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# WOMEN'S STEREOTYPES OF MASCULINITY ACROSS THE DIFFERENT CONTEXTS OF WORK, FAMILY, FRIENDSHIP AND ROMANTIC PARTNERSHIPS.

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Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements of the degree of Masters in Social Sciences, in the School of Psychology, University of KwaZulu- Natal, Pietermaritzburg, under the supervision of Dr Michael Quayle

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## **DECLARATION**

Submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of the Masters in Counselling
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South Africa.

- I, Charlene Joan Cole, declare that
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## **ABSTRACT**

The construction of hegemonic masculinity cannot be understood outside its relationship to emphasized femininity. Women's negotiation of masculinity is dependent on their own feminine identity narratives (emphasized or liberated) in a corresponding context. Replicating and extending previous work, this study is aimed at exploring women's construction of masculinity in the contexts of work, family, friendship and romantic relationships. However, where previous studies explored this in the South African context, the present study is aimed at determining if women's construction of masculinity followed similar patterns for women from different countries across the world. The UNDP inequality index was used to estimate the developmental status (low, medium and high) of the country to explore whether participants from countries with different levels of development showed differing constructions of masculinity across the different contexts. The results supported Brittain (2010, 2011), in that this sample advocated for traditional hegemonic masculine traits in the context of family, romance and work, while constructing non-hegemonic 'nice guy' masculinities in the context of friendship. It was found that women from high and medium equality countries incorporated a few acceptable non-hegemonic and majority hegemonic masculine traits in their constructions of the ideal man across work, romance and family, while predominantly choosing non-hegemonic traits for friendship. In Low equality countries, women advocated predominantly for traditional hegemonic masculine traits across all four contexts. It seems that women's negotiation of masculinity (traditionally hegemonic or non-hegemonic) is interdependent on their own identity narrative and their ability to construct and negotiate their own femininity (emphasized and liberated) in the same contexts. This study demonstrates that (1) despite the level of equality women have gained in society, they continue to advocate for and perpetuate hegemonic masculine ideals (2) that male/masculine and female/feminine identities are intrinsically bound together; and the production of female identities valued by women requires the simultaneous production of complementary masculinities.

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# WOMEN'S STEREOTYPES OF MASCULINITY ACROSS THE DIFFERENT CONTEXTS OF WORK, FAMILY, FRIENDSHIPS AND ROMANTIC PARTNERSHIPS.

# **Chapter 1: Introduction**

Hegemonic masculinity is the most valued, dominant form of masculinity revered by both men and women and is considered the most ideal way of being a man, both in characteristics and actions. This masculinity is characterized and maintained through the subordination of less superior masculinities and femininities (Donaldson, 1993). In order for the subjugation and complete subordination of women to be achieved by hegemonic masculinity, women need to (to some extent, at least) comply with this subordination of themselves by being accommodating and conforming to the interests and desire of men. This version of female identity, which is sympathetic to and congruent with hegemonic masculinity, is known as "emphasized femininity" (Connell, 1987 in Messerschmidt, 2012). Although much research has been done to explore the ways men construct and maintain hegemonic masculine ideals, Connell, (1987 in Messerschmidt, 2012) highlighted the fact that hegemonic masculinity has no meaning "outside its relationship to emphasized femininity" (p. 3). Consequently, Talbot and Quayle (2010) highlight the fact that men cannot construct and maintain any masculinity on their own accord without the active or passive collusion of women. Only recently have women's roles been explored in relation to how they help to construct and maintain masculinity in different contexts.

This specific study is a replication and extension of (Brittain, 2010, 2011) and is particularly interested in looking at how and why women from different countries across the world continue to construct and maintain traditionally hegemonic masculinities in different contexts of their lives. Context is important because the setting, or centre stage, in which gender interactions take place, determines how masculinities and femininities are valued and arranged hierarchically (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). Therefore, there exists inconsistent constructions of what it means to be masculine and feminine and these differ according to the beliefs, role prescriptions and ideals prescribed to that specific context (Brittain, 2010; Messerschmidt, 2012). Talbot & Quayle (2010) highlighted how women negotiated different types of masculinity according to the appropriate context. Any deviation from what was

considered appropriate was considered a violation of that masculinity and was categorized into two labels 'nice guy' and traditional hegemonic masculinity. According to Talbot & Quayle (2010), context anchoring takes place whereby different versions of masculinity/femininity are attached and linked to the contexts according to what is valued in that situation. In this situation the 'nice guy' and 'hegemonic masculinities' are anchored to the contexts of friendship and work for the former and romance and family for the latter.

Research by Talbot and Quayle (2010) showed how different gender relations were constructed according to the context of the interaction between men and women. Talbot and Quayle (2010) found that women will support unequal gender relations according to the extent to which they value masculine/feminine identities in different circumstances. If they are unable to negotiate or justify the trait into the specific context, it would be considered a violation of masculinity and render the male in question not enacting appropriate masculinity for that context (Messerschmidt, 2012). Talbot and Quayle (2010) showed that masculinities idealized by women differ across contexts, showing that women were willing to subjugate themselves in order to "engage in the ideals of romantic partnership," but would advocate for egalitarian ideals in their male counterparts in contexts that valued liberal femininity (Talbot& Quayle, p. 255).

It was found in this research that women were constructing "differing forms of femininities emphasized and liberated" that would complement and support "situational masculinities" (Messerschmidt, 2012, p. 10). Men's identity and their adaptation of masculinity and characteristics are produced in conjunction with women's own identity and contrasted forms of femininity (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). In other words, the forms of masculinity that can be taken up by men depends at least partly on the forms of femininity produced or valued by the women they interact with and vice versa. Consequently, women may enact emphasized femininity that will compliment and contribute to the production of hegemonic masculinity and idealize forms of masculinity that perpetuate inequitable gender relations and identities (Messerschmidt, 2012; Talbot & Quayle, 2010). For these reasons, male/masculine and female/feminine identities are intrinsically bound together. Hence the production of female identities valued by women requires the simultaneous idealization of complementary masculinities.

What makes this identity negotiating possible for women to both construct in themselves and that of men is determined by different factors (Ray, 2006). Women have long experienced the subjugation of their gender by men, which in return has maintained the patriarchal ideal along with the traditional hegemonic masculine constructions of men (Ray, 2006). Gender roles, beliefs and norms have changed according to the context and how this change has influenced gender equality could in turn have influenced women's negotiation into their own identity (Ray, 2006). The women that were investigated by Talbot & Quayle (2010) and Brittain (2010, 2011) all originated in South Africa They were middle class, had either a working background or were negotiating periods of their lives towards careers and employment goals through university. Thus, the results of this study are only limited and generalizable to South African women who have access to education, employment and are from a more privileged background. These factors afforded to these women may influence how they construct masculinity in different contexts. Considering the different cultures, religions, customs and laws that exist between different societies, the way South African women construct masculinity may not be the same in different countries across the world (Ferrant, 2010). Thus, further exploration needs to be made into the different ways women construct masculinity and how the patriarchal status of the country they originate from plays a part in this construction.

The aim of this study is to replicate the study done by Brittain, (2010, 2011), by exploring how women's construction of masculinity differ according to the context of their lives. It will further build on the studies of Talbot & Quayle (2010) and Brittain (2010, 2011), by exploring whether the patterns of construction of masculinity revealed in South African women can be shown to occur internationally. If these patterns are shown to occur, it will further investigate whether women's construction of masculinity is influenced by the different developmental status of the countries these women come from.

# **Chapter 2: Literature Review**

## 2.1. The Construction of Masculinity

To be masculine is not the same as being a man (Connell, 2010). Masculinities are about gender relations and the position men hold in a gender order. Masculinity is the pattern of practice in which men engage in different hierarchical positions in society (Connell, 1987 in Messerschmidt, 2012). It is about one's gender identity and the extent to which one sees one's self as masculine, according to what is constituted as manly in society (Stets & Burke, 2000). Traditionally valued features of masculinity include being aggressive, competitive and assertive (Brittain, 2010). Masculinity is generally constructed in opposition to traditional or *emphasized* (Connell, 1987 in Messerschmidt, 2012) femininity, in which women's identity is passive, expressive and co-operative (Stets & Burke, 2000).

These characteristics that are inherent in conventional masculinity and femininity are in turn inherent in gender stereotypes and are socially constructed concepts (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Gender stereotypes are part of social roles that are believed to be a natural part of men and women and, as a result, these stereotypical roles become prescriptive as roles expected to be enacted by men and women (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). These roles and gender identities are hierarchical and create power inequalities between the sexes. In order to maintain this gender order, those that adhere to these societal prescriptions of gender identities are rewarded, while those that deviate from them are subtly or blatantly punished (Prentice & Carranza, 2002, p. 269). Men and women learn to create this identity through interactions with their early environment. This is done through their earliest social inductions into what is correct for boys and girls, according to rewards and punishments offered up by society (Burke, 1980 in Bird, 1996). In early childhood women and men have learnt what they need to live up to with regards to what is acceptable constructs of their gender identity. For example they are required to assist with house work if you are a girl, not crying if you are a boy and learning that these roles are permanent because the gendered order of identity is fixed.

According to Connell, (1987 in Messerchmidt, 2012), society has constructed masculinity as something innate and fixed through genetics and something women/men

cannot change. Connell (1987 in Messerschmidt, 2012), has maintained that nothing could be further from the truth. Rather than focus on the masculinity in boys/men, consider that "a range of *masculinities* actually exists" that are fluid and changeable (Connell, 2010, p.1). These masculinities are socially constructed, exist simultaneously amongst each other, but are hierarchical and are influenced by race, class and age (Morrell, 2001, in Brown et al, 2005, in Brittain, 2010).

### 2.2 Hegemonic Masculinity

Masculinity, although multifaceted, is a hierarchical system that determines which form of being male is revered over all others (Donaldson, 1993). Throughout any historical period there will be one type of masculinity that will exert its hegemony, its cultural dominance and powerful position on the less powerful equivalents (Donaldson, 1993).

Hegemonic masculinity is a hierarchy of masculinities where the most dominant form represents the most valued way of being a man by society. Men are required to "position themselves in relation to it", and establish dominance over less valued masculinities, all whilst continuing their subordination of women (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 836). This construction of masculinity was thought to have only been upheld by influential public figures who "[weave] the fabric of hegemony" to determine what it is to be masculine and the penalties for not adhering to it (Donaldson, 1993, p. 646).

Hegemonic masculinities are, therefore, influenced by context and are subject to change over time (Segal, 1993). Consequently, older forms of masculinity might be displaced when challenged by new emerging forms of masculinities which establish dominance in society (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The status and the definitions of masculinity are not fixed, but are determined by what is valued by society at the time in a particular context of what a man represents (Segal, 1993).

#### 2.3 Patriarchy and the Changing Nature of Masculinity

As emphasized, traditional forms of masculinity which characterize men as dominant, tough, aggressive, handsome, assertive and manly, usually remain the dominant form of masculinity and therefore hegemonic and valued over all other forms of masculinity (Connell

& Messerschmidt, 2005; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). These features of masculinity support the preservation of a patriarchal society, a dominant social system that upholds the higher standing and privilege of men over women (Marciano, 1986; Ray, 2006).

Patriarchy is a system that maintains uneven distribution of power and is done so according to the category of gender (Marciano, 1986). Men, traditionally, had more access to education, the job market and politics, because this was in line with the patriarchal male masculine ideal (Lindsey, 2005). With the feminist movement a shift occurred where, in many societies, women gained more access to these areas. However, how much ground feminism made was dependent on time and place. Consequently, constructions of masculinity and femininity and the balance of power between them, have changed unevenly across contexts (Ferrant, 2010). The ability to negotiate gender power has been determined by the level of development of the different societies (Ferrant, 2010). Gender is divided up into prescribed social roles, beliefs and stereotypes that have a long-standing tradition of being preserved by men and a patriarchal society (Ray, 2006). These patriarchal societies have upheld the hegemonic masculine values that men maintain as the head of the family, the breadwinner, protector and more dominant sex (Prentice & Carranza, 2002; Peplau, Hill & Rubin, 1993). In turn, the gender prescriptions expected of women in these societies include the expectations of being a full-time housewife and child minder, being feminine, gentle, loyal, sensitive and yielding to the needs of others (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). In order for that patriarchal society to succeed, it requires men/women to submit to and even idealize these conventional (and iniquitous) versions of gender (Marciano, 1986).

Hegemonic masculinity involves the "maintenance of practises that [institutionalise] men's dominance over women" and is "constructed in relation to women and to subordinate masculinities" (Connell 1987, 185-66 in Reid & Walker 2005). The practises, gender roles and characteristics that maintain hegemonic masculinity, are supported and any deviation is suppressed and censured (Levant & Richmond, 2007). Society requires men to construct this type of masculinity and women are required to enact "complimentary, compliant, and accommodating subordinate femininities" in the relationship with hegemonic masculinity (Messerschmidt, 2012, p. 3). Thus these constructions from both men and women ensure the continuation, normalisation and legitimisation of the "global subordination of women" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p 832).

#### 2.4 Construction of Masculinity is Context Dependent

There is no one typical male. Rather there are multiple versions of masculinity that continue to be re-worked as constructions of what constitutes a masculine male, are altered according to the context in which gender relations take place (Messerschmidt, 2012; Reid & Walker, 2005). The context in which men find themselves, whether it be in relation to female interaction or interaction with other males determines the masculinity that will be displayed at that particular moment (Donaldson, 1993). Masculinity is strongly tied up with gender stereotypes, roles and attitudes and, as a result, masculinity changes according to the role prescription of the gender in a certain context (Eagly, 1987, in Prentice & Carranza, 2002). The concept of masculinity has changed from the ideal of a "manly man"- characterized by insensitivity, domination, strong, muscular, rugged, and assertive, and has been re-worked to create other forms of masculinity over time (Komarovsky & Mayer, 1984). Consequently, society has changed their view of men, creating new versions of manliness which can be defined by different variations of masculine traits (Komarovsky & Mayer, 1984). Irrespective of this shift, the construction of the traditional hegemonic masculinity appears to have remained dominant in society and in particular with women constructing hegemonic masculinity predominantly in the context of their partnerships (Brittain, 2010, 2011; Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

One example of the shifting nature of the construction of masculinity was observed in the early 1990's till 2005, when the journalist, Mark Simpson coined the term metrosexual male, a version of masculinity that became valued and advocated for (Ervin, 2011). This type of "new man" incorporates stereotypical feminine traits, such as being interested in image as well as culture, fashion and grooming (Ervin, 2011; Tolson 1977). This phenomenon was viewed by some as challenging hegemonic masculinity. However, this challenge met with counter-actions to reinstate the dominant position of hegemonic masculinity (Ervin, 2011). Women's views of metrosexual men were surveyed, but respondents preferred what was termed as the 'regular guy'. These men were the epitome of traditional masculinity, rugged, natural, not into products, grooming or fashion. Women wanted "the man back in manly" (Ervin, 2011, p. 62). Rugged attitudes were in and the metrosexual look was out.

Consequently, women's construction of masculinity and what they wanted in a mate perpetuated the continuation of hegemonic masculinity in its traditional "1940's warrior or 1950's breadwinner" role, compared to the new "soft contemporary (post 1970's feminism

men)" (Ervin, 2011, p.62). Women determined what they wanted in a man to compliment themselves, their identities and female roles (Shepherd, 1997). As a result "no longer was a [man's] sense of selfhood and manhood delivered by his relationship to women, instead it is challenged by it" (Ervin, 2011, p. 66). What is made apparent by this research is that although masculinity and gender identities are fluid, conventional versions of masculinity are defended by those that value its construction in relation to their own identity.

Acceptable masculinities change over time and differ by context, and what women desire in men may be changing, especially as they negotiate what they want in their own feminine identities and roles (Komarovsky & Mayer, 1984; Shepherd, 1997). The extent to which versions of masculinity are advocated for depends to some extent on how much they violate the norm of the masculine ideal in a given context (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). Consequently, what is emerging is that modern masculinity involves negotiation between traditional and "new" versions of masculinity (Sullivan, 2004). One such example, in which this type of negotiation occurs, is the extent to which emotion is valued in masculinity. In Talbot and Quayle (2010, p. 265) the women in their study did not want "drama queens" because, in the context of romance, this violated their perception of the ideal man. However, the display of emotion was acceptable according to the degree of emotion shown, the reason it was shown and, on condition it is shown in moderation, and did not threaten masculinity (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). One arena in which displays of emotion are acceptable is in the world of sport. For example, crying is permissible in male sport, when a team wins or loses an important tournament. However the permissibility of this action is deeply subject to the contextual features of the situation, such as the time, the specific sport, the importance of the contest and so on. So, crying in sport is acceptable after a defeat, but not when the player is the cause of the defeat. In this scenario the context of defeat allows a man to show emotion, but causing the defeat withdraws this allowance making crying in this context an unacceptable display of emotion. Similarly, if a man displays emotion after an injury this is unacceptable because the gender stereotype surrounding what is masculine is engrained in being strong, in control, dominant (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Another such example appears on a rugby fan blog describing the 2007 Rugby World Cup:

There were a lot of tears during this world cup. Tears of joy and tears of depression. The latter was mostly done behind closed doors in the changing sheds. One moment remembered Stephen Larkham weeping openly on the side-line. The man is a bona fide

rugby legend and I can't even begin to imagine the heartbreak for him as he watched powerless from the side-line as his Wallaby playing days were numbered. He was one of rugby's great servants and **his show of emotion meant something to all of us** who have ever watched and been in awe of his talents on the field (RuggerBlogger, 2007).

