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Masculinity Studies

An Interdisciplinary Approach

Edited by Feyza Bhatti

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Meet the editor

Dr. Feyza Bhatti is a mixed-methods social science researcher with substantive experience and interest in gender studies, particularly focusing on understanding gendered workplaces, gender inequalities, and the social and work experiences of women, men and marginalized groups in developing countries. After completing her BA and MS in economics, she received her Ph.D. in sociology from the University of Edinburgh, Scotland. She is currently the Vice Dean of the Faculty of Business, director of the Center for Gender Studies, and vice director of the Institute of Graduate Studies and Research at the Girne American University, Cyprus.

Contents

Preface

Masculinity Studies - An Interdisciplinary Approach results from the increasing amount of research on men and masculinities in contemporary times. The book brings together scholarly research on theoretical developments with empirical research on men and masculinities from different parts of the world.

The six chapters of the book employ an interdisciplinary approach to highlight contemporary issues relevant to critical studies of men and masculinities. The topics covered – identity and intersectionality, employment, health and education – contribute significantly to research and understanding of gender and men. A clear message of the book is the need for future studies that follow intersectional and interdisciplinary approaches, and a strong discourse with feminist and queer studies to understand men and varying forms of masculinities that men learn, embrace and perform at global and local levels.

The initial two chapters of the book are theoretical. Chapter 1 provides a brief overview of advances in the field, the most common theoretical approaches and recent theoretical advances in conceptualizing and theorizing men and masculinities. Chapter 2, employing a critical lens, offers a counter-perspective to Cornell's hegemonic masculinity by introducing the "same shit" phenomenon and the concept of self-protective disavowal that indicate the pressures that arise from heteronormative masculine hegemony. It discusses how men are pressurized to perform in order to earn and maintain manhood.

The remaining chapters are empirical in nature, providing insights from different industrialized and developing countries. Chapters 3 and 4 focus on organizational masculinities through qualitative research on Israeli combat soldiers and male nurses in India, respectively. The semiotic-interpretive approach in Chapter 3 utilizes semi-structured interviews with combat soldiers in the Israeli army from different cultural and ethnic backgrounds. The chapter, while underlining the importance of intersectional focus, shows how ethnicity influences the construction of an ethnic cultural context which subsequently influences the construction of ethno-masculine identities. Chapter 4, using the phenomenological approach and thematic analysis of semi-structured interviews with nurses in India, reflects on the work experiences of male nurses, and how heteronormative masculine expectations affect their social and work lives. Chapter 5, explores how dominant masculinity influences lifestyle risk factors for non-communicable diseases focusing on adult men.

Chapter 6 follows a more structured approach than previous chapters. Through quantitative surveys, it highlights the importance of including university students' feminine and masculine characteristics for understanding the role of entrepreneurship education on students' entrepreneurial intentions in Belgium.

The book will appeal to students, teachers and researchers in social sciences and humanities, as well as professionals, employers and practitioners.

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Chapter 1

Introductory Chapter: Contributions to Masculinity Studies

Feyza Bhatti

1. Introduction

The (critical) studies of men and masculinities is a relatively new academic field that has grown rapidly over the last two decades. The field, which initially fed from sociology, psychology, history and anthropology, considers masculinity as a historical, cultural and social construct and aims to provide insights into the sources and manifestations of masculine power and domination, explore how masculine identities are constructed and performed and elucidate the differences and similarities between man as individuals or as a group around the issues of sex, sexuality, identity, culture and other persistent social issues within a wide range of academic fields. This introductory chapter aims at providing a brief historical context of the development of men or masculinity studies and a summary of central conceptual developments in the area.

2. Development of masculinity studies

Although men have held a prominent place in academia for a long time, this was an 'absent presence' as they have not been studied as 'gendered beings' until 1970s ([1], p. 1; [2]). While the women's movement gained momentum with the second wave of feminism in 1960s, men did not feel the need to question the legitimacy of their power till 1970s.

It was the feminist movements, and the interest arising from women's desire to understand patriarchal structures and masculine domination that steered men towards studying 'the men' in 1970s. Firstly, feminist movements have threatened men's 'privileged' status. With the gains of liberal feminism, and increasing women's visibility in the economic and public life, men and the male identity faced with a crisis situation. As the women's economic participation increased, the struggle of women for gender equality in a patriarchal world was perceived as a success of women over men. Men were 'losing' their good provider role [3, 4], and the traditional gender roles were challenged. The initial studies, therefore, were an effort to regain the lost status of men against women. This was an antifeminist yet non-political movement that argues that men are victimized as a result of the gains of the feminist movements [5]. A group of academics, on the other hand, followed a pro-feminist approach and supported feminism and discontented patriarchy. Instead of defending existing patriarchal structures, they accepted that men must transform in order to have a more egalitarian world.

Secondly, by studying patriarchy structures and oppression of women by men, the feminist studies have increased the need for studies on men. Since 1950s, women and gender studies have frequently portrayed men as the perpetrator of the repression of women and the embodiment of masculine power and domination. Although women themselves could also nourish the existing patriarchal structures [6, 7], men were assumed to be the group most resistant to change, unwilling to give up their privileges, and therefore, they were seen as an impediment to gender equality and reproduction of unequal gender-based power relations. Discussing gender inequality or relations only on the basis of women's oppression and suppression therefore was not sufficient on its own to analyse the gender roles, their mutual interaction and power relations within the existing patriarchal structures [8]. It became necessary to focus not only the women who make up the 'less privileged' but also the men constitute the 'privileged' [5, 9]. It was also imperative to understand not only how women experience oppression but also how men maintain their masculine power or build masculine domination within the existing gender systems.

Initially masculinity was seen as an internalized sex role identity that was shaped by cultural ideals and role models. It was relational to femininity, hence redefined as the definitions of femininity transformed [10]. The first wave in masculinity studies focused on the pros and cons of being a man, superiority of men in the social hierarchy and the difficulties faced by men. In 1980s, masculinity was explored as a social construction, and focus was on describing masculinity practices in specific settings such as schools, workplaces and sports. Men and masculinity studies have expanded notably since 1980s and have been accepted as an academic field of its own by the 1990s. Since 1990s, with the contribution of queer theory and multicultural studies, masculinity studies lost its predisposition to focus on men's power over women and other genders and has started approaching the area with a broader perspective. Last two decades have been characterized by an increased empirical diversity and development of new theoretical perspectives spread into a variety of social sciences and humanities disciplines. A growing number of masculinity scholars have integrated theoretical insights from third wave feminism, post-structuralism, post-colonialism, queer and sexuality studies as well as the intersections of gender, class, ethnicity, race, disability and age. The field, which was primarily developed in United States, United Kingdom and Australia, has also spread to all parts of the world exploring regional, national or local masculinities.

