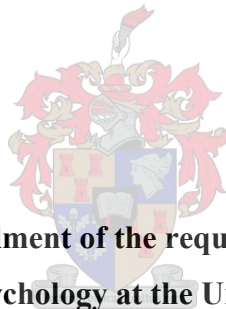**Divergent Masculinity Discourses Among Stellenbosch Student Males: Traditional Masculinity and the Progressive Male/New Man Discourse**

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Thesis presented in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Research Psychology at the University of Stellenbosch

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March 2017

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Declaration

By submitting this thesis electronically, I declare that the entirety of the work contained therein is my own original work, that I am the authorship owner thereof (unless to the extent explicitly otherwise stated) and that I have not previously in its entirety or in part submitted it for obtaining any qualification.

Signature: Anjela Adamson

Date: March 2017

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Abstract

The aim of this study is to explore the tensions and contradictions in the dialogue of male Students attending Stellenbosch University. Particular attention was given to the discourses of traditional masculinity and the new man masculinity, due to the fundamental divergence between these discourses. The premise of this study is that these two discourses are accepted in society and men assimilate these discourses to varying degrees, this causes men to vacillate between discourses due contextual prompts. Owing to the dialectical divergence in the masculinity discourses, contradictions and tensions can arise in the conversational context. There is an existent dearth on masculinity research in a University environment.

This study further aims to contribute to the filling of that knowledge gap, specifically addressing hegemony and resistant to hegemony discourses in the male students dialogue. The ontological approach of the study was social constructionism. Therefore there was a concentration on the way participants use language by means of discourse to build ways of being in which they base the performance of masculinity.

Focus groups that centered on open-ended masculinity discussion topics were used to facilitate a relaxed environment were masculinity discourses could emerge from the dialogue of the participants in a close to natural and sporadic manner. There were sixteen participants divided in four focus groups two of which were male only and an additional two, which were mixed sex. This division was to examine if there is an effect, due a female presence, on the male participants discourse and dialogue.

The data from the focus groups was analyzed by means of Discursive Psychology. The main tool of analysis used was ideological dilemmas, which focuses on the contradictions in ideological themes or discourse, which thusly provided a useful analytic tool in the examination of the contradiction and dialectical tension between traditional masculinity and the new man masculinity.

The findings indicated that there were contradictions and tensions between the discourses of traditional masculinity and the new man. The contradictions were reflected particularly in the equality and dominance components of the discourses. An unexpected finding was the

relationship with the new man and hegemony. The new man discourse is associated with the component of equality; however, the findings in this study reflected that there is a component of dominance in the new man, rather than only in the traditional masculinity discourse.

The findings further indicated a transition from traditional masculinity to the new man. This has important implications in the gender equality properties and the reformation masculinity component that the new man is associated with. Masculinity is transitioning into a masculinity that has elements of hegemony, but it is performed differently to the hegemony in traditional masculinity, this holds considerable consequences for the gender equality principles in gender studies.

Absrak

Die doel van hierdie studie is om die spannings en teenstrydighede in die dialoog van mans-studente by Stellenbosch Universiteit te ondersoek. Spesifieke fokus was geplaas op die diskoerse van tradisionele manlikheid en die nuwe-man manlikheid weens die fundamentele divergensie tussen hierdie diskoerse. Die uitgangspunt van hierdie studie is dat beide hierdie diskoerse in die samelewing aanvaar word, en dat mans hierdie diskoerse tot verskeie mates assimileer, dus veroorsaak hierdie verskynsel dat mans aarsel tussen dié diskoerse gebaseer op verskillende kontekstuele aanwysings. Gegewe die teenwoordigheid van dialektiese divergensie in die diskoerse van manlikheid, kan teenstrydighede en spannings onstaan in 'n gesprekskonteks. Tans is daar n tekort aan navorsing gefokus op manlikheid in 'n universiteitskonteks.

Hierdie studie beoog om verder by te dra tot dié kennis gaping, deur hegemonie en weerstand tot hegemoniese diskoerse in die dialoog van mansstudente spesifiek aan te spreek. Die ontologiese benadering van hierdie studie was sosiale kontruksionisme. Dus was daar klem gelê op die verkeie maniere waarvolgens deelnemers taal, deur middel van diskoers gebruik, om weë van uitlewing te konstrueer waarop hulle hul uitvoering van manlikheid baseer.

Die fokus groepe was gesentreer rondom 'n oop bespreking van manlikheid-verwante onderwerpe, ten einde 'n gemaklike omgewing te skep waarin manlikheidsdiskoerse spontaan kon onstaan in die dialoog van die deelnemers in a naby-aan naturlike en sporadies wyse. Daar was sestien deelnemers, onderverdeel in vier fokus groepe, waarvan twee groepe slegs mans bevat het, en 'n verdere twee gemengde geslagsgroepe. Hierdie onderskeid was geskep

met die doel om ondersoek in te stel aangaande die effek van 'n vroulike teenwoordigheid, op die manlike deelnemers se diskoers en dialoog.

Die data van die fokusgroepe was geanaliseer deur middel van <mark>Diskursiewe Sielkunde.</mark> Die hoof instrument van analise was die gebruik van ideologiese dilemmas, wat fokus plaas op die teenstrydighede in ideologiese temas van diskoers. Daarvolgens, verskaf hierdie benadering 'n insiggewende analitiese instrument vir die ondersoek van die teenstrydiheid en dialektiese spanning tussen tradisionele manlikheid en die nuwe-man manlikheid.

Die bevindinge het aangedui dat daar wel teenstrydighede en spannings tussen die diskoerse van tradisionele manlikeheid en die nuwe-man, teenwoordig was. Die teenstellings is in besonder geweerspieël in die gelykheid en dominansie komponente van die diskoerse. 'n Onverwagse bevinding was die verhouding tusssen die nuwe-man en hegemonie. Die nuwe-man diskoers word geassosieer met die gelykheidskomponent; maar, die bevindinge van hierdie studie dui aan dat daar 'n komponent van dominansie teenwoordig is in die nuwe-man, en nie slegs in die tradisionele manlikheids diskoers nie.

Die bevinginge dui verder aan op die teenwoordigheid van 'n oorgang vanaf tradisionele manlikheid to die nuwe-man. Hierdie verskynsel het belangrike implikasies vir die geslagsgelykheid eienskappe, en vir die hervorming van die manlikhiedskomponent waarmee die nuwe-man verband hou en geassosieer word. Manlikheid is besig om te transisioneer na 'n manlikheid wat elemente van hegemonie bevat; maar, hierdie hegemonie word op 'n ander wyse uitgevoer as die hegemonie teenwoordig in tradisionele manlikheid. Hierdie verskynsel het daadwerklike gevolge vir die beginsels van geslagsgelykheid in geslagsstudies.

Chapter One
Introduction

This thesis is centered on the masculinity discourses of South African males attending Stellenbosch University. The discourses will be viewed in terms of how men represent themselves in relation to the normative shared understanding of what it means to be a man in this context. This thesis will focus on two masculinity discourses, namely the 'traditional man' and the 'new man'. Traditional masculinity refers to a stoic, anti-feminist and strength-orientated representation of masculinity, whereas the new man, in comparison, refers to a softer representation of masculinity, which is linked to emotionality and gender equality.

A premise of this thesis is that certain levels of contradiction between traditional and new discourses of masculinity are present in any modern or modernising culture. However, the production of the elements that characterize each discourse in a given context, and the relationship and tensions between them, will be specific to the culture examined. For example, in Afrikaans culture importance is placed on the man as breadwinner, which is connected with being the head of the household. The concentration on males as the head of a household carries tones of anti-feminism, which is associated with representations of traditional masculinity (Du Pisani, 2001). The breadwinner as an element of traditional masculinity is not exclusive to Afrikaans culture, but is discussed as such, in this example, to better display the different expressions traditional masculinity can exhibit, due to the different cultures it is formulated in. In Zulu culture, in turn, the discourse of traditional masculinity is expressed in the practice of virginity testing. Virginity testing is a form of patriarchy, which is achieved by the male dominance of females (Moolman, 2004).

This example displays that both Afrikaans and Zulu cultures produce certain elements that are associated with traditional masculinity. The example also exhibits how these elements specific to the divergent cultures can overlap; yet maintain the particularity of the divergent cultures. It can be argued, that both the male breadwinner and virginity testing hold anti-feminist implications, yet the productions of these anti-feminist elements are expressed differently due to the divergent cultures it was formed in.

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The theoretical discussion of this thesis is broken down into two parts. The conceptual framework in chapter two provides a breakdown of what is topical within the field of contemporary masculinity. The literature review, however, provides a concerted focus on South African academic texts that deliberate on traditional masculinities and new man discourses. The aim of this is to deliver a thorough historical, sociological, ideological and contextual grounding on the discourses of traditional masculinities and new man masculinities in South Africa.

1.1 Background to the Research Problem

Masculinity is an emergent topic in the social sciences, only gaining attention in the past forty years (Morrell, 1998). In academic literature it has chiefly been discussed under the following two ontological assumptions, essentialism and social constructionism. The principal philosophical assumption of essentialism is the biologically deterministic belief that gender is innate (Govender, 2010). Stated differently, masculinity and femininity are understood to be enacted according to the inherent nature of the two sexes. This stance has fallen out of favour in modern social science, due to the role social aspects have in forming gendered behaviour (Carrigan, Connell, & Lee 1985). Currently, there is an emphasis on the social construction of gender roles. The core belief of this ontological assumption is that meanings of masculinity and femininity are variable and historically, as well as contextually negotiated by social means (Lynch, Brouard, & Visser, 2010). This implies that the structure of gender roles is fluid, and the characterisation of what it means to be male is under constant revision (Chikovore, Hart, Kumwenda, Chipungu, Desmond & Corbett, 2014).

Social constructionism views masculinity in terms of gender being formed in the societies or social groups. A consequence of this is the potential for multiple masculinities to be produced, due to different social groups or cultures prompting the formation and expression of masculinity. Multiple masculinities are formed socially, but there is also the potential for different forms of a specific masculinity to be recognised in different cultures or different social groups. The notions of 'multiple masculinities' and many 'forms of masculinity' may seem synonymous; however, a distinction does exist, this discrepancy can be seen by considering the traditional man. The traditional man has been constructed by society, but there are different forms of this masculinity in different cultures. This can be understood

apropos to the previous example of traditional masculinity, where both masculinities carry the element of antifeminism, but is expressed differently causing the traditional masculinity to have different references, elements or forms specific to the different cultures of Afrikaans and Zulu.

The multiplicity of masculinity and the different forms a type of masculinity can take in different cultures provides a resultant opportunity for tensions and contradictions to exist between the different types or even the different forms of masculinity. To further clarify this point an example of the contradictions and tension of the element of physicality in the traditional man and new man can be used. A male performing the new man masculinity often exhibits distaste for exercise justified by physicality as a reaction to the emphasis placed on exercise for physicality in traditional masculinity, but will justify exercise by the assertion of being healthy.

This tension about exercise exists between traditional masculinity and the new man, as well as between the forms of masculinity. The tension between traditional masculinity and the new man is exercise for the sake of physicality is considered to be masculine by men that associate with the traditional man, but considered unnecessary to the performance of masculinity by men that associate with the new man. The tension that exists between the forms of the new man is that a form of new man masculinity can associate exercise with healthy living, whereas another form of the new man may not associate the performance of masculinity with exercise at all. This inconsistency between forms is often dependent on the culture or subculture this form of the new man was constructed in.

The synergy with the social constructionist perspective and multiple masculinities is important due to the interest and attention paid, in this thesis, to the tensions and contradictions with the traditional man and new man masculinities and the various culturally specific formations of these masculinities.

1.2 Traditional Masculinity, the New Man, Hegemonic Masculinity and Feminism

In South Africa, there has been a concentration of research on traditional masculinity in response to the research emphasis on feminism. In this scholarship, traditional masculinity is conceptualised as a script that espouses strength, multiple sexual partners, emotional stoicism, anti-femininity, homophobia, violence and the mentality that men should be the provider (Adams & Govender, 2008). Traditional forms of masculinity and its associated privileges experienced scrutiny in the 1960s and 1970s due to the advancement of gender equality principles in politics, which concentrated on feminism (Carrigan, et al., 1985). According to Sanders (1996), it was at this point that the new man discourse emerged in masculinity research. The new man discourse assumes a positive attitude toward feminism, emotional openness and is considered as non-homophobic. Both Sanders (1996) and Connell (1993) purport that the new man discourse has been a reactionary creation, in order to assimilate and adapt to the new political structure, which strongly supports 'women's rights' without giving up some of the privileges associated with the dominance of the traditional man. The new political structure refers to increasing concentration of equal rights in politics post-apartheid.

Connell (1993) discusses masculinity in relation to the politics of the 1960s-1970s in Europe and America, which was a time period of furor centered on the social injustice of classism and patriarchal privilege. Connell (1993) states that liberal or second wave feminist discourse was often aligned with the radical reform discourse of the liberal labour. This was the rally for monumental reformation aimed at the eradication of class privilege. Elements of the new man in America and Europe were formed in the climate of sympathy towards equality and feminism. Sanders (1996) refers to the new man masculinity in South Africa as emerging from the emphasis of feminism in the 1980s and the concentration on equality in South Africa post-apartheid.

In the 1980s, in South Africa, there was a backlash, by men, against the element of feminism associated with the emerging South African new man masculinity. This backlash called for a return to the performance of elements of the traditional masculinity. Men during this time were said, by social scientists, to have adopted a state of identity crisis or masculinity crisis.

It can be argued, using the construct of masculinity in crisis, that men are confused about their roles as men, whether being masculine was to be a traditional man or a new man. Lemon, (1995) states that men that adopt the male in crisis perspective often perceive men as the victims of an unjust political system, where women receive privileges that men no longer have access to. Additionally, in academic literature, that adopts this outlook, there is an emphasis on the deterioration of male health, the confusion of gender roles, the increase in homosexuality and an emphasis on privileges women have on the basis of their gender (Lemon, 1995). Arguably, the tone of this construct is, amongst other things, a reaction against the emphasis on equality, where men are confused as to what is the acceptable performance of masculinity is, and whether they should perform masculinity in a way that is more gender equal or continues with the performance of dominance (Walker, 2006).

In academic writing traditional masculinity is often used interchangeably with the term hegemonic masculinity, but despite overlaps there are important differences between the two concepts. Traditional masculinity, as was mentioned above, is a masculinity that is associated with dominance, emotional stoicism and anti-feminism. Hegemonic masculinity is a term that refers to the dominant masculinity in a given society (Morrell, Jewkes, Lindegger, & Hamlall, 2013). This form of masculinity is the type of masculinity that men strive towards, but according to Connell and Messerschmidt, (2005) most men do not achieve hegemonic masculinity, as it is the top tier of dominance of both females and other masculinities that are lower on the echelons of dominance in masculinity.

The element of dominance in both traditional masculinity and hegemonic masculinity is the main reason the terms are used as exchangeable. However, the distinguishing point is the emphasis of the pinnacle of dominance in hegemonic masculinity. The pinnacle of dominance in hegemonic masculinity is interpreted as the top form of dominance in masculinity, whereas traditional masculinity dominance can refer to the generic performance of dominance of females but not necessarily the zenith of gendered dominance in a society. Furthermore, an additional distinguishing characteristic in hegemonic masculinity is the subordination of men that subscribe to other masculinities, such as Black masculinities or homosexual masculinities (Connell, 1995).

Some traditional masculinities can be hegemonic by becoming the dominant form in a given society. An example of this is the Afrikaner traditional masculinity, which was both a

hegemonic masculinity and traditional masculinity. Those ascribing to the Afrikaner traditional masculinity, during apartheid, tended towards the domination of other masculinities such as English masculinity, Black masculinity, Coloured masculinity and Indian Masculinity. The Afrikaner traditional hegemonic masculinity was not an ideal form of masculinity, which all men strove towards, but due to the pinnacle dominance quality, that this masculinity exhibited, during apartheid, as well as the struggle of other masculinities against subordination it can arguably be considered as hegemonic. Afrikaans traditional masculinity is integral in this thesis due to the participants in this study mostly comprising of Afrikaans males. Black masculinity is often examined due to the role Afrikaans masculinity played in the subordination of Black masculinity during apartheid.

1.2.1   History and Masculinity

Masculinity is historically shaped. In South Africa, apartheid played a significant role in manufacturing and sustaining forms of masculinity. In apartheid there was a racial quality to hegemonic masculinity and subordinate masculinity. This racial quality can still be found in modern masculinities albeit to a lesser extent. Connell and Messershmidt (2005) use the term 'subordinate masculinity' to differentiate between the dominating and the dominated forms of masculinity. When approaching masculinity through the historical lens of apartheid, the perspective of hegemonic masculinity and subordinate masculinity can be seen as racialised, where the hegemonic masculinity is the Afrikaans traditional masculinity and the other racial masculinities, particularly Black masculinity were the subordinate masculinities. The findings in this study make reference to the conservatism of Afrikaner masculinity in the past as an influence on current Afrikaner masculinity, displaying the pertinent effects of history and culture on current masculinity.

Arguably, the first hegemonic masculinity, in South Africa, would be the White English cultural group, which was the utmost dominant masculinity group, during the British colonisation period, in South Africa. The hegemony of the White English eroded due to the solidifying of Afriaknerism in South Africa during the 1930s (Lambert, 2005). In 1934, South Africa became independent, which caused the hegemony of the White English denizens to erode (Lambert, 2005). A further contribution to the attrition of English hegemony was the solidification of the dominance of a patriarchal Afrikaans culture, by

group movements such as the [1]Broederbond (Lambert, 2005). As well as the Great Trek commemoration, in 1938, which had a unifying effect on the Afrikaans culture (Lambert, 2005).

The cultural emphasis on Afrikaner nationalism, in South Africa is not the only factor, which influenced the shaping and solidification of Afrikaner White hegemony masculinity. An additional contributing factor to hegemonic Afrikaner masculinity was apartheid, in the 1940s, which caused masculinity to take an increasingly racialised shape. The racial quality of hegemonic masculinity, during apartheid, was the dominating form of the White Traditional Afrikaner masculinity, where the other races, particularly Black masculinity were the subordinated masculinities.

Vincent, (2006) discusses the derogatory cognomen of 'boy' which was a reference used to talk about or to Black employees during apartheid. The reference 'boy' denotes that Black males are not men; they are boys, which bares the association that they are less than men, whereas White males, in comparison, were considered to be men. The hegemonic racialised discourse formed, during apartheid, is most stark when considered in relation to Black males, but the hegemony associated with this discourse was also formed in relation to Indian and Coloured men in South Africa. Vahed, (2005) iterates this point, by stating despite the concentration of academic texts on the marginalisation and subordination effects of the performance of White Afrikaner masculinity on Black masculinity, Indians males were also a marginalised and subordinated masculinity. The inclusion of Coloured and Indian masculinity in the category of subordinated masculinities further highlights the extent and success of the hegemony of the White Afrikaner masculinity.

A feature of post-apartheid is the movement to liberalize Black masculinity from the subordinate position in relation to White Afrikaner hegemonic masculinity. This can also be said of the Coloured and Indian masculinity, although, as previously mentioned, there is a concentration in masculinity research on the racialised dynamic between Black and White masculinity. Despite the focus on Black rights, by the political party in power – African National Congress – to liberalize Black masculinity in post-apartheid South African society, there are still residual effects of racialised masculinity, which has become intermingled with

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[1] Broederbond is a group whose aim was to further the development of Afrikaans nationalism.

concepts of classism. Vincent (2006) captures this in a discussion of the clothing men have to wear to express professionalism. According to her study, White males are able to dress in any manner and be considered professional, whereas Black males have to dress more formally to be recognised as an academic rather than a blue-collar worker.

1.2.2   Masculinity and contradiction in discourses

One can approach the study of masculinity, in South African society, through the use of both the concepts of 'traditional masculinity' and 'new man masculinity'. The tension between the traditional man and the new man can be viewed as an aspect of the male in crisis paradigm. Researchers, using the male in crisis paradigm, highlight the element of confusion in masculine gender roles (Kahn, 2009; Walker, 2006). This role confusion can be attributed to the continuation of the values, such as patriarchy, that are associated with the traditional man; which are set in contradiction to the equality values associated with the new man (Walker, 2006). The role confusion aspect in this paradigm involves a reactionary element. A break away from the gender inequality associated with masculinity occurred when an equality based Constitution, in South Africa, was formed in 1994 post-apartheid. Masculinity, however, did not cleanly break away from the association of antifeminism, according to Walker, (2006) a number of men were reluctant to give up old ways of being and old privileges, which were sustained through the male-controlled systems in South Africa in the early 1990s, thusly causing a continuing tension between the masculinities.

In essence these two forms of masculinity are often contradictory. Traditional masculinity is characterised by a macho ideology where strength, emotional blunting, anti-feminism and homophobia are emphasised (Basterfield, Reardon, & Govender, 2014). In comparison, new man masculinity is characterised by commitment to gender equality and greater openness to emotionality (Morrell, 1998). Men, in South Africa, are confronted with both these representations of masculinity in day-to-day life and both of these representations of masculinity are accepted in South African society as valid. The modern South African male will therefore oscillate between these masculinity scripts in various environments depending on the circumstantial cues. The contradiction in contemporary masculinity between traditional and more progressive forms exists across all cultures, in South Africa, to some degree.

1.3 Significance of Research and Research Rationale

The research is noteworthy because there is a lack of academic literature on the new man discourse. The new man discourse is mentioned in several articles, this researcher was only able to find two South African articles after an extensive literature search, where the new man discourse in South Africa was the main focus. This proves a knowledge gap that needs to be filled.

Masculinity is topical in academia and has received considerable focus in the present and preceding forty years. There are many aspects of masculinity that have not yet been explored. This research will help explore a knowledge gap in academic literature and broaden the outlook on masculinity. This extended viewpoint will further comprehension of this expansive topic by adding to research that is already available on masculinity.

This study is significant as it explores aspects of what can be described as two types of masculinity discourses, the traditional man and the new man and the contradictions attributed to them that are accepted and promoted in South African society. It will explore how men are able to assimilate these contradictory discourses and negotiate the different meanings in the discourses in various social contexts. It will explore if there is a situational tension when both of the masculinities are called upon in a single social context. It adds to the masculinity in crisis literature, by exploring the frustration men experience in terms of what it currently means to be male in South Africa.

The traditional man and the new man scripts are forms of masculinity, which can be seen to exist within South African societies. The South African male is consistently exposed to these two ways of being, which are in essence contradictory. Of particular interest is how males orientate and negotiate themselves, in relation to these contradictions and tensions, between these two forms of masculinity, in conversation and in various contexts. These dialogical tensions hold significance in examination of the themes of transition from the traditional male to the more modern new man, masculinity identity and masculinity performance confusion, and gendered forms of dominance.

1.4 Research Aim

The aim of this research project is to explore how South African male students attending Stellenbosch University articulate and rationalize masculinity discourses in a conversational environment. This particular study aims at investigating contextual tensions and contradictions that South African males attending Stellenbosch University may experience when using the contradictory masculinity discourses in a context that calls for both masculinities to be discussed. Specific interest is taken in how these masculinity discourses are negotiated and confronted in natural conversation in regards to gender identity, dominance and transition in masculinity.

1.5 Research Question

How are the tensions and dialogical contradictions in Stellenbosch males' speech articulated, negotiated and rationalised to accomplish concepts of male gender identity, dominance and masculinity transition in everyday conversation?

1.6 Research Outline

This thesis is divided into six chapters. Chapter 1 is the introductory chapter, which gives a brief outline of the research topic, states the research question, the aims and goals and explores the significance of the research. There is a brief paragraph at the end describing the assumptions of the researcher.

Chapter 2 is the conceptual outline of masculinity in research. This is inclusive of international academic literature and seeks to show what has influenced researcher's views on masculinity, as well as introduce the new man as a concept that should be refined in future masculinity studies.

Chapter 3 is the literature review; it explores literature on the research topic outlined in chapter one in further detail. The literature review chapter involves an in depth discussion of the literature on masculinity, concentrating on the topical research in South Africa with a

deliberate exclusion of international papers. The aim is to explore nuanced South African view of masculinity.

Chapter 4 is the methodology section, which begins with a description of the research design and reports the advantages and limitation of the chosen design. Furthermore, there is an exploration of the chosen method of analysis. Subsequently, this chapter is further divided into subsections of rich description of the data collection process and data analysis. Additionally there are subsections of ethical practices and self-reflexivity.

Chapter 5 is the findings and discussion chapter; this chapter begins with a rich description of the findings. This chapter concludes with a discussion, which highlights the common themes found in the results and the relation to the literature and issues in South African masculinity.

Chapter 6 is the conclusion, limitations and recommendations chapter, which highlights the limits of the study, and suggests how future studies may remedy them. It briefly outlines the implications and impact this study has for future research.

Chapter Two
Literature Review and Conceptual Framework: A International and South African Perspective

Masculinity studies have become topical in South African academia in the past four decades. It seems a deceptively easy task to define the concept of masculinity. If gender is viewed in terms of a dichotomy of being either masculine or feminine, descriptors of masculinity such as strength, power, rationality and emotional stoicism are summoned without effort. However, things become more difficult when the question is asked, 'why is masculinity thought about in that way?', or 'why are those specific descriptors attributed to masculinity?' As soon as such questions are asked one realizes that there are multiple factors influencing the definition of what is or is not masculine at a particular time and in a particular culture or society. In this chapter, I want to discuss how masculinity is perceived in a research context with a social constructionist perspective, as well as with specific crucial points of influence on masculinity development, such as socio-historical elements, psychological elements and cultural elements.

How masculinity is perceived and approached in the social sciences is first of all shaped by the paradigm researchers align themselves with. The most dominant paradigm in modern gender research is social constructionism. The previous dominant paradigm in gender research, which receives a great deal of criticism in social constructionist research, is essentialism. Essentialism, views gender in terms of biology, inherency and fixed attributes that are a function of biology. The second paradigm examined, namely, social constructionism, views masculinity as socially constituted and malleable. Rather than a function of biology, it is a function of history, culture and ideology. Socio-historical, psychological and cultural as factors of influences will be discussed to expand on how social science researchers think about masculinity. Furthermore, these factors of influence will be discussed mostly from a social constructionist perspective as this chapter takes a critical stance on the paradigm of essentialism and is aligned with the social constructionist outlook.

Essentialism is discussed in order to articulate the conceptual movement from essentialism to social constructionism in gender research. The effect achieved from the examination of both paradigms is to highlight the salience of fluidity and the emphasis on the social constituting

element involved in the moulding of gender roles in social constructionism, opposed to the potential detriment of viewing gender in an essentialist manner. Furthermore, this chapter will go beyond mere description of the paradigms to additionally discuss the entwined and often overlapping factors of influence in masculinity research and lastly to introduce the potential to localize and solidify a psychological concept that is severely underdeveloped, namely the 'new man'. The new man is a concept of significance in this study, but in comparison to the traditional man there is very little literature on this concept, therefore it is examined in this chapter as an emerging and developing concept in masculinity research, whereas the traditional man is examined as a developed concept.

2.1 Essentialism

The essentialist perspective views gender roles as innate and stable characteristics of biology. Often essentialism was used, in research, as a method of political and social justifications and validation of gender inequality, in regards to the subordination of females and to rationalize the deviancy of homosexuality (Heilmann, 2011). Heilmann (2011) provides an example of a social justification to the subordination of females, which early neuroscientists, using the essentialist perspective, employed, which was to argue that females are more inclined to 'empathy', whereas males are inclined to 'understand and build systems'. This essentialist argument was used to rationalize males' superior positions in careers. The essentialist paradigm has declined in popularity in gender studies, due to the paradigm's focus on gender roles being fixed and the tendency for essentialist research to supplement arguments for gender inequality.