In this context, Larkham's show of emotion was acceptable because his team was losing in a major world tournament and, secondly, because he was about to finish his career in the sport. Here his tears were appreciated; his display of emotion – although not hegemonically masculine –did not overshadow the masculine production of Stephen Larkham as a "rugby legend," and even emphasized it because it demonstrated how deeply he cared about the game and his team's success. These examples demonstrate that the context determines what an acceptable form of masculine expression is and what is not. Put differently, there is contextual variation in the construction of ideal masculinity, and masculinities are finely attuned to context (Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

#### 2.5 Women's Role in the Co-Production of Masculinities

One problem with masculinity research is that researchers have prioritized male perspectives on masculinity in their attempts to explain how masculinity is produced in society. Talbot and Quayle (2010) highlighted the fact that these researchers will treat masculinity as "owned" and constructed only by men.

Masculinity research has prioritised studies that highlight how males construct masculinities. This was demonstrated in Talbot and Quayle (2010), when 140 empirical papers published from 1999 to 2007 were reviewed. Of these papers, fifty-six analysed archival data (e.g., Currarino 2007; Frehill 2004) or cultural texts such as magazines (e.g., Benwell 2004; Brandth and Haugen 2005; Firminger 2006; Rogers 2005). Talbot and Quayle (2010), highlighted that of these texts, 76.8% of this sample of papers, accessed data sources that were predominantly about men or controlled by men. When examining the remainder of the papers that were based on interview data, it was found that, of the fifty eight papers 68 percent interviewed a homogenous male sample. Those papers that did interview women were found to under-represent their views in the paper (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). Consequently, the trend found to be occurring in masculinity research was that it was

"positioning women as passive consumers or recipients of masculinity rather than active agents in its construction" (Talbot & Quayle, 2010, p. 256). Despite the early theoretical insights that women were proven in fact to contribute to the maintenance and production of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987 in Messerschmidt, 2012), women have been underrepresented in research on the social construction of masculinity. However, Talbot and Quayle (2010) aimed to address this gap in the literature to show that women also collaborated in the construction of masculinities in their interactions with men, boys and other women (Connell, 2010).

Messerschmidt (2012) emphasized that research on hegemonic masculinities and the maintenance of it cannot be attributed exclusively only to men. Consideration must be given to "both the practices of women and the social interplay of femininities and masculinities" and how the constructions of identities of men and women are often interdependent (Messerchmidt, 2012, p. 15). Having said this, "women might construct differing forms of femininities-emphasized and liberated –in differing contexts as they recognize and support situational masculinities" (Talbot & Quayle, 2010, p.10). Women are also likely to value and idealize versions of masculinity that are congruent with their own ideals for female identity. Consequently, femininity and masculinity are complementary, each dependent on the other according to the identity demands of a given context.

Traditional hegemonic masculinity is characterized by dominant, controlling, strong, unemotional men who, if the theory is correct, would be complimented by a traditional emphasized feminine woman (Messerschmidt, 2012; Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Women may advocate for this type of ideal man and thereby validate gender inequality and their own subordination (Messerchmidt, 2012), in the context of non-plutonic relationships in the quest to secure a partner (Brittain, 2010, 2011; Talbot & Quayle, 2010). This is the context where strong, independent, self-sufficient women may be prepared to compromise their own identity in order to procure a mate. Previous research has shown that South African women are prepared to be subjugated at the expense of a romantic relationship and at the cost of enacting emphasized femininity (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). At the same time there are certain conditions and contexts where women will value the "equality masculinities" – "those that legitimate an egalitarian relationship between men and women, between masculinity and femininity and among men" (Messerchmidt, 2012, p.18).

# 2.6 Contexts in Which Traditional Hegemonic Versions of Masculinity are valued by Women

It has been recognised that masculinity differs according to different contexts and each masculinity offers insight into "the multifarious ways in which men 'do male" (Connell, 2010, p.1).

Previous research has shown that women value certain masculinities that support identity positions which they value for themselves (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). Since women's own identity ideals differ by context, how women construct ideal masculinity shifts contextually. For example, Talbot and Quayle (2010) showed that the ideals linked with the traditional hegemonic masculinity model (hard worker, provider, protector, not too emotional or needy) were supported by the identity context of romance. In order for men to take up the valued hegemonic masculine ideals of protector and sole provider, women would need to subjugate themselves. In doing so they would adopt the complimentary identity of being in need of protection and being looked after. In other words, valuing the masculine ideal of *provider* renders them the opposite, which is *dependent* (Vincent & McEwan, 2006).

Women "actively and passively co-produce, normalize, and even fetishize masculinities" in contexts they find desirable above other forms of masculinities (Talbot & Quayle, 2010, p. 256). In the limited research done on how women assist in the construction of versions of masculinities, the majority show that the context in which they are most likely to advocate for the traditional hegemonic masculinity is in the context of relationshipsspecifically romance. One such study done by Frosch, Phoenix and Pattman, (2002), interviewed 24 girls about how their views on boys differed according to the relationship the girls found themselves in with them. It appeared that these girls were against traditional hegemonic behaviours enacted in the classroom by "laddish boys" and praised alternative "good boy" behaviour enacted by other boys (Frosch et al, 2002). When sharing a space of learning it appeared that these girls did not approve of the enactment of hegemonic masculinity. However, when the context shifted to questions concerning what the girls would prefer in a romantic relationship, they were more attracted to the "laddish boys" who displayed the hegemonic masculinities (Frosch et al, 2002). This study supports the premise that masculinity is arranged hierarchically and the position shifts between masculinities according to the context in which the masculinity is enacted (Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

Talbot and Quayle (2010) further demonstrated this in their research, whereby five university women discussed concepts of masculinity and what they perceived as ideal in a partner and plutonic relationship, such as work or friendship. Different versions of masculinity and femininity were supported in different contexts. Women in this study wanted men in romantic and family situations to adopt traditional definitions of masculinity: dominant, in control, financially supportive and protective of their families (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). The ability of men to possess these traits was important to constitute his acceptability in a romantic context. Deviation from these traits or the incorporation of feminine traits like showing emotion, or adopting feminine roles were acceptable as long as they did not threaten masculinity or threaten the complimenting identity of the female participants (Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

A study done by Brittain (2010) aimed to further the work of Talbot and Quayle (2010) by investigating women's construction of ideal masculinities across different contexts. Brittain (2010) employed a quantitative design that investigated South African middle aged women's construction of their ideal man across three contexts of work, friendship and romantic/family. Brittain (2010) used a list of characteristics derived from the Gough adjective check list (1952), that her sample had to rate according to how "manly" they perceived the characteristic. The characteristics included traditionally masculine characteristics, as well as feminine characteristics. The results supported Talbot and Quayle (2010) where the women appeared to group the contexts according to which group of masculine and feminine characteristics they considered ideal in the contexts of romance, family, work and friendship. In the contexts of family and romance women appeared to advocate for more traditional masculinities, supporting the results of Talbot and Quayle (2010), showing that many women value a dominant, controlling man in a relationship. Friendship was the only context in which male passivity was valued and agency was undesirable, with women wanting men to possess more feminine characteristics.

One area in Brittain's (2010) results that contradicted Talbot and Quayle (2010) were findings, showing that women valued traditional hegemonic masculine characteristics in the work context rather than the alternate "nice-guy" traits. However, according to Brittain (2010), this could be explained through the variations of the two samples, one being middle aged and the other young students, which could account for the differences in the results.

Young university women could value egalitarian characteristics that do not threaten their own liberated feminine identity in the workplace (Messerschmidt, 2012).

Brittain (2011) replicated and extended her study to ascertain if there was a significant difference in construction of masculinity across middle aged women and young university students. The findings were found to be consistent with Brittain (2010) and Talbot and Quayle (2010) in that women constructed ideal forms of masculinity in the context of friendship, using non-traditional hegemonic masculine traits. However, in the context of family/romance they constructed ideal masculinity using hegemonic masculine traits, which showed how women were maintaining hegemonic masculine ideals across time and contexts. Even in a more progressive university environment, it was found in both Talbot & Quayle (2010) and Brittain (2011) that women were perpetuating the existence of hegemonic masculinity.

Further evidence that women's appraisal of different versions of masculinities is context dependent is shown by a study done by Herold and Milhausen (1999, in Murray & Milhausen, 2012). This study examined the context of long term and short term relationships. The study explored the concepts of the "nice guys" in comparison to the "bad boys" and in which context they were more acceptable. In the context of relationships, this group of women reflected on the "nice guys" and how they were good mannered, polite, shy and had limited sexual experience. These men who enacted this type of masculinity were seen as desirable for long term committed relationships like marriage (Murray & Milhausen, 2012). However, in the context of what women find attractive for short term sexual partners, the bad boy, traditionally hegemonic masculine man, is seen as more desirable. As a result, the context of the relationship determined the extent of hegemonic masculine traits advocated for. Long term relationships saw certain nice guy characteristics being condoned.

Nevertheless, the bad boy was more acceptable in the context of short term (Murray & Milhausen, 2012).

In the context of romance, the stereotypes of femininity and masculinity are central to how romance is negotiated. In the true sense of romance, supported by the "happily ever after stories", women are seen as passive, submissive and in need of saving by their partner (Vincent & McEwan, 2006, p. 41). The male is seen as strong, dominant and adventurous. In a study by Vincent & McEwan, (2006), the women sampled were strong, independent,

financially stable and driven women. However, their stories around romance centred on them emphasizing norms of femininity and hegemonic gender rules by displaying "an idealized version of [themselves according to the] feminine canons in a romantic love situation" (Vincent & McEwan, 2006, p. 41). These women were presenting their ideal selves to men, by enacting patriarchal ideals of what it means to be a woman, or emphasized femininity. To do so, they tend to hide those aspects of themselves that are incompatible with what is perceived as the ideal woman and present them as passive, dependent- conforming and helpless. At the same time, women formulate what the perfect romantic boyfriend would be, informed by dominant conceptions of masculinity of what an ideal man must be like (Vincent and McEwan, 2006).

According to Vincent and McEwan (2006) men and women and their relationships exist as a binary in which each individual completes the other. Thus the one partner's characteristics, for example if in short supply of traits such as domineering, controlling and assertive will be substituted by the partner who possesses those characteristics in the relationship. The identity of one will be determined by the identity of the other who will be passive, shy and carefree (Giddens, 1992 in, Vincent & McEwan, 2006). In the context of romance, where conventional hegemonic versions of masculinity are valued, women are therefore likely to invest in constructions of themselves as "needy, pathetic, in need of rescue, protection and looking after" (Vincent and McEwan, 2006, p. 50). Men on the other hand are caught up in the discourses of traditional hegemonic masculinity, which live up to the stereotypical masculine traits of dominance, strength and provider, which conventionally represent the manly man (Prentice & Carranza, 2002). Where they enact the traditional versions of masculinity will be determined by the context of the relationships they find themselves in with both men and women. Their hegemonic identity will depend on the identity the person at the time adopts.

Evidence of how women buy into the construction of hegemonic masculinity, especially in the context of romance, is demonstrated by their overwhelming positive response to recent literature of both *Fifty Shades of Grey trilogy* and the *Twilight saga* (Mukherjea, 2011; Schwarze, 2012; Talbot & Quayle, 2010). Here it is witnessed how women from all corners of the world, are engrossed and ensnared by these fictional characters which depict women enacting emphasized femininity that compliments the hegemonic masculinity depicted by the hero. The heroes are depicted as wealthy, socially

dominant gentlemen who embody the romantic hero/prince charming character (Mukherjea, 2011). The women in both books are shown as experiencing conflict between wanting "both the approval and security of performing femininity well and also the augmented independence and options that feminism has brought" (Mukherjea, 2011, p. 3).

The Twilight series depicts a plain, clumsy, 17 year old girl who falls for an immortal vampire. The majority of the storyline depicts Bella as the passive heroine in need of saving by the agentic hero Edward who embodies strength, protection, security and dominance and whose purpose seems to protect and save his true love. Women have a difficult time admitting they want to feel protected (Mukherjea, 2011). Edward is the perfect protector and caretaker and, through the books of *Twilight*, gives these women readers an opportunity to experience "romantic idealized love" (Mukherjea, 2011, p. 3). In this series it is shown how Bella is both feminine and feminized by the *Twilight* narrative. The appeal it has to women readers is that, like the character Bella, they are prepared to give up their feminist ideals of equality to project themselves into a fantasy whereby they feel romance calls for complete submission in order for them to experience their male as a hero (Mukherjea, 2011).

In the Trilogy that is *Fifty shade of Grey*, the story revolves around a 21 year old virgin and how she meets a an older business man, Christian Grey, who represents the hegemonic masculine ideal of being handsome, in shape, rich, powerful, controlling, dominant, competitive and aggressive (Schwarze, 2012). Throughout the storyline Anastasia compliments Christian's masculinity by enacting and following patterns of emphasized femininity (Schwarze, 2012). She engages in the ideals of emphasized femininity to serve the interests of Christian. She thus represents the submissive, domicile, vulnerable, passive heroine (parallel to *Twilights* Bella) that is a construction of the gender stereotypes of a patriarchal society (Ray, 2006). In this book the heroine character allows herself to be completely controlled and dominated by her hero as he dictates her actions; where she eats, what she wears, how much exercise she has and what job she has. She accepts complete and utter subjugation of this man in the name of love and all of this is done of her own free will. Women readers identify with Anastasia's narrative as she acts as the "perfect canvas for women to project their own preferences" (Schwarze, 2012, p. 6).

Both books have appealed to the female audience across all contexts and across the world. By 2010 the *Twilight* Saga had reportedly sold 116 million copies. In 2013 just one

year after publication the *Fifty Shades of Grey* trilogy had sold nearly 40 million copies worldwide (Schwarze, 2012). This shows that this appeal of the idealized romance of the passive heroine being rescued by the agentic hero/prince charming is something that is universal. It demonstrates that women are willing to suspend their visions of equality in the vicarious experience of romance (Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

These constructions change according to the context and women begin to compromise and construct different femininities for themselves, both liberated and emphasized, and seek to idealize complimentary masculinities (Messerchmidt, 2012). Consequently, as they begin to seek marriage and family lives, women are likely to negotiate their femininity to complement their ideals for their partners' masculinity, voluntarily subjugating their independence in that context (Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

# 2.7 The Interdependent Identity Shift between Men and Women as They Negotiate a Change in their Identity Position.

One of the reasons for women's slow advancement in the patriarchal world may be the conflicts between identities of work, motherhood, and wife (Doucet, 1995; Shepherd, 1997). History has shown that women who are successful, hardworking, rising heads in their jobs, are at a crossroads when they become wives and mothers. As a result it appears one identity conflicts with the others. Women often struggle to cope simultaneously with child rearing and the male work norm and prescribe to 'ideologies of motherhood' (Doucet, 1995, p. 274). These conflicts of identity are further challenged when valued features of the identity of mother/wife conflict with features of the identity of worker/provider (Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

Talbot and Quayle (2010) demonstrated this compromise in identities by examining the constructions created by women when men took up what would be considered the traditional identity position of a woman (stay at home parent). Women found this to violate the male masculinity as well as intrude on their own valued identities. This was seen in the construction of a stay at home dad. In a situation where it is forced upon the relationship, women will compromise on their ideals of the identity position (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). However, a male seen to be the carer, stay at home, child minder, engaging in domestic work, would encroach on the identity position of the woman (Talbot & Quayle, 2010; Vincent &

McEwan, 2006). In a relationship, when men voluntarily take on conventionally feminine roles, it potentially encroaches on valued features of women's preferred feminine identity. Thus in adopting or compromising on one's identity, it results in new roles and positions being taken up that render the ability to engage in emphasized femininity constructions difficult (Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

Women may voluntarily subjugate themselves and their identity as women to participate in ideals of romantic partnerships. Talbot and Quayle (2010) demonstrated that identities of masculinities and femininities are often mutually exclusive. The extent to which the hegemonic masculine male is valued in romance/marriage can depend on whether a woman values a liberated or emphasized feminine identity. In this case, man's hegemonic identity can shift from the traditional hegemonic traits, when this is "congruent with the chosen career and life choices of the female partner" (Talbot & Quayle, 2010, p. 265). Thus, in order to complement a career-oriented female identity, the masculine position would have to adopt masculine ideals that are less traditionally masculine in that context. A man who remains home to look after the children will complement the identity of the more liberated female who goes out to work (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). Thus a violation from the ideal masculinity in a particular context is acceptable and allowed when it complements the corresponding female identity (Messerschmidt, 2012; Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

In a romantic context women may be motivated to give up their independence, their agency and liberation in order to allow space for the hegemonic masculine ideal that needs to be constructed to fuel the ideals of romance (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). For example, in the context of romance, women may expect the man to initiate the romantic engagement and to pay the bill, making the male agentic and the woman a passive receiver (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). In other words, in romance and many other identity contexts, there is a mutually exclusive complimentary relationship between masculine and feminine identity positions where a one version of femininity compliments a certain version of masculinity (Messerchmidt, 2012).

Traditionally, gender roles and traits are prescriptive and violations of these prescriptions are often punished by others (Cialdini & Trost, 1998 in Rudman & Glick, 1999). There may be penalties for women who fail to enact "emphasized femininity," and this places pressure on women to value and express traits that may promote their own

subordination (Messerschmidt, 2012). Traits stereotypically associated with femininity, such as concern for others, submissiveness, emotionally expressive and cooperative are traits of "deference and subordination" (Rudman & Glick, 1999, p. 1005). Although through time women's roles have changed, society still generally expects women to enact supportive roles to men (Lusher & Robins, 2011; Peplau et al, 1993).

