.za.

Please submit these completed forms in the attached envelope either directly to me or alternatively to the main Psychology Office in the Umthombo Building, 2nd Floor. There will be a box in the office with my name on it. Note that by returning the questionnaire you consent to participating in this research.

Thank you,

Robert Williams

Appendix D – Qualitative Participant Information Sheet

Department of Psychology

University of the Witwatersrand

Participant information sheet: Qualitative

Dear Research Participant,

My name is Robert Williams and I am currently enrolled as a Research Psychology Masters student at the University of the Witwatersrand. As part of the requirements for my degree I am required to submit a research report on a particular topic. My research is aimed at exploring the reasons for the lack of male interest in the field of professional psychology in the South African context. . Participants in this research need to be male, currently enrolled as a student in an undergraduate psychology class at second or third year level and have decided not to study psychology at postgraduate level.

I would like to invite you to participate in the qualitative aspect of my research. In order to participate in this phase you will be required to participate in a one-on-one interview with the researcher. The broad topic of the interview will be the reasons behind your decision not to continue on to study postgraduate psychology. The interview will take approximately 30 minutes to one hour in length.

The interviews will be audio recorded with a tape recorder and then transcribed by the researcher to facilitate the research. The audio recordings and transcriptions will be kept in locked draws and password protected files that only the researcher will have access to. The only other person besides the researcher who will have access to the transcriptions is my supervisor, Gareth Mitchell (Clinical psychologist and lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand). All data will be kept for a period of 2 years (should publication of the results occur) or 6 years (should no publication occur). After this time, all data will be destroyed or deleted.

All identifying information will be kept strictly confidential. In the final report (and any subsequent publications) your anonymity will be protected by using a pseudonym such as Participant A, B etc. Also the identity of all extraneous persons mentioned by you will be kept anonymous through the use of pseudonyms.

Your participation in this research is completely voluntary and you are free to withdraw at any stage for any reason. You are also free to abstain from answering any question in the interview that makes you feel uncomfortable.

If you experience any emotional distress during your participation in this research, please be aware that there is a low-cost counselling service at the Emthonjeni Centre on the east campus of Wits Braamfontein that is available if you should need support or help. Their contact number is 011 7174513.

If you have any further questions, please contact me on 0799554457 or rjwilliams.rsa@gmail.com or you can contact my supervisor, Mr Gareth Mitchell on 011 717 4506 or Gareth.Mitchell@wits.ac.za.

If you agree to participate in this research, please complete the consent form attached to this document.

Thank you,

Robert Williams

Appendix E: Consent Form– Qualitative

Department of Psychology

University of the Witwatersrand

Consent form for participation in qualitative phase of research project conducted by Robert Williams for the degree of MA (Research Psychology)

Statement of Consent:

I, _____, understand and agree to the following regarding my participation in this research:

- My participation is completely voluntary and I have the right to withdraw at any time.
- I have the right to refuse to give an answer for any question during the interview.
- All identifying information will be kept strictly confidential. In the final report (and any subsequent publications) my anonymity will be protected by using a pseudonym such as Participant A, B etc. Also the identity of all extraneous persons mentioned by myself will be kept anonymous through the use of pseudonyms.
- Direct quotes from my interview may be used but will not be presented with any identifiable information.
- The interviews will be audio recorded with a tape recorder and then transcribed by the researcher to facilitate the research.
- The audio recordings and transcriptions will be kept in locked drawers and/or password protected files that only the researcher will have access to. The only other person besides the researcher who will have access to the transcriptions is the research supervisor, Gareth Mitchell (Clinical psychologist and lecturer at the University of the Witwatersrand).
- All data will be kept for a period of 2 years (should publication of the results occur) or 6 years (should no publication occur). After this time, all data will be destroyed or deleted.
- There are no anticipated risks or benefits for participating.
- If any emotional distress should arise as a result of participating in this research I am aware of the low-cost counselling service at the Emthonjeni Centre on the east campus of Wits Braamfontein that is available should I need support or help. Their contact number is 011 717 4513.

SIGNED: _____

DATED: _____

Appendix F – Consent for Audio Recording

Department of Psychology

University of the Witwatersrand

Consent to be Audiotaped

This consent form gives Robert Williams permission to audio record my research interview for data analysis and transcription purposes. This is simply a method that is used to maintain the integrity of the data and to make analysis easier.

I have noted the following:

- My identity will be protected and I will not be required to give out my name in this recording.
- Access to these recordings will be restricted to the researcher. No other persons will have access to these recordings.
- The recordings will be kept safe, in a private location known only to the researcher, and will be stored in password protected files.
- The recording will be destroyed after 2 years if the study is published or after 6 years if it is not published.
- These recordings will **not** be presented publicly or as a part of the study results.
- All identifying information will be removed from the transcripts and although direct quotes from the transcripts will be used in the final write-up, these will not be linked to any identifying information and will be used in conjunction with quotes from other participants.

If I have concerns or queries regarding the audio recording of this interview I can ask the researcher before we begin the interview so that he may clarify them for me.

I, (name) _____ give permission for my research interview to be fully audio recorded with a full understanding of the above statement.

Signed:_____

Date:_____

Appendix G: Ethical Clearance Certificate

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG

HUMAN RESEARCH ETHICS COMMITTEE (SCHOOL OF HUMAN & COMMUNITY DEVELOPMENT

CLEARANCE CERTIFICATE	**PROTOCOL NUMBER: MPSYC/13/009 IH**
PROJECT TITLE:	Women's work? An exploration of the lack of male interest in the field of professional psychology in South Africa
INVESTIGATORS	Williams Robert James
DEPARTMENT	Psychology
DATE CONSIDERED	24/05/13
DECISION OF COMMITTEE*	Approved

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

DATE: 20 June 2013

CHAIRPERSON
(Professor A Thatcher)

cc Supervisor: Mr. G Mitchell

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 2015

PLEASE QUOTE THE PROTOCOL NUMBER IN ALL ENQUIRIES