Masculinity studies mainly examine how masculine power is constructed and represented. It collaborates and debates with feminism and queer studies to reach a full equality where gender is no longer inherent to social structures. It tries to move men away from being a subject to be blamed by highlighting the pressures of masculine dominance that impact all genders. Thus, it urges that the fight should not be against the men but against the unequal structures that make all genders a victim [5].

3. Hegemonic masculinity

One of the key theoretical developments, which has been the 'central pillar' ([11], p. 25) and 'travelling theory' ([1], p. 6) that contributed prominently to the field of masculinity studies across the world, has been the concept of Hegemonic Masculinity [9, 12, 13].

Grounded from the concept of 'hegemony' of Gramsci and developed as a critique to sex role theory, hegemonic masculinity focuses on how dominant group, i.e. men,

establishes and protects its domination on women and other gender identities within the social hierarchy [14]. Hegemonic Masculinity is defined as '...the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women'. ([9], p. 77). Hegemonic masculinity is 'always constructed in relation to various subordinate masculinities as well as in relation to women' ([15], p. 183), so it can be understood as external hegemony, i.e. hegemony over women, and internal hegemony, i.e. hegemony over subordinate masculinities such as gay men [16]. Hegemonic practices, however, do not necessarily correspond to the actions of most men and can remain as cultural ideals.

Connell suggests four types of masculinities: hegemonic, complicit, subordinate and marginalized as positions to one another. Hegemonic masculinity is the ideal masculinity that is accepted within a certain culture at a certain time. As an ideology it provides a defence mechanism in which patriarchy is legitimized and maintained and defines the ways people experience and learn their world. It can also change according to time and place depending on the struggle that will take place in a certain culture. Hegemonic masculinity, therefore, is different from patriarchal masculinity as it constantly requires new strategies and performances to stay in power and rebuild power. It is not necessarily that all men promote the hegemonic masculinity, but most men would be complicit in sustaining it [5, 17]. Complicit men accept and participate in the hegemonic system to benefit from its advantages and prevent subordination. Men face subordination when they are not men 'enough' as they are not performing within the boundaries of heterosexual hegemonic systems and ideologies such as gay and trans men. Marginalized masculinities, although they share heterosexuality with the hegemonic men and are not as subordinated, are in a disadvantaged position due to their class, race, ethnicity, disability, etc., and they depend on the hegemonic masculinity for authorization [18].

The concept of hegemonic masculinity has received criticism that challenged the earlier foundations of the concept of hegemonic masculinity in a changing globalized world [16, 19, 20]. The theory has been reformulated to be more holistic and the idea of global dominance of men over women and assumption that masculinity is an assemblage of trait approaches were discarded as they were no more sufficient for the understanding of masculinities [13].

4. Masculinities are precarious

The concept of gender refers to the roles and responsibilities that are socially imposed on women and men in different cultures and at different times in history. In addition to the biological nature, gender also denotes the societal perceptions and performances of sexes 'in light of normative conceptions of attitudes and activities appropriate for one's sex category' ([21], p. 127). The attributes, behaviours and roles of womanhood and manhood are learned and internalized during the process of gender socialization starting by birth, and resisting gender roles and going beyond the expected behavioural patterns might lead to subordination. According to precarious manhood theory, manhood is a precarious social status. In contrast to womanhood, it must be earned and maintained through publicly manifest actions. It is hard to be earned but easy to be lost. In other words, a biological man has to assert that he is a man, he must act in a manly manner to gain and protect his superior status in the eyes of others, which might create individual anxiety and by causing various destructive behaviours towards other individuals and groups (women and gays) might perpetuate violence [22, 23].

5. Recent developments: hybrid masculinities and inclusive masculinity theory

The increasing criticisms on sufficiency of hegemonic masculinities as a framework to study masculinity in gender egalitarian and LGBTI+ friendly countries, new conceptual and theoretical frameworks have emerged over the last decade. Hybrid masculinities and Inclusive Masculinity Theory among others, perhaps, have been the most commonly used in empirical and theoretical studies.

'Hybrid masculinity refers to men's selective incorporation of performances and identity elements associated with marginalized and subordinated masculinities and femininities.' ([24], p. 246). Hybrid masculinities distance themselves from hegemonic masculinity, position the experiences of subordinate and marginalized men to more significant place than the experiences of white heterosexual men and explore the interplay between men's social identities and social settings and how it shapes its enactment in constantly evolving cultural contexts [24–27].

Considering the increasing involvement of gay men in young men's peer groups and increasing inclusive behaviours of heterosexual men in these groups, particularly in sports, Anderson developed the Inclusive Masculinity Theory to understand the changing relationships between young men and their masculinities and how homophobia shapes the construction and regulation of masculinities in settings where a decline in homophobia is sustained [28, 29]. Anderson creates the concept of *homohysteria* to define the 'fear of being socially perceived as gay', which becomes central to the theory. The theory posits that men's activities are severely constrained, masculinity is hierarchically stratified and one hegemonic masculinity is overvalued in homohysteric societies [29].

In addition to these, a number of other approaches/concepts are being employed to define the contemporary forms masculinities. Some of these can be listed as female masculinities [30, 31], business masculinities [13], medicalized masculinities [32], metrosexual masculinities [33], caring masculinities [34], ecological masculinities [35] and chameleon masculinities [36, 37].

6. Conclusion

As shown in this introductory chapter, masculinity studies are concerned with a perpetually evolving multifaceted phenomenon that has received significant attention of scholars from various disciplines over the last decades. Being able to better understand the men and masculinities would not only contribute to the equality of genders but also aid in addressing the issues related to men who have been traditionally invisible in academic studies for a long time.

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Chapter 2

Virus World Vulnerability: A Critical Reading of Gender and Performance in Bo Burnham's "Inside" (2021)

Chris McWade

Abstract

Through an engagement with the seminal work of Raewyn Connell on masculinities and hegemonic masculinity, this chapter argues for the hegemonic norm as producing behaviour among men that can be traced in multiple male subjectivities. The argument is that men respond to the prevailing masculine norm by enacting self-protective disavowal—a complex psychological process that involves the reordering of reality in the interests of the maintenance of power, and one that is seen in cases of both legitimate and imagined threats to the self and the body. Self-protective disavowal is at the core of the "Same Shit" phenomenon—the idea that while the experience of masculinity varies across culture and position in the gender order, self-protective disavowal is a constant that leads to predicable patterns among men. The discussion then explores deliberate vulnerability as a kind of anti-protective disavowal in Bo Burnham's INSIDE, a complex, undefinable 'special' released on Netflix in 2021. The chapter considers Burnham's work as a departure from self-protective disavowal and "Same Shit" masculinity through deliberate vulnerability and critically evaluates the value of this alternative, especially given the nihilism that reigns over the work and calls into question the validity of uncritically romanticization of alternatives.