Social and economic forces "have led women into the paid workforce, where agentic traits are viewed as necessary, even for relatively feminine jobs" (Rudman & Glick, 1999, p. 1005). Generally women are encouraged to be agentic to survive in the male work worldhowever on condition they balance this out with feminine traits (Peplau et al, 1993). This has been difficult for women because "high status jobs require stereotypically traditionally masculine competence in order to be successful in procuring and securing that occupation" (Rudman & Glick, 1999, p. 1006). In this context it is observed how women have had to shift their identity and go against society prescriptions of norms for gender stereotypes (Lindsey, 2005). In doing so, they resist the subjugation and subordination that comes with enacting emphasized femininity and adopts more liberated femininity (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). Consequently, women who endeavour to become managers, executives or lawyers adopt masculine traits and behaviours typical of these careers as it is seen as the only way to do well and succeed in a still masculine world (Powell & Butterfield, 1979). These jobs remain stereotyped as masculine in trait requirements. So if women remain with their emphasized femininity they fall prone to discrimination based on prescribed gender norms, are less likely to be hired and they can experience the glass ceiling effect in the workplace (Rudman & Glick, 1999).

Talbot and Quayle (2010) showed that in the work context women expected to be treated in an egalitarian manner, thus enacting a liberated femininity which support the situational masculinity in the workplace. Passivity was valued in men in the workplace, while agency was undesirable. However, in the study done by Brittain (2010) the women valued more hegemonic masculine characteristics in work colleagues, thus preserving hegemonic masculinity in the context of work as well as romance.

In looking at the difference between participants, Talbot and Quayle (2010) had five university women pursuing degrees in an environment where women go head to head with men with equal opportunity to do well. In fact, research shows that more women than men

graduate from university world-wide (Lewin, 2006). However, women find it harder to procure a job in their chosen field than men.. Consequently, in the university environment these women may have egalitarian ideals when it comes to how they construct their own femininity and the masculinity of a potential work colleague. In an article published by the New York Times it was found that more women enrol in university and pursue equal opportunities in fields dominated by men (Lewin, 2006). In this context women construct themselves as equal to their male counterparts and, as a result, are more likely to advocate for more egalitarian characteristics (Lewin, 2006). The world of competition in tertiary education is open to all sexes. When women enter the working world, a context traditionally dominated by patriarchy, egalitarian ideals change because women are now in a context that is (Lewin, 2006). Thus, in this context, the enactment of traditional hegemonic masculinity has been emphasized in order to continue to control and subordinate women (Rudman & Glick, 1999).

In Brittain (2010) the women were middle aged and had work experience over many years. They constructed masculinity in the work place in a traditional hegemonic masculine way, choosing traditional masculine characteristics that they viewed to be ideal in a work colleague. These women grew up in a time where patriarchy maintained the uneven distribution of power, where a woman's career would often be pursued in the traditional posts of nursing or teaching (Rudman & Glick, 1999). As a result these women construct hegemonic masculinity in males in the context of work because in this context to enact characteristics that go against this ideal could create discrimination (Rudman & Glick, 1999). These results were repeated in the Brittain (2011) sample of university women who also constructed hegemonic masculinity in the context of work. Research shows that high status jobs and managerial positions are viewed as stereotypically appointed to those who enact traditional masculine personality traits (Rudman & Glick, 1999). As a result, sex discrimination in hiring, as well as promotion opportunities, have been limited for women because they are viewed as lacking the traits associated with the job (Rudman & Glick, 1999).

Irvine and Vermilya (2010 in Messerschmidt, 2012) showed how women in the setting of work profession will often be the ones who "sustain, justify and preserve hegemonic masculinity" (Messerschmidt & Connell, 2005, p. 10). For example, women in a scientific career rejected the emphasized femininity embraced hegemonic masculine characteristics 'emphasizing science rather than nurturance, insensitivity in place of

compassion and control instead of emotionality" (Messerchmidt, 2012 p. 10). Women demonstrated the continued perpetuation of hegemonic masculinity by adopting it themselves. In these contexts they desire more egalitarian positions, but in doing so create a liberated femininity that resemble much of the hegemonic masculinity, that in the past, patriarchy used to subjugate and subordinate them (Messerschmidt, 2012). What might be occurring is, that to overcome this aspect of discrimination that is endorsed by patriarchal ideals, women may be adopting more liberated femininities to incorporate hegemonic masculinity identity positions to attempt to get ahead and survive in this context alongside men.

It has been demonstrated that women's gender roles and identities are enacted in relation to valued identity positions for males (Vincent & McEwan, 2006). This has been shown throughout society; man, woman; husband, wife; mother, father. All of these binaries allocate certain identity features to the male and other complementary features to the female (Vincent & McEwan, 2006). In some contexts, these binaries live up to traditional male and female stereotypes, such as in the context of romance where men are the providers and women are the passive carers (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). However, in other contexts, the identity requirements for women and men may be more egalitarian, such as in the context of friendship (Talbot & Quayle, 2010) where both men and women possess equal amounts of masculine and feminine traits and they complement each other in that context.

It appears that when in the context of romance/marriage, women will enact a feminine identity that supports the hegemonic masculinity they want enacted in their ideal partner (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). However, in the context of work/friendship, the enactment of femininity by the male or masculinity by the female does not violate either identity position and so is acceptable in that context. The limited research that has been conducted shows a variation in women's construction of masculinity in different contexts. It does highlight that men do not simply enact hegemonic masculinity and it is not something that it is innate (Connell, 2010). It is subject to the relationship the man finds himself in and how other men and women value different types of displays of masculinity in certain contexts. It has been established that women do play a role in constructing different masculinities and maintaining hegemonic masculinity in society and thereby contribute to the maintenance of their own subordination and subjugation in certain contexts. However, (as established by Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Messerschmidt, 2012) more research is needed in this area to establish

the extent of the part women play in these constructions and maintenance of hegemonic masculinity in various contexts.

# 2.8 Could the Patriarchal Status of the Society in Which Women Originate Play a Part in the Way Women Construct and Maintain Hegemonic Masculine Ideals?

The subordination of women to men is a universal action and is existent across the world (Ray, 2006). One of the key components to the definition of hegemonic masculinity includes a plan for the subordination of women (Donaldson, 1993). Therefore, why women would continue to perpetuate and construct hegemonic masculine ideals in any man needs to be explored.

To understand the reason for the subordination of women one needs to examine the contexts in which it has occurred. Gender is socially constructed and with it the socially prescribed roles, traits and characteristics of men and women have been defined (Ray, 2006). The concepts of masculinity and femininity and the gender roles are not fixed but changes across time, place and within different contexts (Courtney, 2000, in Brown, Sorrell and Raffaelli, 2005). There exists a lack of consistency in the literature about the "beliefs, ideals and role prescriptions" that are attached to the different genders (Brittain, 2010, p.5). The main argument is that gender differences and the stereotypes of what it means to be masculine and feminine is man-made and have thus been "legitimized in a patriarchal society" (Ray, 2006, p. 1). As stipulated earlier in the literature, the construction of hegemonic masculinity supports the preservation of a patriarchal society and in turn the higher standing of men over women (Marciano, 1986). Thus, while patriarchal dominance has shifted, the extent of that shift would influence women's changing feminine roles and identity. As a result, this would possibly influence the way they construct their gender identity and the identity of their male counterpart (Ray, 2006).

The nature of patriarchy, its control and subjugation of women, like all things differ according to the practices of certain societies such as "class, region, religion, ethnicity and the socio-cultural practices" (Ray, 2006, p. 1). Thus, when looking at the current societies that prevail, the subordination of women in the developed world is different to the subordination of women in the developing world (Ray, 2006). This subordination manifests

itself in the form of the unequal treatment between genders, whereby women lack the basic rights to food, health care, employment, political involvement and productive resources and decision making (Ray, 2006).

The discrimination and hierarchies that exist between the genders and the inequalities it creates have changed in varying degrees over time and across the world (Ray, 2006). These inequalities have been recognised and as a result first and second wave feminism emerged and attempts have been made to right the discrimination these inequalities have created (Ferrant, 2010; Ray, 2006). This occurred in movements by both men and women who took actions against patriarchal control and tried to transform the way society viewed the position of women in the world (Ray, 2006). This change in equality differences between genders across the world could be linked to the change in dominance of patriarchy within these societies (Ray, 2006).

The degrees in inequalities are different according to the developmental status of the country (Ferrant, 2010). Ferrant (2010), classifies the countries into four clusters: 1)

Patriarchal, 2.) Traditional, 3) Low inequality, except in a political dimension, 4) Low inequality, except in the employment dimension. The natures of the inequalities are different. However, the common factor is that at all levels of development; inequality is experienced differently and has different ramifications for women's identity and empowerment. Ferrant (2010), generalizes that in developing countries, inequalities are higher and are characterised by women having a restricted social role (Ferrant, 2010). In this society the political and social rules are set by men and discriminate against women. This type of society is considered patriarchal as women are denied equal rights to identity and political power (Ferrant, 2010). Ferrant classifies these women in South Asia countries and the Middle East (Ferrant, 2010).

The next cluster is categorized as "traditional" whereby women have no economic role to play. This society constrains women's empowerment by making them dependent on men, the community and family (Ferrant, 2010). They do not have access to education, economic resources or physical integrity. The countries that experience this inequality are clustered in the region of Sub Saharan Africa (Ferrant, 2010).

In the next type of cluster women experience a different type of inequality compared to the two just discussed. This next cluster made up of the former USSR and other communist states is characterized by low inequalities but still experience inequalities in the political realm still dominated by men (Ferrant, 2010). Their rights in education and social dimensions have only begun to be acknowledged (Ferrant, 2010). Though they are labelled as low inequality, the type of inequality that is experienced in politics could be seen as more detrimental to their empowerment and identity as women. They have little or no say over policies and other laws and as a result could be considered less likely to change (Ferrant, 2010; Ray, 2006). Despite some countries having more equal opportunities, inequality continues to exist in the employment dimension. Regardless of women having access to the job market" professional segmentation of the basis of gender and wage inequality continue to persist" (Ferrant, 2010, p. 18). The countries of the Caribbean and Latin America experience this type of inequality. However, again as they experience employment inequity, this impacts on their ability to be empowered and influences their identity, in this case as working women.

What the above literature highlights in brief is that gender inequalities exist in different forms in developed and developing countries (Ferrant, 2010). The common denominator that it highlights is that there exists inequalities on multiple dimensions, these impact on the women's identity and power to negotiate in areas of family, health, education, politics and economic sectors (Ferrant, 2010). These inequalities and discriminations sustain the status quo of gender differences and thus maintain women's subordination by men (Ray, 2006). In turn the gender norms characterized by a patriarchal society dictate the gender stereotypes of masculinity and femininity and determine the extent to which these two constructs can be negotiated, according to the level of patriarchy that exists in that society (Ferrant, 2010; Ray, 2006).

The differences between the developed and developing world is that, in the developing world, inequalities are characterized by concerns in lack of equality in "family, identity, health [and] access to economic resources" while in the developed world's concerns are around achieving equality in "politics, family, employment and income" (Ferrant, 2010, p.23).

Returning to the past research done by Talbot & Quayle (2010) and Brittain (2010, 2011), the limitation identified and the motivation for this study was the lack of

generalizability of the results. All three studies sampled women from the South African population who were predominantly middle class had access to education, some work experience and were at stages of their lives whereby they were negotiating aspects of career and relationships (Brittain, 2010, 2011; Talbot & Quayle, 2010). One thing that is uncertain, is if the factor of these women originating from a society labelled as "traditional" would indeed have impacted on the way they constructed the ideal masculinity (Ferrant, 2010). As a way of addressing this, further exploration would be needed to determine if the level of patriarchy in such societies like South Africa and across the world would impact on the equality women experience. In turn would these different levels of patriarchy and traditionalism be a determining factor as to why women continue to construct and advocate for hegemonic masculine ideals in different contexts of their lives (Ferrant, 2010; Ray, 2006).

# **Chapter 4: Method**

#### 4.1 Rationale

The rationale behind this study is that, inasmuch as the construction of masculinity has been studied, these studies have focussed on how men enact masculinity and how they have unintentionally excluded women as possible agents in its construction (Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

Furthermore the contexts in which the constructions of masculinity have taken place have been in relation to other men such as schools, sports fields or masculinity amongst child care workers (e.g., Sumison, 1999 in Talbot & Quayle, 2010). In addition, to further emphasize how men have monopolized the focus of these studies, the resources have been drawn from archival data that have been dominated by men and samples from populations sourced mainly from pools of men.

This study was important to conduct to show how women are not just quiet consumers or observers of masculinity. They in fact play an active influential role in the production of different masculinities according to which hegemonic masculinity is valued in a specific context according to their own emphasized femininity (Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

The studies that have explored women's constructions of masculinity have focussed on samples of middle aged women and university students in South Africa. It is likely that women's constructions of masculinity differ across boarders and between different countries across the world. What can be seen to be valued in a man in one area may not necessarily be valued in a different area. Factors such as the location and the development status of countries, affect women's constructions of ideal masculinity across domains. It is expected that gender equality will differ by the level of development for the different countries (Ferrant, 2010). For developed countries where majority have access to health and employment, education as well as equal political representation would mean a greater ability to negotiate the constructions of masculinity (Ray, 2006). Whereas developing countries would see women lacking these equal opportunities and have little or no access to equality in the different prospects. Consequently, where basic needs are not being met, women would

have little or no ability to negotiate or construct differing forms of masculinity in countries that are still patriarchal in nature.

#### **4.2.** Aims

This study seeks to explore women's constructions of ideal masculinities in different domains of their lives, namely; family, romance, friendship and work relationships. It thus seeks to further the research conducted by Talbot & Quayle (2010) and Brittain (2010, 2011). Consequently this study aims to generate more generalizable results by making use of a larger sample, as well as sampling across different countries across the world.

The basic aim of this study was to identify if women construct masculinity differently across the different countries. The study aimed to find out whether these women constructed masculinity in the same manner as the previous studies. That is that they construct 'nice guy' masculinities in the context of work and friendship and advocate for traditional masculinity in romance and family contexts. Secondly it aimed to determine if women construct masculinity across the four domains differently according to the low, medium and high equality status of their country.

The research questions investigated were:

- 1. Will women construct different versions of their ideal masculinities across the different domains of their lives?
- Will this sample of women construct masculinity differently compared to the previous studies or will they continue to construct nice guy masculinities in context of work and friendship and traditional hegemonic masculinities in the context of romance and family.
- 3. Will the women's constructions of masculinity be influenced according to the equality status of the country they reside in?

### 4.3 Research Design

The aim of this research was to contribute to masculinity studies by examining how women may contribute to the constructions of masculinity in various contexts. The international sample allowed the examination of women's perceptions across different countries in the world. The location of this study involved a wide area of interest extending from Australia, Europe and the Americas. This extends previous studies conducted by Talbot and Quayle (2010), as well as Brittain (2010, 2011) which exclusively sampled South African university students and middle aged women. As a result of the small sample, one limitation emphasized by the researchers was the results could not be generalized across women because of the specific nature of the population of women under investigation.

This study employed a non-experimental design which was descriptive in nature. The method of this research was modeled on a previous study done by Brittain (2010, 2011). Like Brittain's studies, it aimed to compare women's constructions of masculinity across the domains of romance, family man, work and friendship but additionally to explore these patterns within a diverse international sample.

This allowed an investigation as to whether the construction of masculinity between women remains consistent in countries across the world. The study employed a within subjects design whereby two sets of data were obtained from the same sample of women incorporating a two part questionnaire. This ensures that the women who determine the mean manliness score for each of the 35 characteristics will rate similarly when it comes to the characteristics they choose for the four domains. This design avoids having to incorporate a whole new set of participants whose individual differences may act as a confounding variable in the research (Lindegger, 2006). The same 159 women sampled to take part in the survey were also used to rate their 10 characteristics in the ideal man across four contexts of their lives "family man, friendship, romance and work colleague".

### 4.4 Sampling

This study's sample aimed to investigate if the results discovered in Britain (2010, 2011; Talbot and Quayle, 2010) could be replicated and generalized to a larger sample of women, of varying ages and race as well as from different origins in the world. The sample of

this study consisted of women of various ages ranging from 20-65 who came from various demographic backgrounds. The purpose of having such a diverse population of women in this study was to explore whether the results from previous studies held for a diverse international sample of women. In total 159 participants from 16 different countries were sampled successfully.

#### 4.4.1 Recruitment

This study used a number of sampling techniques. Non-random sampling techniques were "employed to test processes that are considered to be universal", in this case women's constructions of masculinity (Durrheim & Painter, 2006, p 139). Firstly, purposive sampling was used, accessing only women and those that were from different countries around the world. In addition, snowball sampling was used to access a sample through contacts and references, whereby acquaintances overseas were first contacted then they in turn contacted acquaintances they knew overseas whom they thought would be willing to participate (Durrheim & Painter, 2006).

#### Social Network sites as tools for sampling populations of interest

Due to the nature of this study, to recruit women from different countries across the world, the internet was employed to access the population of interest. More specifically the social network Facebook was used to contact people. Social network sites (SNSs) are increasingly attracting the attention of academic and industry researchers intrigued by their affordances and reach (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). Since their creation, social network sites (SNSs) such as Bebo, Cyworld, Myspace and Facebook have attracted a vast array of users many of whom use these sites as part of their daily routine. These social Network sites support a wide range of interests and practices between their users (Boyd & Ellison, 2007). While the technological aspects of the sites remain fairly consistent, the cultures and groups that emerge around the SNSs are varied. Social Networks are unique in the fact that they allow people to make themselves visible and the social network of people, groups and causes they are connected with. This results in connections being made between people that would not otherwise interact in normal circumstances.

Social networks like Facebook provide rich sources of naturalistic behavioral data. One distinct feature of SNSs is the public display of individual personal profiles as well as their connections. Each profile contains a friends list, which provides access to profiles via other links. The Social Networks also provide a method of leaving messages on "friends" profiles. This feature involves leaving comments or an additional feature of private messaging similar to that of webmail (Boyd & Ellison, 2007).