The modern outlook on gender is on the social development of gender and an emphasis on the fluidity of gender (Bem, 1993). Despite the receding regard for essentialism the shift to a more fluid outlook has not been achieved smoothly. Even with the decline in essentialism in the social sciences there is still a trend of essentialism within certain fields in modern psychology, particular reference can be made to Evolutionary Psychology. A specific essentialist tendency of Evolutionary Psychology is to give salience to biological difference between males and females, by examining the hormone differences and relating it to behaviour (Kahn, 2009). Evolutionary Psychology often examines the behaviours of animals and transposes the results onto humans. Most often chimpanzees are used, as they are

genetically similar to humans. An example of this kind of study is Meynell's (2012) study on Vervet monkeys, in which the monkey's toy preferences were examined. The findings conveyed that male monkeys preferred toy cars and females favoured toy dolls. The findings were then transferred to the toy preferences in humans. The main concerns with studies, using animals are the extent to which these results can be transferred to the human species. There is particular concern with the tendency for Evolutionary Psychologists to ignore other theories that explain animal behaviour in favour of essentialising and transposing gender behaviour to biology (Kahn, 2009). An additional concern with the essentialism in Evolutionary psychology is the lack of attention given to the social processes behind the formation of gender performance. Evolutionary Psychology is one of the few fields that remain unabashedly essentialist. However, there are other fields that align with the social constructionist perspectives, but still commit essentialist reasoning in the argumentation. This can be observed when examining some of the theories of second wave feminism. Despite gender fluidity regarded as a key factor in second wave feminist theories based on the emphasis on the social construction of gender roles, some second wave feminist arguments have been criticised for falling victim to essentialist features (Heilmann, 2011). These criticisms highlight the essentialism in the shared experience of femaleness or qualities involved in being female evoked by second wave feminists to achieve political movement (Heilmann, 2011).

Essentialism is not a concept that is evident only in formal theories, but also exists in an everyday sense, in gendered meaning making in a social environment. Smiler and Gelman, (2008) posit that males are more essentialist than females. This in itself alludes to the social process in the gender construction of masculinity and femininity. The males that exhibited more aspects associated with traditional masculinity, in Smiler and Gelman's (2008) study, were more inclined to essentialising gender roles, whereas males that exhibited less aspects associated with traditional masculinity were less inclined to essentialising gender roles. This trend exhibits the importance of social processes when considering the gender roles of masculinity and femininity, in that there is a social process involved in the preference for essentialising gender roles.

This research paper takes the contemporary and fluid stance on gender, which is of the perspective that gender concepts are unsolidified and based on a social construction rather than due to genetics. Essentialism is referred to in this research paper as a comparison to

social constructionism and to elucidate the research influences of the essentialist philosophy on past and current views of gender.

2.2 Social Constructionism

Language can be regarded merely as a way to convey an objective reality, but social constructionism sees language as part of the social process in the formation of reality (Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006). Social constructionism purports that people create reality by negotiating meaning through language (Brickell, 2006). There is an emphasis on a dialogical creation of reality. Language is not the only aspect of communication that is analysed by social constructionists. Social constructionists also look at texts, discourses and social practices. Discourses such as traditional masculinity and the new man are thought of as building blocks of social reality from a social constructionist perspective.

Reality in social constructionism is seen as unique to each individual, but often these perspectives on reality have commonalities, which allow people to relate to each other's construction of reality (Jephtha, 2014). The construction of a subjective reality specific to individuals can be broadened into social groupings such as cultures and subcultures, where shared ideas in the form of indigenous knowledge and tradition can be a form of reality distinctive to that cultural reference. This causes social reality to be complicated and nuanced as people may have multiple and diverse cultural paradigms in their repertoire, which can at times be contradictory. Often conflicting perspectives are of the most interest to social constructionist researchers.

Social constructionism has become a prevalent approach in the social sciences in recent years due to the malleability of societal rules, concepts and views about society and reality characteristic of modernity (Crossely, 2005). The social constructionist perspective views masculinity in terms of socially constructed and fluid gender roles rather than biologically fixed sex roles. Masculinity that is constructed through social means is therefore culturally and sociologically moulded. Due to the many social factors involved in the moulding of masculinity the context in which the masculinity is performed needs to be considered, such as how the sociological, historical and cultural facets have influenced the shape of masculinity.

Therefore a social constructionist researcher places an emphasis on deconstructing the social composites that form reality. In this deconstruction process importance is given to elements of power and hierarchy (Kahn, 2009). Kahn (2009) states that these elements are given primacy in social constructionism as a criticism of the essentialist arguments, which rationalised the elements of power and dominance in men and maintained gender inequality.

This emphasis on dominance brings to mind hegemonic masculinity. Connell (1993) defines hegemonic masculinity as a domineering masculinity type and deconstructs masculinity in terms of power, dominance and subordination. However the prominence in research on hegemony and dominance element that is associated with traditional masculinity may have eclipsed the research potential of softer types of masculinity, which are not as associated with dominance and power such as the new man. Once people do not pay attention to the softer forms of masculinity, such as the new man

The social constructionist perspective is taken in this research project due to the intent to examine the fluid and socially formed concept of masculinity. The paradigm of social constructionism involves a deconstruction of the social processes involved in the construction of masculinity. The aspects of historical, psychological and cultural influence that are involved in the shaping of masculinity will be discussed in the following sections. This is to achieve a deconstructed view of some of the prominent aspects of social shaping in masculinity.

Multiple Aspects influencing Masculinity

2.3 Socio-Historical Aspects

2.3.1 **Patriarchy**

Patriarchy, by definition, is a male who acts as a head for a social unit; this is often used as a reference to a male-headed household. The term took on an increasingly complex meaning when conceptualised by second wave feminists. According to second wave feminists, patriarchy refers to male domination and exploitation of women in a wide-ranging social structure, rather than a small-scale social unit (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004; Walby, 1989). Marxist feminism purports that patriarchy is a result of the capitalistic control of the labour

force (Walby, 1989). Patriarchy as a concept has often been criticised for being ahistorical and reductionist (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004).

Walby, (1986) states that despite the criticism against patriarchy as a concept it still adds value to gender research. Walby, (1986) argues that the concept is historically bound and draws on her own analysis of Britain's history and its relation to patriarchy to prove this. To accuse patriarchy of being reductionist would not be wholly unfounded. Particularly, when viewing the tendency of Liberal/Marxist feminists to focus on the capitalist patriarchy. Liberal feminists have a tight focus on the exploitation of cheap female labour in a patriarchal capitalistic system, ignoring the multifaceted elements of patriarchy, such as patriarchy in politics or patriarchy in the media.

Patriarchy as a concept is still utilised in current theories on contemporary gender studies; however, Connell (1993) states that patriarchy is a waning power in society. The disintegration of patriarchy is believed to be in accordance with the equality and feminist movements in the 1960s-1970s in Euro-America and in the 1980s in South Africa (Hamber, 2012). This transitional dissolution of patriarchy as a social system has purported ramifications such as males no longer having access to gender privilege that they once had. This has led to an acceptance that males are collectively going through a crisis period (Hamber, 2012; Lemon 1995). This is stated to be recoil due to females having an equal status with men and having access to privileges that were previously deemed male only (Lemon, 1995). Arguably, this recoil could be seen as an attempt to move back to a patriarchal system, which has the implication of the concept of patriarchy still being relevant in gender research.

There is also evidence of an implicit form of patriarchy in modern society. Latu, Stewart, Myers, Lisco, Estes and Donahue, (2011) studied implicit forms of sexism in terms of female and male managers. It was found that there is an implicit connection with success management style and male management and an implicit connection with females and a less successful management style. This suggests that patriarchy may be present in modern society in a less overt sense, than the previous patriarchal system, which was in place before the 1960s movement towards gender equality. This advocates the relevance as well as the usefulness of patriarchy in contemporary research.

2.3.2   **Race and Hegemony**

The transition into an increasingly equal society from the apartheid is another historical aspect that has influenced research on masculinity in South Africa. Apartheid is a time period where power was divided unequally due to racial discrimination. Not only was power divided unequally in terms of race, but also gender.

Often research centered on unequal masculinity is taken from Raewyn Connell's work (1993) about hegemonic masculinity. Connell, introduced the term hegemonic masculinity in the 1970s; the concept was adapted from Gramsci's cultural hegemony, which was a concept based on cultural dominance. Cultural dominance is the pernicious guidance and influence of the ruling class on society to achieve and maintain their privilege (Salvadori, 1979). Hegemonic masculinity is a term that associates masculinity with superiority, dominance, power, anti-gender equality and a suppression of other masculinities. It was intended to encompass the subtle dominance of a specific masculinity and the elements of compliance by other masculinities and femininity that facilitated the maintenance of hegemonic power and dominance (Hearn & Morrell, 2012).

The concept was later disparaged by feminists as one-dimensional and further criticised that it lacked cultural relativism (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). Conflicting with the complaints of the required cultural relativism of the concept, hegemonic masculinity exists in comparison to other masculinities and social movement, this indicates that the term is fluid, and adaptable to the cultures in which the concept is being applied (Donaldson, 1993; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The way, in which hegemonic masculinity exerts itself, may alter in relation to social change and different masculinities.

Connell and Messerschmidt, (2005) outline two subordinate masculinities that exist in relation to hegemonic masculinity. The first is complicit masculinity. This masculinity may not enforce the dominance and power of masculinity, but still receive the benefits of hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). In terms of race and gender influences of apartheid this is arguably the White English gender, which was not part of the hegemony of Afrikaans culture in apartheid, but benefited from the privileges of whiteness.

The second is marginalised masculinity. Marginalised masculinities are forms of masculinities that are ostracised by hegemonic masculinity. In South Africa during apartheid this exclusion has materialised along the lines of racial discrimination against Black, Coloured and Indians.

2.3.3   Feminism and the Male Movement

Research on feminism is often researched separately from masculinity research. Feminism has however had a big impact on the formation and implementation of male movements and the increase in interest in masculinity studies.

First wave feminism is stated to have taken place during the 1880s until the 1920s (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). First wave feminism is centered on the goal to improve the legal, educational and political rights of the females during that era. The first wave feminism did not incite a coinciding interest in masculinity research, whereas second wave feminism is stated to have incited an upsurge in interest in masculinity and masculinity research (Lemon, 1995). Second wave feminism was predominant in the United Kingdom and America in the 1960s-1970s it centered on the liberalisation of females from a patriarchal society and the discrimination against females based on their biological differences to males (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004).

There is a relationship between the 1970s feminism and the rise in male groups, in the United Kingdom and America during this time period. These groups focused on a non-sexist form of masculinity (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). Second wave feminism also incited a backlash of various male movements and a discourse of masculinity in crisis in research. The movements took on two forms an anti-feminist movement and a pro-men movement (Lemon, 1995). The anti-feminist movement claims that males where being oppressed by the feminist system which was being put into place and believed that the feminist movement impelled a time of female privilege. The pro-male movement called for a reversion to the traditional male role.

In South Africa the male movements and focus on masculinity in crisis occurred during the third wave of feminism. These male movements replicate most of the argumentation of the male movements and masculinity in crisis discourse that took place in the United Kingdom

and America. Third wave feminism began in the 1990s and centers on the liberation of women but extends to include class, race and sexuality issues, rather than a pure concentration on female rights (Pilcher & Whelehan, 2004). The South African Association of Men (SAAM) was the first male group founded, in South Africa, specifically in Johannesburg during 1994 (Lemon, 1995). The male group SAAM made statements about the male in crisis perspective, claiming that there is a role reversal and correspondingly there is a sexist movement against males. There were additional claims that females experienced advantages in regards to politics and the media representation (Lemon, 1995). These statements created an upsurge in masculinity research that emphasised the male in crisis position. The feminist counter for the male movement involved the argument of patriarchy. Feminists purport that patriarchy was a social system that established male privilege and power. Feminists stated that due to the disintegration of patriarchy the male in crisis discourse involved a male reaction at not having access to the sexist privilege they once did (Kahn, 2009). The gender movements of third wave feminism and masculinity anti-male discrimination movements grew in relation to each other, cementing the salience of feminism and femininity in the research of masculinity. Feminism has not only influenced masculinity in a reactionary form, but moreover conceptually. Feminism spurred the research focus on gender and gender issues.

Masculinity gains many of its insight and tools of analysis from feminist research (Kahn, 2009). In particular, according to Kahn (2009) feminism has shown how marginalisation affects social groups, which contains relevance to masculinity research. Femininity and masculinity are concepts that mould each other. We see that a movement in feminism can cause a movement in masculinity. It is important to be mindful that often trends in gender research encompass both masculinity and femininity studies and the criticism of both shapes the research of each.

2.3.4   Masculinity in Crisis

The male in crisis ideology is the notion that men as a collective are in distress (Walker, 2006). This distress is chiefly due to the difficulty men are having with identity and masculinity performance. The traditional way of being for a man was steeped in patriarchy and dominance, whereas now the current political background in Euro-America and South

Africa is centered on equality and has created a climate for a different type of masculinity and masculinity performance (Walker, 2006).

The male in crisis ideology is a research element, which is interwoven in the feminist and masculinity history spoken about in the previous section. This research element will be critiqued from the essentialist and psychosocial perspective and the benefits of the social constructionist perspective on this concept will be considered. This is to examine and display the disparity of these three approaches of male in crisis ideology and to assess the appropriateness of the social constructionist perspective of the male in crisis ideology in this research. The outline for these male in crisis perspectives are adapted from Jack S. Kahn's book (2009) *An introduction to Masculinities*.

2.3.4.1 Masculinity in Crisis: The Essentialist Perspective

The masculinity in crisis discourse from the essentialist perspective in Kahn's book (2009) has three main components, higher education concerns, health concerns and violence concerns. Researchers that take the essentialist male in crisis perspective purport that the higher educational environment is a poor environment for men. The academic literature that concentrates on this issue is predominantly from the United States of America and the United Kingdom. It has been argued that there is an issue with males in higher education due to male enrolment rates being significantly lower than females while the male dropout rates is significantly higher (Fischer 2007; Kahn, 2009; Morley, 2013). The environmental fit argument is based on two main factors. Men do not to utilise the support systems and structures, whereas females do (Evelyn, 2002). The second factor is that men believe the class environment is more conducive to female characteristics, such as being passive and being better inclined to theoretical learning, rather than male characteristics, such as being boisterous and more inclined to practical work (Evelyn, 2002).

The essentialist argument of the men in crisis also suggests that health concerns and men seeking help for disease is an issue for men (Basterfield, Reardon & Govender, 2014; Chikovore, et al., 2014; Springer & Mouzon, 2011; Yousaf, Popat, & Hunter, 2014). This premise is well researched in South Africa, due to the low propensity of males to seek out

psychological and medical help with HIV and AIDs treatment. The essentialist voice in this assumption lies with men having an innate unwillingness to seek help.

Violence is the third essentialist argument suggested by Kahn (2009). This research topic is another prominent South African focus, particularly relating to male high school violence, domestic violence, violence against women and male youth gangs (Bantjies & Nieuwoudt, 2014; Hamlall & Morrell, 2012; Huysamer & Lemmer, 2013; Luyt & Foster, 2001; Reardon & Govender, 2013; Sawyer-Kurian, Wechsberg & Luseno, 2009). The assumption of the violence claim by the essentialist perspective is that males are inherently more violent than women. There is evidence that males perform more violently than females, but it could be argued from a social constructionist perspective that violence is a more accepted way of being for men than for females.

The essentialist perspective of the male in crisis provides a flawed line of reasoning, as it attempts to relieve the symptoms of the problem rather than provide a panacea for the root cause. The educational fit is to have a more action orientated class environment for males, which would provide a better fit for men. This assumes that men are inherently more orientated to action than females. The second symptom addressed is the health concern and help seeking. Men are seen to be naturally less inclined to seek medical help and to be the sex that succumbs more easily to disease (Lemon, 1995). The final symptom addressed is the violence, which is claimed to be a biological characteristic of men; essentialism ignores the social tendency of violence as a socially constructed way of being a man, rather putting forward an emphasis on the argument of the inborn nature of violence in men.

Norms and moral prescriptions of society have a prodigious influence in the performance of gender. To include the social construction element in research could take investigation and implementation beyond the staunching of symptoms and bring about a more universal outlook and remedy. The suggestion would be to change the strict traditional male ways of being that is accepted and prescribed in society and introduce a new way of being or performing masculinity that would laud men pursuing education in a theoretical manner and encourage medical help seeking in men.

2.3.4.2 Masculinity in Crisis: The Psychosocial Perspective

Society in South Africa is changing. It is in a period of transition where equality is the new focal point of the country. This equality encompasses and often emphasizes gender and race, it therefore logical to have the supposition that the new man is a concurrent transition phase for masculinity. The masculinity in crisis psychosocial perspective describes some of the sociological change that masculinity is confronted with, and by furthering the discussion of this topic, an interpretation of the transition in masculinity can become more comprehensive. The psychosocial perspective is included due to the transition element in the divergence between the traditional masculinity and the new man. The transition period of masculinity is stated to have created a space were the new man masculinity has formed (Walker, 2006). The transition in masculinity is also referred to as a key part in the theory of crisis in masculinity, particularly in terms of the crisis of identity in masculinity (Walker, 2006).

Economic change and a gendered sharing of the public space, which was previously dominated by men, have given masculinity a contextual nudge to change. South Africa and many other countries have entered a time where a single-headed household does not provide enough income for the family's survival. Dual-earning has become the new standard for financial stability; in impoverished communities this is often not enough.

The male provider has been a traditional masculinity discourse and a center of patriarchal power in South Africa, in both Afrikaans and African ethnicities. The change in the division of labour has now created a resistant traditional masculinity, a threatened masculinity and a more egalitarian masculinity. The traditional masculinity is not a masculinity that has smoothly transitioned into a new way of being. It is resistant and existent even in the current political structure of equality. Females are still predominantly required to do the domestic work, such as cooking, while men are engaged with more masculine jobs, such as fixing roof leaks (Ratele, Shefer, Strebel & Fouten, 2014). This is an indication of the resistant to change traditional masculinity.

The threatened masculinity is a concept, which relates to the performance of anti-feminist, hyper-masculine, violent or dominating masculinity. In impoverished communities females often engage in survival sex and trade sexual favours for money or survival items (Osthus & Sewpaul, 2014). Often the boyfriends of these females resort to violence to dominate their

girlfriend and keep her faithful (Osthus & Sewpaul, 2014). Their masculinity is threatened by the unfaithfulness of their girlfriends and their inability to provide for them. Threatened masculinity does not solely manifest in impoverished communities, but also exists in the antifeminist movements and the cries to return to traditional masculinity (Lemon, 1995).

The new man is an alternative masculinity to these two afore mentioned masculinities. The concept of the new man is intended to capture the idea of a new way of being for men that has been formed, a modern way of being in the contemporary egalitarian South Africa. Academic articles and books on masculinity often mention the new man as an almost post script or a minuscule after thought with the exception of Robert Morrell's article *The New Man?,* and Sasha Saunders article *All men are pigs*. Both articles are suggestive of the possibility that this new man does not exist or if it does it is a false politically correct masculinity.

Despite the vague description of the new man and the mention of a slight transition from the performance of traditional masculinity to the performance of the new man, the texts agree that the new man masculinity is associated performance elements such as feminist, sensitive and anti-homophobic. When viewing the new man from a social constructionist perspective, it can be seen that society has created a space for this new masculinity performance to form. This space offers an opportunity for men to behave differently or have a way of being in a social space, where the performance elements of traditional masculinity is not the only acceptable way of performing masculinity. This different or new performance of masculinity that has formed has the potential to be a more positive way of being for men. This masculinity as a way of being is not only beneficial for feminists but also for men who struggle with the constraints of traditional masculinity performance imposed by social policing and are vilified for not being masculine enough.

The new man is a more positive way of being in relation to gender equality. There are elements in this masculinity performance that are also a more positive way of being for men. The performance of traditional masculinity is often confining. There are performance elements of traditional masculinity that are rigid and inflexible. Example of these rigid elements is emotional blunting and normative alexithymia (Levant, Richmond, Inclan, Heesacker, Majors, Rossello & Sellers, 2003). This normative alexithymia is a non-clinical form of the inability to express emotions in words (Levant et al., 2003). In a study by Way,

Cressen, Bodian, Preston, Nelson & Hughes (2014) young males express their frustration at not being allowed to express emotions like females. The new man may offer men a more liberal and flexible way of being, one where men may not have to suppress natural ways of behaving.

2.3.4.3 Male in Crisis: The Social Constructionist Perspective

The social constructionist perspective is similar to the psychosocial perspective, as both perspectives emphasize the social-historical influence has in the formation of masculinities and the performance of rigid gender roles. According to Kahn, (2009) the main difference is the emphasis given to power and the critique on essentialism as an element in the contribution of male dominance.

The social constructionist perspective like the psychosocial perspective emphasizes the importance of two social and historical movements in recent history. The first is the social and economic transition to dual-earning families from the original gender roles where men acted as sole providers. This is discussed in further detail in the previous section, but again mentioned here to provide insight to the similarities between the psychosocial and social constructionism perspective.

A second point of emphasis in both the psychosocial perspective and social constructionist perspective regarding the social and historical is the acknowledgement of the feminist movement in the United Kingdom and America in the 1960s-1970s and in the 1980s in South Africa as an influential element in the masculinity in crisis ideology. This is spoken about in the historical section in greater detail.

When considering social constructionism as the lens to view this movement the difference between the psychosocial perspective and social constructionist perspective is apparent. There is an emphasis on power and domination when considering the feminist movements and the influence on the masculinity in crisis ideology. The interest of the social constructionist researcher is the breaking down of patriarchy apparent in the feminist movements and the consequent identity crisis men have had as a result of no longer being the dominant gender in society (Lemon, 1995; Walker, 2006). According to Kahn, (2009) social

constructionists attempt to solve this by involving men in the process of dissolving patriarchal systems.

The social constructionist critiques the essentialist view of masculinity, which proposes that there is a natural way of being for men, whereas social constructionism follows the premise that gender is fluid and that there is no single version of masculinity or a right way of performing masculinity (Kahn, 2009). Social constructionist propose that there can be alternative masculinities and that the solution to the crisis of masculinity and the elements of patriarchy and dominance in masculinity would be to involve people particularly men, in the construction of positive ways of being masculine.

2.4 Psychological Constructs

The psychological constructs below will be discussed in relation to the essentialist and social constructionist paradigms. All the following psychological constructs are social constructionist, but there is an element of rigidity in the first two theories that is reminiscent of essentialism. These theories will be discussed as a research method to perceive masculinity in society. This form of influence on masculinity is a commentary on the way masculinity is perceived in research and how this can to some degree effect the formation and performance of masculinity. The euro-centrism of psychological constructs will be discussed with the intent to highlight the importance of developing a South African psychological perspective.

2.4.1   Sex Role theory

The sex role theory is a rigid categorising theory unlike the modern preference for fluid psychological constructs of masculinity. The sex role theory is a philosophy, born from the functionalist perspective of Talcott Parsons (Carrigan et al., 1985). This theory purports that males and females are socialised into their appropriate sex roles through the norms and social expectations of society (Haywood & Ghail, 2003). According to Haywood & Ghail, (2003) this gives a more simplistic and easily measurable view of masculinity. This benefit, however, does not detract from the weakness of an ossified view of gender roles, which denies the fluidity and movement of masculinity. It is a rigidly, environmentally deterministic and categorising theory, that falls short of the claimed fluidity of social constructionism. It is

however still a theory that does not emphasis the essentialist tendency of biological determinism. An additional prominent weakness criticised by theorists is the tendency to ignore the power differences in gender positions (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Lemon, 1995).

This once prominent view has now fallen out of favour in gender studies, as there has been a movement towards a fluid view of masculinity. The fluid view of masculinity does not accept rigid structure of a role assigned to a male or female. It introduces the notion of multiplicity and the overlap of these multiple masculinities displaying a contrastingly complicated view of masculinity. This stance on masculinity is however, in comparison to the sex role theory, extremely difficult to measure and quantify.

2.4.2   Gender Role Strain Theory

Gender role strain theory shares a similarity to the sex role theory, in that it also follows the vein of thought that masculinity is socialised. Gender role strain theory posits that when males are socialised into a traditional masculinity role there are negative consequences of the social pressure to perform that traditional masculinity. The seminal works of O'Neil, Helms, Gable, David, and Wrightsman, (cited in Fischer, 2007) identify these negative consequences as strain and separate the gender role strain theory into three types of strain.

 The first is discrepancy strain which is a type of psychological strain which ensues when a male has not been able to achieve what is in line with external or internalised concepts of masculinity (Fields, Bogart, Smith, Malebranche, Ellen & Schuster, 2015; Fischer 2007). Dysfunctional strain is a tension that occurs when a male stringently lives according to the traditional masculine ideals (Fields et al., 2015; Fischer, 2007). The last of the gender role strains is trauma strain is a pressure, which transpires as a result of the socialisation into manhood (Fields et al., 2015; Fischer, 2007). This is a negative experience that the male may have experienced in response to the inability to conform to the normative traditional masculinity.

 The strain theory is held to be more fluid than the sex role theory. However this theory is still rigid in comparison to other theories on gender, such as hegemonic masculinity. The

rigidity of this theory lies in the outlining very specific consequences that will be experienced by males if they do not correctly perform masculinity.

2.4.3 Traditional Masculinity and Hegemony

Social construction in relation to gender refers to the construction process of gender roles that takes place in the social realm, rather than an inborn characteristic of the individual, which is the premise of essentialism (DeLamater & Hyde, 1998). The traditional masculinity culture has been constructed by the social environment and there is an element of performance of this masculinity. The traditional masculinity is characterised by a rough physicality, violence, oppression of females and the view of homosexuality as deviant (Reardon & Govender, 2011). Hegemonic masculinity is viewed as the dominating type of masculinity. Often a traditional man will be viewed as dominating or hegemonic, due to the similarities in the performance of oppressive behaviour. Traditional masculinity can be hegemonic; however, a chief element of hegemonic masculinity is the oppression of other masculinities, which is not a factor in all males that perform traditional masculinity. Despite this disparity in the two approaches of hegemonic masculinity and traditional masculinity, due to the fluidity of the social constructionist paradigm, the research context determines whether these psychological constructs can be used as synonymous or not.

In a rigid approach to masculinity there are times when researchers prescribe definitions to the psychological construct of traditional masculinity. These definitions made by researchers often overlap, but there is no singular version of traditional masculinity. Everitt-Penhale and Ratele (2015) state, that there are multiple theoretical constructs of traditional masculinity in research. Some of the constructs of traditional masculinity are more rigid in comparison to others and as a result are deficient of the social constructionist's version of fluid traditional masculinity (Everitt-Penhale & Ratele, 2015). An illustration of this would be the gender role strain theory's version of traditional masculinity and the penalties related to it.

2.4.4 New man: A concept not a construct

The new man is an almost ghost concept, which frequently and incorporeally provides a counter culture to traditional and hegemonic masculinity in academic literature. The existence of the new man in academic text cannot be denied, yet it cannot be hailed as a

corporal or well-bodied construct as it never reaches anything beyond vague and general insinuation build up as an anathema to traditional masculinity. Morrell (1998) refers to the new man as a concept that might become stagnant and susceptible to an early grave in academia. It can be argued that this concept never truly been alive, due to the lack of substantial research on the concept.

Morrell (1998) states, that there will be gender equality complications as a result of the new man discourses withdrawal from literature. This statement reveals the salience that the new man can have as a more positive masculinity performance. This follows the social constructionist line of thought that men can become involved in the construction of a new masculinity, which has implications for gender equality and feminism. It can be a movement away from the traditional hegemonic masculinity, which is related to gender inequality and dominance to the formation and performance of an increasingly open, emotional and gender-equal way of being.

If theorised into a construct it could provide a lens in which to perceive ways of being that are different from the masculinity or build on a positive existing masculinity instead of the constant focus on the negative aspects of masculinity or provide another of many renditions about masculinity in crisis. At the very least it could contribute to psychological knowledge by merely disproving its existence.

2.4.5 Eurocentrism of Psychology and Social Science Constructs

The euro-centrism of Psychology presents an interesting problem for South Africa. It frequently presents the challenge of psychological constructs created in other countries and transposed onto a South African context. Some of the psychological constructs are fitting such as traditional masculinity and hegemonic masculinity, while others provide difficulty. One of the theories that cause difficulty is the division of labour and dual-earnings (van der Merwe, Ntinda & Mpofu, 2016). The issue with the division of labour is that in South Africa the research is centered on masculinity, which is hegemonic, violent and often concentrated in impoverished areas, where financial ends are struggled to be met. In other countries, the research is concentrated on the difficulty of females doing domestic chores and having to simultaneously work while males have the singular focus of work.