Keywords: masculinity, gender, culture, disavowal, Bo Burnham

1. Introduction

Raewyn Connell has said that "Hegemonic masculinity can be defined as the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" ([1]:77). The position of straight white men, as we know through Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity, is atop the gender hierarchy, above women and above homosexual men. The "gender practice" (ibid), then, is performed out of this position, where there is both privilege and normative pressure. Connell also writes that "mass culture

generally assumes that there is a fixed, true masculinity beneath the ebb and flow of daily life. We hear of 'real men', 'natural man', the 'deep masculine" and that this kind of thinking can be seen in "mythopoetic men's movement, Jungian psychoanalysis, Christian fundamentalists, sociobiologists, and the essentialist school of feminism" ([1]:45). The term 'toxic masculinity' was coined by the mythopoetic movement and set up the 'deep masculine' as an ideal but 'buried' masculinity, predictably strong and warrior-like, to be sought out, unearthed, and (re)claimed from the rubble caused by the second wave of feminism in the 1980s. Under this ideology, toxic masculinity and its destructive aggression was the result of feminization, which "den[ied] them the necessary rites and rituals to realize their true selves as men" ([2]:online). Toxic masculinity has since operated differently in terms of meaning and is more aligned to meanings around #menaretrash, but it was initially tied to a view of femininity as a kind of avalanche over what was then identified as the 'true' way, or the 'right' way, and the 'deep' way of being 'a man'. It was oppositional, protective, and, alignedly, singular. It was also a way to appear to acknowledge the multiplicity in masculinities in the kind of logic of, 'there are bad ones, and there are good ones', but if we really chase the ideology down, it in this case becomes, 'there are bad ones because of women, and there is a correct good one, underneath the bad one'. And so, the singular force of ideology persists even within the function of the toxic masculinity term (both initially and in the modern sense) to differentiate between "traits such as aggression and self-entitlement from 'healthy' masculinity" ([2]:online).

Connell in her discussions of these kinds of ideologies takes issue with biological determinism, since "true masculinity is almost always thought to proceed from men's bodies" ([1]:45) when in fact the prescription of the muscular body as the ideal has been in response to cultural values of 'strength' and containment [3]. The concept of masculinities plural, in its design, sees Connell thinking and writing against the biological determinism of sociobiology for example, perceiving it rightly as reductive, myopic, and steeped in ideological agenda in the formation of a singular, prescriptive way of being – in other words, in the fields she mentions, the body is used as a means to fix and continue the necessarily narrowed empathy of ideology, and to discount the bearings of history and continued economic inequality that produce different experiences for different people, born into different lives. The very idea of multiplicity in masculinities is to acknowledge such differences, and to be sensitive to the relationships between material conditions that differ across privilege lines and gender. Connell criticizes the myopic, agenda-driven drive of biological determinism and essentialism by describing and undermining the claim that "we inherit with our masculine genes the tendencies to aggression, family life, competitiveness, political power, hierarchy, territoriality, promiscuity and forming men's clubs" ([4]:46). Indeed, such essentialism serves to hide the mechanics of ideology, and allows ideology to operate as if it does not exist – but what struck me on rereading Connell's seminal work is that while she knows this and that this is in part the point she is making, there is a preoccupation at times with the force of the naturalization of masculinity, and with the deception of ideology, and less attention to the become-fact and force of masculine ideology itself. On the list Connell gives here, the "tendencies to aggression, competitiveness, political power, territorialism, promiscuity, men's clubs" ([1]:47): these are not values and behaviours that can be connected to the body and the brain, this is true, but while they are values that may not be traceable in the behaviour of 'all men', they are constitutive of the demands that hegemonic masculinity makes. There is pressure to be aggressive, pressure to be competitive, pressure to be territorial, because the function of hegemonic masculinity is primarily self-protective. My point here is that

Connell's list in this case, what for her are the lies of biological naturalization, are values and qualities that hegemonic masculinity expects, no, demands almost universally. I am exploring here, as may be becoming clear, a kind of parallel counterargument to the very idea of masculinities plural – the plurality may be accounted for in responses to the Norm in terms of subscription to it, contestation against it, or defined by the means one has to do either of those things, but as Connell herself notes but perhaps does not connect to the issue of plurality and singularity, the Norm is powerful and far-reaching. She says that "the evidence of cross-cultural and historical diversity in gender is overwhelming" ([1]:47), citing cases, but not specific examples, of "cultures and historical situations where rape is absent, or extremely rare; where homosexual behaviour is a majority practice (at a given point in the life cycle); where mothers do not predominate in childcare (e.g. this work is done by old people, other children or servants); and where men are not normally aggressive" (ibid). So, these differences would certainly disprove biological determinism (which is not really something that is any longer in dispute, and is not really the point right now), but they are also cases of cultures that would be untouched by the hegemonic masculine Norm whose very aim since the colonial project has been to silently reproduce itself, to make demands of people for the sake of its own continuation, and who finds a breeding ground in the far-reaching systems of capitalism and of western religion. These cultures that Connell brings forward here (no specific names and places are given, but one does trust the author, although in this chapter I do not extend that same faith to Jordan Peterson – interesting?) and their difference to a 'true masculinity' must somehow operate under gender ideologies beyond the One we know, the One that we seek to know, that has reached so far, and reached so many, which is also to say, demanded from so many and affected so many under a variety of different guises. And that reach and the demands it brings with it... is surely characterized by a kind of uniformity?

While I am aware of the reductivity that one risks when exploring an idea based on uniformity, and the need to fight that in the thinking and the writing, I do think that it is useful to analyse common threads when thinking about masculinity/ies through the lens of ideology, and if we dismiss such threads in the name of the sensitivity to very real cultural differences, we risk missing something about all of this. To write in the realm of singularity and uniformity is to, on the surface at least, mirror the singular nature of exclusionary and defensive ideology. Because ideology is singularly cohesive – it communicates, and prescribes, cohesive, total(itarian) ways of being, and functions to suppress difference, creating and Disavowing 'threats' in order to define itself. And the value of approaching cultural issues like masculinity as multiple stems from that approach, which is to think and write from a more open and empathetic place, and to conduct research that approaches data as the result of multifactorial interplays between history and culture.