Using this principle of social networking, two methods of sampling were used accessing the resources of the social network Facebook. Snowball sampling was used initially which is the "process of gradually accumulating a sufficiently large sample through contacts and references" (Durrheim & Painter, 2006, p. 139). Initially, the researcher's own profile and friend list was employed to recruit participants from other countries. In turn they were asked to access their own social network of friends to participate. Research into the social networks showed that in 2011 Facebook had a total of 721 million users. Between these people 69 billion friendship links were created. The way social networks have reduced the size of the world by connecting its occupants has made these connections that were less likely in the past more plausible today. In fact the populations of the world are thought to be connected to one another by only 4.74 degrees of separation (Backstrom, Boldi, Rosa, Ugander & Vigna, 2012). This made the likelihood of everyone on Facebook being connected with everyone else possible only through four separate contacts (Backstrom et al, 2012). Thus by using the method of snowball sampling through the researchers own contacts it is likely the participants all contacted are in some way linked to the researcher through the 4.74 degrees of friendship separation.

Facebook provides a wide array of applications and discussion forums that cater to a variety of views and opinions. Accessing these sources allowed the second method of sampling to occur. When recruiting participants we were aware that in using the applications certain groups of women may be biased in certain directions. Consequently, the sample was sourced from diverse interest groups. One which used the application to construct masculinity by way of rating on appearance, with another group using a discussion forum allowing women to share different opinions on what was considered masculine and attractive in men. This made use of purposive sampling which makes use of people available and willing to participate, and that match the criteria needed for the study, in this case women from foreign countries (Durrheim & Painter, 2006).

The first application used in this case was one called *Hot*, *Cute*, *or Okay*. The basic principle of this application site enables men and women to view the opposite sex and rate them according to pictures they post publicly. The person is rated as hot, cute or okay. This site draws on the instant message principle of most social network sites and provides both men and women the opportunity to contact those people they are attracted to, and make a connection that they would not otherwise be able to due to distance and other barriers. Given the nature of the site, and how women rated men according to a certain criteria they were contacted to participate. They were randomly sent a message (see appendix 1) on the site and told about the study and asked to reply if they were interested. Those who did express interest were emailed the consent form and then the questionnaire and asked to return it.

The second application accessed on Facebook dealt with topics that addressed women's perceptions of men, relationships and perceptions of men in their lives. Groups such as this one focused on the incorporation of people into blogs and discussions based on topics that they have in common or find interesting. One such site used was called *Strong*, *Independent Women*. This contained women from various backgrounds who would blog about men on this site, pertaining to relationships, ideal men, independence and dating. The rational for using this site was the premise of this study that independent strong women who advocate for equality amongst men will in fact still choose characteristics of traditional hegemonic masculinity in certain contexts. Women were contacted on the site and the study was explained to them and if they were interested were asked to contact the researcher with their email address and a consent form and questionnaire was sent to them.

Table 1.

Number of participants recruited per sampling method.

Strategy of Recruitment	Number of women
Snowball sampling, access via Facebook list	112
and email.	
Hot, Cute or Okay	30
Strong Independent women	17

### 4.5 Data Collection

# 4.5.1 Research Instrument: Questionnaire

Quantitative methods were employed for data collection, namely a questionnaire-based survey (see appendix 3 and 4). To ensure comparability, the same questionnaire from Brittain (2010, 2011) was used for this study. It consisted of a list of 35 traits which were adapted from the Gough Adjective check list (1952) and from traits identified as norms of masculinities from Talbot and Quayle (2010), Prentice and Carranza (2002) and Mckee and Sherriffs (1957).

In the original study by Brittain (2010), three questionnaires were used that pertained to three domains; family/marriage, friendship and work colleague. Brittain (2010) had decided that the contexts of romance/family/marriage were similar enough that they could be combined to reduce the load on participants. However, in the present study these were split to explore whether ideal masculinity is constructed differently across these contexts. Talbot and Quayle (2010) had originally explored women's constructions of masculinity in the four categories of family man, friendship, work colleague and romance. It was found that women constructed masculinity in the family and romance domain as traditional hegemonic masculine, while constructing masculinity in work and friendship in "nice guy" terms. Therefore the present study asked participants to define their ideal masculinity for the family man and for romantic partner separately to determine if there is a difference between the constructions of masculinity between the two domains. It was expected that women will choose more traditional hegemonic masculine traits for a man in the context of romance compared to the family man. It was believed that women would construct masculinity in the family man context with more non-traditional characteristics compared to hegemonic masculine traits. Consequently, the two categories were created to see if there would be a difference in manly characteristics chosen by women for the two different domains or if they would harvest similar results as they showed in Talbot and Quayle (2010).

The final questionnaire consisted of two parts: The first section sought to ask participants to rate the "manliness" of each of the 35 characteristics. Thus the participants

were asked to rate all 35 characteristics as manly or unmanly in terms of a 10 point scale. 1 being least "manly" and 10 being most "manly" (see appendix 4).

The second section consisted of four identical questionnaires (see appendix 3) which asked participants to choose the ten characteristics out of the 35 that best represented their ideal man in for each of the four different domains, namely: friendship, family man, work colleague and romantic partner. After choosing ten characteristics they were asked to rank those 10 characteristics that they valued the most from 1-10, 1 being the most valued and 10 being the least valued.

#### 4.5.2 Procedure for data collection

Once contact was made, the participant was sent an email containing relevant information and the consent form. Given that not everyone has the ability to scan a document, the participants were asked to type in their names and send them back to an email address set up specifically for the research project (cjresearch2011@gmail.com). Once the consent form was received it was saved in a folder and the questionnaire was sent to the participant. Upon completion of the questionnaire they were asked to send it back and this was filed away under a separate folder to ensure the names could not be linked to the questionnaires once data analysis began.

There were a few instances where participants did not understand the instructions of the questionnaire and further explanation was needed to ensure they answered in the correct manner. Correspondence was necessary via email to convey instructions in more detail.

The questionnaires asked the participants to enter details such as their age, country of stay and duration of residence and race. Woman who had been living in the country of question for five years or more were deemed eligible to represent that country for the study. This is because the naturalization of people into a country as citizens takes on average 5 years (Henley & Partners, 2013). Confidentiality was ensured by separating the questionnaires from the consent forms so there would be no possible way of linking the names with the questionnaire answers.

# 4.6 Validity and Reliability

This study was a replication of the 2010 and 2011 studies done by Britain (Brittain, 2010, 2011). Consequently the same limitations were found to apply to this study as it did to the previous ones. This involved the fact that nominal data was generated, consequently unlike interval data, it was not possible to measure the reliability of the scale using Cronbach's alpha (Brittain, 2010). In the studies done by Brittain (2010, 2011), she suggested using test retest reliability in future studies. However, this study experienced the same limitations of finding participants that would be willing to fill in the same questionnaire twice. According to van der Riet & Durrheim (2006), if a study is replicated and achieves similar results repeatedly, then the results and study can be considered reliable. Brittain, (2011) replicated her first study and achieved the same results; consequently this could be an indication that the study is reliable.

#### 4.7 Ethical issues

Research conducted over the internet is both convenient and yet fraught with ethical dilemmas that are otherwise not considered under normal research conditions. Topics such as privacy, confidentiality, recruitment, and informed consent become complicated when research is conducted online (Wærn, 2001). Ethical principles of autonomy, non-maleficence, beneficence and justice will be discussed along with the issues highlighted above.

#### 4.7.1. Recruitment

Generally when research is conducted the identity of the participant is not questioned because voice to voice or face to face contact is the natural method of data collection. However, research conducted over the internet naturally means the identity of the participant is not known and details such as age and gender cannot be confirmed (Wærn, 2001). In certain situations it is necessary to limit the range of participants taking part, mainly the vulnerable and under aged participants so as not to do any harm to those participants with limited competency or capacity to participate (Wassenaar, 2006). Thus, in this situation creating a way of authenticating the participants was an ethical issue in this study. However, given the study posed no risk to the subjects, nor did it pose questions of a sensitive nature there was no need to use adult monitoring software in this regard (British Psychological Society, 2007). In this case, given the minimal risk of the study, participants were simply

asked to confirm their age by filling the appropriate section of the questionnaire with their age. In addition the sampling method of both snowball sampling as well purposive sampling stipulated when recruiting that the research required females over 18 and from different countries across the world. In addition women contacted from the *Hot Cute and Okay* and *Independent Women* groups were selected based on their profile picture which often presented women over 18 by both appearance and age already stated on the profile. In this regard the method of recruitment ensured the principle of non-maleficence whereby no harm was experienced by participants in the study as an indirect or direct result of the research (Wassenaar, 2006).

#### 4.7.2. Informed consent

This research aimed to adhere to the terms and conditions outlined by Facebook regarding the principles surrounding the collection of data from their members:

If you collect information from users, you will: obtain their consent, make it clear you (and not Facebook) are the one collecting their information, and post a privacy policy explaining what information you collect and how you will use it. (Facebook, n.d).

The nature of informed consent requires the participants to be informed of the process they will engage in, including any risks the study may incorporate so that the participant can make an informed decision about whether they would like to participate (British Psychological Society, 2007; Wassenaar, 2006). However, people often enter onto sites and engage in certain tasks without having read terms and conditions or information pertaining to the content they are agreeing to engage in. Consequently, consent – but not informed consent – is provided (Committee for the Protection of Human Services, 2012). A point made by the committee for protection of human subjects in California is that in the Research that employs emails, it is possible to waiver the traditional methods of consent. That is, a consent form can be provided and a condition can be stated whereby consent would be taken as given when the participant returns the questionnaire/survey as completed. Thus should they not return it, they thus do not consent to partake (Committee for the Protection of Human Services, 2012). In addition, the option of withdrawing from the study at any given time was provided, consequently, if a participant was uncomfortable with their answers being used they were free

to contact the researcher and request their questionnaire be withdrawn from the study. In this regard this ensured the principles of autonomy giving the participant the ability to withdraw at any time (Wassenaar, 2006). In addition, they were informed about the nature of the study and the intentions of the researcher thus ensuring there were no hidden risks as well as no deception used ensuring non-maleficence (Wassenaar, 2006).

## 4.7.3. Confidentiality.

The nature of the research conducted online limits the nature of confidentiality in this scenario. When people enter into social networking sites it makes a certain degree of their lives accessible to the public. When people agree to create an account with Facebook they agree to terms and conditions of their own privacy. Thus in this situation a researchers ability to access the profile of a participant is already determined by that person's own decision to grant access to certain individuals based on the privacy settings of Facebook. Thus allowing the person to agree that either; 1. Friends of friends can access their information, 2. Only friends can access information or: 3. everyone (on the Facebook network) can access that information. In addition when entering onto sites/applications such as *Hot Cute and Okay* they grant that application permission to access relevant details. However given these conditions, often people enter into Facebook unaware of the extent to which the content they post is exposed to public scrutiny. Thus during this research, measures were put in place to try and ensure confidentiality was safeguarded thus preserving the ethical principles of autonomy and respect for the dignity of the participant (Wassenaar, 2006).

The participants were contacted on the applications of *Hot*, *Cute and Okay* and *Independent Women* by means of messaging. The details of the study were given to the women and they were asked to respond if they would or would not like to be involved in the study. If not they were thanked for their time. If they expressed interest in the study the researcher would request an email address to which they could first send the informed consent form. Once the informed consent was returned the questionnaire was sent through. In order to protect the anonymity of the participant the consent form containing the name of the participant was stored in a password protected file separate from the filled out questionnaire (ensuring the answers of the individual could not be traced back to the name). In addition the name of the participant was not requested in the questionnaire thus protecting confidentiality.

#### 4.7.4 Beneficence

Although there are no substantial long term benefits for the women participants, the benefit that existed was the knowledge of the topic it provided to the participants (Wassenaar, 2006). An option was given to each participant during recruitment that should they wish to know more about the study they could contact the researcher and all participants were asked if they would like to know the nature of the results of the study once complete. The majority did request to be informed and once the project is complete the participants will be given an account of the results briefly with an explanation. In addition the study may provide personal benefit to the participants because it may provide them with the insight into their own constructions of masculinity as well as their own identity as a woman and why they construct masculinity the way they do.

#### **4.7.5.** Justice

The principle of justice ensures that the participants receive what is due to them and the researcher is not the only one who stands to benefit from the research (Wassenaar, 2006). In this scenario there is the likelihood that the research may become published and is also for the purpose of receiving a degree thus benefitting the researcher. However, while no direct outcome is likely to be had from this research for the participants who partook in it, with its publication it may go on to highlight some of factors that influence how women construct their own identity and that of their male counterpart. Thus, adding to the argument that women are not passive recipients of masculinity but are highly influential in the construction of it and possible maintenance of the type of masculinity that continues their own subordination.

### 4.8 Data Analysis

### 4.8.1 Organizing the data.

Upon receiving the questionnaires from the participants, the data was organized into two separate excel documents reflecting the two separate components of the questionnaire. In addition, those responses that did not have the correct number of characteristics scored or were missed out were sent back to the participants with further instructions. If the second

copy came back with errors these copies were left out of the final data sample. There were eight of these questionnaires with various errors.

### 4.8.1.1 Calculating mean manliness ratings for each characteristic.

The data for section one (the manliness ratings) for each of the 35 characteristics was entered and processed in Excel. This allowed the calculation of the mean manliness rating for each characteristic chosen by the 159 women.

# 4.8.1.2 Using calculated manliness ratings for each characteristic to calculate manliness scores for each domain

In the second spreadsheet the 10 characteristics selected by each participant as ideal in each domain were entered, along with the mean manliness rating for each characteristic obtained from the survey. These results were then averaged to determine each participant's manly score for each domain.

For the purpose of demonstrating the data input three characteristics will be used rather than the 10 that occurred in the study.

Table 2

Example of the excel document input of data for mean manliness of each domain

	Domain	Masculine	friendly	affectionate	Self	driven	handsome	Total	
					reliant				
1	Family	0	6.56	6.59	0	0	8.33	20.48	6.8
1	Friend	0	6.56	6.59	0	0	8.33	20.48	6.8
1	Work	9.26	6.56	0	6.8	0	0	22.62	7.54
1	Romance	9.26	0	0	0	8.09	8.33	25.68	8.56

The mean manliness score obtained from the survey are inputted according to each characteristic that each woman chooses for the domain of their ideal man. The total of the three characteristics are added and then averaged to produce the mean manliness score for participant per domain. In the case of the excel document a formula was created to calculate the total and mean of each domain and participant. Each participant will have four separate scores each because of the four domains that exist.

The data was transferred to SPSS and ANOVA was conducted to determine the manliness rating for each domain and determine which domain constructed their ideal man as more manly compared to the other three. ANOVA was used specifically for this purpose to detect a significant effect in a design which has more than two groups (Durrheim & Painter, 2006).

# 4.8.1.3 Grouping countries by gender inequality.

The additional independent variable that was investigated was the countries that the women came from. The women came from 16 different countries all across the world. Because of the convenience and snowball sampling techniques, equal numbers were not obtained for each country and therefore could not be directly compared since many countries had small numbers of respondents. Consequently, to allow international comparisons, the countries were first grouped according to the UNDP (United Nations Development Programme) gender equality index (UNDP, 2012). This ranks the countries according to their gender equality index across key domains of functioning in the economic world. The Gender Inequality Index (GII) is a form of measurement which outlines women's disadvantage in three dimensions—reproductive health, empowerment and the labour market (UNDP, 2012). The index shows the loss in human development due to inequality between female and male achievements in these dimensions. It ranges from 0, which indicates full equality, to 1, which indicates that women fare as poorly as possible in all measured dimensions (UNDP, 2012). The health dimension is measured by two indicators: maternal mortality ratio and the adolescent fertility rate. The empowerment dimension is also measured by two indicators: the share of parliamentary seats held by each sex and by secondary and higher education attainment levels (UNDP, 2012). The labour dimension is measured by women's participation in the work force. The Gender Inequality Index is designed to reveal the extent to which national achievements in these aspects of human development are eroded by gender inequality (Ferrant, 2010).

Sweden, Finland, Norway, Australia, Canada, New Zealand, Ireland and the UK were classified as higher ranked countries in the equality index and were classified as 1 (high equality) in the data analysis. China, Latvia and USA were classified as middle ranked countries and classified 2 (medium equality), with Ukraine, Russia, Philippines, Jamaica,

South Africa, and Bermuda classified as 3 (Low equality). This ranking system allowed the countries to be collapsed into three categories in which each country's gender equality norms within each category are roughly comparable.

Table 3.

Description of country rank and number sampled

Country	Rank	Pop	Races	Age	Total	<b>Equality status</b>
	2011			Range		
Sweden	1	10	9 White	22-37		
			1 Black			
Finland	5	5	5 White	20-44		
Norway	6	7	7 White	21-60	60	Hab Fanalita
Australia	18	8	8 White	31-50	69	High Equality
Canada	20	10	8 White	24-44		
			1 Coloured			
			1 Indian			
New Zealand	32	1	1 White	22		
Ireland	33	6	6 White	23-38		
United Kingdom	34	22	15 White	21-65	-	
(England Scotland)			2 Asian			
			3 Black			
			2 Coloured			
China	35	1	1 Coloured	26		
Latvia	36	3	3 White	22-30	50	Medium
USA	47	46	30 White	20-54		Equality
			4 Coloured			
			4 Black			
			6 Asian			
			2 Indian			

Ukraine	57	8	8 White	26-40		
Russian Federation	59	11	10 White 1 Coloured	23-44	40	Low Equality
Philippines	75	1	1 Asian	29		
Jamaica	81	13	2 White 8 Black 2 Indian 1 Coloured	25-60		
South Africa	94	7	3 White 1 Black 2 Coloured 1 Asian	21-40		

### 4.8.2 Analyzing data

Once all the information was entered into SPSS the data was analyzed using two statistical procedures ANOVA and discriminant function analysis. The ANOVA will be used to determine if there is a significant difference in mean manliness scores between the different groups of domains. The Discriminant function analysis is used to determine which characteristics discriminate the best between the different domains in terms of manliness.