The disparity between the types of research makes the transferal of information between research concerning different countries complicated and sometimes impossible. The move to Africanise psychology also presents problems such as certain concepts relating to normative alexithymia or sex role, and gender role strain theory being underutilised in South African research. This highlights the salience of psychological constructs as an influence on the way we think about masculinity.

2.5 Cultural aspects

2.5.1   Traditional masculinity: a consequence of culture?

The new man is a potential masculinity in the new sociology of modern society. This may be an interesting and positive spin to masculinity, but it does not dissolve the conservatism and traditionalism of South African communities. It does not dissipate the relation that the word traditional has with culture. Everitt-Penhale and Ratele's (2015) claim that the construct traditional masculinity is a concept that contains many types of traditional masculinities is indisputably true, when the diversity of culture in South Africa is examined. The Afrikaans traditional masculinity is stooped in images of beer drinking, meat-eating, homophobic and antifeminist men (Du Pisani, 2001). This form of traditional masculinity is thought to be deeply entrenched in Afrikaans culture and their expression of masculinity.

Traditional masculinity, according to Ratele (cited in Everitt-Penhale & Ratele, 2015) in South African academics is predominantly aimed at Black masculinity rather than the American concentration of traditional masculinity on White masculinity. This in itself is an important aspect of culture. It illuminates researchers to the salience of South Africa building its own literature on traditional White masculinity rather than transposing White traditional masculinity from other countries onto White South Africans.

Black traditional masculinity in South Africa is complicated due to the diversity of Black cultures in South Africa. Traditional Black masculinity is often focused on the Xhosa and Zulu culture often mistaking ethnicity for culture (Everitt-Penhale & Ratele, 2015; Hunter, 2005). Traditional Xhosa masculinity and traditional Zulu masculinity are seen as patriarchal, carnal and homophobic. Hunter, (2005) Everitt-Penhale and Ratele (2015) show that these

traditional Black masculinities are more complicated than the purported oppression of females. Hunter (2005) exposes that the traditional Zulu masculinity's sexuality is not something that goes unchecked unlike the previous link to Black traditional males being lascivious.

Traditional masculinity constructed in Coloured culture is often related to violence, gangsterism, poverty and the oppression of females through rape (Luyt & Foster 2001). The concentration is on poor Coloured communities, set a misrepresentation of Coloured traditional masculinity. While some masculinities are misrepresented, Indian and White English masculinity in research is largely neglected (Vahed, 2005). These holes that apply to culture need to be filled in order for the way theorists think about the multiple traditional masculinities can become comprehensive and accurate.

Characteristics of the traditional masculinity overlap and can be used with hegemonic masculinity if the researcher demarcates the traditional hegemonic dichotomy. A possibility would be to distinguish traditional masculinity and relate it to hegemonic masculinity across culture prescriptions. The new man has been a masculinity that is tacked on to academic literature as an afterthought for future possibilities for masculinity. The new man like the traditional masculinity would be a masculinity that would also include multiple manifestations according to culture.

2.5.2   Eurocentrism and Hybridization: Are we transitioning into hybrid masculinity?

The diversity in the use of traditional masculinity and the potential of the same use with the new man does not break away from the convention of psychology to be western-centric. The Euro-American lens with which we see social problems can cause issues within Psychology. There are academics that call for a scientific decolonialisation and a move to Africanising psychology or creating an indigenous Psychology (Meyer, Moore & Viljoen, 2008).

The tendency to view Psychology as Eurocentric and Americanised, is in part due to the psychological constructs still being predominantly Euro-American, and in part due to the research of African countries in the 19th-20th century being predominantly contributed by European researchers (Cornwall, 2004). The research of Africans by outside researchers created studies that were not culturally relative, giving a false impression of Africans in

research (Meyer, et al., 2008; van der Merwe, et al., 2016). The push to create African relative psychological constructs and research may have resulted in less refined research dictating what masculinity and femininity is in Africa, such as Ritchie's psychoanalytical exploration of the African personality (van der Merwe, et al., 2016), which made unfounded statements about the surmised limited learning potential in Africans due to the length of breast feeding period (Huxley, 1945; van der Merwe, et al., 2016).

However, use of Euro-American constructs in Psychology can be useful. There are many constructs in Psychology that can be adapted to fit African research, such as normative alexithymia. Male disclosure of emotion is salient research topic when considering the difficulty that men have with help-seeking despite having a HIV positive status or TB (Chikovore et al, 2014). This ease of fit is not always the case; however, certain Euro-American centric constructions have the potential to be challenging in Psychology.

The translatability and the adaption of psychological assessment to a multicultural South African context is an example of one of the difficulties presented by Euro-American psychology (Foxcroft, Roodt & Fatima, 2009; Kanjee & Foxcroft, 2009). Personality measures can be particularly western-centric. African cultures are collectivist, whereas Euro-American cultures are individualist in nature. Personality measures are inclined towards emphasising individualistic qualities and under-emphasis collectivist qualities (Van der Merwe et al., 2006).

An additional challenge presented to South African concepts is psychological disorders. Van der Merwe et al., (2016) pose the case of a female in Swaziland who acted strangely, her relatives believed she was possessed by evil spirits and directed her to the Sangoma. The Sangoma performed rituals of sacrifices and afterwards the woman begun to act normally again. If the westernised view was taken she would have been directed to a Therapist or Psychiatrist. There is a potential for this to be harmful or disturbing and unhelpful to her because it is not culturally relative. These instances accentuate the importance of culture as an influencing factor in consideration of psychological constructs.

When viewing the intermingling of culture, psychological constructs and western centrism the possibility for transition or perhaps even hybridization of masculinity exists. Hybridization is the conceivable premise that indigenous and global culture will mix forming

a different type of culture all together (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008). The hybridization of culture in Africa is one of the possibilities of globalisation. The hybridization is a tenant of globalisation that is infused with the heterogeneity component. This tenant surmises that the mixing of global culture with local will not create a singular global culture otherwise known as homogeneity; but rather the local culture will be augmented by the global culture (Haralambos & Holborn, 2008). Haralambos and Holborn (2008) express the potentiality for hybridization of culture to gravitate to Euro-American culture.

In South Africa, the potential hybridization of African masculinity culture with the Euro-American masculinity could give credence to the new man, and clarify the contention between the new man and the traditional man. The traditional masculinity and the new man are often in conflict due to the differences and contradictions between the two masculinities. This could be due to the inherent differences between the Euro-American centric masculinity and the South African masculinity. A further point of aggravation of the contradiction between the new man and the traditional is the complexity of the hybridization and multiplicity of traditional existent masculinities in South Africa.

In this research project the concepts of traditional masculinity and the new man were explored from a non-western perspective, to view the contradiction between these two South African masculinities. The reference to hybridization and globalisation of masculinity in this chapter is an acknowledge of the depth of masculinity and concession that despite the concept viewed with a South African lens that there is a need for vigilance on western centric influence on South African masculinity theory. The justification for the purely South African concentration of traditional and new man masculinity is to explore the contention between the masculinities within South Africa, rather than drawing conclusions that are abstracted from western centric guidelines.

Nevertheless the importance of culture, whether global or local, as an influence on how we think of masculinity is consequently stark and as salient as the historical and psychological influences on masculinity. All these componential influences fall under the ontological and ideological paradigms that the researchers employ. Social constructionism was the predominant paradigm discussed in this chapter.

This has been an in-depth exploration of how we think about masculinity in contemporary research, rather than a concise summation of the totality of gender conceptualisation in research. The goal was to emphasis the complexity of masculinity, the difficulties when thinking about it as a research topic, to feature the neglected aspects of masculinity research and highlight the potential for the new man in research, rather than mundanely list what is topical in masculinity research. This chapter was intended to highlight the way researchers think about masculinity. The literature review will delve into what South African researchers say about masculinity.

Chapter Three

Literature Review: A South African Perspective

This chapter surveys the academic literature relevant to masculinity in South Africa. The bulk of the literature is national, in order, to achieve a nuanced South African perspective of masculinity in research. In particular, traditional masculinity, the new man and masculinity in crisis will be examined through a local lens to develop an appropriate academic frame to scrutinize and cross-reference the idiosyncrasies of South African masculinity that emerged in the findings. The masculinity theories included in this literature review may have originated internationally, but often there are variations between the local and international perspectives, therefore this chapter focuses on the local, whereas the previous chapter included both perspectives.

3.1 Literature Review

3.1.1   Introduction

In South Africa there are various types of masculinities, but in this thesis, traditional masculinity and the new man are used as the main perspectives, in which to interpret masculinity. It is said that at a national and local level men are experiencing a "crisis of masculinity" (Morrell cited in Brown, Sorrell & Raffaelli, 2005). It can be argued this involves a male confusion in the contradiction between the previous "traditional masculinity" discourse and the "new man" discourse (Sanders, 1996). Hamber, (2012) believes that there is a backlash against the new man masculinity and a renewed association with traditional masculinity, in reaction to the empowerment of women by the South African state. This backlash is associated with numerous social problems experienced by South Africans. These issues are exacerbated by the risk behaviours associated with traditional masculinities. The risk behaviours addressed in this literature review are multiple sexual partners, substance abuse, transactional sex, gang culture, HIV/AIDs and reluctance to "seek help". Kiselica and Englar-Carlson (2010) take a unique approach on traditional masculinity, which emphasizes a focus of the positive aspects of this masculinity. Within the borders of this perspective, the following positive aspects of traditional masculinity will be outlined: fatherhood, men as the providers and independence and daring. The conflict between traditional masculinity and new

man discourses will be discussed and how this aggravates the tensions and contradictions experienced by men in South Africa.

3.1.2 **Masculinity**

During the 1980s, there was an increase in feminism, in South Africa and in the 1990s there was a movement in South Africa to becoming more equality bound (Morrell, et al., 2012). Masculinity studies gained recognition in South Africa, during the 1990s, in a post-apartheid environment, which emphasized an anti-discriminatory mood towards race and gender (Morrell, et al., 2012). Often academic literature regarding masculinity concentrates on a form of masculinity termed hegemonic masculinity (Morrell, Jewkes, Lindegger & Hamlall, 2013).

3.1.2.1 Hegemonic Masculinity

Hegemonic masculinity is a concept that has been heavily debated in academic circles. The usefulness of the term is contested, in part due to its vagueness (Morrell et al., 2013). Hegemonic masculinity is not clearly defined which has led to dissimilar and confusing versions of the theory to be produced in academic literature (Plicher & Whelehan, 2004). Hegemonic masculinity can be broadly described as a masculinity that dominates and focuses on power (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

The term hegemonic masculinity is often used with a certain amount of rigidity and the application of the use is often focused on a single general hegemonic masculinity. Moreover, this general hegemonic masculinity is, for the most part, described as the ideal or pinnacle of dominance in society, such as the hegemony of the White Afrikaans traditional masculinity during apartheid. However, the original use of the term was intended to be fluid, therefore it is acceptable to adapt the term and include the element of multiplicity and perhaps even apt in the consideration of the diversity of South African cultures. Therefore, this thesis does not only examine the hegemony of the White Afrikaans traditional masculinity, but includes the hegemony of Black and Coloured masculinities. Perhaps these masculinities may not have achieved a general societal ideal, but rather an ideal specific to a particular culture.

Morrell, et al., (2012) argues that there are at least three types of hegemonic masculinity in South Africa. The first is the White colonialist type of hegemonic masculinity, which in relation to gender is unquestionably hegemonic. The second is the indigenous hegemonic masculinity, which is the chieftain and the patriarchal authority of Black settlements and the third is the Black hegemonic masculinity, which emerged from Black families that moved into the cities.

Ratele, (2014) mentions that African hegemonic masculinity is unachievable for most African men because of the remaining privileges of the White African citizens. Ratele argues that Black masculinity may appear hegemonic because of the subordination of women and the marginalisation of stigmatic masculinities such as homosexuality, but further states there is still the lingering subordination to White masculinity (Ratele, 2014). African traditional masculinity is enacted by adhering to traditional masculinity traits, such as strength, emotional stoicism, violence, misogyny and homophobia; but in the realisation of the power and success aspects of hegemonic masculinity, it falls short. However, because the power and success is still sizably in favour of White males owing to the vestige influence of apartheid. In summation, Ratele (2014) posits that Black masculinity is hegemonic due to the inequality of gender, but concurrently not due to deficiency of power and success, owing to the monopoly of privilege; therefore Black hegemonic masculinity is a paradox.

This literature review will include an additional type of hegemonic masculinity, which is that of gang culture or tsotsies. This will be discussed due to the focus on South African masculinity. And furthermore, to include various local hegemonic ideals which may be achieved in South Africa. The application of Ratele's (2014) paradox of hegemony can be tied with the hegemony of gang masculinity. Despite the impoverished and unprivileged background of gangsters, there are elements of dominance and subordination in the gang masculinity that are characteristic of hegemonic masculinity. In a study of gangsterism, by Luyt and Foster (2001) there is evidence that males in financial difficulty attempt achieving the ideal of hegemonic masculinity by involving themselves in gangs. In the gang environment working class males can find a structure of power. Gang members often emulate hyper-masculine hegemonic qualities such as intense physicality, violence and sexual dominance (Luyt & Foster 2001).

Black hegemonic masculinity and gang hegemonic masculinity is discussed in order to exhibit the fluidity of the term hegemony, as well as to deepen the outlook on hegemonic masculinity within a South African context. To further comprehend these aforementioned hegemonic masculinities, the historical aspects of masculinity will also be considered in order to better understand the influences of socio-historics on present day hegemonic and traditional masculinity in South Africa. Furthermore, the concept of masculinity in crisis will be investigated, which shows the confusion and frustration of present masculinity, in light of societal change.

3.1.2.2 Masculinity in Crisis

"Masculinity in crisis" is a phrase that is used frequently in masculinity literature to describe the furor of men when confronted with the new policies that favour women and feminism in the 1970s in the Anglosphere and in the 1980s in South Africa. The masculinity in crisis concept discussed, in this chapter, refers to a particular version of the masculinity in crisis theory, that which was predominant in the South African academic literature. Hamber (2012) states it is a reaction against the numerous rights awarded by the new political system to women on the basis of gender equality. This backlash involves a movement back to the principles championed by the traditional male, such as anti-feminism and homosexuality. The masculinity in crisis theory is not simply an attempt to reassume the traditional masculinity ideals. The man in crisis is a male that is confused about his gender role. It can be argued that the male in crisis is experiencing difficulties with two contradictory ways of performing masculinity, the first is the traditional masculinity, which was promoted in the previous political system which was patriarchal, and the second is the new man, which is now the new politically correct male, which acquiesces with feminism and homosexual rights.

A difficulty found in the masculinity in crisis theory is the implied rigidity in the use of the theory. According to Hamber (2012) the man in crisis theory purports that there are set ways of being a man. The theory does not take into consideration the multitude of masculinities and fluidity with which they exist (Hamber, 2012). It implies a set masculinity and the confusion and frustration experienced by men when confronted with the new way of being and the new socio-political procedures that created an environment for this masculinity to be performed. The man in crisis theory is a term that implies that there is a tension and

frustration in the availability and performance of these two divergent ways of being masculine.

There are difficulties when using this concept in this thesis, as the stance taken in this paper is that of multiplicity and fluidity of masculinity, when considering gender roles, rather than a rigid outlook on masculinity; however, the phrase is useful in the delineation of the two discourses. This masculinity in crisis concept emphasizes identity confusion and gender role confusion. Therefore this concept is integral to the tension and contradiction between the traditional man and the new man.

The crisis of masculinity theory in South Africa has been used to explain negative behaviours of South African men such as domestic violence, gender based violence, rape and multiple sexual partners (Decoteau, 2013; Hamber, 2012; Moffet, 2006; Walker, 2006). South African men may experience emasculation and act in a manner of opposition against women, but due to cultural and political aspects, such as the greater emphasis on female rights and gender equality that influence masculinity, this explanation is a gross oversimplification of causation of current behaviour of men (Walker, 2006). Hamber (2012) expresses a similar notion, by emphasizing that the masculinity in crisis is often used to explain violent masculinities as a backlash towards the political attempt to disintegrate the patriarchal system in South Africa. Both Moffet (2006) and Decoteau (2013) make an association with the male in crisis research and the violence and rape linked with black men as an attempt to reestablish their power and masculinity that had been damaged due to the lack of power in apartheid. Both authors state this link is discriminatory; Moffet (2006) in particular, criticizes the lack of mention of White men in this explanation of rape and violence.

3.1.2.3 Masculinity in South Africa: Historical Context

In the historical context of apartheid there are two models of masculinity that are focused on, in South African academic literature. It can be argued that these two models of masculinity have a moulding effect on contemporary masculinity. The first model is Afrikaner masculinity. This masculinity was the predominant masculinity in the past (Du Pisani, 2001). White Afrikaner traditional masculinity can be construed as a hegemonic masculinity that subjugated other races and women (Conway, 2008; Moolman, 2004). The second masculinity

was the African or Black masculinity. This masculinity was hegemonic in the suppression of women but subordinate to the White/Afrikaner masculinity. There are still remnants of racial domination in modern South Africa. This historical discussion of hegemonic masculinity is broken up into racial groups, in order to examine the effects of apartheid, and previous echelons of dominance on current masculinity.

3.1.2.4 White Afrikaner Traditional Masculinity

Afrikaner masculinity derived part of its performance of traditional masculinity from the patriarchal idea of the male provider. The man in the family was the primary and often only source of income and provision (Du Pisani, 2001). Women were habitually exclusively dependent on their husbands for income and resources and were expected to perform the domestic aspect of the marital dyad (Du Pisani, 2001).

Afrikaner masculinity stigmatised homosexuality and regarded it as deviant (Du Pisani, 2001). There were laws in place in the 1960s that banned homosexuality and imposed a framework for a conservative and unequal political and sociological ideology on masculinity in society (Du Pisani, 2001). In the 1970s-1980s, a degree of liberalism was instituted politically and homosexuality was no longer outlawed (Du Pisani, 2001). Despite, the newfound liberalism in politics, homosexuality was still considered to be unnatural and aberrant (Du Pisani, 2001).

The Afrikaner masculinity deemed other ethnic groups inferior and both segregated and dominated these racial groups (Adams & Govender, 2008). This idea of dominance was an amalgam of colonialism and nationalism (Du Pisani, 2001). The group that experienced the greatest marginalisation was the Black racial group. Black South African men were oppressed into low-income, blue-collar jobs in direct subaltern to the White South African management (Morrell, as cited in Smith & Langa, 2010).

3.1.2.5 Black masculinity

In relation, to the Afrikaner White masculinity, Black masculinity was subordinate and marginalised (Hunter, 2005). In reference to Black women, however, it was a form of

hegemonic masculinity. As previously mentioned, Morrell, et al., (2012) posit multiple hegemonic masculinities. These authors argue that the fluidity of the term needs to be utilised. In regards, to South Africa, it must be acknowledged that power is awarded to men based on their gender. Power was also awarded to men, in South Africa, according to their race, during apartheid. Black Hegemonic masculinity may have aspects of hegemony such as the subordination of women, but could still be considered a subordinate form of masculinity, in that Black men were marginalised and dominated by the Afrikaans men.

A specific type of Black hegemonic masculinity expressed in apartheid was struggle masculinity. Struggle masculinity was a hegemonic masculinity that can be characterised by violence, opposition to white Afrikaner colonial masculinity and dominance, in regards to females (Hamber, 2012). These men were dubbed comrades and used violence to counter the political and racist injustice of apartheid. During apartheid, these men were esteemed and believed heroes by the Black communities (Hamber, 2012). They were sought after by women in those communities and revered as real men or as the ideal Black masculinity (Hamber, 2012). Post-struggle these comrades found themselves marginalised by the communities that they fought for, because they were too violent for the current equality based sociological atmosphere of South Africa (Hamber, 2012).

Black masculinity is stereotypically linked with virility (Decoteau, 2013; Lynch, et al., 2010). This may have to do with the known association with multiple sexual partners. In Zulu and Xhosa culture multiple wives are accepted (Lynch, et al., 2010). In the Zulu culture, in particular, there is the "isoka" masculinity, which is accepting of a polygamous sexuality (Hunter, 2005). It was normative for the isoka male to have multiple sexual partners; however, not for an infinite time period (Hunter, 2005). The isoka is to work toward building a home and finding wife/wives (Hunter, 2005). Isoka lamanyala is the ignominious "player" mentality. Lamanyala translated is dirty. The dirty isoka is a male that has multiple sexual partners and without considering marriage (Hunter, 2005).

Premarital sexual relations, was not considered reprehensible. Ukusoma (thigh sex) was an accepted practice in the Zulu culture (Hunter, 2005). In present days it is lamented, by the elderly, within the Zulu culture that the new Zulu male is turning more toward performing the dirty isoka, whereas the "isoka" with the philosophy of working towards marriage is being eroded (Hunter, 2005). In Hunter's (2005) article, the older Zulu males speak regretfully

about how the younger generations have forgotten what ukusoma is. The performance of this new Zulu masculinity links to the transition to a new way of being in masculinity. It is salient to research and clarify these new ways of being to better comprehension of present day masculinity, and to determine the aspects related to this new masculinity in order to realize the consequences of these performances.

The shift in Zulu masculinity may have to do with the erosion of traditional values in the Zulu culture and the adoption of an increasingly westernised masculinity (Hunter, 2005). The variation in modern South African masculinity could be due to the implementation of a coalesced masculinity, which is part westernised masculinity and part traditional Zulu masculinity. This refers to the hybridization theory in the conceptual chapter [2]. The hybridization of different cultures of masculinity into a new form of masculinity is of interest, as it will have an influence in the moulding of present day masculinity.

3.1.3 Emotional blunting

Historical and present day hegemonic masculinity endorses notions such as strength, success, superiority, violence and promiscuity (Reardon & Govender, 2013). Traditional masculinity in South Africa often purports that strength is crucial. The enactment of this masculine strength can be detrimental. It can involve negative obligatory use of physicality such as violence, sexual aggression and the continuation of activities and work despite illness; sometimes this strength is emotional and involves a suppression of expressiveness and feelings (Govender, 2011). Boys in South Africa are told from a very young age to "man up" when confronted with affect or sensitivity. This suppression of sensibility continues and becomes more pronounced in adulthood (Levant, et al., 2003).

In a study done in America, by Levant, and Kopecky (Cited in Levant et al., 2003) it was found that the pervasive ideal of emotional blunting was already found in boys of the age of two. Men that adhere to hegemonic masculinity are found to participate to a greater extent in emotional blunting then other men (Levant et al., 2003). It was further found that emotional blunting varies from culture to culture. This is applicable to South Africa because of the diversity of ethnicity and the concentration on strength and de-emphasis on emotionality in

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[2] See Chapter two, section 2.6.2

South African traditional masculinity. A study by Jakupcak, Tull and Roemer (2005) reports that when men employ emotional blunting there is a positive correlation with anger and hostility; this is particularly relevant to the gangster masculinity in South Africa.

3.1.4   Risk Behaviours

3.1.4.1 Multiple sexual partners

South Africa has a multitude of cultures and some of these cultures value polygamy. In both the Zulu and Xhosa culture, it is believed that a man should have many wives (Hatcher, Colvin, Ndlovu & Dworkin, 2014; Hunter, 2005). Among the younger males there is an idea of dating around (Osthus & Sewpaul, 2014). If you are unable to get a girlfriend you are believed to be an unsuccessful male (Hunter, 2005). The masculine construct of the player is universal, but in South Africa it may be less ostracised due to the acceptance of polygamy in some South African sub-cultures, such as the idea of the 'isoka' masculinity, put forward in the study by Hunter (2005).

The youth is seen to emulate this player mentality both in a global and local way. In a global way the player is seen to be well dressed, have nice clothes, a car and money (Wood & Jewkes, 2001). In the local manner there is a sub-cultural ideology, in townships, that men need to have many girlfriends and wives (Ragnarsson, Townsend, Ekstrom, Chopra & Thorson, 2010). Furthermore, the ideology that men are more sexual than women is a biologically deterministic belief espoused by a few South African cultures (Ragnarsson et al., 2010).

A prevalent trend in impoverished shantytowns and settlements is that some of the young men that live there have many girlfriends. These men have a main girlfriend; which is called his 'queen' or 'regte'. This main girlfriend is the girl that they are emotionally attached to and envision a future with, such as marriage and children (Wood, Lambert & Jewkes, 2007). These men may also have 'cherries' (Govender 2001; Selikow, Zulu & Cedras, 2002). Cherries are girls that they have an informal sexual relationship with. The men use these girls for sexual relief. They also use them as a status enhancement. If a man goes to parties with a different girl at each, he is viewed as a successful man (Selikow, et al., 2002).

Some of the girls in these impoverished towns and settlements are attracted to men that possess money (Bhana & Pattman, 2011). These girls express their attraction to money by the use of the discourse of men as the provider. The stated dream is that, one-day, these girls in the settlements will meet a rich man and he will provide for her (Bhana & Pattman, 2011). An additional motivation for a female to become a 'cherry' of a wealthier male is the hope to displace his queen (Selikow, et al., 2002).

There is a double standard amongst some of the young men in these penurious settlements, where it is believed that the women that they are dating should be faithful (Wood, et al., 2007). If not they are called names such as 'izephebe', which means a loose woman. These women in the settlements resist the belief that they should have one sexual partner; the opinion is if a man can have multiple sexual partners, the women communicated that they are as entitled to this practice as well (Selikow, et al., 2002). It could be argued that this is due to the institution of female rights discourse by the implementation of equality in the Constitution of South Africa. When women have more than one sexual partner monetary issues are seen to play a part. These women may have one sexual partner that buys her electricity and another that has a car to drive her around; the women call these men chickens (Selikow, et al., 2002). These men provide women with items that they need to survive (Ragnarsson et al., 2011). The men that supply these items do it because traditional masculinity behooves them to provide (Shefer, Clowes & Vergnani, 2012).

This provider masculinity is seen in studies done in settlements and university campuses in a different form of social exchange labeled transactional or survival sex (Shefer, et al., 2012; Ragnarsson et al., 2011). The belief that a male should provide is shown by both genders in this interaction. Transactional sex on surface level may be mistaken for prostitution, but it is less formal and more nuanced (Wojcicki, 2002). It involves a female going to a tavern and accepting a drink from a man in the tavern (Wojcicki, 2002; Ragnarsson et al., 2011). If she accepts this drink it is believed by this man that she will sleep with him (Ragnarsson et al., 2011). She may bemoan that she does not have money for milk or bread and the man will then give her money to buy these items (Wojcicki, 2002). When asked the difference between sex work and transactional sex the women, in a study by Wojcicki, (2002) these women said that sex workers wore short skirts and charged a set rate for sex.

The belief that a man is a provider is only one aspect of transactional sex. It must be acknowledged that despite the Constitution espousing gender equality, females still experience the glass ceiling effect and that this contributes toward sex as a means of gaining money or comfort items (Bhana & Pattman, 2011). The social aspect of transactional sex still follows the male provider ideology. The social facet involves the reinforcement of gender scripts by both sexes. Females fortify the provider masculinity script by asking men that they have engaged in coitus with to give them money needed to survive. Men strengthen this masculinity ideology by supporting women that they have had sex with.

Transactional sex should not be confused with the concept of 'chickens'. A woman that takes part in transactional sex will go to a tavern over the weekend and pick up one or many men in order to get money (Ragnarsson et al., 2011). These women may or may not know this man (Ragnarsson et al., 2011). Often it takes the form of a one-night stand or a few recurrent visits (Ragnarsson et al., 2011). 'Chickens' are often secondary boyfriends, which a woman may see for a month or several months, in order to gain money, value items and other forms of support (Selikow, et al., 2002).

Alcohol plays a major role in transactional sex. The idea that if a women accepts a drink from a man, she is willing to have sex with him and the idea that if a man pays for a women's drink he is entitled to have sex with her, whether by force or not (Wojcicki, 2002).