Having said at all that, at this stage, I want to put forward an idea. But first: in her Acknowledgments in the second edition of Masculinities [4], Connell shares that the book was "difficult to write" ([1]:ix) since "the issues are explosive and tangled [and] the chances of going astray are good" (ibid). This describes my own experience of developing this theory, which I do not consider to be complete, and to which I expect there will be, and also hope for, counterargument in the vein of academia as communal searching dialogue, and not what it is sometimes and arguably has become under pressure: a place to prove, and a place to argue. In response to Connell's Masculinities, I tentatively put forward the theory of the "Same Shit" phenomenon. I am obviously aware of the colloquial place that the expletive takes the title to, and have interrogated this diction. On the one hand, open access publishing and the value of transparency

that are at its core facilitates the kind of urgent honesty that we experience in colloquial discussions but which are, or have been, out of bounds in academic projects. Or at least, one may carefully push in that direction. There is also the essence of change in open access publication, which brings with it a measure of contestation of tradition, which, if one is not careful, can translate into a kind of rebellious arrogance as one gets caught up in the excitement of innovation, as predicated on and necessitated by the inadequacies or even failures of tradition. I obviously do not want to springboard from such a position, and am aware that my choice of words for this theory perhaps strays into that territory to an extent. At the same time, rather than communicating the urgency for a different, perhaps controversial model, that carries with it a criticism bordering on condemnation of the models that it bounces off, I want the "Same Shit" theory and the direction it proposes to capture more the essence of intersections, of synthesis through analysis, in consideration of what the Common masculine cultural norm produces and indeed reproduces. The intention with the wording of this concept is to, alongside and not in dismissal of Masculinities, bring focus to illuminating commonalities or "gender practice" ([1]:77) that, as the word shit also suggests, are: damaging, exasperating, powerfully disempowering to the excluded, the 'wrong', the Abject, and even the privileged who have internalized the demands the Norm makes, and fail to meet them. As such, there is trace in the formulation of the discourse of Toxic Masculinity and more so, as I will show in a second, Fragile Masculinity and I do intend to, critically, involve these in this theory.

So, let's go. At the core of the "Same Shit", the things that creates the connection across histories and cultures, is a self-protective-defensive disposition, threat/'threat' management in the service of ideology, and what I want to call Protective Disavowal that we see in formulations of masculinity from both privileged and disempowered male subjectivities. Common among these concepts is also the force of normative pressure, which I argue has a distortative effect. Alongside, is the negative decision of masculinity, of masculinity as not: not gay (#nohomo); not dependent (i.e. independent – why not dependentless?); not weak; not feminine; not a 'pussy'; not a loser; fearless: this not/less formulation which reinforces the "Same Shit" culture of defensive-protection. Connell says that different men engage with this force in different ways, where hegemonic masculinity as "the currently most honored way of being a man [that] requires all other men to position themselves in relation to it [and that] ideologically legitimates the global subordination of women to men" ([4]:832) does not produce men who embody this most honoured way of being – in fact, "in the statistical sense; only a minority of men might enact it" (ibid). What we have then is a Norm, infrequently satisfied, but continuously exerting pressure to be satisfied: not normal, but normative. This is The "Same Shit": "Winning, Heterosexual Self-Presentation, and Power over Women" ([5]:282) the tough-guy script, the strong-and-silent script, the independent script, the homophobic script, and the promiscuous script, all performed under normative pressure, and therefore, with both dominance and self-protectiveness at the centre of it all, to damaging effects for everybody involved ([6]:124).

2. Common pressure and protective disavowal in hegemonic masculinity/ies

In the case of something so normatively powerful, pressure becomes the key word to consider, because in something so normatively powerful, there are high stakes.

There is a desperation to (all?) masculinity that is in conversation with this normative force. Pressure and desperation, then, can be taken as central features of the "Same Shit" phenomenon: while different men may interact with and experience the Norm in different ways, with their environment and its history as a major factor, there is a Common Pressure exerted by the Norm, and the responses it seems to produce are often painfully predictable.

There are arguments, highly unpopular in the academy (more so than readings involving cross-cultural commonalities), of masculine norms as relationally positive: the likes of Jordan Peterson (an academic whose claims are often difficult to check through research) saying that strength, independence, industriousness, and a strong will are not inherently bad things: in fact, they are values to encourage because they are aligned with direction, purpose, order. However, when he says that the left has conflated power and competence in a way that threatens competence, he fails to spend time with the dynamic of pressure involved, as he himself instructs us, with rule 6 of 12, to "set your house in perfect order" ([7]:9). Under normative pressure, a man does not seek to be strong to live a life of competence, he seeks to be strong because he must not be weak, because he is aware of the penalties that weakness carries – chief among them, disqualification, a metaphorical revocation of the 'man card'. ([5]:282) writing out of the precarious manhood paradigm hold that "many men view their gender as a social status that must be earned and maintained, and can be lost": an idea, again, illustrative of the pressure involved, and also raised by Marques: "masculinity is earned through ongoing demonstrations of manhood" ([8]:103). Now, the behaviour that stems from this pressure of 'earning' and maintaining has a single purpose: to protect the man's occupation of the topmost tier of the gendered hierarchy, a position that was written into law and reinforced ideologically and culturally. The goal is stay there, alone – to occupy the entirety of that space, and decide who is allowed to be there and who is not.

Now, a protective mission such as this has at its centre the management of threat, or indeed 'threat'. It is important to note here that because we are in the arena of ideology-become-real, of changes to law over time but not always to culture, these threats are often, and obviously, manufactured. The circular logic of the hegemonic entity is that it must protect itself against threats it has itself created in order to exist, and now must pressurise people to do the same, because its goal is simply the continuation of itself and the maintenance of its position, which also defines it. Threat/'threat' management, I argue, takes place primarily through Self-Protective Disavowal. But what is Disavowal, and what are its mechanics and, and through understanding it, how can it be a useful lens through which to understand the phenomenon of the "Same Shit" phenomenon when it comes to masculinity/ies?

'Disavowal' is certainly what we might call a 'strong' word that carries with it the force of words like 'banishment', perhaps because what the word communicates most immediately is a kind of forceful distancing. With disavowal, there is a deliberate act of removal of the self from something else: its primary function is to establish distance. There is here a refusal of (continued) association with, and a condemnation, a decree against. This reading is not inaccurate, but it is also not complete.