### 4.8.2.1 Statistical procedures

# Step 1

The data was organized into a two part questionnaire. The first part of the questionnaire was used to allow participants to rate the 35 characteristics according to how manly they believed them to be. The sample of ratings of the 159 women was collected and the mean calculated for each of the 35 characteristics. This average was used to calculate the mean manliness viewed by each woman in each domain according to the 10 characteristics that they chose in each section of the questionnaire. An ANOVA was conducted in order to determine if there was a significant difference between the "manliness" rating of the

participants across the four domains of family man, friendship, work colleague and romantic partner.

#### Step 2

The second process that was conducted is that of discriminant function analysis, which was performed on the data created from the questionnaires, in order to identify those characteristics which were most distinctive of women's constructions of manliness in each domain of friendship, family man, work colleague and romantic partner. This technique can be used to investigate differences between groups on the basis of the attributes of the cases, thus distinguishing the attributes that contribute to the most group separation (Pawell & Hill, 2005). In this case the technique is used to identify a linear combination of attributes which is known as the "canonical discriminant functions" which identify those attributes that contribute to the most group separation (Pawell & Hill, 2005). This identifies the characteristics most commonly used to describe each domain by participants.

The first step of the discriminant function analysis produces a table of Eigen values which indicates the number of discriminate function equations that can account for the variance between the groups (Pawell & Hill, 2005). The canonical correlation is the multiple correlation between the predictors and the discriminant function (Pawell & Hill, 2005). With only one function it provides an index of overall model fit which is interpreted as being the proportion of variance explained. In this case the canonical correlation will explain how much variance exists between the grouping variables; in this investigation more specifically how the construction of a manly man for each characteristic is determined by the domain (Pawell & hill, 2005). It shows the different values placed on the characteristics determined by the domain in which it is constructed as more valued and desired. Wilk's Lambda indicates the significance of the discriminate function.

The following stage of analysis produces the canonical discriminant function coefficients. This provides weights of the importance of the predictor in determining its function in the discrimination between the different groups (Pawell & Hill, 2005). In this case it would indicate which characteristic best discriminates between the different domains. This is determined by the value given in the Canonical discriminant function coefficient tables.

The higher the value the better the trait is at predicting the woman's construction of masculinity in that domain.

This part of the data analysis process aimed to determine if the results would replicate the findings of the previous studies by (Talbot & Quayle, 2010) and (Brittain, 2010; 2011). It thus aimed to determine if women would continue to construct nice guy masculinities in context of work and friendship and traditional hegemonic masculinities in the context of romance and family.

#### Step 3

ANOVA was further utilized in the extended part of the investigation. Four separate ANOVA's would be used across the domains of work colleague, family man, romantic partner and friendship to determine if there was a difference between manliness rating and the equality status of the country the women came from (low equality, medium and high equality). Alpha levels for significance were set at 0.05.

This part of the investigation aimed to determine if women's constructions of masculinity in each domain would be influenced according to the equality status of the country they reside in.

#### Step 4

Four separate Discriminant function analysis were further conducted across the four domains, to determine which of the 8 out of the 35 variable characteristics were most distinctive of the participants' constructions of ideal men according to the equality index of the countries they originated from.

It was hypothesized that women would still construct the ideal man according to the domain in which they were in. Thus the more hegemonic masculine traits were more likely to discriminate in the domain of romance and family man. In the domains of friendship and work colleague women would still construct the ideal man as possessing the less traditional masculine characteristics

The equality status of women is determined by various factors such as their equal access to their countries resources, job market, education, politics and health care.

Consequently this function would determine if women would continue to group nice guy masculinities with work and friendship and Hegemonic masculinities with romance and family men despite the equality status of the country.

# **Chapter 5: Results**

# 5.1 Construction of Masculinity across Different Domains

# 5.1.1 Mean Manliness rating for 35 characteristics

The first part of this study involved discovering if the participants constructions of their ideal masculinity would differ across the four domains of (family man, friendship, work, and romance). The first step of data analysis involved the survey aspect of the questionnaire, rating the mean manliness of each of the 35 characteristics. The results generated are below and show the characteristics in order from least to most manly.

Table 4

Mean manliness scores of the 35 characteristics

Characteristic	Manliness score
Sensitive	5.84
Sympathetic	5.90
Caring	6.08
Kind	6.22
Nice	6.23
Helpful	6.27
Thoughtful	6.48
Easy-going	6.48
Adaptable	6.48
Dependable	6.53
Friendly	6.56
Affectionate	6.59
Dynamic	6.7
Sincere	6.72
Understanding	6.73

Self-reliant	6.8
Reliable	6.84
Intelligent	6.84
Respectful	6.89
Outgoing	6.89
Self-controlled	7.03
Ambitious	7.36
Confident	7.73
Decisive	7.78
Hardworking	7.84
Dominant	8.05
Driven	8.09
Assertive	8.19
Handsome	8.33
Courageous	8.33
Strong	8.47
Powerful	8.52
Tough	8.53
Protective	8.66
Masculine	9.26

As Table 4 shows, the 35 characteristics were all rated above 5 on a 10-point scale indicating that all characteristics were considered to be more manly than unmanly. However, as shown by Table 4, the bottom half of the table shows the characteristics rated most manly and all these characteristics are considered traditionally masculine characteristics (Prentice & Carranza, 2002).

The mean manliness score was calculated for each of the 35 characteristics as shown in Table 4, and used as shown in table 1 from the previous section to calculate how "manly" each participant rated the ideal man in all four of the categories. The descriptive statistics for the ideal family man, friend, work colleague and romantic partner is shown below.

# 5.1.2. Descriptive statistics for the mean manliness rating between the four domains

Table 5

Descriptive statistics of the manliness scores across four domains.

Domain	Minimum	Maximum	Mean
Ideal Family man	6.358	8.280	6.922
Ideal friend	6.319	7.617	6.639
Ideal work colleague	6.458	7.998	7.033
Ideal romantic partner	6.334	8.324	6.896

A non – parametric Levene's test was conducted to determine if the data satisfies the assumptions of homogeneity of variance. Levene's test indicated that there is a significant difference in variance (p = 0.000; F (3,632) = 16.241). If a statistical procedure is little affected by violating an assumption, the procedure is said to be **robust**, with respect to that assumption (Colman & Pulford, 2006). The one-way ANOVA is generally robust with respect to violations of the assumptions, except in the case of unequal variances with unequal sample sizes (Howell, 2002). That is, the ANOVA can be used when variances are only approximately equal if the number of subjects in each group is equal (where equal can be defined as the larger group size not being more than 1½ times the size of the smaller group). ANOVA is also robust if the dependent variable data are even approximately normally distributed (Howell, 2002). Thus, if the assumption of homogeneity of variance (where the larger group variance is not more than 4 or 5 times that of the smaller group variance), or even more so, the assumption of normality is not fully met, you may still use the One-way ANOVA. If the sample sizes are equal, the effect of heterogeneity of variances (i.e., violating the assumption of homogeneity of variance) on the Type I error is minimal. In other words, the effects of violating the assumptions vary somewhat with the specific assumptions violated. However, the advantage of ANOVA is the specific post-hoc tests that can be used to pin-point sources of variation.

A one – way ANOVA test was therefore conducted to determine whether the participants' construction of the ideal man differs across the four domains. The construction of manliness differed significantly across the four domains, [F(3, 632)=42.923, p=0.000].

### 5.1.3. Post Hoc Analysis of mean manliness ratings

Table 6
Tukey's HSD test for differences between groups

		Subtest alpha				
Domain	N	1	2	3		
Friend	159	6.67379				
Romance	159		6.95512			
Family	159		6.98856	6.98856		
Work	159			7.07640		
Sign		1.000	.810	.091		

Analysis of variance showed a significance that the domains have on the mean manliness rating made by the different women. Posthoc analyses using Tukey's HSD indicated that the mean manliness rating was lower for a friend (M=6.674) compared to Romantic partner (M=6.955) and that the difference was significant. Romance in turn was not significantly different to the mean manliness score of the family man (M=6.988). Romantic partner remained significantly different to the mean manliness of the work colleague (M=7.076). However the mean manliness score of the family man and work colleague were not significantly different to each other.

# 5.2 Discriminant Function Analysis of Characteristics across Four Domains

The second part of the study aimed to examine if the specific characteristics chosen will vary across the four domains by conducting a discriminant function analysis. This procedure generates a list of characteristics which distinguish between characteristics that best represent the participants' ideal men in the four domains.

The table below shows that the first function accounts for 59.3% of the variance between the four groups.

Table 7
Summary of canonical discriminant functions

Function	Eigen Value		Cumulative %	Canonical Correlation
1	1.434	59.3	59.3	.768
2	.896	37.0	96.3	.687
3	.089	3.7	100.0	.286

The next step is that of the Wilks Lambda, which indicates the significance of the discriminate function. A significant function is classified as p<0.05. Both the first (Wilks' Lambda=.199;  $\chi$  2=993.84; df=105 and p<0.05) and the second (Wilks' Lambda=.484;  $\chi$  2=446.206; df=68 and p<0.05) functions were significant .

Table 8
Wilks lambda of significance for four domains.

Functions	Wilks'Lambda	$\chi^2$	df	Sig
1	.199	993.836	105	.000
2	.484	446.206	68	.000
3	.918	52.585	33	.017

The coefficients that were identified as the characteristics with the highest weights and most distinctive of the participants' ideal man in each domain were: "Driven (.335)", "dynamic (.228)", "dependable (.245)", "confident (.223)"and "self-reliant (.214)" were all most distinctive of the participants ideal male work colleagues. "Friendly (.273)" was the only characteristic most distinctive of male friend and "protective (.246)" was most distinctive of the romantic partner, while "affectionate (.725)" was distinctive of both the ideal romantic partner and family man.

# **5.3** Constructions of Masculinity across the Four Domains as Determined by the Equality Status of the Country

This study aimed to extend Brittain's (2010, 2011) results by comparing women's perceptions of manliness across countries. This was done by dividing the countries into three categories according to the Gender inequality index. Thus the countries were separated into high equality, medium equality and low equality. This was done in order to ascertain if women's constructions of masculinity differed according to the status of equality in the region of the world they resided in. Four separate ANOVA's were conducted across the four domains to determine if women's constructions of manliness differed according to the equality status.

# 5.3.1 Analysis of Variance of the mean manliness scores across the equality status groups in the domain of Family man.

Levene's test was found to be non-significant (p=.570; F(2, 156)=.564), indicating that the ANOVA assumption of homogeneity of variances was met. The ANOVA showed that there was no significant difference between the manliness scores of the low, medium and high equality groups within the domain of the family man at [F(2, 156)=.748, p=.475]

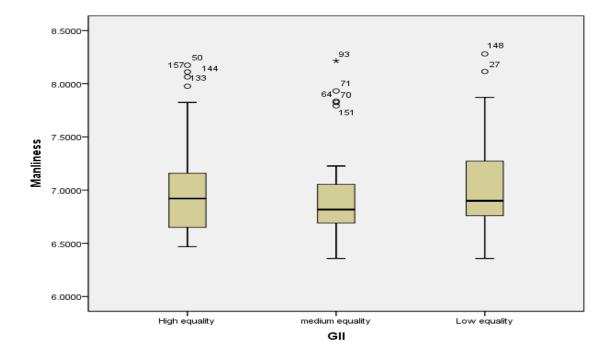


Figure 1.: Boxplots of Variance of manliness scores in the family man domain across low, medium and high equality countries.

# 5.3.2 Analysis of Variance of the mean manliness scores across the equality status groups in the domain of Friendship.

ANOVA was run to compare the manliness scores in the friendship domain between the participants according to the equality status. The assumption of ANOVA of equality of variance was not satisfied, with Levene's test showing significance (p=.000; F(2, 156)= 8.411), however, given ANOVA is robust, there is high sample size, the cells each contain more than 5 per group, there is a good probability that the results of the ANOVA can be taken as accurate. The ANOVA showed that there is a significant difference between the manliness scores for friendship by inequality index category F (2,156) = 5.290, p=.006) To ensure that the violation of the assumption of homogeneity of variance did not affect the results a further Kruskall Wallis was run and the results showed a near significant result χ2 (2, N=159) = 4.835, p=0.089). Further comparison was made between the groups using the Kruskall Wallis which showed the only significant difference was between low equality and high equality women. Using the post hoc Tukey's HSD test, it showed that the mean manliness score for friendship calculated from the participants from high (M=6.636) and medium equality countries (M=6.650) is lower than that of the low equality countries which were found to have a significant mean of (M=6.768). These results show that women from low equality countries construct ideal male friends as more manly than the other two groups. Women from medium and high equality countries value less manly characteristics in men they are friends with.

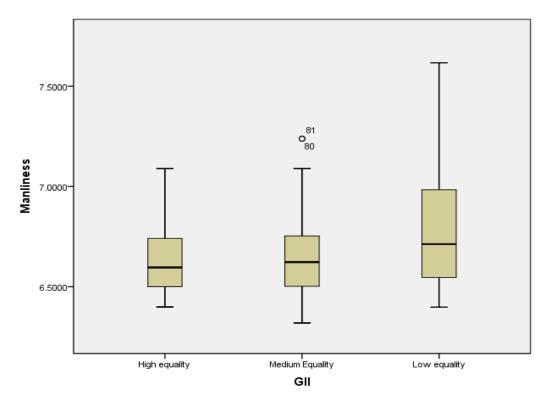


Figure 2. Boxplots of Variance of manliness scores in the Friendship domain across low, medium and high equality countries.

# 5.3.3 Analysis of Variance of the mean manliness scores across the equality status groups in the domain of Work Colleague.

Levene's test indicated that there is no significant difference in the variance for the domain of work colleague (p=0.889; F (2, 156) =.117), and the boxplots indicate the data is approximately normally distributed. The data therefore satisfies the assumptions of ANOVA. The data shows that the test showed no significant difference between the manliness scores of the low, medium and high equality status women, within the domain of work colleague (F (2, 156)=.753, p=.472).

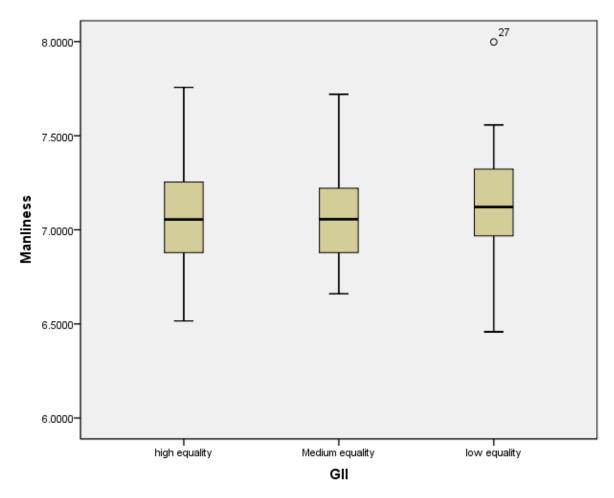


Figure 3. Boxplots of Variance of manliness scores in the Work domain across low, medium and high equality countries.

# 5.3.4 Analysis of Variance of the mean manliness scores across the equality status groups in the Romantic partner.

Levene's test indicated that there is no significant difference in the variance for the domain of Romantic Partner (p=0.073; F (2, 156) = 2.667), and the boxplots indicate the data is approximately normally distributed. The data therefore satisfies the assumptions of ANOVA. The data shows that the test showed no significant difference between the manliness scores of the low, medium and high equality status women, within the domain of Romantic partner F(2,156)=1.188, p=0.308).

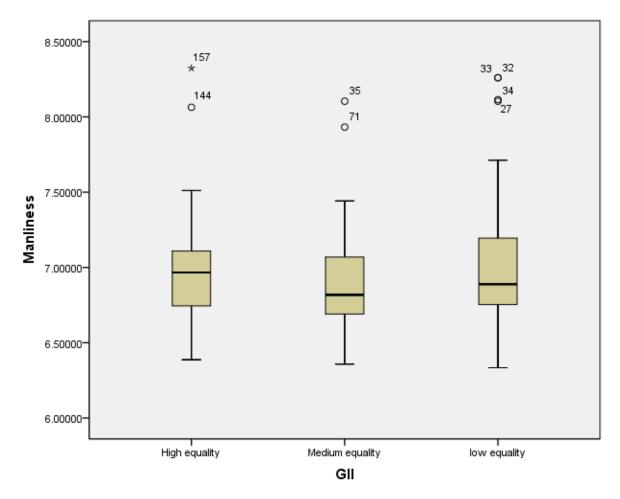


Figure 4. Boxplots of Variance of manliness scores in the family man domain across low, medium and high equality countries.

# 5.4 Discriminant Function Analysis Based on the Gender Equality Status of the Participants of Each Domain.

In this phase of the data analysis, the study aimed to determine if the characteristics chosen by the participants across the four domains would vary according to the equality status of the participants. Consequently the equality status of the women would act as the independent variable in these four phases of data analysis. Thus the discriminant function analysis will aim to determine what characteristics are distinctive of each domain by the three groups of participants.

### 5.4.1 Discriminant function analysis in the domain of family man.

The discriminant analysis of the 35 characteristic variables in the domain of family man yielded one function that was significant to account for the variance between manliness ratings across the 3 equality indexes. (Wilks' Lambda=0.423;  $\chi^2$ =119.466; df=70 and p<0,05). The first function accounted for 56.4% of the variance.

Table 9
Wilk's lambda of significance for the domain of family man.