3.1.4.2 Substance abuse

Alcohol and substance abuse is linked with performances of violence and unsafe sex practices in masculinity studies (Clowes, Lazarus & Ratele, 2010). In the research surveyed about substance abuse in South Africa, the concentration has been on impoverished settlements. In the penurious settlements the denizens are typically Coloured and Black men (Clowes, et al., 2010; Sawyer-Kurian, et al., 2009). Poverty and substance abuse is a correlate in itself and may represent a moderating effect on the link between substance abuse and violence. In these settlements the concept of masculinity involves drinking, violence and sexual prowess.

Transactional sex is not the only method involving alcohol that some of the men use with intent to have sex females. In a focus group done by Sawyer-Kurian, et al., (2009) of men in a settlement near Cape Town, a man voiced that he got a woman intoxicated with drugs to the point of insensibility so he could have sex with her without her consent. The men in this community often do not believe this is rape, but that women who go to taverns are exposing themselves to that risk and are therefore deserving of it (Ragnarsson et al., 2011). The men state that women who want to drink and take substances are dirty and are not respectable (Ragnarsson et al., 2011).

The reason given by the men in the focus group for using substances was there was nothing to do. These men often could not find jobs and were bored (Sawyer-Kurian, et al., 2009). The men in this focus group acknowledged that rape was not the right thing to do, but said that when inebriated they did not care (Sawyer-Kurian, et al., 2009).

Moolman, (2004) did a study on the Cape Flats, which is comprised mostly of Coloured impoverished residents. In both the focus group, by Sawyer-Kurian et al. (2009) and the study, by Moolman (2004), men have been known to take partake in group rape. Moolman, (2004) states that men refer to group rape under the name of 'jackrolling'. She, (Moolman 2004) iterates the notion that the ideal masculinity scripts of the underprivileged men involve substance abuse and 'jackrolling' to gratify their sexual needs as men, to punish and subordinate women and the additional inducement of intoxicated enjoyment. Wood, (2005) reifies this with the notion of 'streamlining', which is another slang word for group rape. Men are purported to accrue status with this behaviour (Ragnarsoon et al., 2011).

3.1.4.3 Gang Culture

The masculine ideal in these poverty stricken communities is the gangster or tsotsi masculinity. The tsotsi masculinity involves criminal activities, substance abuse, violence and rape (Wood, 2005). The tsotsi masculinity purports that women are secondary to men and that they are objects to be owned, used and punished (Wood, 2005). These men are often idealised by the youth in the communities, because they are more perceived as having more power (Osthus & Sewpaul, 2014). Wood, (2005) states that the sexual subordination of women enhances the feeling of power in men that have been disempowered in most aspects

of their lives; she cites class and race as examples. Power is a performance tendency in the script of traditional masculinity.

3.1.4.4 Violence

In order to achieve the hegemonic masculine ideal of dominance some men resort to violence. This violence is stated to be a product of frustration at not being able to achieve dominance over some females with particular reference to Wood's (2005) study where men rape women who seem snobbish or act superior. However, violence against women is not the only form that will be discussed, violence between men will be examined as well.

Tsotsis are often involved in violent activities such as murder and rape (Luyt & Foster, 2001). It is important to note that the masculinity script for violence is not only espoused by the tsotsi masculinity but it is also and already reflected in schoolboys. According to Hamllal and Morrell, (2012) boys will provoke other boys into a physical altercation in order to prove their machismo. In the study at Sunville, by Hamllal and Morrell (2012) it is shown that boys who are more violent are the more popular; this idea is reiterated, in a study by Reardon and Govender (2011).

The masculine script of violence and rough behaviour in South African schools is not limited to only impoverished public schools there are also elements of violence in wealthy private schools. Bantjes and Nieuwoudt (2014) establish a link to violence in an all-boys English private school. In the case study, the acts of violence were reported as destruction of property and sexualised and homophobic slurs, rather than fights. The rationale for the behaviour of the boys given is that hegemonic ideals of risk-taking, recalcitrant behaviour, anti-femininity and hyper-heterosexuality (Bantjes and Nieuwoudt, 2014). The boys that showed this machismo were also shown to be more popular. Again, the theme of power linked to violence and the subjugation of women in the traditional masculinity script is noted (Bantjes and Nieuwoudt, 2014).

The performance rape as an element of the traditional masculinity's aspect of subjugation of women does not only involve rape from an acquaintance or a stranger as suggested by the idea of 'jackrolling'. Often women in South Africa experience rape and violence from

intimate partners or family members (Jewkes, Sikweyiya, Morrell, Dunkle & Shea, 2011). This rape does not simply follow the link with suspicion of cheating (Jewkes, et al., 2011) but is wrapped in the nuanced idea of men providing for females and females seeking wealth from men (Bhana & Pattman, 2011; Moolman, 2004). Township women are found to desire a materialistic life style (Bhana & Pattman, 2011). These women, as stated before, often have 'chickens' or engage in transactional sex in order to attain materialism or survival (Bhana & Pattman, 2011). These women may already be in relationships, but sleep with other men, because their husband or boyfriend is unable to provide for them (Osthus and Sewpaul, 2014).

Men are often suspicious where women get their money. This suspicion is not completely unfounded due to the engagement of some of the females in transactional sex (Wood & Jewkes, 2001). If they suspect that their wife or girlfriend has been cheating or participating in transactional sex, they might beat them in response (Osthus & Sewpaul, 2014). Traditional masculinity holds that men are the dominant sex and that women are subordinate disparaging remarks of women sexuality such as referring to a women's vagina as a dustbin are common (Ragnarsson et al., 2010).

The participation of women in sex work to provide is an affront to the traditional masculinity concept of the provider. It further bruises the traditional masculinity, because these girls are sleeping with men that are more successful. This opposes the power and provider constructs. Due to inability to achieve these masculinity constructs owing to the economic structure, men try to exert their power and reaffirm their masculinity and superiority over women through violence and rape (Ragnarsson et al., 2010).

Forced sex and gang rape is sometimes used as a punishment and a reassertion of control. Men gang raped women they described as disrespectful and autonomous (Moolman, 2004). These types of woman are, the girls who go to bars in short skirts or who have "independent attitudes" (Moolman, 2004; Wood, 2005). An instance is given in a study, by Wood (2005) where rape was used as a tool to punish an unfaithful girlfriend. In this case the girl was gang raped by her boyfriend's friends (Wood, 2005). This is an example of reassertion of control, sexual dominance and power.

3.1.4.5 HIV/AIDS

Sexual violence perpetrated against women and the traditional masculinity tendency to idealise going to parties and having many girlfriends contributes to the HIV rate in South Africa (Lynch, et al., 2010). According to Adar and Stevens, (Cited in Petersen, Bhana, McKay, 2005) men state that it is masculine to have many sexual partners and women seemed resigned to accept this, though have the paradoxical resistance of claiming a right to the same privilege. South Africa has the highest prevalence of sexual assaults in the world (Basterfield et al., 2014; Moolman, 2004). Sexual assault is exacerbated by substance abuse, binge drinking, traditional masculinity performance and resultant poor decision making (Uy, Massoth & Gottdiener, 2014). Earlier in this literature review the connection between drug abuse and binge drinking was established with rape and gang rape (Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009). There is also an association between substance abuse and poor condom use and the masculine demand of flesh on flesh sex (Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009).

Men haphazardly used condoms during transactional sex and intercourse with secondary girlfriends. The state of sobriety was an influence on whether condoms where used or not (Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009). If they had been drinking, condom usage didn't seem as important. When sober, however, it was shown that men were anxious about contracting HIV (Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009). Men often did not trust women who had transactional sex, knowing that they would have multiple sexual partners (Osthus & Sewpaul, 2014). Men additionally did not trust the secondary girlfriends believing that they may be involved with other men (Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009). Condom usage with these women was dependent on sobriety and the erroneous belief that if a woman looked healthy she probably did not have HIV (Sawyer-Kurian et al., 2009).

Most men where shown not to use condoms with their main girlfriend because of a complex mingling of love and trust. Men who loved their main girlfriend were less likely to use condoms. This often puts the main girlfriend at more of a risk for contracting HIV than the secondary girlfriends or the one night stands (Wood, et al., 2007). Men had the additional wish to get their main girlfriend pregnant (Bhana & Pattman, 2011). This has to do with the traditional masculine concept that in order to be a real man you had to be fertile and able to

conceive a child (Lynch, et al., 2010). Having many children is oftentimes seen to be a sign of a masculine virile man (Lynch, et al., 2010).

Another tendency of the traditional masculine script that influences the use of condoms was the belief that men did not succumb to illness easily (Dageid, Govender, & Gordon, 2012). Disease was linked with femininity. It was seen as shameful and weak for a man to surrender to sickness (Dageid, et al., 2012).

3.1.4.5.1   *Reluctance to seek help*

A premise of traditional masculinity is that men are more robust than females; there is corresponding trend that men are less likely to get tested for HIV (Chikovore, et al., 2014). Men are additionally less likely to disclose their HIV status (Dageid, et al., 2012). An additional two postulates of traditional masculinity is that it feminine to talk about sickness and that a real man does not get sick. Another deleterious effect of this tendency of the traditional masculinity performance is that men avoid seeking the psychological and medical help needed (Levant, Stefanov, Rankin, Halter, Mellinger & Williams, 2013; Dageid, et al., 2012). Support groups have shown to be a helpful intervention for men are HIV positive (Dageid, et al., 2012; Mfecane, 2011). Men will actively avoid going to support groups, because of the belief that real men do not talk about their emotions (Mfecane, 2011). It is further stated in studies that real men are strong and do not need support (Dageid, et al., 2012; Mfecane, 2011). Men have been shown to avoid medical help seeking because of the traditional masculine tendency towards emotional stoicism in the face of illness. Some HIV positive men turn to binge drinking and carousing as a form of self-medication, rather than talk about their emotions in regards to illness (Dageid, et al., 2012).

This idea of not needing support is reinforced by the impression of society's belief that it is manly to be the provider (Chikovore et al., 2014; Mfecane, 2011) Men feel pressured by this idea of masculinity into working despite having HIV and needing rest (Chikovore et al., 2014; Mfecane, 2011). Men also feel pressurised into non-disclosure because if they disclose their status they may lose their job (Chikovore et al., 2014; Dageid, et al., 2012). Men in impoverished communities work informal jobs and therefore have less job security (Chikovore et al., 2014).

Some men in impoverished communities, which largely comprise of Black and Coloured citizens, may seek more traditional methods of healing illness (Mfecane, 2011). It becomes an amalgam of cultural ideals and masculinity. Instead of seeking medical attention and taking Anti-Retro-Virals men will espouse custom (Mfecane, 2011). Some men in the poor communities say that it is a western disease and that a man is a cultural being and will use traditional medicine to heal (Mfecane, 2011).

3.1.5   Homophobia, Hyper-heterosexuality and Hyper-masculinity

In South Africa, there are hegemonic masculinity scripts in the different cultures where there is a concentration on hyper-heterosexuality and homophobic ideals. During apartheid homosexuality was illegal (Wells & Polders, 2006). The political system upheld puritanism and conservative ideals, which held that homosexuality was deviant (Du Pisani, 2001). The political setting of the past still holds some sway today. Present-day there is discrimination of those based on sexual preference. Heterosexuality is seen as the norm and homosexuality is abnormal (Wells & Polders, 2006). In Black communities homosexuality is seen as unacceptable and un-masculine (Ratele, 2013). According to a study, by Wells and Polders, (2006) hate crimes against homosexuals are rife in South Africa, 37% of homosexuals report being victim to hate speech.

In a study by Govender (2010) a boy, Patrick, was ostracised because he did not date girls. In this study it was never overtly mentioned that he may be a homosexual, but his friends found his lack of interest in girls worrying. His friends and peers never mentioned homosexuality largely due to his physical prowess. If it was mentioned or he was teased he would retaliate violently. His peers did mention that not dating and having many girlfriends was, "not right".

Homosexual males are often feminised and their sense of masculinity is threatened (Gear, 2005; Ratele, 2013). Fields et al., (2015) state that homosexual men often feel a psychological strain at the inability to meet society's or their own demands of masculinity (Fields et al., 2015). This strain is dubbed discrepancy strain, which is a subtheme in the gender role strain theory, which was discussed in chapter 2.

Due to psychological strain experienced, some homosexual men may participate in hyper-masculine scripts (Fields et al., 2015). Society often equates homosexuality with being soft and unmanly, as a result homosexual men try performing in line with traditional masculinity (Gear, 2005; Morrell, 2005; Ratele, 2013). An example of this cited by Fischgrund, Halkitis, and Carroll (2012) is the correlation between homosexuality and gym going, which is a type of performance related to hyper masculinity. Some of the homosexual men tried to develop their bodies to fit a masculine ideal of strength. According to this study (Fischgrund et al., 2012) homosexual men that engaged in hyper-masculine behaviours were found to be more depressed than others, often because of the discord between what is perceived as masculine and their self-concept.

Heterosexual men may experience a dissonance between their self-concept and perception of traditional masculinity (Fischgrund, et al., 2012). When heterosexual men feel that their masculinity is endangered they often engage in hyper-masculine and hyper-heterosexual behaviour (Fischgrund, et al., 2012; Govender, 2011). This involves engaging in homophobia, sexism, violence and sexual aggression. It should be noted that some men are more liberal and score themselves as more feminine and these men were found to have a negative correlation with hyper-masculinity and hyper-heterosexuality (Barron, Struckman-Johnson, Quevillon & Banka, 2008).

3.1.6   Skewed representations of Masculinity in South Africa

The bulk of academic research is centered on impoverished communities, which are inhabited by mainly Black or Coloured inhabitants. Moreover research is focused on the performances of masculinity such as violence, gangsterism and sexism within these communities. A further center point of academic research is Afrikaner masculinity, which is construed as racist, violent and hegemonic. This provides a skewed outlook on masculinity in South Africa as there is an underrepresentation, of Indian and English South Africans and an emphasis on the negative qualities associated with traditional masculinity, such as violence. A further misrepresentation is Black cultures. Zulu and Xhosa traditions are often transposed onto Black culture, but these cultures are only two of many Black cultures in South Africa.

Ethnicity was not the only contributing factor, in slanting the view of masculinity, in South Africa, class is also an issue. A plethora of articles are done in impoverished communities. Poverty has shown to be positively correlated with substance abuse and violence (Clowes, et al., 2010). Types of violent masculinities may have been created in response to these precarious environments. It is clear that there is a complex interchange between these two sections and the creation of masculinity and owing to the dearth of research on some ethnicities and classes there is a distortion of the image masculinity in research in South Africa (Moolman, 2013). Another scarcity in masculinity research in South Africa is positive psychology masculinity, which places emphasis on the maximisation of the positive aspects of masculinity.

3.1.7   Positive aspects of masculinity

The aspects of traditional masculinity that have been demarcated in research do not always have to have a negative interpretation. Strength, independence, provider mentality, risk-taking/daring, fatherhood can be viewed as positive facets to masculinity. Kiselica and Englar-Carlson (2010) outline ten positive aspects of masculinity, "Male relational styles, Male ways of caring, Generative fatherhood, Male self-reliance, the Work/Provider tradition of men, Male courage/daring/risk-taking, the group orientation of boys and men, The humanitarian service of fraternal organisations, Men's use of humor and lastly Male heroism" (Kiselica & Englar-Carlson, 2010, p. 277-278).

Positive psychology of men is a recent development in academic literature. It still has not found a foothold in South African research. There are some foreseeable benefits in positive masculinity in South Africa. Instead of masculinity being vilified it could be used to build a positive self-image of masculinity in South African men (Kiselica & Englar-Carlson, 2010). Male support group interventions in South Africa are shown to have a positive effect on men dealing with HIV (Dageid, et al., 2001; Mfecane, 2011).

Instead of a concentration on the negative facets of the male provider mentality an emphasis could be placed on the positive aspects of caring and provision; rather than the position of providing being used to subjugate women. Fatherhood is an additional positive aspect of masculinity. It is shown that men that are involved in their children's lives have a positive influence of the well-being of their children and are a protective factor against children

engaging in risk behaviour (Ratele, et al., 2012). Male self-reliance and risk taking does not have to focus on violence and substance abuse, but can emphasis innovation and risk taking to do necessary jobs such as mine work.

There is scope for positive psychology of men in South Africa; this could help alleviate some of the frustration that is evident in the male in crisis discourse. Traditional masculinity has been lambasted and men have responded with a backward movement to hegemonic traditional masculinity or the man in crisis position. It could be argued that due to the focus on the negative aspects of traditional masculinity, and the subsequent backlash against female privilege (Hamber, 2010), there may be a recursive relationship between these two elements in the male in crisis theory.

3.1.8 New man discourse

The ideology behind masculinity has become unclear in South Africa; as a contradiction exists where society demands a more soft type of masculinity and simultaneously promotes the characteristics of traditional masculinity (Morrell, 1998). This has created a divergence in masculinity in South Africa. There is traditional masculinity discourse where men are characterised as strong, daring, and superior to women (Morrell, et al., 2013). The opposing discourse is of the emergent new man or metrosexual. This man is concerned with how he dresses; he is reflective, he accepts an egalitarian view of women and is not homophobic (Morrel, 1998).

The new man discourse is often referred to in this thesis in singular form which contradicts the multiplicity stance spoken about in chapter two. However it is referred to in this way, due to the exploratory and undefined quality, which the new man has in academic literature. It is set up as a counter form to traditional masculinity rather than explored and delineated into multiple forms. The new man discourse was created in a response to the new political system in place that advocates female rights and possesses a more accepting stance on homosexuality (Lemon, 1995). According, to Sanders (1996), the new man is the politically correct man, a façade men put on, in order to be aligned with the new social and political order of the equal rights principles of the South African Constitution. Sanders (1996), does not mean to reinforce men into the traditional masculinity category, but rather to say that the new man is a

caricature of the new softer man and neglects and vilifies aspects of masculinity that are still very much a part of what men are today.

Academic literature suggests, that overall South African males still predominantly perform traditional masculinity and that this masculinity still has elements of gender inequality such as women should cook (Ratele, 2010), rather than be a part of the workforce and the continued trend of homophobia (Du Pisani, 2001). These are negative aspects of traditional masculinity, but there are admirable parts of traditional masculinity such as strength, adventure, and provision for family. The politically correct new man has positive traits emotional, feminist and as Sanders states negative traits such as being "spineless", "weak" and "pathetic" (Sanders, 1996, 114). The contradictory discourses of South Africa have split men into binary categories of either or, rather than letting men be both emotional and strong. The new man and the traditional man are discourses present in South Africa, men make use of both of these discourses in disparate contexts and often it results in incongruences and tensions in speech and performance of masculinity.

3.1.9 Conclusion

In summary this literature review reports on how academic articles acknowledge the new man discourse; despite there being little research on the new man discourse itself. It further reports the social science research focus on traditional masculinity ideals and how they are connected with violence, gangsterism, subordination of women and HIV. It is then acknowledged in this chapter that these topics have addressed salient issues in South Africa; however, there is a benefit to exploring the new men discourse and the tension and frustration men experience due to the existence of the two contrasting masculinities. The aim of this literature review is to tie the literature to the aim of the research project, where it is argued that men assimilate these two opposing masculinity scripts and when confronted with the contradictory discourses in a context, they vacillate between the scripts of masculinity and this causes situational tension or a performance of masculinity tensions. The literature review further discusses the relation of the position of holding two incongruous masculinities with the theory that masculinity is in crisis. This chapter puts forward the researcher's stance that there are multiple masculinity scripts in South Africa and that these masculinities are positioned under the overarching masculinity scripts of traditional masculinity and the new

man discourse. The following chapter is the methodology chapter, which aims to link the appropriateness of the methodology and analysis to the study.

Chapter Four

Methodology

This chapter discusses the research methodology and the congruency of the research methodology with the different aspects of the research project. This chapter will outline the research design, the methodology, the data collection procedure and the data analysis procedure. Furthermore, this chapter will discuss the selected form of discourse analysis used in this research project.

4.1 Research Design

A qualitative research paradigm was used in this study due to its compatibility with the topic of divergent masculinity discourses among Stellenbosch males. An integral element in qualitative research is 'verstehen'[3], which is the qualitative research methodology's foremost focus on understanding the research context or the topic of research from the participant's own point of view (Terre Blance, Kelly & Durrheim, 2006). This study sought to understand the traditional man and new man discourses in student males from their own perspective. Therefore the elements of the new man masculinity and traditional man masculinity were delineated from the male participants. An example, is the participants that stated the progressive man is more open to emotion, this element was; therefore, seen as an aspect of the new man masculinity, but this was understood from the perspective and language of the students, rather than a perspective that was outlined by the researcher.

The congruency of qualitative research methodology with this study is firstly due to the flexible nature of this stance (Blance et al., 2006). Qualitative researchers view gender and masculinity in terms of fluidity and movability, whereas quantitative researchers view gender as a set of stable and measurable characteristics (Wetherell & Edley, 2014). Quantitative studies measure masculinity according to constructs and traits in which meaning is assumed and imposed by the researcher at the beginning of the research (Mahalik, 2014). This would be incongruent with the exploratory nature of this research project, as well as incongruent with the constructionist approach.

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[3] The German word for understanding

Gender is socially constructed; not as a stand-alone concept but rather as a concept that holds a variety of overlapping elements such as culture and identity. The overlapping elements build a complex and fluid multi-concept. The fluidity of this multi-concept can lead to a number of inconsistencies in the expression and performance of masculinity. Consequently, this can cause difficulties in the measurement of stable traits, which is the practice in quantitative studies. The flexibility of qualitative research methodology allows the researcher to view patterns and ways of being, which can lead to a contextually based examination of the concept in its entirety.

An additional congruency between the topic and qualitative research methodology is the exploratory nature of this research project. Qualitative research methodology is beneficial to studies that explore new concepts, because it allows for flexibility within the research process for the concepts to be developed during the data collection phase. The exploratory components of this study include the investigation of masculinity among University students and the in depth examination of the inconsistencies and tensions between the performance of traditional masculinity and the new man masculinity.

 A further fundamental motive for the use of the qualitative paradigm is that it is congruent with social constructionism, which purports that reality is constructed through language (Terre Blanche, et al., 2006). Social constructionism does not try and interpret meaning solely through the perception of the participant. This approach tries examine the broad social patterns that are negotiated through discourse (Terre Blanche et al., 2006). This is valuable in regards to this study, as this study assumed that masculinity is negotiated through discourse and the shared meaning that people give masculinity. The use of social constructionism as an interpreting frame is, furthermore, appropriate when considering the multiplicity and componential influence of culture in the view of masculinity in this study.

This research project intended to describe and explore masculinity through the lens of two discourses, the traditional man and the new man and how masculinity and the performance of masculinity are spoken about in the context of Stellenbosch University. These two discourses exhibit how two forms of masculinity that have been socially constructed and accepted within society may be contradictory. As both of these masculinities are accepted in society there is a potential for there to be contextual tensions in the dialogue and performances of these masculinities, by the participants. The two discourses of the new man and traditional man

were used fluidly, taking to mind, the overlapping components that comprise them are not stable but negotiated in context. This study, therefore explored the situational tensions of masculinity that arose in the dialogue of the participants and how they dealt with it in context.

4.2 Participants

Students were chosen, as they are going through a transitionary phase. University students, for the most part, do not have definitive and set way of performing gender roles. Students are often still exploring and discovering the different roles and performances of gender (Cavanaugh & Blanchard-Fields, 2011). A sample of University students are mature enough to express their performances of gender, but it is unlikely that these students have a set or certain way of performing gender roles yet; therefore, they are an ideal sample in which to explore the expression of masculinity.

The sampling method used was a non-probability convenience sampling method. Convenience sampling is appropriate to small-scale qualitative studies that seek in-depth contextual data from its participants (Bryman, 2008). The limitation of using convenience sampling is that the findings are not generalisable to a broader population. However, this sampling method encompasses a context specific sample, which facilitated a small participant pool, which provided an in-depth understanding of masculinity from the perspective of the student participants. This was beneficial in furthering the knowledge on masculinity in a university setting. A further difficulty of convenience sampling is that a certain type of person may be more attracted to the research topic than others (Durrheim, & Painter, 2006). Men that are more in line with the new man discourse may be attracted to the study owing to a feature of the new man discourse are being more open to conversation and discussion about emotion than the traditional male.

These limitations do not negate the usefulness of the study however. Due to the exploratory nature of the research project it may spur supplementary research that is broader in scale or research that provides contrasting information on this topic. In addition, the research has the potential to contribute to the filling of a knowledge gap, which is the dearth of research done on masculinity in universities in South Africa. As discussed in the literature review there are

a number of South African research projects on masculinity in Primary and High School, but a severe lack in the university environment.

The recruitment method consisted of an unintended word of mouth procedure. In the proposal stage the outlined recruitment was to be a bulk email sent to the psychology faculty; however, what transpired was twenty friends of friends approached me before the commencement of my research project inquiring if they could take part in my study on masculinity, because they thought the topic thought-provoking. I wrote their cellphone numbers down and formed a WhatsApp group. WhatsApp is an instant message platform popular among students. Not all of the original interested individuals could take part in the study when I received ethical clearance; consequently, I was required to ask friends if they knew of anyone interested in the study willing to participate.

I was acquainted with three of the interested potential participants, but the depth of the familiarity was shallow. I told two of these participants, who were male, that I would put them in a group with my research assistant. The other potential participant was a female and I told her that I would be the interviewer in the mixed sex groups and questioned if my presence might influence her contribution to the focus group. She believed that it would and thought it best if she did not participate.

There were two male-only focus groups and two mixed-sex focus groups. This use of a mixed sex group was to see if female presence had an effect on the way men talk about masculinity. A male research assistant was utilised in the male only focus groups. The focus groups had three to five participants in each. The motivation for the small size of the group is to allow the researcher, a novice interviewer, more control over the group. A larger group has a greater chance of drifting off topic (Litosseliti, 2003). A restriction of the amount of participants in the group also allows the researcher to encourage the more introverted to speak in the group, rather than being eclipsed by the more dominant personalities in the group (Litosseliti, 2003).

An additional restriction was that the participants were required to be unacquainted with each other before the commencement of the focus group sessions. The rationale being that people share more with people that they do not know, than with people they do know (Litosseliti, 2003). Two participants were dating but in separate groups. One of the participants could not

make it to one of the meetings and sent someone in her stead. I decided to allow it and those two participants alternated in the focus groups depending on their schedule. Two other participants were acquainted with each other but alternated between them when one could not attend the focus group the other would.

The participants chosen for this study were intended to be diverse, to gain a broader view of masculinity, at the University of Stellenbosch, rather than a narrow view of masculinity from a single cultural group. There were no age restrictions, nor were there any cultural limitations. There was however, a slight gender limitation where there was the use of male only groups and consequently there needed to be more males than females in the study. The goal was to find a broad range of students in the focus groups that help construct an expansive view of traditional masculinity and the new man discourse. The study, however, mainly attracted mature, postgraduate, White Afrikaans students. There was a single Coloured participant and three younger undergraduate students out of the seventeen participants. I thought of continuing recruitment, but I decided against it as given that Stellenbosch is mostly comprised of Afrikaans White students, I thought that this would be a better reflection of Stellenbosch student culture, as well as a reflection of the hegemony in White Afrikaans masculinity. Three participants of the twenty dropped out before the study began, while one other dropped out near the beginning of the study.

4.3 Data Collection

4.3.1 Focus Groups

Focus groups were chosen as the method of data collection firstly because it is a data collection method appropriate to exploratory studies and the discovery of new information (Litosseliti, 2003). An additional suitability to the use of focus groups is the creation of a discussion environment, which is more conducive to the observation of discourses in action than a formal question and answer sequence. Furthermore, focus groups create a comfortable environment (Litosseliti, 2003) where the researcher has the potential to glimpse at a near to natural conversation, which could expose broader social features through the participant's discourse. An additional benefit is that the presence of peers creates an environment where the participant is likely to feel less intimidated than a one on one interview. This could potentially also break down the power dynamic between the facilitator and the participants.