Vergès [9] defines the act of disavowal as "the repudiation of reality through parole and action". There are a few illuminating aspects of this definition – firstly, "repudiation" implies once again a simple rejection, but also, in terms of the legal context of the word where it is now most commonly seen, it is the "refusal to fulfil or discharge an agreement, obligation or debt" ([10]:online). Because disavowal involves

ideological gymnastics and the reordering of materiality in the service of agenda, it does represent a kind of break with the contract of reality: in the Prince of Egypt [11] when Moses says regarding the Hebrew slaves, "I did not see because I did not wish to see" he is failing to fulfil his natural obligation to interact with his reality, because of what fulfilling that obligation would do to him as a person, which is also in no small part, what it would do to him as a Prince. Aaron is incredulous, but Moses is saying a true thing. I use this example to show that there is a level of distortion involved with disavowal: a reorganization of one's relationship with reality, fully rooted in self-protective desire.

When Frantz Fanon reimagined his ancestry and adopted Algeria in a similar kind of way as Marley spiritually adopted Ethiopia, he was enacting a repudiation with the reality of his biological parenthood because "the enslaved father and the raped mother could not be his parents" ([9]:594). They could not be: the reality was impossible, and so needed to be changed. Fanon's genealogical disavowal was in direct conversation with racial disempowerment and, as a black man in 20th century United States, he was writing, thinking, and being from a position of disempowerment: the powerful in his environment viewed him as less of a human being, and, being concerned with the mind of the coloniser and the colonized, his theories carry the essence of the damage of injustice, and the drive for justice against it and so, the call for strength.

Fanon's disavowal of his biological ancestry was also directly connected to his conception of masculinity – his ancestral disavowal was in line with "reconstructing the black male body to evacuate any sign of vulnerability, of passivity. He makes it a tight body, erected and immune to any form of penetration in order to protect it against all forms of assault. The concern upon which this reconstruction rests is protection; yet it occludes any possibility of exchange" ([9]:583). This formulation, of the fixed, invulnerable body is recognizable as part of the "Same Shit" phenomenon: is this not the precise kind of body, the precise kind of normative masculine identity, that we see operating in White America and in the west, and that we have seen in operation for centuries among the powerful? The difference is that Fanon's prescriptive formulation for masculinity was constructed in conversation with an actual, and not imagined, threat to black men under slavery, colonization, apartheid, and racial segregation in the United States in the mid-20th century where threats and assaults to the black body were physical, ideological, cultural, and written into law. There were, in other words, real things to be protected from, and real ideologies to counteract that informed his particular construction of masculinity. What is telling, and central to the theory I am trying to advance/develop here, is that masculinity is defined in the way that Fanon defined even in the absence of tangible threats to the body, and even in cases where masculinity itself is a threat to others. In other words, white western normative masculinity behaves as if it is under some kind of disempowering colonial force. White American normative masculinity, for example, defines itself in much the same terms as Fanon's anti-colonial formulation: we see the same drive for protection through invulnerability, the same "tight body" ([9]:583) and the same essence of containment, mobilized through the value of strength, through the "evacuation of any sign of vulnerability, of passivity" ([9]:583). The same protective-defensive militance. The "Same Shit" phenomenon of masculinity, then, is that the performance of it is self-protectively reactive – what has been termed 'fragile masculinity' as a result of hegemonic masculinity as valued and earned, and the anxiety inherent in the pressure to perform in the realm of "the precariousness of manhood" ([12]:1169) in which one could lose their status as "real men" at any time ([12]:1169).

Next, Vergès says that the mechanism for the repudiation of reality in Disavowal is "parole" ([9]:581). There are at least two potential places to which this word could take us. First, again to the realm of law where the meaning of conditional release under surveillance creates interesting and contradictory implications for the part of disavowal that we assume seeks to outright banish the Other, the object of the disavowal. With parole as part of the relationship between the enacting of the disavowal and the object of that disavowal, the subject occupies a position of authority and control, but that is defined by continuous monitoring of the object of disavowal. Here there is punishment for what we might call "parole violation" in this metaphor, but there is also the continued obligation to oversee, and so disavowal cannot be accurately understood as the comprehensive removal of the Other from the self – as Žižek theorizes it, disavowal sees "the two universes of filth and of prohibition brush lightly against each other without necessarily being identified as such, as object and as law" (nd:34), which is not exactly the Parole relationship, but it is another take on how the object of Disavowal can remain near to the subject and how, through disavowal, attachments and meanings are distorted in the service of self-protection.

In Žižek's exploration of Disavowal, and as is hinted at by that previous quote, Kristeva's abject is a foundational concept. Žižek sees abjection, or the psychological disgust response, as manifesting in a number of ways, but most commonly writes of protective compartmentalisation: in the case of paedophilic Catholic priests for example, he says: "it is blunt foreclosure that voids those acts and objects from conscious representation" [13] and that "they just simply keep the two dimensions apart" [13] in order to keep functioning. Žižek traces the kind of permissiveness against law that such compartmentalisational disavowal involves with an analysis of the commandments of the Bible: he writes "The first commandment says: 'You shall have no other gods before me'. What does the ambiguous 'before me' refer to? Most translators agree that it means 'before my face, in front of me, when I see you' – which subtly implies that the jealous god will nonetheless turn a blind eye to what we are doing secretly, out of (his) sight" [13]. We have here mention of sight, of the connection between sight and consciousness. We might say that when the cliché 'out of sight, out of mind' is extended to disavowal, mind is in need of protection, and so sight must be organized accordingly. In Beyond Good and Evil, Nietzsche said, in a manner almost prophetic of Freud, " 'I have done that' says my memory. 'I cannot have done that' says my pride and remains inexorable. Eventually - memory yields" [14]. The impossibility of the real in alignment with the desires of the ego leads to a kind of war between these two forces, where desire, which is organised through ideology, comes to erode the material, once again as part of the function of self-protection.

We speak also of 'the way one sees things', again connecting sight to understanding, to attitudes, to perception and then to behaviour. The sight metaphor logically has implications for the issue of proximity in discussions of inclusions and exclusions when it comes to discussions around power, where the distancing we are talking about is not necessarily geographical (although sometimes it can be) but more in terms of the diminishment of the influence of the low-Other, the abject, the 'threat' on the self. This is why disavowal involves threat management ("parole") that involves ironic proximity with the low-Other, the abject, the 'threat' with that involvement being precisely and ironically about establishing and maintaining distance. Hegemonic masculinity answers the question, 'how do I protect myself from you?' (where 'you' is the 'threat' to the self) by saying 'we must be kept separate, and I must be prepared for the time you come for me', but that time, of course, will never come, and that is partly why this, the "Same Shit", at its core, is all so perplexing.