Function	Wilks'Lambda	$\chi^2$	df	Sig
1	.423	119.466	70	.000
2	.680	53.534	34	.018

Table 10
Summary of canonical discriminant functions for the domain of family man

Function	Eigen Value	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Canonical function
1	.607	56.4	56.4	.615
2	.470	43.6	100.0	.565

The first function that was generated by the Discriminant test for the domain of family man showed significance at (p<0.001). It was discovered that more traditional hegemonic masculine characteristics were found to discriminate between the women's constructions of the ideal man in the family man context across the equality indexes. The 8 highest canonical discriminant functions showed that the characteristics: 'Powerful (0.459)', 'outgoing (0.497)', 'respectful (0.419)', and 'dependable (0.586)' were all most valued as characteristics for the family man, by the participants who are from High equality countries. The participants from the middle equality countries showed a preference for the characteristics of 'handsome (0.413)' and 'adaptable (0.545)', while the women from the low equality status countries showed preference for 'driven (0.457)', 'courageous (0.548)', and 'outgoing (0.497)' characteristics in the family man. The majority of the characteristics are

predominantly "masculine" characteristics, showing that women from all over the world value these traits in men they want as family men.

# 5.4.2 Discriminant function analysis in the domain of Friendship.

The discriminant analysis of the 35 characteristic variables in the domain of friendship yielded one function that was significant to account for the variance between manliness ratings across the 3 equality indexes. (Wilks Lambda = 0.496;  $\chi$  2=97.701; df = 68 and p=0.011). The Eigen value accounted for 71.6% of the variance between the groups.

Table 11
Wilks lambda of significance for the domain of Friendship

Function	Wilks'Lambda	$\chi^2$	df	Sig
1	.496	97.701	68	.011
2	.803	30.617	33	.586

Table 12
Summary of canonical discriminant functions for the domain of family man

Function	Eigen Value	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Canonical function
1	.618	71.6	71.6	.618
2	.245	28.4	100.0	.444

The first function that was generated by the Discriminant functions analysis test for the domain of friendship showed significance at (p=0.011). It was discovered that more non-traditional masculine characteristics were found to discriminate between the women's constructions of the ideal man in the friendship context. The 8 highest canonical discriminant functions showed that the characteristics; 'driven (0.590)', 'courageous(0.553)', 'decisive (0.695)', 'reliable (0.537)', 'strong (0.470)' and 'handsome (0.480)' were valued most in friendship for those women who resided in low equality countries. The characteristics; 'nice (0.669)' and 'understanding (0.556)' were valued more by those countries which experience more equality in their regions. Other more "feminine characteristics" such as 'friendly (.339), sympathetic(.95), and 'respectful (.492)' were those characteristics most valued by their

higher equality women, while the low equality women valued more masculine characteristics in men in the domain of friendship.

### 5.4.3 Discriminant function analysis in the domain of Work colleague.

The discriminant analysis of the 35 characteristic variables in the domain of work colleague yielded one function that was significant to account for the variance between manliness ratings across the 3 equality indexes. (Wilks Lambda = 0.463;  $\chi$  2=107.150; df =70 and p=0.003). The Eigen value accounted for 65.5% of the variance between the groups.

Table 13

Wilks lambda of significance for the domain of Work

Function	Wilks'Lambda	$\chi^2$	df	Sig
1	.463	107.150	70	.003
2	.752	39.575	34	.235

Table 14
Summary of canonical discriminant functions for the domain of work.

Function	Eigen Value	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Canonical function
1	.626	65.5	65.5	.620
2	.329	34.5	100.0	.498

The first function that was generated by the Discriminant test showed significance at (p=0.003). It was discovered that more traditional hegemonic masculine characteristics were found to discriminate between the women's constructions of the ideal man in the work colleague context across the three equality indexes. The 8 highest canonical discriminant functions indicated that the characteristics; 'assertive (.395)', 'courageous (.519)', 'helpful (.530)', and 'strong (.591)' are most distinctive of women from low equality countries construction of their ideal work colleague. The results showed that women from medium equality countries valued the characteristics 'strong (.591)', 'dependable (.495)', and 'confident (.507)', in the ideal work colleague. Women from high equality countries value "dominant (.550)' and 'understanding (.389)' work colleagues.

#### 5.4.4. Discriminant function analysis in the domain of Romantic Partner.

The discriminant analysis of the 35 characteristic variables in the domain of Romantic Partner yielded one function that was significant to account for the variance between manliness ratings across the 3 equality indexes. (Wilks Lambda = 0.431;  $\chi$  2=117.131; df =70 and p=0.000). The Eigen value accounted for 61.2% of the variance between the groups.

Table 15
Wilks lambda of significance for the domain of Romance

Function	Wilks'Lambda	$\chi^2$	df	Sig
1	.431	117.131	70	.000
2	.709	47.806	34	.058

Table 16
Summary of canonical discriminant functions for the domain of Romance.

Function	Eigen Value	% of Variance	Cumulative %	Canonical function
1	.647	61.2	61.2	.627
2	.410	38.8	100.0	.539

The first function that was generated by the Discriminant test showed significance at (p=0.000). It was discovered that 5 out of 8 characteristics were hegemonic masculine traits and were found to discriminate between the women's constructions of the ideal man in the Romantic context across the three equality indexes. The 8 highest canonical discriminant functions indicated that the characteristics; 'self-controlled (.369)', 'protective (.497)', 'strong (.339)', 'sincere (.464)', and 'respectful (.480)', are most distinctive for women of high and medium equality countries. With women from medium equality countries preferring ideal romantic partners as: 'nice (.457)' and 'understanding (.492)'. This shows that women from higher equality countries prefer romantic partners of both masculine and feminine characteristics, whereas women from low equality countries chose the characteristic 'powerful (.261)' as their main preference for romantic men. Consequently discarding or valuing least the characteristics of feminine origin.

Table 17.

Summary of results of women's construction of masculinity across four domains

Function	Summary of findings	
35 Characteristics rated by 159	Traditionally masculine characteristics were rated	
participants	more "manly" compared to the non-traditional	
	characteristic.	
A one – way ANOVA test was	Significant difference	
conducted to determine whether the	Friend rated least manly	
participants' construction of the ideal man differs across the four domains.	<ul> <li>Romantic partner and Family man rated significantly more manly than Friend</li> <li>Work rated as significantly more manly than friendship and romantic partner</li> </ul>	
	<ul> <li>No significant difference in manliness rating between Family man and work colleague.</li> </ul>	

Discriminant Function Analysis of Characteristics that best distinguishes the women participants perception of their ideal man.

Domain	Characteristics	Summary of manliness results
Work Colleague	Driven, dynamic, dependable	Women prefer their ideal work
	confident, self-reliant	colleague to possess more
	confident, sen-renant	masculine characteristics
Friendship	Friendly	Women prefer their ideal friend
		to possess non-traditional
		masculine traits
Romantic partner	Protective	Women chose a combination of
	Affectionate	non-traditional and traditional
	Affectionate	masculine traits for their ideal
		romantic partner
Family Man	Affectionate	Women prefer non-traditional
		traits in their family man.

Table 18: Summary of results of influence of equality status on constructions of masculinity

_	OVA's were conducted across the for nanliness differed according to the eq	· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
Family man	No significant difference between the manliness scores of the low, medium and high equality groups.		
Friendship	<ul> <li>There is a significant difference between the manliness scores of the three equality groups.</li> <li>Women from low equality countries construct ideal male friends as more manly than the medium and high equality women.</li> </ul>		
Work colleague	No significant difference between medium and high equality status	en the manliness scores of the low, women	
Romantic Partner	medium and high equality status		
Discriminant Function Analysis to determine what characteristics were chosen for the women's 'ideal man' in each domain and how the characteristics chosen differed according to the equality status of the women  Friendship			
<b>Equality status</b>	Characteristics	Summary of Manliness results	
High	Friendly, Sympathetic Respectful	Non-traditional characteristics considered more manly and valued more in this domain	
Medium	nice understanding	Non-Traditional characteristics considered more manly	
Low	Driven, Courageous, Decisive, reliable, string, handsome	Traditional characteristics considered more manly	
	Family Man		
<b>Equality status</b>	Characteristics	Summary of manliness results	
High	Powerful, outgoing, respectful and dependable	Women prefer a family man to possess both masculine and non-traditional characteristics	
Medium	Handsome and adaptable	Women prefer a family man to possess more traditional masculine characteristics	
Low	Driven, courageous, and outgoing	Women prefer a family man to possess more traditional masculine characteristics.	
	Work Collea	gue	
<b>Equality status</b>	Characteristics	Summary of manliness results	
High	dominant and understanding	Women prefer work colleagues to	

		possess both masculine and non-
		traditional characteristics
Medium	strong, dependable and confident	Women prefer work colleagues to
		possess more masculine
		characteristics
Low	Assertive, courageous, helpful, and	Women prefer work colleagues to
	strong	possess more masculine
		characteristics.
Romantic Partner		
<b>Equality Status</b>	Characteristics	Summary of manliness results
High	self-controlled, protective, strong	Women prefer romantic partners to
	sincere and respectful	possess combination of both
		masculine and non-traditional
		characteristics
Medium	nice and understanding	Women prefer romantic partners
		with non-traditional masculine
		characteristics
Low	powerful	Prefer partners with traditional
		masculine characteristics

# **5.5. Summary of Findings**

The results continue to show that women construct masculinity differently according to the domain. What was found was women value more masculine characteristics in the work domain and valued them the least in the Friendship domain. Women continued to construct hegemonic masculinity in the contexts of romance and family life. The extended part of the study investigated whether the equality status of the women would impact on their constructions of masculinity in their ideal man in the different contexts. The results showed that women from low equality countries constructed their ideal man as traditionally hegemonically masculine in all contexts of their lives, including the context of friendship. For the medium and higher equality countries, women chose a combination of both manly and unmanly characteristics but women generally constructed their ideal romantic partner and family man as possessing hegemonic masculine traits.

# **Chapter 6: Discussion**

The first part of this study aimed to determine what women considered to be manly and what was not. To do this the women had to rate 35 characteristics generated by Brittain (2010). The participants had to rate these characteristics on a scale from 1 (not manly) to 10 (very manly). The results showed that the majority of the 35 characteristics were rated as manly. Furthermore the range between the results was fairly small with all characteristics being over 5 in the average rating (Minimum=5.83, maximum=9.26). The characteristics usually considered feminine (e.g. caring, affectionate, friendly) were rated as less manly than those usually considered to be masculine (e.g. masculine, dynamic, strong, handsome). This supports findings in the literature, that male characteristics are valued much more highly than the feminine characteristics (Prentice and Carranza, 2002). In addition, this shows how, even for women, prevailing masculine characteristics that represents hegemonic masculinity are revered above other gender characteristics that are viewed as inferior (Messerschmidt, 2012).

# 6.1 Constructions of Masculinity as Manly Across the Four Domains

The next step that was conducted was an ANOVA to determine if there was a significant difference in the construction of masculinity across the different domains. Masculinity and gender identity is constructed across different social contexts and expectations of what is acted out and lived up to depend on that context (Segal, 1993). What materialized is that there were significant differences across the domains. The manliness rating for friendship was rated the lowest out of all four domains. This result was significantly different to the other domains, indicating women will construct masculinity in this context with non-traditional versions of masculinity. Romantic partner was rated as the next highest in manliness and this result was significantly different from wok colleague but no different to family men. These results concur with results of Talbot and Quayle (2010) and Brittain (2010, 2011), that women prefer more manly characteristics in the context of family and romance compared to the domain of friendship where more egalitarian characteristics were more acceptable. Lastly work colleague had the highest manliness score which showed replicating results to Brittain (2010, 2011). In a context where women have experienced the most resistance to their emancipation, they appear to be advocating for the continued sustainability of hegemonic

masculine characteristics (Messerschmidt, 2012; Engels, 1942 in Cotter et al, 2001). It appeared these women struggled to determine in which manner they wanted to be treated, in a gender progressive manner or a manner of emphasized femininity (Talbot & Quayle, 2010; Messerschmidt, 2012).

# **6.2.** Anchoring the Different Characteristics According to the Domain They are Enacted

The next step involved determining which characteristics would be able to best discriminate between the four domains. The characteristic which was the clearest differentiator between the domains was a trait traditionally considered feminine; "affectionate" which was preferred first in the family man, romantic partner, friend and lastly work colleague. Talbot & Quayle (2010) made the argument that types of masculinity favoured across the domains have varying levels of manliness. In light of the results here, it could be explained similarly; that similar levels of manly characteristics may be a necessity across the domains, but varying amounts of feminine characteristics such as "affectionate" are acceptable, provided they did not violate the masculinity of that man in that domain (Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

The findings did correspond to the previous study of Brittain (2010, 2011), which showed that the masculine characteristics were considered more suitably assigned to romantic and family men, compared to friendship. This shows how women's constructions of masculinity are encouraging men to adopt and adapt characteristics to suite the context in which they are in (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

Brittain (2011) highlighted that her sample of university women was from a liberal population. These women were pursuing an education, and yet they were advocating for traditional hegemonic masculine traits and promoting traditional gender stereotypes. In a world that is so patriarchal and male dominated, one shared assumption is that women from this population would pursue more egalitarian ideals (Peplau et al, 1993). In the domain of the work colleague Talbot and Quayle (2010), showed women constructing "nice guy" masculinities. In Brittain (2010, 2011) and this current study, women constructed masculinity in the work context as preferably hegemonically masculine. In this study they constructed the characteristics of: "Driven", "dynamic", "dependable", "confident "and "self-reliant" to be

Ideal in the male work colleague. One possible explanation is that the sample of women from Talbot and Quayle (2010) were university women, pursuing careers in different areas, and degrees at universities involving higher status jobs. As a result what they could have based their preference of a male work colleague on could be what they "want" rather than have realistically experienced in the working world. Given how the university environment is more equal and free from masculine dominance in terms of achievement and rewards, this could be one explanation for the different constructions.

A further explanation that is highlighted in an article by the New York Times, is how in the university environment women achieve and out-perform men and as a result this culture of performance could give the impression of equal if not better opportunities for women to advance (Lewin, 2006). As a result it may be why women in university could be attributing more egalitarian characteristics as shown in (Talbot &Quayle, 2010) because of their varying levels of achievement and ability to compete on an equal level with their male counterparts.

What is clear about the studies is that masculinity is constructed in different domains according to what is seen as desirable in that context. As shown in Talbot and Quayle (2010), there is tension between women's construction of ideal masculinities across contexts. The contexts do appear permeable, where masculinity can be enacted in more than one context. Nonetheless, women have a preference towards types of masculinity, both traditional and non-traditional that can be enacted in social and intimate relationships that represent their ideal man (Messerchmidt, 2012). This type of permeability and negotiation of masculinity can be observed in the context of family men where the women wanted "affectionate" men. On the other hand it was found that in romance they want both "affectionate" and "protective" traits. The extent to which women want the traits displayed is determined by the context of the relationship (Messerchmidt, 2012). Women determine whether the enactment of 'affection' violates the ideals of masculinity in romance and in family and therefore determine whether the displays of this trait can be continued.

Gender norms and roles are displayed in different ways depending on the social and cultural context (Levant & Richmond, 2007). Consequently, many argue that as society has changed, and women have been pressurizing men to adopt roles that are more traditionally feminine (Shepherd, 1997) or to share in roles to make the division of labour more equal

(Ferrant, 2010). In turn women have been adapting their own roles and identities according to the priorities in their lives; for example, career/family marriage (Shepherd, 1997). As a result, it has become acceptable for men to adopt feminine characteristics traditionally attributed to women such as being nurturing and sensitive. However, according to Talbot and Quayle (2010) this is only "constructed as tolerable if it [matches] the woman's own goals, ambitions and self-construction" (p. 275). Consequently, if women adopt masculine roles of provider and pursuing a career, then it is necessary for males to change their identity ideals to balance out the roles. The freedom of women to enact varying identities depends at least partly on identity shifts by men (Messershmidt, 2012).

Consequently, it could be possible that in the context of romance women value the trait "protective" in a male counterpart and to compliment this male identity they would need to enact emphasized femininity. However, at the same time there is this unvoiced expectation from women, for men to switch between these masculinities depending on the domain they are in. One such example is that men are required to display more 'nice guy' traits in the context of friendship in this type of relationship. Furthermore in romantic scenarios when faced by a woman they want a romantic relationship with; they switch to a profile of the 'dominant and protective' male (Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

As a result women are, to some extent, contributing to the production of traditional versions of masculinity in specific contexts (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). This however does not appear to be a new pattern but could appear to be occurring more frequently as gender attitudes and roles change. Nonetheless, it can be assumed that since gender is socially constructed, women are constructing masculinity and in turn they experience similar pressures in the construction and shift of their own identities (Vincent & McEwan, 2006).

Modern masculinity is starting to involve the negotiation between traditional and "new" versions of masculinity (Sullivan, 2004). As stipulated above the negotiation between gender identities is an experience for both men and women. Therefore in modern society women's positions, statuses and experiences are changing, and it is only natural that their identities and practices change (Tolson, 1977). Gender constructions are influenced by context and interpersonal relationships, over the year's women's interactions have changed and as a result have changed their construction of masculinity. The extended component of this study of the equality status of the country of origin was investigated to determine if this

factor would influence the way women construct masculinities. Where women have experienced more opportunity and freedom to experience and explore options in their identities, is where they have in theory had the ability to question and want alternative forms of masculinity (Lindsey, 2005). It is likely that in more advanced and developed countries where the feminist movement has had more impact, women would have gained more opportunity to explore their ideal identities and that of their male counterparts (Lindsey, 2005). Therefore where women have gained more recognition, advancement in education, work, politics, is thought to influence their perceptions of gender identity, stereotypes and masculinity and femininity (Lindsey, 2005).