4.3.2 Data Collection Procedure

Before the study began, I sought ethical approval through the department of Psychology of Stellenbosch. After gaining departmental ethical approval I approached the Research Ethics Committee of Stellenbosch University. This is discussed in more detail, later in this chapter. Only when the proposal I had sent gained ethical approval did I contact the participants that had originally approached me.

I proposed booking an empty room in the Wilcocks building, which is the psychology building at Stellenbosch University. The first meeting time did not coincide with the use of the Wilcocks building; instead of postponing, I booked a discussion room in the Learning Commons in the library at the University. I held most of the meetings in the discussion rooms finding it more comfortable in comparison to the rooms in the Wilcocks. All students have access to the main library on campus and it is central to most of the departments. The discussion rooms in the library are not wholly sound proof, but sound resistant. The chairs were set up in a circle around a table. This facilitates ease of conversation between the participants. It also places the researcher and research assistant at an equal position and circumvents possible intimidation of a headed long table.

The times, dates, and location for the meeting were posted on the WhatsApp group. Each focus group was held at the same time and in the same discussion room every week, for a month, to eliminate possible confusion or miscommunication about meeting times. If the participant was in a specific group, they attended the same focus group each week at the same time for the full four weeks. This was so the participants could become more comfortable with each other and that the discussion topics could unfold as a conversation between peers. The participants were requested to indicate the days and times that best suited them each week. The WhatsApp post also stated that if more than one time and day was amenable to them they should signify this.

 A copy of the informed consent form, refer to appendix A, and an outline of the first meeting, refer to appendix D, were handed out in the first meeting. On the consent form the participants were requested to keep the discussions confidential and not to discuss the focus groups outside of the meetings. The outline served as a small break down of the informed

consent form. The first meeting was sixty to seventy minutes in length and the subsequent three meetings were forty to sixty minutes in length. When using over sixty minutes in a focus group it is found that the participant's attention tends to wander and digress from the research topic (Kelly, 2006).

The first meeting was longer due to the signing of the informed consent forms and the discussion of procedure. There were no interludes in the focus group session, because the focus group meetings where short and an interlude would serve as an attention hindrance rather than be advantageous. The times of the meeting were varied due to the intent of the meetings to come to a natural end, rather than have a forced fixed procedure to them. Furthermore, keeping the meetings to a fixed time would be wasteful and inconsiderate to the research participants.

In the first meeting the participants were informed that if they had any questions or concerns about the focus group or research topic that they could discuss them in the first thirty minutes of the first meeting. They were then asked to read and sign the informed consent form. It was stated that signing the informed consent form was mandatory if the person wished to take part in the focus group. On the consent form it was stated that the participants could drop out of the research project at any point without needing to give a reason, this was reiterated in the first meeting, by the researcher and research assistant. Emphasis was given that the focus group meetings would be recorded through the medium of a laptop. The participants were also informed that if they wished, they were welcome to follow the project and could request the findings and a copy of the finished work. After the first thirty minutes of the first meeting the group was asked to introduce themselves and to tell each other something about themselves.

The first focus group meeting served as an introductory meeting, so that the participants could become better acquainted with each other before the subsequent focus group meetings. All the focus group first meetings did not run for the full thirty minutes that was set aside for the introduction. It was never the expectation, nevertheless, the time was set aside, for any possible instances of issues that the participants may have and/or wish to enquire about before the meetings ensued.

My laptop was set up as a recorder in the room before the arrival of the research participants. Permission to be tape-recorded was included in the consent form. I chose tape-recording as a way of collecting data rather than video-recording because it is a less intrusive form of collecting recorded data. A number of people are nervous in the presence of a video camera or feel the need to present themselves in a certain manner because they are being recorded (Bryman, 2006). A video recording could detract from the natural style of dialogue that the study intended to create.

The individuals were informed at the opening of the first focus group meeting that if they felt uncomfortable with being recorded they were welcome to leave the focus group. It was further stated that if they were anxious about the recording being used by outside parties that the recordings would be saved on my personal laptop that is password protected and on an online storage system, Dropbox, which is likewise password protected. The only outside parties to have access to the recordings would be my supervisor and my research assistant. After the completion of my MA degree the recordings and transcripts of the recordings will be deleted.

Each focus group meeting had a particular discussion topic based on the overall research topic. This focus group meeting had a main theme, which was broken down into subtopics. A schedule of the themes and subtopics where given to the participants in the opening meeting. The participants viewed one or two, two to three minute video clips based on the main theme of the meeting. The participants were also encouraged to bring media that they thought relevant to the group meetings with them. The participants were requested to discuss the themes and sub-topics after viewing the video clips. A copy of these discussion points can be found in appendix B.

The use of the discussion topic method was to inhibit the group from straying too far from the research topic. Additionally, it has the benefits of an open-ended schedule. These benefits include the freedom to ask each other questions and discuss the topics and themes. This results in the ability for the participants to build the observations, insights and inputs from other participants. This was a further contribution to the natural style and flow of the focus groups.

The participants formed an affable environment in most of the focus groups. This affirmed the choice of focus groups as the mode of data collection because this level of comfortability and the regular conversational flow, between peers, would not have been reached in an interview environment. Admittedly, one of the focus groups had participants that were awkward and stilted with each other due to their disparity of opinion, but this disparity and consequential awkwardness provides a view of a normal conversational sequence and exposed, to a degree, the influence of varying cultural components has on masculinity.

The co-facilitator/research assistant and I met once a week in order for him to debrief me about the focus group meetings. Before the meeting with the research assistant I would listen to the recordings that were taken in his focus groups to ensure I would be able to ask informed and appropriate questions about the focus groups he facilitated. I requested that he keep a reflexive journal, writing in it when he believed it necessary.

I cautioned him about the disruption of using a notebook in the focus groups and requested that he used the journal immediately after the meetings rather than during, because of the potential to interrupt the flow of the focus groups. Often participants feel wary when a facilitator is taking notes during interviews or focus group sessions (Kelly, 2006). An additional trend is that participants tend to feel curiosity as to what a researcher may be writing and this distracts them from the discussion at hand (Kelly, 2006). The research assistant did not make use of the reflexive journal but informed me of anything that caught his attention in the focus group meetings. We shared similarities and differences in our focus groups and I recorded them in my notebook.

4.4 Data Analysis

4.4.1 Transcription Procedure

The audio recordings were typed verbatim in a word processer, and then the researcher re-listened to the audio recordings and transcribed the recordings, alongside the notes made during the data collection process. The research assistant checked the transcription for transcription symbol errors, subsequently I re-immersed myself in the transcripts and recordings a final time to ensure the transcripts of the focus group meetings were thorough and accurate.

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4.4.2 **Discourse Analysis in Context**

Social constructionism purports that the world of discourse has a constitutive role in the creation of social reality. Social reality is not only an objective form of society that exists outside our consciousness and that moulds the social agents. Social agents negotiate the impact, norms and meaning in society, but in turn are also impacted by the social reality that they created. This ontological perspective on reality allows for a fluidity of meaning in the world around us. It allows for the idea that culture can influence reality and discourse can change peoples the representation of the world.

Discourse analysis was the method of data analysis implemented based on the synergy between discourse analysis and social constructionism as the ontological framework. Taylor, (2001, p. 5) describes discourse analysis as the "study of language in use". The main assumption of discourse analysis is the belief that language is constitutive, rather than simply a carrier of information (Taylor, 2001). To express it in simpler terms it means that language is not merely a tool to convey meaning, but is a vital part in contributing to what the meaning is in the iterative process of dialogue, conversation and performance of a discourse.

Taylor, (2001) describes four approaches to discourse analysis. The first approach to discourse analysis focuses on the use of language as a system, how it is divergent and faulty. The second approach studies how the use of language differs in different contexts. The third approach of discourse analysis is broader in scope and seeks to connect language to a specific unit, such as an occupation. The fourth approach of discourse analysis looks to find patterns of language in an even broader scope than the previous (Taylor, 2001). This is the pattern of in language in societies or culture groups.

In my study, I used both the second and fourth approaches. The second approach was used with the purpose of discerning the disparity in the discourses of masculinities in variable discussion contexts. A particular interest was taken in the different contexts of the male only groups and the mixed sex groups and the differences in the performances and expressions of masculinity when there were females present or when there were only males present. In the

findings the different trends found between these groups were discussed. The fourth approach related to how two particular masculinity discourses related to the broader scale of a society. Traditional masculinity and the new man were the two discourses utilized in this study. These masculinity scripts are seen as overarching discourses that encompass masculinity performance tendencies that exist in contemporary South Africa. In the findings and discussion some of the elements of either traditional masculinity or the new man masculinity were related to South African cultural idiosyncrasies, and historic aspects. These masculinity discourses and performances were predominantly viewed in terms of the broader cultures of Afrikaans and English masculinity.

4.4.3   Data Analysis Procedure

The strategy I used in my discourse analysis of the focus groups began by the close examination of the transcriptions I had made. I engrossed and familiarised myself with the data. I did this by reading the transcripts while listening to the audiotapes.

At my **first** step of analysis, I did not write any notes or coding at this point, but purely familiarised and reacquainted myself with the data.

Secondly, I listened to the tapes and read the transcription notes again, but began the process of coding the data. In the second step, the coding was basic and broad, separating the data of each focus groups into broad themes such as culture as an influence on masculinity, masculinity in transition, men and physicality and so on. The refinement of the code took place in the following step

My **third** step was to refine the coding, by taking the overlapping and prominent themes present in all the focus group and interpreting it through the lens of the discourses of traditional masculinity and the new man.

At the **fourth** point of analysis, I re-listened to the tapes and looked at the transcriptions and my refined coding and rechecked the themes of the focus groups and the use of the two discourses within the analysis. I added a few minor changes, but on the whole agreed with the structure I had given it.

At the **fifth** phase of the analysis, I wrote a comprehensive commentary for each segment of data, which I had given structure to in the previous steps. This commentary was included in the findings section. The commentary focused on the themes found between the focus groups. These themes were related to elements of analysis outlined by discursive psychology.

Lastly, I listened to the tapes and sat with the transcription notes and looked at my final form and edited it a final time before I was satisfied enough to keep it in the findings section of my thesis.

Discourse analysis is an iterative process. This form of Qualitative analysis is often less structured than quantitative data analysis procedures. Conversely, there are multiple procedures available for discourse analysis. The only solidified step in discourse analysis is the constant revisiting and immersion in the data and constant refinement of the analysis (Taylor, 2001). Under this train of thought, the primary procedure, followed initially by the researcher, is the previous step-by-step recitation of the process; however, the data analysis was ongoing during the writing of the findings chapter. The form of discourse analysis that was used in this research project was discursive psychology.

4.5 Discursive Psychology as a method of analysis

Jorgensen and Phillips, (2002) outline three stances of Discursive Psychology, which are labeled poststructuralist, interactionist and synthetic. The synthetic strand is a combination of the poststructuralist and interactionist stance.

4.5.1 Poststructuralist

The poststructuralist discursive psychologist purports that the view of social reality is constructed and changed within discourses. This position includes the Foucauldian concept of power (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). The discourses that are created are relative to the power structures present in society. In different epochs there are different power structures, which indicate that history and the power structures that are in effect influence the construction of that time period's particular discourse (Mckinlay & Mcvittie, 2008).

4.5.2   **Interactionist**

The interactionist view supports the idea that people's commonplace conversations are expressions of a social reality, which participants create themselves. There is an overlap of meaning negotiated by the people in their everyday conversation this is a social forming of reality. This aim of the researchers that adopt this strain of discursive psychology is to observe the social reality created by a culture or society, through the participants' conversation. An additional point of emphasis in this strand of discursive psychology is that participants often say certain things in order to achieve something in the immediate context. An example of this would be a male participant who speaks in a feminist manner, because there are feminist females present in that immediate context. The researcher that adopts this view attempts to objectively view this socially formed reality.

4.5.3   **Synthetic**

The synthetic view gives the poststructuralist view credence by supporting the ideology that particular discourses are both produced and produces (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). The poststructuralist view is combined with the interactionist significance given to discourses alignment to social action in context. In simpler terms this is the tendency of participants to use discourse as a means of agency to achieve a motive in context.

The synthetic view criticizes the reductionist qualities of both the poststructuralist and interactionist ideologies. The criticism of the poststructuralist is the extreme emphasis given to ideology and power structures constituting discourse, without considering the impact of context and participant motive in context (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). The criticism of the interactionist viewpoint is the tendency to disregard the effect of ideology and history and isolate the analysis to context and participant's motive in context (Jorgensen & Phillips, 2002). Therefore, the synthetic view takes both the ideology and the motive in context into consideration eliminating the reductionism of both views.

The synthetic view is adopted in this research project. The research project approached the synthetic view by examining the postructuralist's emphasis on power and dominance by discussing the hegemony and patriarchal tendencies of masculinity in history and current society; and by examining the interactionist's emphasis on the idiosyncrasies of society, by discussing the axioms of student culture, Afrikaans culture and English culture. Credence was also given to the interactionist's emphasis on the tendency of participants to articulate their speech in a way that achieves a beneficial outcome for them in the immediate context, such as the praise of other participants in the study.

4.6 Reflexivity

I am a White, English-speaking, female student at Stellenbosch University. I was aware of the potential discomfort of the male participants, speaking about masculinity with a female present. It would also render the purpose of having a male only group impracticable. In this vein of thought, I got one of my male friends to head the male only groups. He was chosen specifically due to his vocation as a radio presenter and his vast expertise at interviewing people. The mixed sex group was purposeful and used to determine the difference in the use of discourse with a female present and any discomforts in speech, by the male participants, were noted.

I found that the power differential often focused on in reflexivity was not a great concern in this study. I approached the participants as a peer and fellow student and built rapport with the participants on that basis. I found that it was effective and the mixed sex groups felt comfortable with me. If there had been a broader age gap or bigger power differential the focus groups would have been immensely different. There would have been a need to strategize how to eliminate the power differential; however, I enjoyed the unique position of being a peer, as well as a researcher.

In the mixed sex groups that I facilitated I found that sometimes I had minor difficulty with some of the more traditional masculinity concepts that people voiced, not only from the men, but sometimes from the women as well. I kept a reflexive journal, which I wrote in at night after every focus group session. On the reflexive journal I had two columns on each page.

The first column was what the participant was trying to say and the second column was what I as a person felt about what was being said.

 I will admit in the beginning I was a bit doubtful about the uses of a reflexive journal, but I actually found that it helped me separate my opinion from what the participant was trying to say. I used my journal through the data analysis by glancing at what I had written on the days of the focus group so I could keep the participant's views separate from my own.

My greatest concern was occasionally I caught myself wanting to contribute to the focus group instead of facilitate, because I felt an almost comrade relationship with the participants. I was sometimes alarmed that I was not probing but leading, but I had kept to the probing questions outlined by Litosseliti (2003). After the focus group sessions one of the focus groups invited me to a dinner with them; I accepted and a female participant noted that I had remained neutral throughout the focus group sessions, and that she was curious about what my opinion on my own study was. This contribution liberated me from the previous anxiety I had felt.

4.7 Incidental delays

The research project did not follow a single month pattern of focus group meetings as intended. Focus group A was delayed for a month due to the fees must fall protests at Stellenbosch University. On protest days the University Library would be locked down, as a result we were unable to use the discussion rooms in the Learning Commons. Focus group A meetings were moved to the Wilcocks building; however, on the day of the rescheduled meeting the protest moved to the front of the Wilcocks building. I was locked in the building and had to message the participants and reschedule on non-protest days in the library for the safety of the participants. The month delay had the unfortunate consequence a participant being unable to partake in the last focus group session. Focus group B was under delay for two weeks and consequently had two meetings in the Wilcocks building in my Supervisor, Desmond Painter's office on days where the protest action was elsewhere.

4.8 Ethical Considerations

Ethical clearance was sought from the department of Psychology in Stellenbosch University. After ethical clearance was gained from the department I applied for ethical clearance from the Research Ethics Committee at the University of Stellenbosch. The ethics reference number is SU-HSD-001130. Only once ethical clearance was given did I begin non-literature orientated research. The second ethical procedure I followed was the informed consent forms. These forms were given to each of the participants. The informed consent form was physically given to them during the first meet of the focus groups. Only once all the participants gave their written consent did the focus groups commence. The first meeting gave the participants an opportunity to question the researcher about any concerns they may have about the study.

The third major ethical practice I followed was informing the students of the campus counseling facilities. I urged the students to use the counseling service if they felt that the topic affected their sensibilities. The research topic is not deleterious, but I decided to recommend the use of the counseling facilities as a precautionary measure because sensitivity to a topic is in itself subjective. The topic had the potential to make some of the participants conscious of their concepts of masculinity and this self-awareness, or rumination may encourage the use of counseling out of curiosity, rather than need. None of the participants felt the need to use the counseling services and even questioned the need of it in a study about discourse.

At all times the safety of the participants and myself was considered. Extreme caution and vigilance was used in light of the protests that took place on the University Campus and at no time were the participants scheduled to meet when it could be potentially dangerous for them.

Anonymity was impossible to achieve in the focus groups, but I did take certain steps to allow for confidentiality. Students were asked to sign the consent form, which held an agreement that they would not talk about the focus group discussions or what other participants had to say to individuals outside the focus groups. In the transcription phase, numbers rather than names differentiated the participants.

In the beginning of the study I began to think of the social value aspect of the research. This is an ethical consideration, as social research often involves the use of participants. The time of a person is an invaluable commodity and it behooves the researcher not to engage in

studies just for the pursuit of knowledge. I believe my research topic adds to the social value aspect of research, because it seeks to deal with the frustration and confusion present in the discourses of masculinity in modern South Africa, albeit only in the small South African community of Stellenbosch. I do believe that if supplementary studies are done that it can have a comparison benefit and that may benefit the broader South African population.

4.9 Conclusion

In this methodology chapter research design and methodology are discussed. A comprehensive description of the participants, data collection procedure and the methodology of my analysis are included. I further discussed my reflexivity as a researcher, the incidental delays and ethical consideration. In the following chapter there is a compilation of findings and discussion thereof.

Chapter Five
Findings and Discussion

This chapter examines and discusses the findings of this research project. At the start of the chapter there is a brief discussion of the tools of discursive psychology relevant to the analysis used in this research project. These tools of discursive psychology provide an interpretive frame in which to perceive the findings. The chapter concludes with a summary of the discussion.

5.1 Tools of Discursive Psychology

I use three tools from discursive psychology. These tools are not exclusive to discursive psychology but are characteristic of this form of discourse analysis. These tools are interpretive repertoires, subject positions and ideological dilemmas.

5.1.1 Interpretive Repertoires

Interpretive repertoires are pockets of conceptual terms, which muster around a central theme. Interpretive repertoires incorporate its own way of talking; this often includes terminology and grammar. A person using an interpretive repertoire can refer to a single term, such as 'jock', which has idiomatic implications attached to it. The other person involved in the dialogue will immediately be able to understand what 'jock' means, because of the common place, axiomatic nature of the inference.

To better understand interpretive repertoires the difference between discourses and interpretive repertoires can be delineated. Potter, (2012) purports that interpretive repertoires are more flexible than discourse. Discourse is a socially constructed way we think and talk about matters, whereas interpretive repertoires are reference points of shared meaning such as referring to a 'jock' or 'men don't drink pink drinks'. These are terms that people within a shared culture or semiotic context understand implicitly and that come with a set of implications, such as 'jock' often implying muscular and less intelligent male. These interpretive repertoires can act as points of reference in conversation, which can be included in an overall discourse. The use of 'jock' and the phrase that 'men do not drink pink drinks'

are idiosyncratic references in the overall discourse of traditional masculinity. In the findings section, in this chapter, interpretive repertoires will be used to show how pervasive a maxim can be, and how great the influence it can have in different contexts.

5.1.2 Subject Positions

Subject positions were the second tool I used under the framework of discursive psychology. Subject positions are locations in which people position themselves in speech (Edley, 2001). People can use multiple subject positions and shift between these subject positions in conversation. The location within dialogue is one of the two main aspects to subject positions. The second aspect is the notion of identity in the subject position. A person locates himself or herself within a certain identity and within the story-line attached to these identities. In this study, the subject positions are the new man masculinity and the traditional man masculinity. A man may therefore locate himself in the traditional masculinity subject position by vocalising some antifeminist notions. Stated differently, there are ways of beings and identities that are socially constructed within the discourse (Edley, 2001). The individual in conversation can choose an identity or identities that are available through discourse and locate themselves in this way of being.

The discourse of traditional masculinity can be used as an example. An individual can use this discourse as a subject position. Individuals could locate themselves within the traditional masculinity discourse as well as use the traditional masculinity discourse as an identity or way of being. The same could be said of the new man discourse. In the subject positions of the traditional man and new man there are referential components available in dialogue, which fall in with the identity and performance of these subject positions. The subject position of the traditional man is associated with the reference components of emotional stoicism and anti-feminism.

It is germane to the use of subject positions to consider that the referential components, ways of being and performances available to the individual as part of the identity aspect within subject position are not rigid and stable. The identity and referential components are fluid and susceptible to the constitutive qualities of a social actor (Edley, 2001).

5.1.3   **Ideological Dilemmas**

An ideological dilemma are multiple ideological points that are socially constructed and held to be relevant and true in a certain culture or society (Edley, 2001). The dilemma aspect to the ideological dilemma is that often these ideological points that are idiosyncratically imbedded in society are conflicting. An example of this could be the two adages of 'children should be seen and not heard' and 'kids will be kids'. There is a potential conflict in these sayings, as both these maxims are accepted, but provide a conflict as to whether children are allowed to be rough and rowdy or if they should be quiet because they are children. Ideological dilemmas, however, unlike interpretive repertoires are not confined to just common reference points, but extend to common arguments, subject positions, or inter-cultural arguments in society, as well. Ideological Dilemmas is an attempt to alleviate the either or mentality that is often used with discourse analysis, rather than accepting one ideology above the other the contradiction is examined within the discourse.

 According to Condor and Gibson, (2007) there are three main problems that ideological dilemmas can address. The first is that people do not have a universal way of being or way of talking; this is heavily influenced by the context of the particular society and the culture of the person. The second issue that is confronted with ideological dilemmas is that it takes into account that the person is a conscious individual who can and, perhaps, will change their beliefs through thought or new information. The third problem is that social science often looks at dialogue or discourse in terms of consistency or people striving for consistency; however, discursive psychology acknowledges that ideologies and people are often inconsistent. Ideological dilemmas, in particular gives primacy to these inconsistencies, both in the broad ideological sense in society, such as 'the children should be seen and not heard' or 'kids will be kids' example or in a contextual sense. In a contextual sense, people are often inconsistent within a dialogue in a particular context, moving from one argument to another, in a single conversation. Researchers that make use of ideological dilemmas do not disregard deviant cases or view them as an annoyance but take an interest in them.

Ideological Dilemmas are essential to this research project as it is compatible with the aim of the thesis, which has the intention to examine the inconsistencies between the culturally imbedded ideologies of the new man and the traditional man in South African society. It is additionally vital as it examines the contextual inconsistencies in the dialogue of the

participants between focus groups or even within the same dialogue of a participant in a single focus groups session.

5.2 Findings

5.2.1   Interpretive Repertoires in Masculinity

5.2.1.1 Camaraderie Swearing

Interpretive repertoires are the common points of reference of a particular society. In this study, there was an interpretive repertoire that was particularly curious, due to the unexpected disparity between the mixed sex group and the male only group. This is the interpretive repertoire of camaraderie or being part of the 'manne' [4]. One of the forms this interpretive repertoire manifested was camaraderie swearing. This interpretive repertoire was exhibited the most in the male only groups, where there was a masculinity performance pressure to act and say certain things to be part of the 'manne' in the focus group. In Extracts 3 and 4, which were both mixed sex groups the participants spoke about this male performance pressure to be part of the group, rather than exhibited it.

A point of interest is the consistency with which the male only groups swore and the consistency with which the mixed sex groups avoided it. There were four total instances of swearing in the mixed sex groups, whereas there were fifty-three occurrences of the words, "shit" or "fuck" in both of the male-only groups. There is good reason to argue that the participants' refrain from swearing was done unconsciously due to the mixed sex groups, expression of shock when they were informed that there was very little instance of it, in comparison to the male only groups. The salience of this consistency and unconsciousness in the performance of this interpretive repertoire hinges on the engrained second nature quality in which men inhibit swearing in the presence of females.

Extract 1

P9: (.hhh) ja he's very masculine and very alpha he tells people to shut the fuck and sit the [fuck down and listen to him. (.) Ja he is an asshole]

P7: [he's a doos he is a solid doos] he is a thundering asshole

---

[4] The male participants often referred to themselves as being part of the "manne", which means to act in a camaraderie manner among other male friends. This is an Afrikaans word that would translate into English as being part of the men.

Extract 2

> P1: to like homosexual interaction. It was just part of life like the higher up you were in social status the more likely like a big conquering hero with a massive sword would be to like lay with a a young boy than to lay with a girl.

In Extracts 1 and 2 we see a comparative example of this camaraderie swearing. P9 and P7 in the male only group use many swear words conversing to each other in a camaraderie manner in order to perform in a way coinciding with being part of the 'manne'. In Extract two in the mixed sex group P1 avoids swearing or using crude language by using the word "lay" to describe sexual intercourse.

Extract 3

> P17: like say you will have a braai or party and (.) there's a bunch of guys and a bunch of girls compared to if there is a bunch of guys. (.) You [will act completely]=
>
> P14: [ja it's true]
>
> P17: =Different
>
> P14: ja (.)like if there is a bunch of guys it will be like who can drink the most or [()]
>
> P16: [ja]
>
> P17: and just talking kak

The researcher acknowledges that the use of fewer profanities could be due to female and male presence acting as a behavioural inhibitor to both sexes. This is considered unlikely, because the males explicitly state that there is rough camaraderie behaviour with other men, and that this behaviour is purposefully diminished in the presence of a woman. In Extracts 3 and 4, the male participants, in a mixed sex group, state that this camaraderie behaviour is a performance that occurs between men. P17, in Extract 3, states that men behave differently in groups of only man than in a group including females and males. P14 agrees with this statement and suggests a more competitive element to this camaraderie behaviour, where men in a group spur each other to perform in a certain way or rather outperform each other.

Extract 4

P14: like a leader you want to be powerful you wanna be (.hhh)risk-taking (.)you wanna be confident you want to be independent °like you said ↑you want to be part of the guys you want to be part of the team.

P16: Say the right things (.) (smiling) drink the right things

In Extract 4, the interpretive repertoire of being part of the 'manne' is clearly articulated, by P14 who expresses, that men engage in certain behaviours, such as risk-taking and being confident in order to be part of the group. P16, adds on to this statement by referring to "saying" and "drinking" certain things to be part of the group. It could be argued that saying the right thing ties in with the camaraderie swearing shown in the male only groups. This is a performance of masculinity to gain acceptance in a group of men. In terms of drinking the right things this conveys the second interpretive repertoire found in this study.

5.2.1.2 Men Don't Drink Pink Drinks

The most frequent interpretive repertoire found between the focus groups was 'men don't drink pink drinks'. This is an interpretive repertoire, which carries the social implication that men are considered masculine by their choice of alcoholic beverage. 'Pink drinks' refer to cocktails, which are considered by the participants as a feminine drink. The male participants expressed immense social pressure in reference to drinking a cocktail; and in certain contexts drinking a feminised drink would impugn on the performance of masculinity.

Extract 5

P12: Ja I think that I think that's right I think I think you know we sit here at this group in a room where we we dedicated to exploring the ↓idea a:n:d you know we can all do that in a in a in a way that is compos mentis and we can really delve into it but I think there's still you know a lot of social pressure in terms of what it is being aa m:asculine man and that being masculine and you know like you know like don't drink pink drinks =

P10: (giggle)

P12:= drink Black label =

Research Assistant: ja

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The phrase 'men don't drink pink drinks' referred to in Extract 5, is a reference to a Windhoek Lager advertisement where a man appears to a male patron in a bar who is drinking a pink cocktail and confronts him by saying, "… we don't drink pink drinks, Dave" (Gray, 2008). The interpretive repertoire 'we don't drink pink drinks' is in this context a performance of traditional masculinity. The implication suggesting that the performance of femininity by way of drinking a feminised drink is reprehensible. This idea corresponds with the dichotomy of traditional masculinity being representative of strength and femininity relating to weakness (Reichbardt, 2006). Here the salience of interpretive repertoires is exhibited by the extent by which a person inhibits certain actions in order to perform the interpretive repertoire and achieve the traditional masculinity discourse.