We can also, in these contexts, read Parole in disavowal for its linguistic meaning, as a third of de Sausseur's circuit of language as the component of tangible text and speech: the physical utterances of Langue. If this is taken to be part of how repudiation of reality of disavowal is enacted, what is implied is that in order for this repudiation to work and to function, one must physically speak it into existence, this standing as an indicator that disavowal is not a natural inclination of human nature, and that it emerges in response to needs that involve the protection of the self against imaginary threats or in service of goals that also work in service of that self-protection. Parole, as physical utterance, is also organized around difference – the idea of negative definition against: "Concepts are purely differential and defined not by their positive content but negatively by their relations with the other terms of the system. Their most precise characteristic is in being what they other are not." ([15]:117). Derrida then, of course, extended this concept into his difference and the chain of signifiers. The concept of negative definition within a system is not quite the same thing as Disavowal, as the latter involves more of the element of unconscious but deliberate (but unconscious) desire and choice. At the same time, hegemonic masculinity, the "Same Shit", is, as mentioned earlier, defined by Nots: not gay, not weak, not feminine, not dependent, not a pussy, not afraid. Ratele [16] writes of what he calls defensive fearlessness in masculinity where the lack of fear, the pressured not fear, is "a compelling pose of manhood that many boys and young men grow up to internalise" and that "it is more likely to be a defensive mask intended to communicate to others a lack of fear, a facade of bravado or being 'okay' even though one could do with help" . Defensive-protection is once again here in the language itself, suggesting that the avoidance of fear, urgently under normative pressure, is the driving force behind the 'pose': that it is the potential lack that looms, that is defining, rather than any aspirational drive towards courage. 'Fear' to be disavowed, to be 'lessed' is always right there, in the word, in the protective-defensive behaviour.

3. Virus world, men, and protective disavowal

"Um.. what the fuck is going on?" asks Bo Burnham in Comedy, the second, (and objectively best) song of INSIDE. The onset of COVID-19 has changed the world. Before Covid, interpersonal contact or proximity did not carry with it the risk of dangerous and even fatal infection. Now, in Virus World, it does. This fundamental change in human interaction prompted lockdowns by countries across the globe in attempts to curb the spread of the virus. People got sick, and people died. Governments responded. People lost their means of income. What have these changes meant for men? There have been many accounts of how the death rate for men has been higher than for women, with India typically as an outlier, with no one really being able to explain why as yet.

Many (see [17–19]) have, though, written with the higher COVID-19 death rate for a man as a departure point. In asking "why" there are two main areas that are typically covered: biological and behavioural, the latter of which has been connected to the culture of hegemonic masculinity. The biological argument goes that women have naturally stronger immune systems than men (a claim that when fact-checked brings up a minefield of contradictory positions from biologists). The behavioural-cultural argument deals with the responses of men to the threat of the virus and, relatedly, their response to prescriptive measures designed to promote safety. Even before the pandemic, this has been observable: men are less likely to wear seatbelts, are more

likely to be smokers and abuse alcohol, more likely to engage in risky behaviours in general, and less likely to seek medical help [20]. Now, apparently, men wash their hands less [17]. They are less likely to wear masks [21], and, although there is some debate about this, a higher percentage of anti-vaxxers are men [22]. This behaviour has been theorized as the result of the normative pressure of hegemonic masculinity by Palmer & Peterson in "Toxic Mask-ulinity: The Link between Masculine Toughness and Affective Reactions to Mask Wearing in the COVID-19 Era" [23]. They write: "Observers have further argued that the resistance to mask wearing may be rooted in masculinity and the desire to appear 'tough' [24]. Arguably, this stems from social pressures for men to adopt masculine norms such as toughness [25, 26], which are regularly influenced by agents of socialization including the family, peer groups, and school environment. Furthermore, men express greater levels of toughness under conditions of threat [27] and express differential attitudes toward actions such as help seeking when their embrace of masculine norms deepens [28]. Mahalik, di Bianca, and Harris ([29]:online) arrive at a similar conclusion: "We believe that negative reactions to scientific expertise may arise from traditional masculine norms for men who view masculinity as being in control and having power because they may be less willing to 'surrender control' to experts or let others make decisions for them".

Umamaheswar and Tan [30] have argued through their research that the situation goes deeper into the hegemony than this: the logic is that societal valuing places women in positions of caring for others in more cases than men, whether this be caring for children or the elderly. Such a position provokes anxiety, which in turn promotes responsible, care-taking behaviour. Men, finding themselves in this kind of position less often because of how society is organised, will therefore be less likely to take actions associated with keeping safe from infection: "when contemplating the risks of COVID19, women's experiences of anxiety and distress are closely tied to their care responsibilities. During the pandemic, more women (including those who are not married and who do not have children) than men reported having increased care responsibilities as they and their families adjusted to disruptions related to COVID-19. We argue that protection from these demands, rather than just efforts to embody a 'tough' masculinity, explains men's more dismissive attitude toward the risks of COVID-19" ([30]:4). This is a privilege thing – because men are, mostly, immune from being responsible for others, they behave in irresponsible ways. To a point, as well, men do not believe that they can be harmed –there is a desperate drive to protect the position of privilege against perceived threats to it (leading to exclusion without exception), while at the same time there is an attitude of that position as not only earned, but also as unassailable. Men at times simply do not believe that they can be harmed – the idea of their indestructability is somehow both pressure and fact. So, if one actually believes that they are indestructible, then they will not see the need, for example, to wear masks during a pandemic. So, mask-wearing as an example is not only an affront to the idea of strength as a sign of weakness, it is also just logically unnecessary in the mind of a person who has bought into their invulnerability.

In 2021, as lockdown restrictions began to lift as vaccines became available and economies continued to crumble, we could continue to trace hegemonic masculine self-protection throughout this whole situation. In August 2021, bro-Country musician Jason Aldean told his audience that his favourite part of playing that night was that, looking out into the crowd, he saw "not one fucking mask". Queue "U-S-A" chants. Aldean and his audience's relationship with the mask was framed entirely around the protection of personal freedom and so railing against restriction, first

feeling offended by the imposition, and then feeling relieved at the lifting of it. That's it. This was after Jair Bolsonaro had said in July 2020 that masks are "coisa de viado," or "for fairies" in a simultaneous conflation and Disavowal of masks and homosexuality [31]: masks were an affront to freedom, and the easiest way to dismiss them was to align them with the low-Other, Disavowed, but called upon to help clarify a position on an issue in this case. That was before Donald Trump in September 2020 had criticized Joe Biden for wearing "the biggest mask you've ever seen", bizarrely bringing size into a standardized object, magnifying his 'debate' opponents' act of weakness, of relenting, of giving into the wrong kind of protection. Trump said that he carries his mask and wears it when he feels he needs to, thus preserving his autonomy in the face of this 'threat' against it. These cases seemed fairly representative of the attitude of hegemonic masculinity towards measures prescribed to promote physical safety, that were experienced as threats to autonomy: seemingly more important than being physically safe is to be physically in control, where that control can produce the illusion of safety. Before COVID, we saw this kind of attitude in the case of Steve Jobs who, Kim [32] writes "avoided surgery because he didn't like the idea of being invaded, of no longer being whole". Kim sees his case as representative of part of the anti-vax psychology as he embodied "the core fear behind most people's views of medicine: the idea that somehow one will come out of an operating room or after a psychotropic medication as fundamentally altered, no longer oneself, no longer in control of one's own identity". Were we surprised that ego was at the centre of Jobs' decisions around his health, though? And are we surprised that this kind of self-defeating "irrational self-preservation" ([32]:online) continued to manifest in the Virus World? That the protection of the sanctified self through attitude, behaviour, narrative and through Protective Disavowal of masks, of vaccines, of science, would continue into, even be strengthened in, the Virus World? Because the Virus is not a fire that we can fight – but somehow, still, we can detest those who choose to 'run away from it'.