# **6.3** Analysis of Whether the Equality Status and Patriarchal Ideals of the Countries Influence Women's Construction of Masculinity

The second component of this study sought to compare the constructions of ideal masculinities between women from different countries. This was done to determine if the patriarchal society characterized by the gender inequality index of those countries would impact on how women construct masculinity (Ferrant, 2010, Ray, 2006). It investigated whether women have gravitated from the patriarchal ideal woman; passive, submissive and helpless to a more liberated version. It is believed that the extent to which patriarchy has changed will influence how women negotiate through constructions of different masculinity in order to possibly complement their own feminine identity (Vincent & McEwan, 2006).

The question explored in this part of the study is whether the constructions of ideal masculinities will vary by the equality status of the countries where the participants reside (low, medium and high gender equality). ANOVA's were conducted to determine if the mean manliness rating between the four domains was significant across the equality statuses. What was found was that women from the low equality countries would score the highest on the mean manliness rankings in all four of the domains. In the family man domain, women from low equality countries scored the highest, then high equality countries, with medium equality countries scoring the lowest. In the context of work the results showed that women from low equality countries preferred more masculine men, compared to the medium equality countries, with the high equality countries preferring the least manly characteristics in their work colleagues. In friendship and romance similar results were observed with women from low equality countries having higher manliness ratings then the other two equality groups.

## 6.4 Women in Low Equality Countries Construct Hegemonic Masculinity

With regards to the low equality women, it is possible that their values regarding masculinity are embedded in the norms of patriarchal societies (Marciano, 1986). In these contexts the feminist movement has had a slower impact, making their exploration of different configurations of their female identity and their ideals for masculine identities more difficult (Lindsay, 2005; Shepherd, 1997). Consequently, if their identity remains unchanged or not negotiated then the complimentary masculine identity will remain traditionally hegemonic and constructed in those terms (Vincent and McEwan, 2006).

In the domain of friendship there was a significant difference between low equality countries, which scored the highest in manliness rating, compared to high and medium equality countries who valued much less manly traits in male friends. In Brittain (2010), the domain of friendship was seen as the domain where non hegemonic characteristics would be used to construct ideal forms of masculinity. The present results support this finding. It remains the domain where the least manly characteristics are valued, although low equality women continue to value features of traditional hegemonic masculinity even in the context of friendship.

# 6.5 Hegemonic Masculine Ideals continue to be constructed in Varying Degrees across Contexts despite Equality Status.

### **6.5.1** Constructions of masculinity in friendship.

The next stage of the investigation was to determine how the chosen characteristics of the ideal masculinity will vary across the three equality country categories. The discriminant function analysis for friendship showed that the characteristics "driven", "courageous", "decisive", "reliable", "strong" and "handsome" are valued most in friendship for those women from low equality countries. The characteristics "nice" and "understanding", which are traditionally more feminine, were valued more in women from higher equality status countries. This echoed the studies of Frosh, Phoenix, and Pattman (2002, in Talbot, 2010) and of Talbot (2010), concluding that women will "desire men who are representative of alternative "nice guy" masculinity" in the context of plutonic social domains (Talbot, 2010, p. 21).

The most distinctive characteristic was "decisive," which was valued most in the low equality countries. This shows that women from lower equality statuses value more traditionally masculine characteristics compared to those women who are from a higher equality status country. This could be the generalized norm for women from low equality countries, where gender stereotypes construct men as masculine regardless of the social interaction in which they are a part of (Ray, 2006). In addition, the fact that high equality status women construct masculinity in the context of friendship with more feminine characteristics because this is how they construct masculinity in that context as it does not violate this version of masculinity to display female traits (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). In the domain of friendship, women want characteristics that are similar to their own which are acceptable in male friends but are unheard of in boyfriends or partners (Vincent & McEwan, 2006).

Originally in both the studies conducted by Talbot and Quayle (2010), and Brittain (2010, 2011), it was found that less traditional non-threatening forms of masculinity were constructed as valued in the context of friendships. In the present study it was found that friendship was constructed as less manly than the other domains. However it was found that women from less equality countries still advocated for the traditionally more masculine characteristics even in the context of friendship. This was a pattern seen in all the results with the low equality countries generally wanting hegemonic masculine characteristics in men in all contexts of their lives. Women from lower equality countries have less involvement in politics, have poor access to resources and generally do not have access to the same privileges as women in higher equality status countries (Ferrant, 2010). They have less access to education and as a result this could be influencing their constructions of masculinity. Unlike more educated women they have fewer opportunities to advance in their own education, less ability to negotiate their place in society and consequently this could be affecting their overall construction of masculinity which in general is traditionally hegemonic. Thus issues of gender equality and their ability to negotiate masculinity will differ according to the level of development of that country (Ferrant, 2010). These women could also appear to construct traditional hegemonic masculinity as most valued because their subjugated devalued feminine identity is part of the context of their situation which compliments the construction of strong masculinities (Vincent & McEwan, 2006).

### 6.5.2 Constructions of masculinity in work colleague.

In the domain of work colleague, the findings indicated that the characteristics 'strong' and 'dominant' were more distinctive of women from low equality countries than the medium or high. Overall low equality countries found the characteristics of: 'assertive', 'courageous', 'helpful', and 'strong', best representative of their construction of an ideal work colleague. The medium equality countries valued; 'strong', 'dependable', and confident,' characteristics while the high equality women valued 'dominant' and 'understanding'.

Overall the pattern seems to show women advocating for more traditional masculine characteristics in the domain of work regardless of the equality status of the country. The two feminine characteristics may be attributes played out in a masculine fashion that are built into the male work colleague. They are characteristics that are acceptable as they do not violate masculinity as a whole in that context (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). For example being "helpful" can be incorporated into this version of masculinity which enhances the male work colleagues' masculine capabilities (Simpson, 2004). For example carrying office furniture too heavy for women, or fixing electronic equipment all characteristics that are manly in their displays of strength and dependability but display certain levels of the characteristic helpful (Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

The way women are constructing hegemonic masculinity in the workplace highlight a further domain where they are prepared to perpetuate traditional hegemonic features of masculinity in that context (Irvine & Vermilya, 2010 in Messerschmidt, 2012). Unlike the university sample in Talbot and Quayle (2010) who assigned more feminine traits to the work colleague. This sample could have had more experience into the context of the working world "where agentic traits are viewed as necessary, even for relatively feminine jobs" (Rudman & Glick, 1999, p. 1005). This context is one where positions are not equal and what is desired in a work colleague may not be what is realistically possessed. These women might have constructed hegemonic masculinity in their work colleague not because of what they desired but because of what they have experienced. With women aging from 20-64, the likelihood is the women would all have experienced working with a male and based their constructions on these experiences rather then what they would prefer.

### 6.5.3 Constructions of masculinity in family man

In the domain of the "family man" it was found that six out of eight characteristics most distinctive for this domain were traditionally masculine. The characteristic: "Dependable" was valued as the most discriminant characteristic by the higher equality countries compared to the lowest. One of the factors identified by Ferrant (2010) was that despite the differences in inequality experienced between developing and developed countries, the household/family is one context that inequality remains. In the context where equality has been trying to change with the distribution of household work and child rearing activities women still desire a man who provides and protects and whom they can depend on for the care of themselves and that of their offspring (Prentice & Carranza, 2002).

The family man characteristics: "powerful", "outgoing", "respectful", and "dependable" were valued most by the high equality countries. The women from medium equality countries valued "handsome" and "adaptable". Lastly the low equality countries valued "driven", "courageous" and "outgoing". This could indicate that women in higher equality status countries are trying to negotiate with masculinity in the private relationship arena as their own feminine identity shifts. As a result the patriarchal shift in gender norms in these high equality countries create enough freedom and empowerment for women to negotiate their identity as well as construct masculinity in the family domain (Messerchmidt, 2012; Ray, 2006). The construction of the patriarchal ideal of the rule of the father still is core but peripheral characteristics such as 'respectful' and 'dependable' can be incorporated as long as they do not violate the masculinity of the male (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). However this compromise depends on women's ability to negotiate for these characteristics in their relationships. Women from lower equality countries may be less able to negotiate identities because of the limited advancement of their positions in remaining hegemonic patriarchal societies (Ferrant, 2010).

A family man would represent a more permanent version of the romantic partner. A relationship has been established and according to Vincent and McEwan (2006), the women have less need in this context to construct themselves as the ideal women which embody all the emphasized feminine traits as they would in a romantic context. However, the results showed that the respondents still advocated for the more manly characteristics. This possibly indicated that there still remains this desire to construct versions of masculinity in the family

man that complement their ideals for emphasized femininity in themselves. Thus having a husband who is handsome adaptable, courageous and driven invoke the emphasized feminine characteristics in themselves of nurturing, mothering, loving and dependent (Vincent & McEwan, 2006).

## 6.5.4 Construction of masculinity in romantic context.

Lastly in the domain of romance, high equality status women were more supportive of men that had the characteristics of: 'self-controlled', 'protective', 'strong', 'sincere', and 'respectful'. Medium equality countries advocated for 'nice and understanding' romantic partners. Lastly the characteristic which was most distinctive of the ideal romantic partner for low equality countries was "powerful". There appeared to be a mix of egalitarian characteristics for the higher equality countries. However, there seems to be a divide, with the medium countries wanting more androgynous characteristics in their romantic partners compared with the high and low equality countries wanting more traditional hegemonic masculinities. The reasoning behind these results is that women may be open to these deviations from traditional hegemonic masculinity only in certain contexts and under certain conditions (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). Consequently, in romance, women may desire to have that fairy tale "happily ever after" and to obtain that, they need to enact the "ideal woman", which according to traditional stereotypes is passive dependent and submissive (Vincent & McEwan, 2006). Regardless of their independence as working women, students or successful career women, the context of romance sees women wanting masculine men to complement their feminine characteristics and own identity.

Romance is the first step into a more long term relationship and (Herold & Milhausen (1999, in Murray & Milhausen, 2012), has stipulated that women will want different characteristics depending on the duration of the relationship. One would expect that romance is potentially short term while one pursues a mate and then has the possibility to advance to the long term status of marriage where these constructions would change. As a result one would think the context of romance would incorporate the more hegemonic masculinities as it did in Brittain, (2011). It was shown during this study that through time, by comparing the sample of university adolescent girls to middle aged women that the women moved from constructing masculine characteristics in romance to more androgynous characteristics as they aged through the relationship and became married. Women who enter into romance

advocate for traditional masculinity because of the idea of the man being the protector and dominant partner of the relationship. However, Brittain, (2010, 2011) theorised that as they progress through life they learnt to negotiate roles and responsibilities and begin to incorporate more realistic characteristics in their relationships that incorporate the more egalitarian characteristics that are needed to care for a family.

As highlighted throughout, the construction of masculinity varies by context. Women continue advocating for core masculine constructions of 'powerful', 'protective' and 'strong', while also acknowledging that 'nice', 'understanding' and 'respectful' are acceptable in these versions of masculinity. However in the context of romance, Talbot & Quayle, (2010), show that women are content with degrees of this type of 'nice guy' masculinity being enacted but only if displayed in moderation and if it does not threaten masculinity. If it were to threaten masculinity which is intrinsically connected with the feminine identity, then it is surmised that their femininity would have to be negotiated in turn.

What is being seen by high equality women is possibly more negotiation occurring when constructing masculinity in their more intimate relationships. Ferrant (2010) would argue that women from this cluster of countries have achieved the most equality in their identity and empowerment. As a result through the change in patriarchy of their country they may have more ability to negotiate constructions of masculinity incorporating both hegemonic masculine and feminine traits. What is interesting is that three quarters of the characteristics chosen were still traditionally hegemonic masculine while the other quarter incorporated the feminine characteristics. Despite having more freedom of equality in this context of romance these women still perpetuate the gender norms and constructions valued in a traditionally patriarchal society (Ferrant, 2010).

It could be possible that women continue to accept the subjugation "to be able to engage in ideals of romantic partnership congruent with emphasized femininity" (Talbot & Quayle, 2010, p. 255). Ferrant (2010) did highlight that despite their high equality women still experience inequality in their home characterized by relationships between a partner and other family members. In this context women's own identity may not have changed and evolved fully to the liberated feminine identity (Messerschmidt, 2012). However in the context of romance it may be a context where they do not wish to change their identity but where they feel comfortable and prefer to enact emphasized femininity to complement the

hegemonic masculine ideals they construct in their partners (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). Women have experienced inequality in all sectors of their lives and while they continue to fight for equality in work, politics, economic resources and physical integrity, the context of the romantic domain may be one where they are content to be vulnerable, feminine, docile and submissive. This type of construction supports Talbot and Quayle's argument that "these constructions of ideal masculinities support women's preferred identity narratives for themselves in and across contexts" (Talbot and Quayle, 2010, p.275).

One such example of the way women continue to construct and advocate for hegemonic masculine ideals in the romantic context is seen through the popular response of the books discussed in the literature *Twilight* and *Fifty shades of Grey*. Both books have sold millions of copies worldwide across cultures, and different countries. What they demonstrate in the story line is the appeal of being saved, protected and cared for in the context of idealized romance and the preparedness of these women characters to be the vulnerable woman enacting emphasized femininity to compliment her hero (Mukherjea, 2011). It shows that despite the gender equality of countries, women show in the one context of romance their willingness to subjugate themselves, enact emphasized femininity and construct hegemonic masculinity (Schwarze, 2012).

# 6.6 The Negotiation of Masculinity in One Context Affects the Negotiation in Another.

Talbot and Quayle (2010) found that women will want more non-traditional masculine characteristics in the context of work. However, in this study it was found that it was the context of work that had the highest manliness rating and this occurred across all the equality countries. How women negotiate masculinities in the context of work may be influenced by how they would like to negotiate their gender position in the context of family and romance. The on-going phenomenon of "rapidly fluctuating gender roles, sexual boundaries, and romantic expectations affect them, creating opportunities at the same time that they create new challenges and instability" (Mukherjea, 2011, p. 2).

One explanation for this construction is that women's sex role identities are influencing the extent in which certain traits and behaviours are both constructed in male counterparts, and themselves (Gary et al, 1979). Their identity in one realm may be

influencing the formation of a gender identity in another. A woman who wishes to pursue a liberated identity in the workplace may in turn compromise the emphasized feminine identity she has in the romance/family context and in turn have to negotiate the masculinity she wants in a complimentary partner (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). For example; a woman pursuing a career in the business world works long hours, travels for meetings, is on call and demand from the company and is required to limit time spent away from the office. This identity taken up in this context will influence the role they play in the family context. Less time will be spent with the family, the child care may have to shift to the partner and as a result the woman may have to construct alternative "nice guy" masculinities in her partner that are necessary to compliment her "own goals, ambitions and self-construction" (Talbot & Quayle, 2010, p. 275). Thus the way women construct traditional hegemonic masculinities is influenced by the context and what women care to value at a particular time and place in their lives. That is why it is emphasized that these constructions shift all the time and it is subject to what is valued most at the time (Brittain, 2010).

This is not to say that women cannot adopt androgynous characteristics (Gary et al, 1979) or an individual of both sexes can [not] be both masculine and feminine. Nonetheless, both women and men have to live up to the ideal they construct for themselves and for their partner. To what extent they construct the ideal men in a certain context could be seen as restraining their own identity in that context depending if they want the emphasized or liberated femininity. Consequently, in the friendship context where women construct and want men to act out "new man" feminine characteristics, provides a more relaxed context in which they do not feel compelled to be one or the other. However, in family and romance, women construct the ideal man as possessing traditionally masculine traits and as a result, this is characterized by the subordination of women and continued power differences between genders (Marciano, 1986). It could be that gender norms to some extent are mutually exclusive and one cannot enact gender norms of one context in another, for example: being the successful working women and the successful mother and wife. Consequently one gender role is constrained at the expense of the other. As a result women's construction of their ideal men in certain contexts is complimented and influenced by their own changing identity in that time and place.

#### 6.7 Limitations

Although this study collaborates the results of previous studies by Talbot and Quayle (2010) and Brittain (2010; 2011), there are a number of limitations which need to be acknowledged. Firstly, the use of the sampling technique that employed Facebook excludes the perspective of those women that do not have access to internet resources, thus limiting the population to solely internet users and thus possibly only middle class women who have access to a computer and the internet. However, given the ambition of the study to gain a global perspective, it is not possible to sample the different populations by any other method than via the internet. Nonetheless, although the study increases the sample size and the diversity of women sampled these results must be generalized with caution.

The use of English medium language (and the researcher's limited linguistic skills) during data collection in this study is likely to have limited the range of perspectives of non-first language English speakers to partake in the study. Although not all the women were first language English speakers, they understood the instructions given and responded adequately during interaction over email.

A further limitation of this study would be the lack of knowledge of the feminine identity of the women. Their equality status gives some indication of their position and access to resources. However does not give insight into the type of femininity that they have adopted. Thus one could explore how women construct their feminine identity and whether their partner or desirable partner has complimentary masculinities. If not then how do they negotiate these compromises.

Lastly, this study did incorporate details of race into the data obtained from the participants. However, this variable was not added as one to investigate, firstly because the study did not have a representable sample of each race Asian, Indian, white, black and coloured. Secondly, there was nothing to control the variable in terms of the different experiences of inequality that would exist across different races and classes, thus making any results obtained biased, invalid and unreliable.

The main aim of this research was to determine if the constructions of masculinity can be generalised across the different countries of the world. Furthermore it employed the equality status of the countries determined by the UNDP as a possible variable that could influence these constructions. In so doing it does admittedly generalise the equality position of the participants based solely on the equality index without looking at the variations that exist in those countries between different class and race of the women. However it is a universal measure that describes the average woman in those countries as experiencing certain categories of equality at certain degrees (Ferrant, 2010). Research has shown that history has played a factor in how women experience discrimination and equality disparities but a common denominator of patriarchy that all women have experienced is the assignment of roles that allocate more power to men than to women (Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000). Consequently, this is a common factor experienced by all women despite race or class.