Extract 6

> P13: even today um:: (.) I was working someone said to me a girl said to me ja how can a man or what did she say exactly som- (.2) something like how can a man order a flying fish (.) I was like "what do you mean" "well he ordered a flying fish lemon he might as well order a brutal fruit or a shot of strawberry lips (.) you know" and I was like okay so a man can't drink (.) any drink on the menu it must be a Black label or a castle draught (.) or a double brandy and coke it can't be any drink that's not hard enough for a man it's girls drinks. Any flavoured beer is a girl drink even though flying fish has got no (.2) thing that says it's only for girls <u>at all</u> but it's still perceived as a softer weaker drink (.) so that must be for girls↓ not for men. If you were a real manly man you wouldn't drink that
>
> Research Assistant: mmm
>
> P 13: ja real men don't drink pink drinks

The new man discourse is evident in the speech of P13 in Extract 6. The new man discourse carries notions of modernity, transition, pro-feminism and the idea that it is acceptable for men to perform or exhibit aspects traditionally considered 'feminine'. Extract 6, is thought-provoking, when compared with the previous interpretive repertoire. In Extract 5 we saw men policing male performance in how men act or are incited to act when they are in male only groups; whereas in this Extract female policing of masculine performance is apparent in the girl disparaging a male when buying a flavored beer, rather than a beer that is considered masculine. The notion of a masculine beer such as Castle Larger or Black Label

here acts as a commonplace idiosyncratic reference point, which carries with it traditional masculinity inferences of stronger drinks are masculine, whereas flavored drinks are often considered feminine.

Extract 7

P17: that's actually really interesting because the girl would order like a Black label and it won't be weird but if a guy like orders a martini thing:

P17: ja ()

P15: hm (.)

P14: social pressure is almost higher in that (.) regard

P17: but interesting fact in Cubana they actually have um, male and female symbols (.) below every drink

P15: oh my gosh that's ridiculous

P14: ja

P15: oh my god

P17: it's like the more feminine drinks have the girl symbol and the unisex drinks have like both and stuff

P15: are their male symbols only

P14 °that's amazing

P17: no no not really but mostly only female unisex

P15: how does that make you feel (.) going to Cubana and seeing that (.)

P17: cool cause I won't like- people won't look weird at me if I accidently order a [girly drink]

P14: [like it's advice] (laughs)

P15: so there is no opportunity for like a social blunder <because::e you've> (.)

Researcher: (smiling) ordered the unisex cocktail

P15: hm

P17: it was like me and my girlfriend were at Hudson's the other day and we both had cocktails cause it's like the half price cocktail thing

P15: oh ja

P17: and then she ordered this um what is that a mojito and I ordered um:: a sh::owgirl martini and then I realised wow I was (.) just like she ordered it you know

P14: really?

P17: ja you just don't see a guy typically ordering a showgirl martini

P15: ja

P17: I mean it's like this pink drink with the like salt around the edges

P15: did you drink it?

P17: ja

P15: good

P17: it was great

P15: good for you I'm so glad

P14: ja I've had a girlfriend that really wouldn't mind

P17: ja

P15: oh but if you were like with your buddies it would be no

P14: ja no ja

P17: [it's like like people drinking a s-]

P15: [why what would they think] if you [just] ordered that drink

P14: [ag] your guy friends are like always going to be hard on you

P17: even if you just order a cider (.) "joh Gaay"

P14: joh that's next level but ja I don't know they're almost like um: (.)they almost they looking for something to pick on

There are several features of note in Extract 7. The first is that a female is able to order a beer, whereas a male would not be able to order a softer feminised drink. One could argue that this is due to the increasing acceptance in females performing masculine roles, whereas there is still a more rigid social policing being applied in the maintenance of traditional masculine performance. This argument corresponds with the assertions, by P14 and P15, who claim "social pressure" and "social blundering" inhibits men from partaking in the consumption of 'pink drinks'. P14 supplies that the social pressure is more difficult for men than for females. P17 corroborates this by contributing that there is no female restriction by way of having male only cocktails or drinks.

The second feature is masculinity was performed differently in contexts that prompted the divergent discourses of the new man or the traditional man, expressed through the interpretive repertoire of 'pink drinks'. In Extract 6, there was a female policing of traditional masculinity, by the disparagement of ordering a Flying Fish. In Extract 7, in comparison, P17's girlfriend does not police traditional masculinity and he drinks the Showgirl Martini

performing the new man masculinity. This is particularly remarkable because later P17 admits that he could not do this in front of his "guy" friends because they would socially reprimand him. This demonstrates the vacillation of either the performance of the new man and traditional man to the corresponding context. In the focus group, it was observed that there was an inducement for P17 to perform the new man masculinity, by a female participant P15. P17 admits that he did drink the "Show Girl Martini" and enjoyed it. He was rewarded for this performance by P15 who remarked that she was "glad".

The last feature of note is that the use of the word "gay" would be considered as a method of social shaming to coax P17 into performing traditional masculinity by drinking a harder unfeminine drink by his friends. Traditional masculinity is predominantly socially prompted to act masculine and heterosexual-normative behaviours. This draws parallels with a study in the article, by Ratele et al. (2010). The similarities exist in the gendered positioning of activities such as cooking, in the study, by Ratele, or in this study 'drinking pink drinks' which are both considered feminine and the use of homosexuality and heterosexuality as a reference point in both studies to police traditional masculinity.

5.2.2   Ideological dilemmas that confront the new man

The new man or progressive male has to attend to different ideological dilemmas in the South African society. Traditional masculinity, promotes traits such as physicality, strength and dominance, whereas the new man leans towards sensitivity, and advocating human rights. Dominance in the new man can be found but the emphasis is dominance through an intellectual sphere, rather than a muscular sphere. These ideological dilemmas men experience, cause a vacillation between discourses and a situational frustration at the inability to comfortably blend these two contradictory societal constructs of masculinity.

5.2.2.1 Muscular men and intellectual men

One of the more evident or frequent ideological dilemmas that emerged from the data was between the dichotomy of the muscular male and the intellectual male. This contradiction is between the overarching discourses of the traditional man and the new man. There is an emphasis on physicality by the traditional man (Martin & Govender, 2011) and a denial of

physicality by the new man. These contradictory discourses are present in common South African conversation and illustrate a potential dialectical tension for the South African male. The interpretive repertoire of 'jock' or 'rugby guy' was used in the Extracts below; this interpretive repertoire was used as a method to communicate an emphasis on muscular activities rather than a performance of intellectualism as a factor in traditional masculinity[5]. The participants often position themselves in the new man discourse by stating that their preferred choice is intellectualism rather than physicality. The dialectical tension with the physicality and intellectualism dyad is not only evident between the discourses of the new man and traditional man but also exists in its own capacity within the new man discourse by the rationalisations of physicality yet vilification of it. The rationalisations referred to, in this section, are used, by the participants, to balance the ideological dilemma between and in the discourses of traditional masculinity and the new man.

Extract 8

P1: on what role masculinity plays and how and what masculinity is seen as. (.hhh) I mean to think in high school in the earlier days of high school (.) it's very much about physicality but obviously like at saints there is something like called the 12clubs so the top 12 academics in the year group like (.) maybe half of those guys were really respected (.) in high school (.hhh) but now all of them are for sure because now they they are quite dominant in society whereas they were dominant but now they are more dominant the older they get because priorities and (.) (.hhh) social constructs are better favour them more

Extract 9

P1: I just want to play first team rugby like all they are thinking about is fulfilling that physical role of being that like physical strong presence whereas the older you get you might like what you said someone who's more professional more of an academic there is going to be sort of more of an element of femininity but I mean that contradicts itself because we are talking about masculinity and you're sort of your idea of being a male and embracing your masculinity doesn't have as much to do with physicality but just sort of leadership progress success.

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[5] The placement of the 'jock' in the ideological dilemma section of the thesis is not a denial or misplacement of the interpretive repertoire, rather the emphasis on the contradiction that the concept holds within the dialectical masculinity frame of muscularity and intellectualism.

Researcher: ja

P1: whereas a lot of the guys who were just juicing it up (.) these beast rugby players (.) they've lost their dominance they've lost their sort of sense of masculinity like the one guy who was the ↓biggest asshole in the world (.) (.hhh) but well in my opinion a lot of other people loved him because he was like this man. He is now like (.) he is working in some random town renting out like cars. That's that's were that's were his life has taken him to (sniff) um::

The pressure for younger men to concentrate on their physicality was a trend that emerged in the speech of P1, in Extracts 8 and 9. P1, asserts that at school age there was a greater emphasis on physicality than on intellectualism, work performance and academic performance. The participant states that as a result of aging, work success or academic success plays a greater role in masculinity than physicality. Studies (Martin & Govender, 2011; Tager, Good & Morrison, 2006) have corroborated this link with age as a contributing factor in the prevalence of the emphasis men place on muscularity as a feature of traditional masculinity. In Extracts 8 and 9, P1 uses and places himself in the subject position of the new man by his criticism of the physicality of the physical males in high school. This is further accomplished, by his concentration of the dominance of the intellectual new man masculinity and its success after high school.

In Extract 9, P1 is confronted by the ideological dilemma of physicality and intellectuality. These two elements of the ideological dilemma are located in the subject positions of the traditional man and the new man. There is a tension evident in his speech, when he verbalizes that there is a concentration on success in academics and performing professionally, and that this would be considered feminine. P1 then states that this is contradictory and amends the tension by putting forward that physicality has nothing to do with masculinity, but more to do with leadership. This amendment allowed for realignment with the new man subject position and the subsequent elements of professionalism and intellectualism included in this subject position.

Extract 10

P6: >you bring another good point where< I am actually steering with with this example is. (.hhh)< What is masculinity really mean. Remember what distinguishes humans

from other animals even the other primates >is our brain ↓capacity and our brain capability ↓right it's hugely better than the other animals. (.hhh) (.) Doesn't it mean in the modern sense that the masculine man knows how to use his <u>mind</u> to handle situations rather than his muscles (.) and his fists

P9: I think maybe-

P6: and not using his [aggression-

P8: [↑>I I<] I agree with you because because (.hhh) ↑we have no real need unless you are in a physical (.) work that requires physical labour <which is actually very rare now-a-days>. (.hhh) Or you know you do stuff that requires (.) even phys- normal physical labour doesn't require that you are massively build I mean father's workers none of them are huge body builder sized guys but they work with (.hhh) massive equipment and stuff every single day of their lives so even the muscle they build there is nothing like the guys (.) today say Stellenbosch specifically has this apeshit mindset of you've got to be the biggest guy out there.

P9: ja gym [as much as possible]

P8: [ja gym as much as possible] buff up there is no there is nothing in our society that justifies (.hhh) unless you it's just for looks really.

In Extracts 8, 9, 10 and 11 the participants malign the concentration on physicality, as a feature of younger people and endorse intellectualism as a form of masculinity instead. The participants approach the muscular trope with an outside perspective and attempt to distance themselves from the youth's emphasis on physicality. Despite the deprecation of physicality, the participants still have a reliance on physicality as an asset and state that it is a natural part of their masculinity.

These sections of the data reveal a trend of rationalisation of physicality in masculinity. This exhibits the dialectical tension that exists between the two masculinity discourses. The male participants tend to oscillate between the new man discourse's emphasis on intellectualism and the traditional man discourse's emphasis on physicality. This is achieved, by the male participants' referring to enjoying physicality when they were younger, and how as they have aged the intellectual pursuits have become more salient. The male participants have aligned themselves with the subject position of intellectualism, by distancing themselves from physicality by referring to physicality as something that was important in their youth.

A noteworthy point is the rationalisation of modernity used to position P6 and P8, in Extract 10, within the new man discourse, and to criticize physicality in masculinity. This position taken, by P6 and P8, allows the participants to maintain that physicality is an inherent aspect of masculinity, but that there is no demand for it in modern society. Therefore, it is an element of traditional masculinity rendered obsolete, by a newer way of being, available to men. Despite this rationalisation the ideological dilemma is still present and put forward by P8 and P9s' contribution of there still being an emphasis on physicality in the gym culture in Stellenbosch. The tension exists in the implication of the traditional man's emphasis on physicality as redundant in modern society but nevertheless still existent.

Extract 11

> P17: I would definitely in Stellenbosch () how bigger you are the more manly you are. Like you look at the people in gym and stuff. (hhh)
>
> P16: well I think maybe that's um a:r:::h in South Africa maybe a more general (.) it's also I think very much related to our age of I think being on a campus. The people that are (.hhh) you know you root for your sports team so you root for people that(hhh) are of that physicality so that's you know part and parcel um but then outside of that er::: it's also very much (.) I mean at least from the sort of Afrikaner point of view the whole boere thing like you are supposed to be able to know how to make you know make your Hilux run again if it stops going and you are supposed to be able to u:m ↑do things on a farm and fix a fence and wire up these sort of things because it's in our history it's in [our]
>
> P14: [ja]
>
> P16: sort of blood and a:n:d that also you know to a certain manner of physicality which is then I guess tied to the survival instinct and the male [role]
>
> P14: [ja]
>
> P16: and the survival ↓process.

The Afrikaner and 'Boer' [6] culture is used as an interpretive repertoire, in Extract 11, to indicate elements of physicality in the traditional cultural role of Afrikaans males. The words "history" and "blood" are used to evoke ties to the inherency of physicality in the

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[6] Boer is a descriptive Dutch and Afrikaan's word for farmer. Sometimes it is not used as a reference to farmer, but as an ethnic description. This ethnic reference is at times used as a derogatory description.

Afrikaans culture. This evocation of Afrikaans traditional masculinity dually acts as a rationalisation of physicality intended to achieve equilibrium in the dialectical discord between intellectualism and physicality. The Afrikaner culture is often linked with a performance of a rough physical type of masculinity, which values beer drinking, Rugby, braaing and Hilux Bakkies. This traditional form of Afrikaner masculinity has often been used in marketing of the SAB beers [7] to appeal to the physical rough aspect of Afrikaner traditional masculinity (Mager, 2005). The participants use the interpretive repertoire of Afrikaner culture as a reference point to indicate that there is still a reliance on physicality in the modern culture of South African males.

P16, put forward the idea that due to the young age of the Stellenbosch University campus, there may be a culture of physicality. This relates back to Extracts 8 and 9, where P1 indicates that age is a factor in the concentration of physicality and therefore High School students are more likely to advocate the traditional masculinity, which tends towards physicality.

Extract 12

> P9: a↑:s the number of rules (hhh) and the number of cultural norms increase u:m:: (.hhh) masculinity takes on an >increasingly intellectual conceptualised character. As the number of rules decrease and the number of norms recede. Um masculinity takes on a more physical characteristic. < (.hhh)So in other words when the rules break down when the asteroid hits or like you know when the bomb goes off or whatever (.hhh) <then then> I think we know inherently somewhere in our brains (.hhh) that our (.) system of ru:l:e:s: you know and our cultural norms and the stuff keeps us in check in a way that's intangible and non-physical (.hhh) they're fragile (.) and I think that somehow that informs our masculinity in a sense we know in the back of our minds that there is a dooms day scenario (hhh) where we are going to have to step up and like you know hunt animals and make fire [because because] there is a total like Armageddon situation.
>
> Someone: [()]
>
> P8: Lord of the flies.
>
> P9: [↑Ja ↑ja]

South African Brewery

P7: [(Armageddon)]

P9: a post-apocalyptic vibe you know and then [it becomes increasingly]

P8: [(100)]

P9: physical and I think that sort of somehow that underlinely informs our understanding of it to some degree

An apparent rationalisation was that, of the survival instinct, found in Extracts 11 and 12, by P16 and P9. This rationalisation emphasizes physicality in masculinity as an inherent part of being a male and is similar to the modernity rationalisation, in that this physicality is also considered obsolete in a modern society. This rationalisation goes further than the modernity rationalisation, as it implies that this physical aspect of masculinity lies dormant and that the active form of masculinity is the use of rationality and intelligence, but this dormant physicality can be called up by means to survive catastrophic events. This is especially evident in the speech of P9, in Extract 12. The dialectical tension evident in these Extracts is the inability to deny the physical aspect as a way of being masculine, which is an element predominant in traditional masculinity and the insistent alignment, by the participants, with the subject position of the new man discourse and its consequent tendency to concentrate on intellectualism. This rationalisation is successful as it achieves a balance in this dialectical tension, as there is an acceptance of the inherency of physicality and simultaneous realisation of a continued alignment with the new man inclination towards intellectualism.

In Extract 12, P9 suggests that a norm-orientated society capacitates an intellectual masculinity, whereas a less norm-orientated society is increasingly reliant on physicality. This rationalisation of physicality as masculine instinct serves to suggest that it is a suppressed inherent trait of masculinity, whereas in contrast there is the intellectual masculinity, which is an active and conscious trait, in the foreground of masculinity. Here the dialectical tension between the two subject positions of the new man and traditional man is justified with the intellectual position granted authority in a modern norm-orientated society, whereas the physical position is relegated to the breakdown of a norm-orientated society, yet still accepted as an essentialised aspect of masculinity.

Arguably, the ideological dilemma of physicality and intellectuality can be a tension within the new man discourse, rather than between the traditional masculinity discourse and the new man. A characteristic of the new man is self-admiration or self-care. Edwards (2006)

purports, that this characteristic inflates the popularity of gym culture in modern society. However, the ideological dilemmas in these findings are evident between the traditional masculinity and the new man, in the use of the participant's dialogue. The gym goers or 'jocks', in the dialogue of the participants, fit into the category of traditional masculinity rather than the new man's self-care. This is apparent in the Extracts 10, where P6 states that modern men use their mind to handle conflict conditions, rather than rely on their muscles or physicality.

The participants attempted to distance themselves from the traditional masculinity tendency regarding physicality by criticising the 'jock' culture, but when physicality as an aspect of masculinity could not wholly be denied there was evidence of rhetorical rationalisations, whereby the participants attempted to justify physicality in modern society.

5.2.2.2 Power and dominance in men versus rights talk

The second ideological dilemma present in the participants' dialogue was the contradiction between the traditional masculinity tendency to dominance advocacy and the new man tendency of equality advocacy. Furthermore, the ideological dilemma is present not only between the subject positions of the traditional man and new man but also within the new man discourse. Despite, the new man often been positioned, by the participants, as an advocate of equality, the participants also construct the conflicting position of leadership and career-orientated dominance within the new man discourse. The participants construct the new man and the traditional man in relation to dominance and power and experience the dialectical tension of the new man inclination towards rights and equality speech.

The tension of the ideological dilemma cannot be perceived in the accounts of the participants in the discussion of Extracts 13-16 in isolation. The tension and contradiction is addressed later in Extracts 18-21, when the participants' accounts of equality in the subject position of the new man are discussed. The contradiction can be perceived when comparing the participants' description of the transcendental element of dominance and power in both masculinities in the accounts, in Extracts 13-16 and the equality accounts of the new man in Extracts 18-21. These Extracts were separated into different sections, due to the multitude of

accounts by the participants regarding both the categories of hegemony and equality in masculinity, if combined it may have resulted in an unclear convergence of these categories.

1. Power and dominance

Extract 13

    P7: Ja but now that takes on the face of masculinity. It's power based.

    P9: One centre of power among (many).

    P8: that is you are studying ↓law you:r: (.) (.hhh) what would satisfy <u>you</u> personally more dominating someone physically (.) in a confrontation or dominating them with your mind

    P9: Arh It's 50/50. But [I am a small guys you know so probably option B]

    P8: [(laughing)]

    P9: but that's what what I am saying I disagree only to a degree. It's a centre of power that is the whole point that it is just one among many so our cognitive ability is another locus of power (.hhh) as is you know let's say our status or our job (.hhh) or numbers let's say you are the strongest guy in your tribe but there are like three guys (.hhh) and like fifty women (.)

Extract 14

    P1: Dominance for sure ja thinking () about dominance (.) it's always there. It's always changing but it's always there. It's always what masculinity is about

    Researcher: hm

    P1: I think ja

    P5: Ja that's a good way to sum it up (.) ja

    P1: but Wha What establishes that ↓dominance (pecking order) ↑it changes over time (.hhh) but that is generally what defines masculinity or↑ how it has been defined and ↓↓now it's built on from that

Extract 15

    P2: ja power because it comes in so many different forms it can actually (.) cross all types of masculinity so if you're smart (.) and you can dominate someone who's stupid you would be considered the more ma- it's a power through domination

91

Extract 16

> P10: powerful
>
> P12: ja quote unquote powerful aggressive go-getters (.) so I think maybe that's (.hhh) exactly it but you know that's a legacy of this this (.) patriarchal society that ↓we ↓we're in and I don't think that's going to change anytime soon either

In Extracts 13-16, the participants actively produce hegemonic accounts using both the subject positions of the new man and traditional man. This is achieved, by the participants in the way they describe power and dominance as fundamental concept to masculinity, whether the masculinity is modern or traditional. Particular attention should be paid, to the emphasis the participants place on hegemony, transcending the type of masculinity and the additional statement that the form of dominance taken is not as significant as the achievement of dominance in masculinity. These Extracts are accounts that reflect the dominance component of the ideological dilemma in masculinity.

Consideration is to be given to P12's account in Extract 6. He comments that society is patriarchal and justifies the power and dominance of hegemonic masculinity in current society by the use of the word "legacy", which suggests that it is passed on to the modern man. This is interesting because it sets a component of gender inequality and dominance in the modern man discourse and displays one aspect of the dialectical tension in the ideological dilemma in the new man discourse. The other aspect is the tendency to gender equality in the new man discourse.

Extract 17

> P6: I would say there is enough (.) of the- I've obs- I've seen a progression <I've experienced a progression in the past 10-15 years there was sort of (.) a softening of the harsh attitudes towards it.> um:: (.) a more inclusive approach (.)↓I think sort of attitude-
>
> P7: <↓like a like like what we were saying last session is that >↑masculinity ↓in its (.) in its core like what it is that ar like that form of dominance resource that kind of ah power on its own (.) won't change it's just the culture around it that does so::

Extract 17 is of particular significance because the ideological dilemma of the subject positions of the new man and traditional man can be seen in the dialogue between P6 and P7. The ideological dilemma exists as P6 introduces the idea that masculinity has transitioned and is becoming increasingly equal and softer, whereas P7 interrupts and asserts the contradictory dominance component of the ideological dilemma is still prevalent in masculinity. P7 includes both traditional and new masculinity as he says that it is a fundamental component of masculinity and that it will not change. The interruption and emphasis on the word dominance, by P7, further evidences the strength of dominance as a component of masculinity.

In these Extracts above, the contradiction of the dominance and equality develops. The new man is a subject position that places value on dominance in a different way than the traditional masculinity subject position. In the subject position of the new man the emphasis on physical dominance of masculinity is reduced and is seen to be a tenant of the traditional masculinity discourse. In the new man subject position the emphasis of dominance and power is placed on intellectualism and career orientation.

The ideological dilemma of dominance and equality is significant because of the importance given to equality and the softening of emotional stoicism in the new man discourse, yet dominance is evident not only apart and in opposition to it but within this discourse. This gives credence to Sasha Sander's (1996) suspicions of the motives of the new man. Sanders (1996) questions whether the new man's softening may be an attempt by men to become more politically correct, in times, where an egalitarian society is sought after. This could justify the dialectical contention within the discourse of the new man. The new man may be overtly pro equal rights, but subversively still entrenched in dominance.

2. Equality language

Equality is the second component of the ideological dilemma in the subject position of the modern man and is evident in the speech of the participants in the Extracts 18-21. In the equality talk the male participants state that the idea of equality and rights for females and homosexuality is appearing in masculinity, but directly after these statements in Extracts 18

to 20 the participants agree that it is not normative. This dialectical tension is the contradiction in the ideological dilemma of dominance and equality in masculinity.

The participants achieved the subject position of the new man, in the Extracts 18-20 as they never opposed gender equality, but distanced themselves from the traditional masculinity subject position of unequal rights by referring to the uneven job opportunities for women in society as something that happens, rather than personalising the reference. In Extract 21, P16 and P17, were also able to achieve a new man subject position of equality. These participants distanced and depersonalised themselves from the traditional masculinity subject position by generalising homophobia on Afrikaans culture.

Extract 18

P12: = a vast difference> in terms of various cultures in South Africa< ↓ and obviously a very diverse councountry you know that maybe appeals to a different culture where that culture that same idea of masculinity where the man is a provider he is the strong ↓ you know think he is the bread winner <he is the confident outgoing personality >so you know °I think in our society particularly our society maybe the role or the idea that masculinity has ↓ seven or eight different meanings and is continuously evolving ((chair creaking)) (.4)

P10: where do you think that started though? What do you um <You think t:h:e t:h:e push for women's rights and gay rights has> (.) that sort of movement there has in turn (.) had that (train) effect on ↓ masculinity (.)

P13: I think so ja

P10: so but that kicked out in South Africa how long ↓ ago (.) >women's rights and gay rights <

P12: well I think I think not just not just necessarily you y:o:u spot it in terms that- i:t:'s not just necessarily an advocation for women's rights I think it's an advocation for human rights in general =

P11: >and equality<

P12: = and equality ja

P10: alright

P12: = you know maybe this idea of of↑ <u>fairness</u> and equality (.) ↓ you know in a society where we still <we still sort of it's there's a lot of burden in relation to women's rights> you know as you said you look at job↓ statistics and stuff

P10: hm

P12: you know (.) tall males are more likely to get a senior corporate position then (.) then females for example and you know we're very especially from my my profession you know women were a it's more of a fraternity=

P10: hm

P12: =↓you know 80% is still males so you know I think it's more a: push for <u>equality</u> and I think it's sort of it's sort of evening out as opposed to you know a fight for women's rights ↓ in general I don't know

The dialectical tension of the ideological dilemma of equality and dominance is evident in speech in the Extract above. P12 begins, in the Extract, stating there are several meanings to masculinity in South Africa and that these meanings are evolving. P10 asks whether this evolving masculinity may have to do with South Africa becoming more female rights and homosexual rights orientated. P12 amends the statement, by P10, and states that it is human rights. P11 introduces the equality component in this Extract. The ideological dilemma is most evident between P11 and P12 at the end of this Extract. The conflicting tension manifests in the agreement of P11 and P12 that equality is a theme in society, but midsentence P12 vacillates to the position that there still a lot of inequality for women in society. P12 consistently oscillates between the idea that there is equality in society for women and that there is not. The constant movement between the contradictory components evidences this ideological dilemma.

Extract 19

P14: That's what I've noticed. I wouldn't say that it's two split (.2) the ratio of females to male is probably (.) ar::h 55 male to 45 female so it's almost half-half. (.hhh) (.) There are a few very driven females (.) that's from ↓what I've seen actually. Ja ↑so maybe that's actually well I can't compare it to history (.) but maybe that is quite a change-

P15: ↓I would say definitely but ↑is there in in that firm is there um like the hi- the CEOs and the managers would they allow for the women to be more a part of the executive team (.) would you say-would they have equal chance? (.)

P14: I think they would if there was ja (clears throat) up until just before executive management there (.) is an even spread of females and then in executive management there's ↓only one female out of the 10 11. So ja that's quite interesting (.) actually. (.) But i-it seems like the females that are in the levels just below are are equally as driven

P14, in Extract 19, shows a similar dialectical tension in their speech, as P12 in Extract 18. There is no consistent oscillation in P14's speech between the components of the ideological dilemma but a movement from the equality position to the inequality position.

In Extract 18-19, the participants do not explicitly state that they are against female rights and as previously stated, this achieves the subject position of the new man through depersonalisation and distancing from the traditional man subject position. The participants state that there are still less females in executive positions and though it would be conjecture to state that the participants have a bias against females in executive management; however, it can be stated that there are fewer females in upper management and that despite this being an unlikely implication from the participants, it is still an implication in society.