4. Bo Burnham and vulnerability

And so we arrive at Bo Burnham. This book is concerned with "the social construction of what it means to be 'a man'". We know what the hegemonic response has been, and that it is has typical of its "Same Shit" default of self-protective Disavowal, and we (I) have defined that, hopefully sufficiently, at least for now. In such a situation, we then look for difference from that norm: is anyone contesting this, or doing or saying anything different? What are the alternatives? We must also be wary of how 'difference' has often led to the reproduction of hegemonic and toxic masculine norms because, we have been burned before. Early to mid-2000s Emo, for example, in its adoption of feminine aesthetics ('guy' liner, 'girl' jeans, a skinny frame) and a definition of 'man' that was introspective, softer and more sensitive, reproduced the same kind of violence against women that it purported to be against (see [33–35]).

Chris Carrabba of Dashboard Confessional in the corner singing in his trembling, high voice "this medicine is just what you deserve: swallow choke and die", Jesse Lacey of Brand New, in a lower but still vulnerable voice, singing softy "I will lie awake, and lie for fun, and fake the way I hold you, let you fall for every empty word I say" (by no means the worst of his lyrics) effectively conflated an embrace of sadness and depression and the character of the 'bitch' (ex)girlfriend. Lacey was perhaps an extreme example, unsurprisingly in retrospect found to have been grooming minors

(fans) and abusing the para-social relationships that his more 'feminine' emotional 'vulnerability' established and the admiration that many young girls had for him and his whole thing, but the kinds of sentiments he put forward in Me vs. Maradona vs. Elvis and others could be traced in the songs of Taking Back Sunday, The Used, All American Rejects, and enough others for this to be constitutive of that whole scene. Now, as academics, we try not to cast moral judgments or make evaluative calls around what is 'better' and what is 'worse', but, is the insidious misogyny of this kind of movement not somehow worse than the muscular jock archetype it used as a differentiator to execute the same kind of violent attitudes towards the women who found comfort and resonance in the foregrounding of 'common' emotional and mental health struggles?

And we had the New Man, supposedly "caring, sensitive, and non-aggressive" [36] but also a phrase in Utopian philosophy "that involves the creation of a new ideal human being or citizen replacing unideal human beings or citizens" [37]. So, something predictably sinister comes with. The New Man, though, beyond its Utopian philosophy attachments that I am (unfairly?) bringing up, is now "a relic of gender history" (ibid.): "they were around for a bit until they realised women didn't want to sleep with them" (2014), which was, incidentally, the goal of the Emo boy/kid as well. It was also a media thing, and, again, an aesthetics thing and as such, its lifespan was attached to the needs and goals of media representation. The New Man, the Metrosexual, the David Beckham, willing to embrace the feminine while maintaining the same values of the "Same Shit": protect, dominate, conquer, win, be not weak.

With this history in mind, let us, for real this time, turn to Bo Burnham and INSIDE. When Burnham first addresses the 'audience' in the 'special', he says: "welcome to...whatever this is". In critical, analytical response to 'the special' (which is what Burnham refers to it as, and which has become its de facto term of reference because of that and also through the force of tradition) there have been attempts to pin it down, mostly through employing words from other languages that are nevertheless naturalised in English through the western Canon: Kim Renfro [38] labels it a "poioumenon", an impossible pretentious word that describes "a type of artistic work that tells the story of its own creation". And, INSIDE does that, but is it that? Brian Logan (May 2021) has called it "Gesamtkunstwerk" or "an artwork, design, or creative process where different art forms are combined to create a single cohesive whole" [39]. This feels reductive as many works of art combine multiple forms – and, given the difficulty that has been experienced in defining INSIDE, it is probably not justified to consider it whole or complete. Wikipedia (apologies) tells us that Kathryn Van Arendonk has seen it as combining "confessional or journalistic styles" and Linda Holmes has labelled it "theatre". In his take, Anthony Fantano sees it as a form of a "one man show" and reads into it a level of "Kauffmanesque showmanship". There is a struggle apparent in these definitions of reconciling the performativity of INSIDE with the confessional edge that Burnham brings to it. The work itself seems to resist neat and clean categorization, and, predictably, we have tried anyway. Go us.

As for my own approach or reading, to start at the simplest place, I chose Burnham as the case study for this chapter because his work and persona when it comes to hegemonic masculinity have always been... different. Burnham is against the "Same Shit" phenomenon, in that he is against protective disavowal and the necessary narrow empathetic range of dominant ideology. The repudiation with reality is shelved in favour of a head-on collision with reality, and a creative documented account of the resulting explosion. He recognizes that what is being protected through hegemonic masculine Disavowal is not necessarily worthy of protection, and that the protection

itself is entangled with toxicity. Then, there has always been a resistance to pressurized hegemonic masculine terms in his persona and comedy. For example, in an interview with Pete Holmes in 2012 on Holmes' podcast You Made it Weird, Burnham and Holmes discuss masculinity, femininity, vulnerability, and homophobia in comedy. At one point Burnham expresses disdain that American comedy culture has become a "boy's club" and that while he enjoys and respects Louis CK and Bill Burr, has an issue with comedy as a whole being defined by "their perspective". At other points, he says "I try deliberately to be more feminine on stage" and that he allows questions over his sexuality to not be resolved with defensive, emphatic claims of "NO I'M NOT!" because "if you asked [him] if he liked tomatoes" he wouldn't respond defensively. He says "I'll be pretty openly anything" that he "was a theatre kid growing up" and that he "feels ostracised in the comedy club setting" Bo Burnham on Toxic Masculinity and being feminine - YouTube. In another interview, in 2018, Burnham said: "I hated those fucking comedy clubs, fucking brick two minimum masculine bullshit places. They self-selected one type of thing, of course women feel fucking awful to come, have you been there? Anyone that's even vaguely not like the most masculine person in the world feels uncomfortable there". Logically, then, we should "tear them down, they're from the goddamn '80's" [40]. Burnham also directed the excellent Eighth Grade (2018), a film from the perspective of a 13 year old girl navigating junior high in the digital world. So, there is all that.