It is recognisable that the women in this sample of participants are from different countries and their race and class would influence how they experience equality differences. Countries such as South Africa and USA have histories characterised by repression and as a result these histories have left African women with a double dose of discrimination and dual social identities that put them at a disadvantage because of their race and gender (Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000). These factors make it difficult to imagine what they have had to negotiate through to gain any form of equality or identity changes. In addition race incorporates culture which also sees women negotiating through customs steeped in tradition where there exist culturally shared expectations about what is appropriate for a woman's role and what is not (Sidanius & Veniegas, 2000). Class creates a confounding variable because what is seen to represent 'middle class' and 'white or black' in South Africa would mean something completely different in the first world country where middle class would be equated to the bottom half of the middle class or possibly working class.

Consequently, while these factors would have been both informative and relevant to understand how women construct masculinity, the design of the study would have limited the generalizability of the results across class and race.

#### **6.8 Recommendations**

This study did incorporate details of race in the questionnaire as a possible variable to explore. But as stipulated above the experience of being black and a woman in South Africa would be different from that of a black woman in the Philippines or America. To control for all these experiences and differences were beyond the scope of this quantitative study. Ideally adding a qualitative component to the study whereby women could describe their experience in terms of their race and class could produce themes that add understanding to their constructions of themselves and therefore masculinity. However, given the way the participants were sampled, adding a section for a small narrative might have deterred women from participating given the length and time taken to complete the questionnaire.

Lastly to gain information regarding the effect class and race has on constructions of masculinity; the sample size would have to be significantly larger to gain this information. In addition, a more purposive equal sample of each race and class would have to be sampled to gain insight into these factors. One flaw in this recommendation is that the sample generated was done on Facebook and as a result assumed the participants would be from more or less middle class to have access to a computer. Thus, the sampling technique alone eliminates the lower class as a possible sample to explore.

Research on women's construction of masculinity is very sparse and as a result further research into the area would be advantageous. The factors of race and class would play a significant role into further understanding how masculinity is constructed. Past research has focussed mainly on whether if women construct masculinity differently across contexts and this has been continuously proven. However the differences pertaining to reasons of race and class have not been explored as factors in these investigations and this would be a significant gap in the research to explore.

# **Chapter 7: Conclusion**

Most research on the construction of masculinity to date has concentrated on the way men construct and perpetuate hegemonic masculinity. In fact Talbot and Quayle (2010) highlighted just how much of masculine studies have concentrated research on men's role in construction of masculinity and how women have been positioned as "passive recipients rather than active agents in the construction of masculinity" (Talbot & Quayle, 2010, p. 256). Talbot & Quayle (2010) recognized the part women played in the constructions of different masculinities. Women were actively involved in perpetuating hegemonic masculinities which continued to sustain the preservation of "oppressive gender relations and identities" (Talbot & Quayle, 2010, p. 256).

Talbot & Quayle (2010) investigated five South African women's construction of masculinity in the four contexts of work, family, friendship and romantic relationships. What was found was that women constructed traditional hegemonic masculinities in the contexts of family and romance but as violations in the work and friendship context. On the other hand, "nice guy" masculinities were valued in work and friendship contexts but "marginalized in romantic discourses" (Talbot & Quayle, 2010, p. 274). It was also established that these constructions shifted and allowed for certain degrees of negotiation into how much of hegemonic or nice guy traits could be seen to be acceptable in a context it would otherwise be seen as a violation. One factor was found that if the masculinity matched the woman's own goals and ambitions and made sense to the circumstance a shift in the type of masculinity exhibited could be seen as acceptable (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). For example, if a woman wished to pursue a career than the male taking up the stay at home dad, engaging in domestic "traditional female" roles (violations of hegemonic masculinity) would be seen as acceptable in this situation.

The study done by Talbot & Quayle, 2010, was a qualitative study and while it demonstrated women's constructions of their ideal masculinities, it was made up of a small

sample which could not be generalised to the population. Brittain (2010, 2011) extended this study and conducted two quantitative studies; one in 2010 and 2011 (Brittain, 2010, 2011). Both studies investigated women's constructions of masculinity across the contexts of friendship, family/romance and work/colleague relations. The first sample was of middle aged women and the second was of university-attending women. The results differed to Talbot & Quayle, (2010), in that although women still advocated for hegemonic masculinity in the romance/family context, they constructed the ideal man in the work colleague as possessing traditionally hegemonic masculine traits. In the context of friendship "nice guy" masculinities were still valued.

This study sought to replicate and extend the study of Brittain (2010, 2011) by investigating whether women from different countries across the world differ in their constructions of ideal masculinities across different contexts of their lives. Thus it aimed to determine if women's demographic background would influence their construction of masculinity and in turn advocate for the continuation of hegemonic masculinity and the continued subordination of their own sex.

The methodology that was employed was a replication of Brittain (2010, 2011) study. It employed a quantitative method, using a two part questionnaire composed of a list of traits used to generate data. Brittain, 2010 compiled a list of 35 characteristics from various sources, including the Gough adjective check list as well as synonyms and norms of masculinity identified by Talbot & Quayle, (2010), Prentice and Carranza (2002), and Sherriffs and Mckee (1957). 159 women were sampled from 16 different countries across the world. These women were grouped according to the UNDP which divided them up into the categories of low, medium and high equality. The participants took part in a survey to determine the mean manly score for each characteristic. The second part of the study used a questionnaire to determine each woman's construction of the ideal man across four domains of; family, friendship, romance and work. This study aimed to extend the studies done previously that only sampled women from the South African population, thus possibly making the results more generalizable. Through the use of ANOVA and discriminant function analysis the results were analysed to determine if there was a significant difference in manliness scores across the four domains. In addition it aimed to determine if the equality

status of the country the women originated from would impact on the way they constructed masculinity.

The results to a certain degree supported the original study conducted by Talbot & Quayle (2010). Women generally advocated and perpetuated hegemonic masculinity in the contexts of romance and family life. It also showed that most women will advocate for 'nice guy' masculinities in the context of friendships. This study discovered that women advocated for traditional hegemonic masculine characteristics in the context of work. This differed from Talbot and Quayle (2010) which showed that the "nice guy" constructions were made by women for the work colleague. The extended part of the study investigated whether the equality status of the women would impact on their constructions of masculinity in their ideal man in the different contexts. The results showed that women from low equality countries constructed their ideal man as traditionally hegemonically masculine in all contexts of their lives, including the context of friendship. For the medium and higher equality countries, more egalitarian characteristics were chosen but women generally constructed their ideal romantic partner and family man as possessing hegemonic masculine traits. The results were consistent with Brittain (2010, 2011) in that women advocated for nice guy traits in friendship and for hegemonic masculinity in context of work.

The results thus highlight the part women play in the construction of masculinity. From these studies it can be seen that women can no longer be seen as passive recipients of masculinity but active agents in its construction and maintenance. More importantly, it shows that women play a part in the continuation of forms of dominant masculinity that continues the perpetuation of gender stereotypes as well as the continued subordination of other masculinities and women.

Identities are constructed from the roles and characteristics that one takes up in social interactions (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Thus through time there has been a shift as to how men and women negotiate roles and responsibilities in their lives. Thus "women might construct differing forms of femininities, emphasized and liberated, in differing contexts as they recognize and support situational masculinities" (Talbot & Quayle, 2010, p.10). Consequently, femininity and masculinity are mutually exclusive and cannot be displayed in

the extremes by the same person. For example a woman cannot take up the role of sole income provider and still expect to uphold her position of emphasized femininity as the carer, nurturer and passive role of wife and mother. A shift of identities has occurred which requires compromise and complimentary identities to be enacted even if they are not done by the traditional gender parties (Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

One aspect of the study showed women perpetuate the continued construction of hegemonic masculinity in the context of work. In this context women may view masculine characteristics as more valuable and able to work in a context that is more competitive, ruthless and challenging (Rudman & Glick, 1999). To enact emphasized femininity in this context would complement the male work colleagues characteristic, but would leave women with the disadvantage of being seen as weak, possessing characteristics not fit for the job and inhibit their chances of employment (Rudman & Glick, 1999). Thus women still possess their femininity but adjust it according to the work context. Thus women are appropriating the same practices that men long used to keep women out of the professional world" but are doing so as part of their own identity narrative that they have chosen because it corresponds with their own ambition and constructions of themselves in the word of work (Rudman & Glick, 1999; Talbot & Quayle, 2010).

In this research it was shown that women continue to maintain and perpetuate the construction of hegemonic masculinity in the context of family man and romance. Thus women regardless of their equality status are prepared to support and perpetuate hegemonic masculinity in order to engage in the ideal of romantic partnership (Brittain, 2010, 2011; Messerschmidt, 2012; Talbot & Quayle, 2010). Thus it appears that the desire to feel loved, protected, dominated and completely dependent on someone relies on the perpetuation of hegemonic masculine ideals (Talbot & Quayle, 2010). To not allow for this construction could mean the compromise of a female identity, the forced acceptance of less than desirable "nice guy" masculinity and the loss of romance. Nonetheless, this appeal to women seems so strong and advocated for that they are willing to preserve the gender-unequal status quo and their own continued subjugation in order to experience romance, fantasy love, falling in love and being in love.

Post feminism has been significant in the part it has played for the advancement of women. The role feminism can play in contemporary women's lives is now being explored and what it has to offer to them in terms of roles and identities (Mukherjea, 2011). It is recognised that "equal partnerships of all gender configurations are the most desirable, but they are also always untested ground, by their nature requiring the suspension of presuppositions" (Mukherjea, 2011, p. 16). The limitations of feminism are that change from a patriarchal society to a more equal one takes time to adjust to and accept. The change in gender roles and the negotiation of identities creates confusion and disappointment as women realise that "as they reach professional plateaus ....there is no fairy tale knight in shining armour to offset the difficulties of their daily work lives" (Mukherjea, 2011, p. 16). Therefore as they take up new identities they realise their other identities may be compromised and put on hold. As a result women's changing femininity influences changing ideals of masculinity and contribute to how they construct masculinity in different contexts. However it is recognised that in some contexts such as romance and family, women are still prepared to construct hegemonic masculinity and as a result may unintentionally contribute to the subjugation of women.

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# **Appendices:**

# Appendix 1: Letter sent requesting assistance to participate in research

Dear (name). I am a Psychology master's student from the University of Kwazulu-Natal in South Africa. I am contacting women on Facebook on various sites to request their participation in my research. The research is investigating women's perceptions of masculinity and what characteristics women would want their ideal man to possess in the different domains of romance, family man, work colleague and friendship. I would be very appreciative if you could take part. The research is sampling women located in different countries across the world to attempt to get a wide perspective on the matter. Participating in the research would be completely voluntary. Of course if you do not wish to partake I thank you for your time and hope no inconvenience was caused. If you would like to participate please would you send me an email on Facebook with your preferred email address and I would begin by first sending you an informed consent form that allows you to consent to partaking in the study. This will outline the nature of the study to provide you with the opportunity to formerly make the decision to partake or withdraw. After which you would return the consent form and a questionnaire would be sent to you.

If you have any questions regarding the study please feel free to contact me via the Facebook email or on the following address <u>cjresearch2011@gmail.com</u>

Thank you very much for your time

Yours Sincerely

Charlene Cole

# **Appendix 2: Informed Consent Form:**

This study is entitled "Women's stereotypes of masculinity across the different contexts of work, family, Friendship and romance and their impact on female identity narratives" and is part of my Master's degree in psychology at the University of KwaZulu-Natal South Africa. The study seeks to explore women's constructions of ideal masculinities in terms of personality traits and characteristics in different contexts of their lives. If you decide to participate, it will take up about 10 minutes of your time and would be greatly appreciated. You would be asked to fill out 4 questionnaires about masculinity. In addition it would require you to fill out a small survey rating the qualities on how masculine the characteristics are. Participation is voluntary and participants are free to withdraw from the study at any time without any negative consequences. The questionnaire is designed in such a way that the researcher will be the only one who receives your answers. Your names will not be revealed in the study, however because of the digital means of administering this questionnaire, to get consent your name will be on this form. All the consent forms from the study will be kept by the researcher for a period of 5 years in a digital form that is password protected and encryption on a protected email database and will then be destroyed via deletion. The results of this study will be written into a dissertation report which will form part of my Masters degree, and may be presented at conferences. There may also be a chance that information from this study could be used for further research or possibly published in journal articles in the future, but since it requires no personal information and the informed consent forms would

be destroyed, no information w	vill be traced back to you.
ſ <sub></sub>	acknowledge that I have read the above information and understand what
is being asked of me. I acknow	vledge that I am participating voluntarily and of my own free will. Furthermore I
understand that I may withdra	w from the research at any time without any negative consequences. Lastly that l
consent for my information to	be used in this study and that all personal information I provide will be kept
confidential in the writing up o	f this research.
Participant's Name:	Date:
Please would you save this to	your documents, open the word document and fill out your name in the space
provided. Save it. Then could	d you attach your now signed form to an email and send it to this address:
ciresearch2011@gmail.com	

Once this email is received I will send you a copy of the questionnaire and survey where you would follow the same process. Your questionnaire will be kept separate from your consent form so that I cannot link the two together thus ensuring confidentiality is kept at all times.

Should you wish to ask for further information please feel free to contact me Charlene Cole with your questions at the email address given below.

Researcher:

Charlene Cole

Email: 207515284@ukzn.ac.za

Appendix 3: Questionnaire	
Current Country of Residence:	
Duration of occupancy in country	of residence:
Age :	Country of origin:
Ethnicity:	

## **Questionnaire 1:**

Please take a moment to think about your 'ideal family man'. Think about what you would like from him in terms of the role that he will play in the family and also in terms of the ideal characteristics that you would like him to possess. Then please mark with an X on the left of the word the 10 words on the list below which best describe this 'ideal family man'. Please then rate the characteristics in the column to the right of the word; for example: put '1' next to the most important characteristic that you have chosen, then '2', up until '10' for the least important.

## **Example**

X	Assertive	1
	Driven	
X	Courageous	2
X	Powerful	4
	Decisive	
	Friendly	
X	Masculine	3

Now after you have thought about what you would like in your 'ideal family man' please mark the 10 characteristics with an X on the left and rate them 1-10 from most important to least on the right.

assertive	sympathetic
driven	strong
courageous	sensitive
powerful	kind
decisive	outgoing
friendly	dynamic
masculine	sincere
hardworking	handsome
ambitious	understanding
nice	respectful
reliable	dependable
thoughtful	confident
easy going	tough
self-controlled	affectionate
protective	dominant
intelligent	self-reliant
helpful	adaptable
	caring

# **Questionnaire 2:**

Please take a moment to think about your 'ideal male friend'. Think about what you would like from him in terms of the role that he will play in your life and also in terms of the ideal characteristics that you would like him to possess. Then please mark with an X on the left the 10 words on the list below which best describe this 'ideal male friend'. Please then rate the characteristics in the column to the right of the word; for example: put '1' next to the most important characteristic that you have chosen, then '2', up until '10' for the least important.

assertive	sympathetic
driven	strong
courageous	sensitive
powerful	kind
decisive	outgoing
friendly	dynamic
masculine	sincere
hardworking	handsome
ambitious	understanding
nice	respectful
reliable	dependable
thoughtful	confident
easy going	tough
self-controlled	affectionate
protective	dominant
intelligent	self-reliant
helpful	adaptable
	caring

# **Questionnaire 3:**

Please take a moment to think about your 'ideal male work colleague'. Think about what you would like from him in terms of the role that he will play in your life and in the work environment with you and also in terms of the ideal characteristics that you would like him to possess. Then please mark with an X on the left the 10 words on the list below which best describe this 'ideal male work colleague'. Please then rate the characteristics in the column to the right of the word; for example: put '1' next to the most important characteristic that you have chosen, then '2', up until '10' for the least important..

assertive	sympathetic
driven	strong
courageous	sensitive
powerful	kind
decisive	outgoing
friendly	dynamic
masculine	sincere
hardworking	handsome
ambitious	understanding
nice	respectful
reliable	dependable
thoughtful	confident
easy going	tough
self-controlled	affectionate
protective	dominant
intelligent	self-reliant
helpful	adaptable
	caring

# **Questionnaire 4:**

Please take a moment to think about your 'ideal romantic partner'. Think about what you would like from him in terms of the role that he will play in your relationship and also in terms of the ideal characteristics that you would like him to possess. Then please mark with an X on the left the 10 words on the list below which best describe this 'ideal romantic partner'. Please then rate the characteristics in the column to the right of the word; for example: put '1' next to the most important characteristic that you have chosen, then '2', up until '10' for the least important.

assertive	sympathetic
driven	strong
courageous	sensitive
powerful	kind
decisive	outgoing
friendly	dynamic
masculine	sincere
hardworking	handsome
ambitious	understanding
nice	respectful
reliable	dependable
thoughtful	confident
easy going	tough
self-controlled	affectionate
protective	dominant
intelligent	self-reliant
helpful	adaptable
	caring

# **Appendix 4: The Survey**

Please take a moment and examine the various characteristics you see below. Please think about what you yourself consider 'manly' and what you consider to be 'unmanly'. Now please rate **ALL** the characteristics in the list with '1' being 'not manly' and '10' being the 'most manly'. Each characteristic should have a number next to it when you are done.

Not manly 1 2 3 4 5 6 7 8 9 10 Very manly

	1 1 1	
assertive	sympathetic	
driven	strong	
courageous	sensitive	
powerful	kind	
decisive	outgoing	
friendly	dynamic	
masculine	sincere	
hardworking	handsome	
ambitious	understanding	
nice	respectful	
reliable	dependable	
thoughtful	confident	
easy going	tough	
self-controlled	affectionate	
protective	dominant	
intelligent	self-reliant	
helpful	adaptable	
caring		<u> </u>