 This societal implication is reminiscent of the two studies conducted by Latu et al. (2011) demonstrating that men are implicitly biased against female managers. These two studies used an adapted implicit measure, Successful Manager IAT, to determine whether men implicitly view female managers as less competent than male managers. This was contrasted with the Hostile and Benevolent Sexism Scales (HSS and BSS) which are explicit measures of sexism. The male participant's in the study did not overtly state that men are more successful managers than females, but did have an implicit bias favouring male managers.

It is to be noted that the findings in this research project and the results in the studies by Latu, et al. (2011) are not transferable but it is an example of the supplementation quantitative studies can provide in gender studies.

Extract 20

P1: So the modern man is still very much (.) um (.) there is still definitely a drive to be in a dominant social position but now that dominant social position is not really reliant on physicality but it's reliant on other things. (.hhh) (hhh) Um I think sort of what's outlined by Gerard Butlers or the Hugo Boss ad is just sort of a code to follow and sort of to be in line with a certain perceived idea and I think that's becoming- that's still quite a big part of being a man like because you need to fit the cut in a way and you need to be an honorable man you need to be a diligent man you need to be (.) this sort of stereotypical idea of:: like a leader and a successful person and the positive aspects of that (.) obviously that's just social success. That's what it is. On the other hand it fits stereotypes and I think (.) creating this ideal of a man doesn't necessarily accommodate (.) sort of progress (.) in society and allows people to be individuals as much because you need to fit a mould. Um which men both positive and negative aspect I think it could be argued (.hhh) that this modern less physical man is more accommodating to like (.) ideals of feminism and ladies rights women's rights but at the same time not because it creates this idea of the man being this absolute leader. (.) (.hhh)Um:: but then does that necessarily exclude the possibility of a women playing the same role. Not necessarily ↓that's what I feel like ()

In the Extracts above the male participants' state, that present masculinity is more equality based, yet there are still barriers for females attempting to gain an executive position or a position in certain male dominated fields. In Extract 21, P1 has a brief confrontation with the equality versus dominance ideological dilemma within the new man discourse. This Extract is of particular interest because P1 states that dominance is a position still taken by the modern man, in the previous Extracts this was not explicitly stated and could have been a tension between the subject position of the traditional man and the new man. P1 states that the modern man is a supporter of equality, but at the same time needs to be the dominant absolute leader. He resolves the situational tension in this contradiction, by supplying that women could take on that role as well.

Extract 21

P16: I think it's difficult to be, a gay guy in South Africa

P15: why

P16: um, compared to America

P17: Afrikaans culture

P16: and in Europe

P15: okay sure Afrikaans culture

P16: yes yes

P15: but South Africa was one of the first countries (.) to legalize gay marriage

P16: yes but that doesn't mean people accepted it

P15: (gasp) but it was passed by law I mean (.) if we think about it what South Africa's gone through in terms of it's legal system (.) I mean it would seem to me being gay is more accepted than being Black. In South Africa in terms of law and how that's (.)↓changed

P17: but the thing is if you ask 10 Afrikaans guys if they think being gay is right or not (.) probably most of them would say not but if you asked 10 English guys: (.) probably half-half ↓maybe-

P15: but then can I challenge that again and sorry um and just be like you know the whole inward outward thing (.) how many of those 10 Afrikaans guys that were asked that question how many of them inside would say you know what actually it's okay >versus how many of them would say outwardly no it's not because they know someone else is asking them that<

P17: ↓some afrikaan's guys they think its fine

P14: or you get somebody on the (.) feminine side of the scale who's scared of that of of coming out

P15: exactly (.) ja

P16: don't get me wrong I think definitely it's like (.) you know we all↓ actually very advanced sort of ↑↓legal angle in South Africa and all that um but just by virtue of the fact that here on the outside that people might say ↑that it's not cool (.hhh) it's made difficult. (.)Um what I was basing that on is basically just (.) arh one of my sisters friends cause arh she stays in New York and sh- a friend of hers visited when she came to visit and the friend is ↓lesbian ↑and she described arh ar::h a friend here from when she was studying with my sister who's a gay guy and so the four of us were hanging out (.) and I just remember afterwards um (.) ar::h the the gay guy was talking to my sister and just saying ↓I'm just astonished at how open she is it must be so much easier over there. ↑Um I've that was the gist of the conversation

The equality language used by the participants is predominantly centered on an increase in equality between the male and female gender in work places. In the Extract directly above the ideological dilemma of equality and dominance is centered on the equality, stigma and dominance experienced by homosexuals in South Africa.

P16, a male participant, in a mixed sex group, sympathizes with the difficulty of being homosexual in South Africa. P15 argues that equality has been in the law in South Africa for quite some time. P16 and P17 agree that it is in the law, but state that does not mean that there is not a stigma against it. The ideological dilemma manifests in the exchange between the participants who vacillate between the equality and stigma position, P15 arguing that there is equality and P16 and P17 arguing that there is not necessarily equality and acceptance.

According to P17, the stigma and difficulty in homosexual is partly due to the conservatism in the Afrikaans culture. "Afrikaner" is used, in this instance, as an interpretive repertoire to invoke the conservatism cultural implications in the traditional Afrikaans masculinity, which tends towards homophobia.

3. Dominance, Equality and the Trope of Biology

Previously, the ideological dilemma components of equality and dominance were introduced and discussed separately in individual sections for either equality or dominance. In the previous Extracts the ideological dilemma spanned across many focus groups sessions, as well as between the groups. In the following Extracts, the dialogical tension in equality and dominance can be perceived, in the context of each Extract, rather than across numerous Extracts. In the previous Extracts, there are implicit elements of the component of male dominance exhibited in the male participants' rights and gender dialogue. In the following Extracts there are both implicit and explicit instances of the male domination component in the participants' speech.

The participants in the following Extracts use the interpretive repertoires of biology, upbringing and physicality to justify the dominance and the equality disparity between male and females; as well as the disparity between female and male dominated roles in society.

Moreover, more overt traditional masculinity discourses were exhibited in the male only groups, than in the mixed sex groups, when dominance was broached as a topic.

Extract 22 **Male only**

> P9: (.hhh) ↑do you think that we abide women in positions of power (.) or do you think we've come to accept there's something li- that something exists which is the alpha female. (.)Do we accept the alpha female? Or do we abide their their- or do we sort of like (.) silently suffer the fact (.) that you know that they have more power
>
> P6: I [believe we accept it]
>
> P9: [you know arh]
>
> P6: if we look at (.) (our) primates and we are similar 99 percent to:: (.)↓ chimps and a bit more to () (.hhh) (.) they all have male um:: it's a male dominated [(thing)]
>
> P9: [ja]
>
> P6: it's an alpha male. We are (.) primates we also have the alpha male primate so I think (.) we've- culturally we've evolved (.) to accept it that ma- that females can be strong and that they can be elected as leaders but I think (.) deep inside there's still this thing that
>
> P7: this little shred
>
> P6: that male's:: immediately if you devolve down to social groups (.) you will start seeing it again males tend to take the lead

In Extract 22, (Male only focus group) P6 rapidly toggles between the interpretive repertoires of equality, biology and evolution. He aligns himself with the subject position of the new man by using the component of equality, by stating that he believes that we accept women in power rather than abide them. Then he rapidly alters to the interpretive repertoire of biology. P6 achieves stating that men are inherently more dominant due to biology, while simultaneously maintaining the new man subject position, by using the interpretive repertoire of evolution and asserting that this is the de-evolved view on gender. This both attains the suggestion that naturally males are the more dominant sex and avoids the semblance of anti-feminism.

Extract 23 **Mixed sex**

P15: okay ja I mean I would I would assume really that it would be a case of this nonchalance of men that it's kind of well:: ↓ we we've had these roles and we can get these new roles it's fine ↑but but actually that is interesting about the whole change in society and the whole change in- because as men do you feel that you- like in today's society (hhh) would you feel comfortable enough to take the role of um (.) being the caretaker being less (.) less about would there be less focus on your career more focus about rearing your family would you be able to do (.) all those feminine roles [and] then in your partner

P14:[ja] I think in soc- I'd be happy to

P15: ja (.)

P14: look after the baby and that (.) for a while definitely um so maybe men are more in touch (.) with that side than before but moving into a role that was previously seen as female would still be looked down upon socially. (.) And that will affect your ↓masculinity your social standing ja

P17: ja

P14: you can't really go to the bar and say I work in this female role it's just

The male participant P14, in the mixed sex group, in Extract 23, stated even though men accept females in male dominated roles, males would find it difficult to take up a female role. P14 did not devalue the female dominated career, but stated that there is a stigma attached to men working in female dominated fields. This is corroborated, by a qualitative study, done by Ruth Simpson, (2003) who interviewed 40 male participants in various female dominated fields. The participants in Simpson's study predominantly did not debase their occupation, but found that they experienced stigma from people outside their immediate family and friend circle.

In Extract 23, there is the dialectical tension between the new man's willingness to take part in more feminine roles and the existent pressure of societal traditional masculinity stigmatising men in female roles. P14 has stated that he would take on a female role and locates himself in the new man subject position. P14, then immediately states that a male cannot admit that he works in a female role due to societal judgment. P14 maintains an alignment with the new man discourse by stating his willingness to be a stay at home father, and places the traditional masculinity subject position on society, by asserting societal

pressure would inhibit him from staying in a female role. This further personally absolves P14 from staying in a female role due to the rationalisation of societal constriction and stigma.

Extract 24 **Male only**

> P6: running this project or whatever so the matter at hand. (.)< Men feel more challenged by women these days in those terms> because (.)< you can't send her out of the board room to go make tea.>
>
> Research Assistant: (laughs)
>
> P6: <She she actually has the director's position there and she has an equal saying in decisions and she make > (.)her points (.) as well or as bad as any other (.) other (P9: coughs) members of the board. (.) You know in that sense men are just fe generally feel <u>challenged</u> by women. And they find sometimes the cognitive conflict (drilling) because they've been brought up with for better or worse um (.) to have this impression that you know they can dominate women or women should be submissive and now women aren't and they just (.) challenged by them. First just intellectually I- the point of whether the (tie hits the tar) but then also this cognitive dissonance happening because (.) you can't ((drilling)) tell the women to shut the(if you remember) or you know submit because <u>you're</u> the male. That's (how**)** we still feel that you should be able to do that and you can't.
>
> Research Assistant: ja ((drilling))
>
> P7: we're we're kind of in a transitional generation or group where where they're changing from you know this patri patriarchal to this equality (.hhh) (.) so we're kind of in that in that gap between:: the the changeover so wh we cause we refer to when we are young versus what's happening now and it's changing (.)

In the male only focus group, in Extract 24, the interpretive repertoire of upbringing is used as a rationalisation for male dominance. This interpretive repertoire acknowledges that females are equal to men in intelligence and power, but admits a reluctance males may experience with women in positions of power based on the premise these males were brought up with submissive females. P6, states that men experience a cognitive dissonance. This exhibits the dialectical frustration men experience with the tension between the contradictory components of the subject positions of the traditional masculinity and the new man.

The interpretive repertoire of transition is taken as a communication position, to convey both the components of equality and dominance, in this ideological dilemma. The repertoire of transition has both ideological and dialogical influences in this Extract. The ideological implication is the transition to an equal society. This transition may not have wholly taken place, but the implication of transition, articulated by P7, is undeniable. The dialogical achievement of the interpretive repertoire of transition is that it confirms both discourses of the new man and traditional man and explicitly acknowledges the ideological dilemma of both discourses existing in modern society.

Extract 25 **Mixed sex**

> P2: it's shared responsibility. In fact like in America there's really more stay at home dad's now
>
> P5: hm
>
> P2: because the women get much more benefits and they get better health care if they- so it's easier >for a woman to get her children on her health care than a man to get his children on his healthcare<
>
> Researcher: and in South Africa
>
> P2: arh in South Africa I don't actually know. [I know you get tax breaks for hiring a woman]
>
> Focus Group 1: [(speaks over each other)]
>
> P1: it's definitely becoming a shared thing
>
> P2: it's ja it's equaling out essentially. Um >I I< think I don't know if we still quite were (.) South African men would stay at home ↓and look after the kids just yet (.hhh)but um arh like it would take some convincing
>
> P1: well I actually think this is the most interesting topic for the day and we only have like a few minutes left
>
> Researcher: we can discuss it next week as well. Like I said I don't mind if the discussions overlap
>
> P1: but I think a lot of things have changed but it gets to a point where it can't change any further for biological reasons and I'm not being sexist it's just is how it is like (.) it's even laid out in the law like a (.) child has a much closer relationship with the mother (.) until age 11 I think but like much much much closer
>
> P2: I would say about age 8

P5: it actually depends on the gender sometimes though (.) like

P3: I was always a -

Focus Group 1: (speaks over one another briefly)

P1: So biologically there's a closer relationship <between child and mother than father and child> so (.hhh) that's why that that direct role can't change it like a guy can't breast feed a child

P5: ↓no okay

P2: he can pump and dump

Female: ja

P1: a guy must put in equal responsibility and equal effort but it must be at like a secondary level and that's not because arh (.) the man must be the bread winner no it's the man doesn't have boobs to produce milk

P4: he can get ones these plastic ones

Focus Group 1: (laughs over what P1 is saying)

P1: () doing everything you can like changing nappies waking up at three am all those horrible things (laughing)

Extract 26 **Mixed Sex**

P17: ja for men they can become more into female roles like caretaker for the children stuff like that maybe

Researcher: do you think that (.)< men in the majority would do that? >

P17: no (.)↓no

In Extract 25, in a mixed sex focus group, P1 utilizes the interpretive repertoire of biology as a reference point to put across the argument that females are placed in the caregiving roles as they are able to care and bond with children in a way that men cannot. This interpretive repertoire is entrenched in the traditional masculinity subject position. P1, additionally uses the component of equality to reestablish his discourse to feature the new man subject position, but reverts to the interpretive repertoire of biology, once again, to establish that men are inherently less capable of being the primary care giver due to being physically unable to produce breast milk. The tension in speech is evident in the use of the biological interpretive repertoire to rationalize the view of females as primary care givers and is able to produce a denial that it is to do with inequality. This triple vacillation between the divergent

components of equality, inequality and the interpretive repertoire of biology articulates the dialectical tension that the male participants have with the ideological dilemma of females are equal to males, but males still dominate certain aspects of society.

In mixed sex focus group, in Extract 26, P17 uses the subject position of the new man and states that men are willing to take part in roles that were previously considered female roles. The researcher asked if this was the wide held position by men, in which the P17 replied, "no". This Extract shows the ideological dilemma of there being an equality position available for men to perform, as well as there being a position of dominance available for men to perform.

The language difference when viewing Extract 22 and 24 in the male only focus groups and comparing it to the language, in Extract 25 and 26, in the mixed sex focus groups is stark. Phrases more critical towards females are used in the male only groups such as, "do we abide women in Power" by P9 in Extract 22 and "can't send her out of the board room to make tea" by P6 in Extract 24; whereas in the mixed sex groups the language used was softer in Extracts 25 and 26. The separation from females in the male only group may have allowed the male participants greater leeway to use more critical language in regards to females which would be more appropriate to the subject position of the traditional man than that of the new man. It is to be noted that P6 and P9 in Extracts 22 and 24 used this language to speak against the traditional masculinity, but still felt greater freedom in the male only groups to verbalize these types of critiques available for men to express.

Extract 27 **Male only**

> P12: it's its I I don't think it's a it's a bad thing and I I can understand where it comes from so (.hhh) you know if-if you want to talk about (.) fem feminism okay if you're advocate women equality you're basically a feminist k but I don't you know I subscribe to equality in the workplace or you know gender-gender neutral roles (.) but I don't go around ↓you know screaming and shouting that I'm a feminist because I don't think we sort of put a label on it you know it applies to masculinity (.hhh) there is always going to be a concept of of men being unequal or or more dominant domineering and I don't think that necessarily comes from a workplace or science distinction I think it comes from you know you look at like sports and stuff-

In Extract 27, P12 positions himself in the new man subject position by using the associated equality component of this subject position. P12 then uses sport as an interpretive repertoire or reference point to rationalize a position of male dominance in society. P12's premise is that inequality between genders is not on the intellectual capacity, but rather the physicality discrepancy between the female and male gender, with men being inherently stronger. P12 vacillates between the subject positions of the traditional man and the new man. The components of the traditional man subject position in P12's speech includes the sport, physicality and dominance of masculinity, whereas the new man subject positions component lies in the use of the phrase equal intellectual and professional capability between genders.

In the Extracts for the dominance, equality and biology we see that the male participants often place rationalisation for male dominance on the subject position of biology. In the Extracts for this segment there is an element of tension in the speech of the male participants when trying to resolve the ideological dilemma of equality and dominance. The male participants all advocate pro-feminist ideals, yet cannot deny the still existent dominance of males.

5.2.2.3 Sensitive men

The last ideological dilemma concerns the construct of the sensitive man. The subject positions of the traditional man and the new man construe a different relationship between ideals of masculinity and the value placed on the component of sensitivity. The male participants often move between the component of sensitivity in the new man subject position and the component of emotional stoicism in the subject position of the traditional man, which leads to a dialectical tension in their speech that reflects the contradiction of the ideological dilemma of acceptance or prohibition of sensitivity in masculinity. The component of emotional stoicism was taken up by the subject position of the new man once. P1, in Extract 29, was of the opinion that there is still social pressure placed on the new man to be stoic, which is not unlike the pressure placed on the traditional male. The participants' predominately referred to the progressive man or modern man as the more sensitive masculinity.

The following four Extracts in this section is divided and examined in units of two Extracts at each discussion point. The Extracts display the dialectical tension between the subject positions of the new man and traditional man through the medium component of sensitivity and the antithesis component of emotional stoicism. One of the Extracts in each unit of discussion serves to exhibit the subject position of the new man with the relevant component of sensitivity and the other Extract in the unit of discussion exhibits the subject position of the traditional man with the component of emotional stoicism.

Extract 28

P1:[it's] almost like they are following what they think is right so I don't think it's been completely e-eradicated like last night I was talking to somebody< and um> she joked about me being sensitive as it as if it was a <u>really</u> bad thing. And I was just like woah (.)

P4: Oh (giggle)

P1: that's not cool like.

P4: ok ja maybe it's not quite- completely accepted yet by everybody but I think it's become a lot better more accepting more people

Extract 29

P1: but ja I still feel like um (.) being masculine is there are a lot of characteristics that it like definitely does include but there are certain things I feel like it specifically excludes. [I think]

Researcher: °[Such as]

P1: being masculine is you can't be (.) sensitive you can't be strung up

P3: emotional

P1: you can't be emotional (.) ar:h you can't really give a shit

Researcher: Would you say that about the progressive man as well?

P1: ja definitely even in modern times I think there is an expectation (.) of the progressive man to (.) not be that sensitive or ↓emotional

P3: not to cry not to

In Extract 28, there is an instance of P1 being positioned into the new man subject position with the component of sensitivity, by a female friend of his. The narrative of P1 achieves an

orientation with the sensitivity component of the new man subject position, while simultaneously acknowledging the societal pressure, for emotional blunting, which was applied in this occurrence by his female friend. This anecdote serves to establish P1 in the subject position of the modern male and exhibits the ideological dilemma presented to masculinity by means of the policing of emotionality in men, which can be interpreted as the dual acceptance of both the traditional masculinity and new man discourses in society.

In Extract 29, P1 contradicts and positions himself in the subject position of the traditional man through the component of emotional stoicism. This vacillation of subject positions from new man to traditional man, by P1, between focus group sessions, further attributes to the acceptance of both discourses in society and additionally exhibits the dialectical tension in the ideological dilemma.

Extract 30

> P6: there has been a <u>huge</u> shift there because 10 years ago it would be much more like ↓handshakes and now it's much more touchy feely huggy business. And I don't mind that I think it's a very positive thing (.hhh) and guys have been more willing to cry (.) amongst their friends then they would have done maybe 10 years ago.
>
> P7: hm
>
> P9: hm
>
> P6: You're it's It's not easy being called a sissy if you admit that ↓you are ↓scared of ↓something or you you you feel that you're not up to it or °something like that
>
> P9: (.hhh) that's interesting because <<u>I</u> cry a lot> like I am just going to put it straight out there. I cried in that touring ad I cried in one of the bmw ads when I see like the pixar logo it's just fucking tears

Extract 31

> P9: and ↑there you could probably say is a heavy negative aspect of masculinity is ↓(that) Femininity u:m emphasizes empathy way more than masculinity and masculinity:y: shies away from empathy (.) more ja
>
> P7: <it's more a stoic
>
> P9: ↑ja kind of internalize > (.) ja ja handle your own shit [and internalize that shit and don't cry]

P7: [()] whereas all that kind of talk to us kind of help you kind of thing

In Extracts 30 and 31, there is a similar pattern of contradiction in the dialogue of P9 to that of P1, in Extracts 28 and 29. In the one focus group meeting he positions himself in the subject position of the new man, by means of the applicable component of sensitivity, while in a subsequent focus group meeting contradicts the component of sensitivity and moves to the subject position of the traditional man. Overall, the trend reflected that the participants perceive that masculinity is progressing towards a more sensitive male, although there is still an expectation for men to be emotionally blunted or stoic.

Extract 32

P3: like in the the earlier days:: (.) if you're a man you cry you were seen as not masculine. Nowadays ↓the perceptions of masculinity could have changed (.)

Extract 33

P10: I mean like I do see it change and what not but all my personal relationships with guys is generally very (.) stereotypical masculine like I don'- in a sense I mean all the girls I've dated they've all been (.) bakers and like they they clean the house that sort of scenario they are very sort of domesticated the entire time I don't know if that's just the girls I'm attracted to possibly or just all my personal relationships that I've had have been very feminine women and all my friends I hang around granted they're very sort of like relaxed and calm and no'one forces anyone else to (.hhh) believe a certain thing or think certain way but we shake hands and we knock heads and we don't talk about our feelings a lot

P11: (laughs)

P10: ja so that's my sort of I don't know I I generally that concept hits me hard because I thought I was slightly progressive but apparently not

P12: ja no I think you-you're right you know I look at (.) I look at my but it's again it's different because (.) you know when I moved down to Cape Town obviously being being you know growing up in the midlands and stuff it was it was exactly like that you know you'd be like (.) you don't talk about your feelings go have a beer talk ↓rugby

P10: ja exactly exactly that

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P12: and cricket or whatever it is um: (.) but you know when I came down here you know it-it has changed it really has maybe not so much in Stellenbosch but definitely from ↓certain ↑people I meet in Cape Town I think they're more more open to (.)° I was going to say you know the concept of of getting in touch with you feminine side but that's probably going to come across as as a stirring the pot

The topic of crying was introduced by P3, in Extract 32, as an aspect of the component of sensitivity in the subject position of the new man. According to P3, it was not masculine for a man to cry in the past but now there is a potential for a softening of attitudes towards that. Significance is given to the words, "masculinity could have changed", in Extract 32; by stating "could" P3 keeps the possibility for "could not" open and gives credence to the existence of both sensitivity and emotional stoicism in masculinity in modern society validating both the traditional man and new man subject position.

In Extract 33, P10 and P12s' speech reflects the emotional blunting component of the traditional man subject position. P10 states that he performs this masculinity with his friends, as well as in the context of having a girlfriend. P10, consequently, exclaims that he was of the opinion that he was a progressive male and links this with open emotionality. P10 reflects the tension of the ideological dilemma of emotionality in masculinity discourse, by moving from the sensitive male component to the emotional blunting component. P12, resolves the tension in the ideological dilemma, by proposing that emotional openness could perhaps be attributed to a location and the culture of that location, citing Cape Town in particular. This links back to ideological assertion of the conservatism as a culture in Stellenbosch.

Extract 34

P15: is it masculine for a guy to cry? (.2)
P17: certain
P14: in certain (.)
P15: °sometimes
P14: ja
P15: when?
P17: if you cry for something manly (.) like your country or
Group: (laughs)

P15: [(laugh)]

P17: [like shedding a manly tear when the Springboks lose the Rugby or something]

Group: (laughs)

P14: well my friends they went to an air show and this guy flew the jet really close (smiling) low down and he said he shed a tear

Group: (giggles)

P15: what about when your girlfriend breaks up with you (.) or when you find out your girlfriends cheating is it okay to cry

P14: not in public but yes

Crying and sensitivity is taboo for men across most cultures (Reichbardt, 2005). A study conducted by self-report on adult men and women across thirty different countries show females cry more than men (Becht, & Vingerhoets, 2002). Ideologically it has been historically entrenched as a way of being in masculinity. Reichbardt (2005) purports that men inhibit emotionality and crying because they view it as not masculine, weak and feminine. The new man or modern man presents a more sensitive man (Sanders, 1996). A man who is unashamed to cry and it is not thought of as un-masculine to exhibit features of femininity.

This ideological contradiction was particularly difficult for the male participants to reconcile in their speech. As previously discussed two of the participants have directly contradicted themselves in regards to emotionality across the focus group sessions. Dialogically this shows the dialectical contention men experience when grappling with this ideological dilemma. In the above Extract the participants introduce a different topic, "a masculine way" of crying. A peculiarity of the masculine way of crying is that in public a male does not cry for personal reasons, but for the group. Crying for personal reasons, even under the lens of the new man, still needs to be done in private.

5.3 Discussion

The contradiction between the discourses of the traditional man and the new man often stimulate a vacillation between these discourses and a contextual tension. In the contextual tensions and movement between the subject positions, of the traditional man and the new man there are interesting themes that can be related to a broader context, as well provide an

elucidation on salient matters of masculinity, in South Africa, that were discussed in the literature review and conceptual chapter.

5.3.1   Men in Crisis

An essential theme that relates to the dialectical tension between the subject positions of the new man and the traditional man is the male in crisis theme. The masculinity in crisis is stated to be a reaction against the rights awarded to females based on the institution of gender equality in the Constitution of South Africa (Hamber, 2010). The male in crisis theme, further involves a backlash against the 1980s feminism in South Africa (Lemon, 1995). This study contributes to the male crisis theme in academic literature, by the dominance component of some of the male participants' speech. It was particularly evident Extract 24, when P6 states that there is "cognitive conflict", where a male believes that women should submit to a male, but acknowledges that male dominance is not a system that is in place anymore. The male in crisis theme in academic literature is of particular importance because it highlights a movement and call for men to reestablish patriarchal discourse and privilege (Lemon, 1995). This stated "cognitive conflict" does not only represent the male in crisis concept but the element of dominance relates to the traditional masculinity discourse and hegemonic masculinity discourse.

5.3.2   Dominance in Masculinity

Traditional masculinity and hegemonic masculinity as concepts reflect the entrenchment of dominance in masculinity. Both masculinities tend towards gender inequality and homophobia. The findings in this research project show significant relationship between masculinity and dominance. Of particular interest was the unexpected relationship of the new man to dominance. The new man is often construed as the softer male with a concentration on gender equality; however, this research project reflected that dominance is an aspect of masculinity that spans across masculinities, rather than the view of traditional masculinity tending more towards dominance than the new man.

5.3.3 Traditional Masculinity and Hegemonic Masculinity: "Afrikaner" as an Interpretive Repertoire for Homophobia

The interpretive repertoire of Afrikaner in this research study implicated a powerful relationship with the traditional masculinity discourse. The participants cite Afrikaans culture as conservative, in comparison to English culture, with features of physicality and homophobia. The reference to physicality is evident in Extract 11, where P16 uses the interpretive repertoire of Afrikaans culture to encompass features of masculinity that represent a physical way of doing things such as, "fixing a fence" and fixing a Hilux vehicle.

In Extract 21, P16 and P17 verbalize the issue of homophobia in relation to Afrikaans culture. This interpretive repertoire and the component of homophobia in the Extract is of particular interest as it links up to the literature reviews reports on the connection to Afrikaans culture, in regards to hegemonic masculinity and homophobia. Furthermore, this interpretive repertoire is salient as it relates to Afrikaans as an idiosyncratic reference point, which implicates an entrenchment of this issue to a particular culture in South Africa.

5.3.4 Transition in Masculinity

The transition from traditional masculinity to the new man is a salient theme that the participants reflect, the significance of this theme hinges on the importance of a sociological and ideological change in society. This reflects a more global context than the research projects participant pool from Stellenbosch University. The participants state a transition from a traditional way of being to a new way of being, which is arguably the movement from the traditional man to the new man. This was often exhibited in the dialectical tensions in the ideological dilemmas, which for the most part were between the two ways of being in the subject positions of the traditional man and the new man.

The most evident ideological dilemma that the implication of the transition in masculinity is found is in the equality and dominance ideological dilemma. The participants state that there is a movement from a patriarchal society to egalitarian society and that there are still remnants of the patriarchy in society. This is a commentary on the sociological change to the concentration of human rights in South Africa, whereas previously there was a dominance of

gender and race. The most overt reference to the transition by a participant is by P7, in Extract 24, whom states that they are in a transitional group or generation, where they can comment on the changes in masculinity because it is what they are experiencing or developing in.

5.3.5   Masculinity and the New Man: Implications for Feminism and Equality

The new man as a way of being holds implications for feminism and human rights. As previously stated the component of equality is often a feature in the discourse of the new man. The historical position of masculinity was patriarchal. The participants reveal that the new man is a masculinity type that advocates feminism, as well as human rights. Rather than taking a stance outside feminism, these men can contribute to feminism. Feminism is suggestive on ways of being for women, but has often excluded men in this process, if gender is to be reconstructed in a dynamic manner, with an increasingly equal standing between genders; masculinity has a need to be reconstructed as well.

Despite the previously mentioned attribution of dominance within the new man discourse, it still holds relevance for equality between genders. To comprehend the forms of hegemony within the new man discourse can contribute to the feminist goals of an increasingly gender equal society. The contribution would be in the elucidation of the features of hegemony within the discourse and to comprehend it from a masculine and feminine lens, rather than having a singular focus on the ideals of feminism. This stands in the premise of the interrelatedness and reciprocity of the gender constructions. The new man is a socially constructed way of being, which can offer academic insight in the pressures within masculinity to perform in a hegemonic manner, this is evidenced in the dialogue in Extracts 22 and 23, where P9 and P6 discuss the modern man's acceptance of females in positions of power, where there is an unsaid doubt about females in these positions, where P6 suggests that this is to do with women in submissive positions during their upbringing.

5.3.6   The Focus of Masculinity Research

Academic literature in South Africa has a concerted focus on masculinity in penurious environments, or in relation to HIV and/or violence. This provides a concentration on

pressing issues that confront South Africans in relation to masculinity. However, the tendency to focus on the grave issues related to masculinity provides a narrow view of masculinity. The less dire issues need to be given primacy to provide a frame for comparison and to further provide a comprehensive perspective of masculinity in South Africa. A recommendation for future masculinity studies in this regard would be to produce studies, which consider the Indian and English culture of masculinity. An additional recommendation would be to provide studies that delineate the masculinity discourses and masculinity performances of the different Black cultures within South Africa, often Black culture is considered as a single entity of culture rather than the truth of a multiplicity of Black cultures.

Masculinity in tertiary education is a space that is underdeveloped in the knowledge repertoire of academics. This study adds to the academic literature by the focus on masculinity in the environment of tertiary education. The predominance of studies on masculinity in the education sector is focused on primary and high school education in impoverished areas with emphasis given to risk behaviours. This study, however, provides a focus on the discourses of the traditional man and new man in the tertiary environment. The focus in the tertiary education revealed ideological dilemmas in the masculinity discourses available to men in Stellenbosch University. A particular ideological dilemma which is significant is the dialectical tension on dominance with specific reference to gender inequality in the subject positions of the traditional man and the new man. This exhibits a noteworthy issue of gender inequality discourse by male students in a tertiary environment.

5.3.7   Gender Equality Awareness: A Positive Feature of Masculinity Performance

In academic literature there is a tendency to focus on the negative features of masculinity and masculinity performance. There are, however, aspects of positivity and ways of being for men that have positive elements. Arguably, the element of gender equality awareness, in the dialogue of the male participants, displays a feature of positivity in the performance of masculinity. The participants for the most part state that there is a movement to more equal gender rights, though the participants state that gender equality is still not the norm and that dominance is a main characteristic of masculinity. In Extracts 25 and 26, the element of positivity in equal rights speech developed in the increasing acceptance of stay at home fathers.

A particularly positive aspect related to the gender equality awareness discourse found in the speech of the participants was the emphasis on homosexual rights. This was not a topic that was broached by the majority of the participants, but was an aspect discussed by a few. The masculinity discourse surrounding this topic is salient due to the pivotal emphasis placed on equality and rights in the South African Constitution regarding homosexuality. The trend, evident particularly in Extract 21, among the participants was an expressed belief that it is difficult to be homosexual in South Africa. This conveys both a sense of negativity and positivity in masculinity discourse. The aspect of negativity is in the articulation that there is still a connection between homophobia and masculinity. The positive aspect was in the articulation that there is also an acceptance of homosexuality in masculinity in South Africa, albeit in a minor form to the predominance of homophobia. This exists as one of the dialectical tension aspects of the equality versus inequality ideological dilemmas.

These two features while being dialectical in the findings show a positive element in the awareness and performance of gender equality and rights in the script of modern masculinity. It would be beneficial to further research on the positive elements in masculinity and why they exist. This could provide information that could incite a concentration and encouragement of performance on positive features of masculinity, rather than the incitement or another backlash against feminism, such as the previously mentioned backlash against feminism in South Africa in the 1980s.

5.3.8   Resisting Social Pressure

A further positive aspect of masculinity found was the resistance to the social pressure placed on the performance of traditional masculinity. This was exhibited in the 'men don't drink pink drinks' interpretive repertoire in P13's dialogue in Extract 6. P13 articulates a resistant masculinity discourse in response to a female policing the traditional masculinity discourse, by stating that man she was with should not order Flying Fish beer and implies that it would not be masculine to do so. This may seem trivial due to the nature of importance associated with having a drink, but this interpretive repertoire displays how far-reaching the social pressure is to perform traditional masculinity and that there are resistant or counter

masculinity cultures available to perform. The positive aspect to the element of resistance is in the male opposition to social pressure to perform rigid masculine way of beings.

5.3.9   Open To Emotion

The aspect of sensitivity, crying and emotional expression, in the dialogue of the participants, in reference to masculinity could be perceived as positive due to the sense of relief that a person is able to feel after crying (Brecht et al., 2001). On the opposing side of emotional blunting, there is the negative association, which is the correlation with anger and hostility mentioned in the literature review (Jakupcak et al., 2005). Emotional stoicism in men is a trait often associated with traditional masculinity whereas debatably the new man presents a more sensitive way of being available to men to perform. Reference was made by the participants in particular to crying being more acceptable than previously.

5.3.10 Finding a Research Gap: Benefits of the New Man Discourse in Research

In the conceptual chapter the significance of the new man was discussed. The new man is a concept that has not been refined in academic literature. The knowledge gap of the new man as a concept that needs to be distinguished and developed is evident in the findings of this research project. The new man is not referred to as the new man, in the study, by the participants, but is spoken about in the term progressive man or the articulation, by the participants, that masculinity is in transition. The referral to the concept, by the participants, highlights the salience of a conceptual development of the new man, as this would reflect the perspective of the participants, rather than an analysis of discourse utilising a concept that is not relevant.

The new man further constitutes not only as a potential conceptual refinement and a potential of filling of a research space, but also provides much in the theme of masculinity as a way of being. The new man exhibits that a different way of being has been socially constructed and is available for men to perform. This new way of being is accompanied with certain performance tendencies. Morrell (1998) links the new man with open emotionality and gender equality with the addition of a disclaimer of the over exaggeration of the qualities the

new man are often provided. It is salient to do research on the new man to provide a more comprehensive frame and view of masculinity.

5.4 Conclusion

This chapter included the findings and the discussion thereof, which provided a connection to the literature review, conceptual chapter and broader research and societal context. The following chapter will include a brief summary of the study. It will additionally include the limitations of the study and provide recommendations for future studies.

Chapter Six

Conclusion

The aim of the research project was to examine the vacillation in masculinity discourse with particular attention paid to the discourses of traditional masculinity and the new man. Of specific interest were the contradictions, contextual tensions and rationalisations of these two discourses in the articulations of male Stellenbosch University students.

A conceptual discussion involving the modern researchers' perspective on masculinity was pursued, in order to develop a contemporary context of masculinity in research and to develop an understanding of the historical, sociological, psychological and cultural influences affecting masculinity research. The theoretical concepts of hegemonic masculinity, man in crisis, traditional masculinity and the new man were examined in the literature review to provide a framework of understanding to the integral components of the thesis topic.

The literature review concentrated on articles from impoverished environments, where masculinity is violent, dominant and sexual. This focus was due to the dearth of research on masculinity performance in a financially comfortable environment. Despite the contrast between the environments hegemonic discourse can be found in both, but the performances of hegemony were different. The academic literature that focused on impoverished environment's hegemonic discourse had intermingling elements of power, dominance, poverty, survival sex, violence and HIV, whereas the hegemonic discourse among the participants often showed an awareness of movement to equality, power, dominance, transition, physicality and emotionality. The difference in performance of hegemony between the environments is no less important in either environment. When power and dominance is considered across environments, in research, a comparative frame of hegemony can be constructed, which consequentially provides an increasingly comprehensive view of masculinity.

The research design chosen was a qualitative, which tied into the exploratory nature of the study. The main incentive in selecting qualitative research design was the rich data that could help explore male participants' experience of masculinity from a masculine social reality. The focus group as a method of data collection provided a perfect fit for the examination of

the oscillation between traditional masculinity and new man discourse. It was a relaxed environment, where the participants were able to discuss masculinity without judgment. In the male only groups there was an element of male interaction that exhibited the social pressures men may feel in specific social contexts, such as the noticeable difference in swearing and cavalier attitude towards crude comments in the male only group and the comparative mildness of language use by the mixed sex group.

The type of discourse analysis proved to be a good fit in analysis. Discursive psychology highlighted the inconsistencies and contradictions present in the masculinity discourse of the participants by use of the analytical tool ideological dilemmas. The inconsistencies found through the ideological dilemmas related closely to the aim of the study, to examine the contradictions, rationalisations and tensions in the masculinity discourse of the participants. The findings exhibited contradictions between the discourses of traditional masculinity and the new man. The findings additionally supported the premise of an ideological transition in masculinity from the traditional man to the new man. A peculiarity transpired in the findings, where the discursive figure of the new man, which is usually associated with gender equality, was found to have an element of dominance within the new man discourse. This is particularly important due to the voice of potential reformation in masculinity that the new man bares.

6.1 Significance of Research

This research project adds to the current academic literature on masculinity, particularly to the theoretical knowledge pertaining to discourses about the traditional man, masculinity in crisis and the new man. The research project contributes to the knowledge specifically related to dominance as an aspect of traditional masculinity. This is a vital contribution to academic knowledge considering the current climate of gender equality in South Africa.

The findings of the study suggested that there are elements of lingering dominance related to traditional masculinity and evidence of implicit forms of dominance in the discourses of new man masculinity. One of the ways in which the implicit form of dominance emerged in the data was through the rationalisation of biology. A male participant stated that females are more likely to stay at home and take care of children due to the biological suitability to be a

caregiver, rather than the social structure of male dominance. The exploration of dominance as an element of masculinity furthers the knowledge and has a potential to contribute to the agenda of gender equality in South Africa. The potential to add to the agenda of gender equality lies in the comprehension of patriarchal tendencies in masculinity and therefore a potential insight on how the trait of dominance characteristic of traditional masculinity could be alleviated. For example, the reference to biology used as an argument to put forward the naturalness of females as caregivers could fall away if it were to be proved that it is not a natural state of being female, but a social construction of the way women should act female.

The thesis explored the theoretical concept of the male in crisis through a social constructionist perspective. The social constructionist perspective views the male in crisis as a transition from an older, sexist form of masculinity, which is referred to as traditional masculinity in this research project, to a more contemporary, modern masculinity, which is referred to in this research project as the new man. The social constructionist outlook on the male in crisis views the sociological and ideological change of masculinity as a process, which is riddled with male identity confusion and frustration. The male frustration experienced is attributed to the difficulty men are said to experience between whether they should perform traditional masculinity, which is associated with antifeminism, or they should perform the new man, which is associated with gender equality. These aspects of confusion and frustration are often related to a backlash against feminism and a resultant affirmation of negative aspects linked to traditional masculinity such as dominance, antifeminism and homophobia.

The contribution to the knowledge on the new man discourse is crucial due to the dearth of academic literature on this concept. This research project explores the discourse of the new man as a counter and contradictory form of masculinity to the discourse of the traditional man. It is important to explore and expand the knowledge on this masculinity to further the comprehension of masculinity and the consequent effects on salient issues such as gender equality. Evidence of the importance of the improvement of knowledge on new man masculinity is the link to an implicit form of dominance that was evident in the findings in this research project. Dominance is an aspect that is not strongly linked with the academic voice on the topic of the new man masculinity. However, the implicit form of dominance in the new man was evident in the biology and physicality points made by a few of the male

participants. The physicality component was spoken about as a reason that the male gender has a dominant position in society.

A further addition to knowledge on masculinity is the research project's concentration on the university environment and the exploration of masculinity from the perspective of students. There are sparse academic texts, especially South African academic texts, which center on masculinity in a university environment. It is important to explore masculinity from the angle of a university environment due to the phase in which students are in. It can be argued that students have not formed a stable way of acting out gender, but are still in the experimental stage where the performances of gender are mostly malleable and subject to change. In an article centered on the gender role preferences of students by Street, Kimmel and Kromrey (1996) there is mention of the influencing role that a university environment has on the learning and development of gender roles.

This research project explores traditional and new man discourses from a South African perspective. This is beneficial in terms of adding to the knowledge bank of South African academic literature. The benefits to using a South African perspective, however, is not limited to this aspect alone, it is also beneficial to delve into the perceptions and performances of masculinity that is unique to South Africa. The interpretive repertoires used as an analytic tool in the findings chapter, examined idiosyncratic features and maxims of a particular culture. Why this is imperative is the issues surrounding masculinity in South Africa, such as the entanglements of dominance, but not only dominance aimed at females but dominance related to other masculinities, which involve elements of classism, heteronormativity and cultural discrimination, such as the Afrikaner masculinity in the previous hegemonic position to black masculinity.

The literature review was from predominantly South African academic texts in order to capture the nuance of South African aspects such as class, history and cultural discrimination as influencing and impacting factors in the moulding of current masculinity. In the findings a particular aspect that a more nuanced view of South African masculinity benefited from was homophobia, which is an element, which was related to by the research participants as a feature of conservatism tendencies of men who align themselves with the performance of Afrikaans traditional masculinity. Homophobia and cultural discrimination are not uniquely South African, but it is the manifestation and development of these problems in South Africa

that are entrenched in the cultural, historical and ideological aspects of South Africa. Therefore, clarity on the South African perspective can provide insight to methods of disentanglement, in regards to masculinity and the negative elements associated with it.

Lastly this research project considers aspects of masculinity, particularly in reference to the new man, which are positive. This is the tendency of said masculinity to be linked with stances such as gender equality and openness to emotion. This is done in light of the frustration and confusion that men are stated to experience during the transition from traditional masculinity to the new man. A positive outlook of the new masculinity could erode the backlash against feminism that is arguably related to the concentration of research on the negative aspects of masculinity.

6.2 Limitations

One of the chief limitations was the small size of the group of participants. This was an in depth view of masculinity from sixteen students' perspective. This is limiting because findings are based on few people, whereas a larger group is more representative of a population. Despite the limited group of students most of the findings between groups were similar. Due to the study being exploratory in its nature, it was thought best to keep a small participant pool, rather than have a large number of participants, which carried a chance to reach inconclusive findings and then have resultantly squandered the time of numerous students.

An additional limitation factor was the homogeneity of the participants, although this factor in focus group research is customarily seen as beneficial (Litosseliti, 2003) it was not in this research project. However, an aspect where the homogeneity of the focus group participants was beneficial was the scanty literature aspect, and novelty aspect of the new man discourse. It would have proved difficult to expand on the new man discourse in a heterogeneous focus group due to the vague and universal manner in which the new man discourse is described in academic literature. Additionally, there is no mention of ethnicity in regards to the new man, which would have further aggravated this dilemma. Lastly, the limited cultural focus does not pose a serious threat to the integrity of the research; it merely narrows the range of the research.

A further limitation, of the group of participants was the sampling method used was a form of convenience sampling namely Snowball Sampling. An email was intended to be sent out to the department of Psychology in Stellenbosch University, but snowball sampling was used as a method of recruitment instead. Over the course of 2015, the researcher spoke about her thesis topic of masculinity to friends, and these friends expressed that some of their friends, whom the researcher did not know, would enjoy being a part of the study. Before, sending out the email the researcher already had twenty people she did not know express an interest in being part of a masculinity study. The researcher thought it would be prudent to use these twenty participants, four of which dropped out, rather than trying to harangue thousands of people via email, in the Psychology department, for an intended small sample of Twenty to Twenty-Five participants.

There could be a bias in this masculinity group due to the type of people, such as a more progressive liberal male, being attracted to the study of masculinity; however, this would still be a flaw in the email scheme as well, consequently this is not considered a huge detrimental factor to the research.

This study is not generalisable to the broad population of South Africa, which could be construed as a limitation of the research project, in that the findings cannot be applied to a broader population, only to a small group of participants. It is further limited by the concentration of students, which are representative of students at a university, which has a very different culture to that of working people of the same age. The research project, however, has the potentiality to be transferable, which is the corresponding Qualitative component to generalizability, to other university contexts in South Africa (Bryman, 2008). The potential for transferability lies in the abundant detail supplied in the results and the discussion thereof. The copious amount of description helps a future researcher perform a replication study, which could receive similar results.

6.2 Recommendation for Future Studies

The recommendations for future studies are based on the limitations of this research project. The first recommendation would be a larger group of participants. This would increase the

scope of the study. The second would be to be more inclusive of other cultures so the study can be more representative of South Africa's diversity. There are multiple types of traditional masculinity in South Africa. These traditional masculinity scripts are performed according to culture. Focus groups that incorporated diverse cultures could reflect a more comprehensive view on traditional masculinity. The new man discourse is still in the exploratory stage, but a diversified cultural participant pool could provide a more nuanced view of this concept.

A larger sized sample could allow for students in more than one university to take part. This could be beneficial as a few of the participants believed Stellenbosch University to be particularly conservative, due to the Afrikaans culture being so prevalent. This limits the findings to a particular university and implications of the study cannot be presumed as the same in other universities. I would further recommend that the future studies take participants other than students. Students at universities are a unique culture in and of themselves despite their varying background, so the findings could range beyond universities and to the South African population. This does not have to be done by a single large-scale study but a few replication studies could achieve this as well.

Random sampling could have been used to select the participants in the study. Using random sampling could provide a wider ranged outlook on the masculinity. This would increase the heterogeneity of the sample, which would make the results less representative of two cultures. This was an unfortunate effect in this research project due to the convenience sampling method used.

The final recommendation for future studies is to have a control group of participants who converse about the discussion topics without videos and have the other focus groups watch videos; this could show the potential for leading through media. Another potential way of controlling this effect is perhaps to get the participants to bring their own media, which represents what they think of masculinity in their given context. This brings the participants own reflections of masculinity to the group, they will still be able to discuss freely what they think of masculinity and still have the effect of a focal point to get the discussion started, rather than an awkward stilted discussion on purely the topic proposed. The researcher incorporated this idea in the study; however, only three participants brought their own media along.

6.3 Conclusion

Supplementary research can enhance the reliability of the study and bring attention to the frustrations experienced by male South Africans. This study seeks to expose the rhetorical frustrations and complications that men experience in conversation when trying to perform traditional and the new man masculinity. The benefit is to enrich the study of masculinity and exhibit instances of divergent and sometimes contradictory masculinities, which can cause a frustration in the articulation and performance of masculinity. This study wishes to expose the complicated matter of masculinity and spur supplementary research aimed at the alleviation of male discontent in regards to the social pressure to perform traditional masculinity, which males at times show resistance towards.

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Appendix A:

Consent Form

STELLENBOSCH UNIVERSITY

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

Divergent Masculinity Discourses in Stellenbosch Student Males: Traditional Masculinity and the Progressive Male/New Man Discourse

You are asked to participate in a research study conducted by Anjela Adamson MA Research Psychology from the Psychology department at Stellenbosch University. The results of this study will contribute towards the completion of a MA Thesis. You were selected as a possible participant in this study because this study is based on how the students of Stellenbosch view masculinity.

1. PURPOSE OF THE STUDY

This study wishes to establish a link to situational tension in the discussion of contradictory masculinity discourses of the traditional male and the new man. This tension is believed to exist as all South African males adopt these discourses to an extent and vacillate between them. In a discussion that involves both of the discourses the individual may experience communication difficulties and frustration.

2. PROCEDURES

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to do the following things:

i.   To arrive on time to the focus groups that have been indicated for your participation.

ii.   To be willing to discuss what you think about masculinity.

iii. To be honest about your thoughts, because the accuracy of the study relies on honest answers.

iv. To be willing to be tape recorded.

v. To listen to what others have to say about masculinity and comment after their talking turn but not interrupt.

vi. To sign the consent form given to you at the beginning of the first meeting.

vii. To email the researcher Anjela Adamson before the focus group meeting when you cannot make it to that particular focus group.

viii. The first focus group meeting will be 90 minutes and will include an introduction to the study.

ix. The following three focus group meetings will be 60 minutes in length.

3. POTENTIAL RISKS AND DISCOMFORTS

There will be no foreseeable risks and discomforts. There should be no inconveniences to the participation of the study. A time which is convenient for you to take part in the focus group should be indicated. The focus group meetings will be held in a location on campus so that there will be no traveling inconveniences.

There are no physical or psychological risks to participation. If you wish to see a therapist after the focus groups, you are welcome to use the Stellenbosch University campus therapists.

4. POTENTIAL BENEFITS TO SUBJECTS AND/OR TO SOCIETY

There are no benefits to this study for participants.

5. PAYMENT FOR PARTICIPATION

There will be no remuneration for this study.

6. CONFIDENTIALITY

Any information that is obtained in connection with this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of ascribing codes to the names of the participants, such as PA, PB etc. instead your name. The data will be locked in a bag in a room which is also locked. No' one will have access to the bag or my room.

The other Investigator of the focus groups will have access to the information of the focus groups that he conducted which is the male only groups. He will not have access to the transcription notes or any of the data from the mixed sex groups.

My supervisor Prof. D. Painter will see the information and hear the audio tapes to oversee the data collection and analysis procedure.

The audio tapes and the transcription notes will be erased after the completion of my MA degree.

If articles are published based on this study the quotes used will be linked to the afore mentioned codes P1, P2 etc. not the participants name. Participants are required not to identify other participants if they read the thesis and discuss it.

7. PARTICIPATION AND WITHDRAWAL

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw at any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so such as disruption to the focus group and verbal attacks aimed at any of the participants, the researcher or invigilator. The researcher may withdraw you from the research if there is any inappropriate use of the contract details given.

8. IDENTIFICATION OF INVESTIGATORS

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact the researcher:

 Anjela Adamson at anjelaadamson@gmail.com or 15673987@sun.ac.za or 0797078027.

The researcher's supervisor Desmond Painter at dpainter@sun.ac.za.

9. RIGHTS OF RESEARCH SUBJECTS

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Maléne Fouché [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

SIGNATURE OF RESEARCH SUBJECT OR LEGAL REPRESENTATIVE

The information above was described to [*me/the subject/the participant*] by [*name of relevant person*] in [*Afrikaans/English/Xhosa/other*] and [*I am/the subject is/the participant is*] in command of this language or it was satisfactorily translated to [*me/him/her*]. [*I/the participant/the subject*] was given the opportunity to ask questions and these questions were answered to *[my/his/her]* satisfaction.

[I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study/I hereby consent that the subject/participant may participate in this study.] I have been given a copy of this form.

_____

Name of Subject/Participant

_____

Name of Legal Representative (if applicable)

_____   _____

Signature of Subject/Participant or Legal Representative   Date

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SIGNATURE OF INVESTIGATOR

I declare that I explained the information given in this document to _____ [*name of the subject/participant*] and/or [his/her] representative _____ [*name of the representative*]. *[H*e/she] was encouraged and given ample time to ask me any questions. This conversation was conducted in English.

_____   _____

Signature of Investigator   Date

Appendix B:

Focus Group Schedule

Introduce research topic as masculinity. Give the informed consent form. Explain Focus Group Procedures

Ask participants to introduce themselves:

  i   Their name

  ii Where they come from

  iii Where they live

  iv Give an introductory statement about themselves

1. Unpacking the concept of masculinity

    1.1. What does masculinity mean to you?

    1.2. What are the different types of Masculinity in South Africa?

    1.3. What do you think masculinity was like in the past?

    1.4. What do you think masculinity is like now?

2. Revisit differences between the masculinities

    2.1. What do you think are the positive aspects of the different types of masculinity?

    2.2. What do you think are the negative aspects of the different types of masculinity?

3. Identify and describe change in masculinity

    3.1. How has the way we think about masculinity changed?

    3.2. How has societal change influenced masculinity?

    3.3. Is there a change of gender roles and relations with the new type of masculinity?

4. Exploring contradiction in masculinity

    4.1. Are the any expectations around masculinity

    4.2. What is your personal experience of masculinity

    4.3. Summary of previous arguments

Appendix C:

Post On WhatsApp group and Advertisement

Dear Participants

I am holding focus group meetings for my MA Thesis and would like you to take part. These Focus group meetings will be held during October. There will be four focus groups in total. Focus group one will be held on Monday at 12:00, focus group two will be held on Monday at 13:00, focus group three will be held on Monday at 17:00, lastly focus group four will be held on Monday at 18:00. If wish to participate please send me your name and student number and state, which group would be most convenient for you to take part in. If more than one group is convenient please indicate the multiple groups. Whatsapp me either personally or on the group.

The topic of the focus groups will be masculinity in Stellenbosch. Participants of the Focus group can be male or female. The focus group meetings will be an hour long each week except for the first week where the topic will be explained in more detail. There are four meetings in total for each group. One on each week of October.

If, for whatever reason, you cannot make it to one of the meetings please inform me ahead of the time.

Anjela Adamson 15673987

Appendix D

Outline for First meeting

Introduction

This research project is on masculinity in South Africa. The focus groups will be centered on the discussion of masculinity and how particular masculinity discourses are predominant in South Africa. The idea of the focus group is to get South African denizens to discuss what they think about masculinity in South Africa and how they think that masculinity is performed and talked about. In this discussion of masculinity common discourses of masculinity are expected to emerge and from this.

Address Questions about the research topic.

Read through Consent form

The consent form acts as a protection of participant's rights and as an agreement between the researcher and the participant.

After reading the consent form point main issues of concern:

i.   These focus groups will be tape-recorded. My supervisor and I will have access to the transcription notes. If the thesis markers wish to see the transcription notes it will be shown to those particular individuals as well. The transcription notes and audio recordings will be deleted after the completion of my MA Thesis.

ii.   The focus groups will be confidential. All participants are asked to keep the discussions confidential and not reveal what the other participants have said to outside parties. In the transcription notes names will not be used but a code will be assigned to each of the members to protect confidentiality.

iii.   Safety of data. The data will be left in locked bag in a locked room. This will protect the information that the participants have provided.

iv.   Drop out. The participant will be able to drop out for any reason at any point without needing to disclose the reason to the researcher. It is asked that the participant informs the researcher rather than dropping out without notice. It is also asked that the participant bears in mind that any drop out will be detrimental to the study.

v.   Unwillingness to answer a question posed by the researcher or the other investigator is perfectly acceptable. If, you the participant feels uncomfortable answering a question, you are allowed to state this and refuse to answer.

vi.   If a participant cannot make it to a particular meeting, but to the others it is asked that they email the researcher at least one day before the meeting.

Address any questions about the informed consent form.

The following meetings will be 60 minutes long and will be exactly the same time, day and place for the following three weeks.

Address any logistical questions.

Begin introduction of participants.