Then, and relatedly, there was always the introspection, the confessional approach to comedy that seems to often be accompanied with feminine-leaning aesthetics, and that he shared with the likes of John Mulaney and Pete Davidson, and the expression of (self)doubt, pain, fear, the "steadily declining mental health" (see Bo Burnham - Can't Handle This (Kanye Rant) - MAKE HAPPY Netflix [HD] - YouTube) that seemed to work as a kind of anti-Protective Disavowal: that turn to emotional vulnerability that coincided with more 'feminine' expression, that also seems to have a connection to the achievement of resonance with the audience, in the 'capturing' of the 'Zeitgeist' through representation. The issue is that this capturing that we are talking about, and that INSIDE has been celebrated for (see [41]), Harvey [42], Tyrolt [43]), is at once an emotional thing and a creative and technical thing, and the relationship between those arenas, the tensions between them, in the analysis of this kind of work that is new in context, essentially undefined, and plays on the borders between fiction and non-fiction and is itself interested in what is real and what is not within itself AND beyond itself, and to do this through the lends of this kind of theory/literature can 'unstuck' a writer in short order. Another issue that emerged was that analyses of Burnham's work as both 'good' and as atypical in hegemonic masculine terms would end up alternately at one of two largely uncritical places: a celebration of his deviation from the norm (and his skilful, powerfully resonant framing of the (white) middle-class condition during the pandemic as part of that) or a condemnation of the inevitable insincerity of performance in the promotion of parasitically profitable para-social relationships, and the use of creativity and talent as tools of manipulation to meet these ends. Flowing out of the former, a celebration of the raw, relatable emotionality, the work achieves an empathy atypical of hegemonic masculinity secured through the artist's willingness to be open and honest about their feelings (which may mirror our feelings) and an appreciation of the insight of the artist into His/Our/The world. And related to the latter, a condemnation of a performative, disingenuous appearance of deviation or difference from the Norm that certainly fails to really offer any alternatives (does it seek to? Do/should we expect it to?) and, given the inevitable reassertion and reproduction of the hegemonic norm, perhaps does not even stand

as any different in the first place. This reading understands Burnham in algorithmic terms: relevant, efficient, agenda-driven.

In an excellent piece for Slate, Lili Loofbourow [44] writes in this kind of world in her exploration of "the Problem with Bo Burnham's Inside". The subtitle/tagline summarises her main point of departure nicely: "confessional meta-comedy doesn't have rules about the obligation to truth – yet". In discussing the ethics of INSIDE, and issues of privilege, Loofbourow uses the following example that is illuminative of her position and this kind of reading: "say, to take only a slightly more extreme case, that you see the modern condition as one of detachment, rootlessness, and precarity. Should you, a wealthy but tortured creator, channel this into art by presenting yourself as literally homeless and then encourage confusion between the character you're playing and yourself?" It is a compelling question, and one that pushes against the more common readings of INSIDE as resonance through admirable representation. It is also, surely, no way to be 'a man'. Where I deviate from her standpoint is at the point at which she quotes a "commenter" (unfortunately not named) on presumably YouTube or Reddit or another similar forum, who she disagrees with, as saying: "Art is a lie. The film is presented like a captain's log of a man living entirely in a single room by himself for a year. It's a fantastic framing device. Burnham might actually be depressed, and we know he has mental health issues (5 years of crippling anxiety), but he also has millions of dollars, a partner he has been with for years (which it seems his character in this film does not have), a family and friends, a magnificent career. It's obviously artifice but that doesn't take away from any of it because there's still a parallel sincerity in the art and a self awareness". Loofbourow's contention with this concept of parallel sincerity is rooted in the ambiguity between performer and 'character', between the material and the performance: it is the blurring of these lines that concerns the writer when it comes to the ethics of the thing. Loofbourow is not unempathetic though, and neither does she issue any sort of categorical condemnation, choosing instead to ask questions (some pointed and not fully rhetorical, but questions nonetheless) and to end the piece with a humility typical of the piece itself: "maybe what Burnham had to say about guilt and isolation and boredom and vanity and hopelessness and anxiety was profound enough to annihilate any irksome mismatches between the irony and the truth. Maybe the spiritual malaise he captured mattered more than the metaphor it came in. Maybe that's a measure of something Burnham understands about truth on the internet that I still don't". I think that this is the key. Loofbourow's article is incisive, and it comes from the mind of a critical thinker – now, this is an idea that I do not have the scope to fully develop in this chapter, but there is some relationship, some tension, and one that Loofbourow herself is approaching in her conclusion, between the intensity of emotion and intellect. Loofbourow's kind of position, and the one that she adopted seemingly from the beginning as the "special fell flat for [her]" is likely to come to the fore and develop upon rewatches of the special, in the case of people who felt the emotional resonance effect on the first viewing. This has been a phenomenon in the response to the work where the experience of it changes when one 'finds out' about the extent of the performativity and some of the emotional magic is lost. There is something here, I think, in the interplay between raw emotional response and intellect, between the trust of emotional recognition and the distrust of critical thinking, between, perhaps, the intensity of young emotion and the justified cynicism (wisdom?) of educated age. Critical thinking and deep analysis, I suspect, play some part in what we might call the amnesia of naivety, which has particular implications for emotional intensity and suggests a kind of loss, parallel to the gains, of progressing and refining the mind.

This is not to say that one cannot be probingly considerate and emotionally moved at the same time, but the growing body of work around INSIDE (with some fantastic articles like Loufborow's and well-considered YouTube videos like "Inside in Context" from Comedy Without Errors Bo Burnham - Inside In Context - YouTube but also some unironic React videos and some largely undeveloped video essays) reveals something in the interplay between these forces, which demands more focused attention than I am able to give it here.

Existing writing on INSIDE, as is clear from the above, has been dominated by the theme of performance. There have, though, been some readings of the work, and Bo's previous work, through the lens of the issue of gender. Of course, the song White Woman's Instagram has been the subject of such readings. Like much of the response to INSIDE, and in keeping with the elusive, ambiguous nature of the work itself, the response to White Woman's Instagram has been varied, to say the least. Griswold [45] has covered how this inherent divisiveness has led to conflict on online forums around the song in that "Viewers began to draw battle lines over whether Burnham was a misogynist for satirizing a young woman at all" with some reading the tonal change in the song as humanizing, as empathy for the caricature that is the subject of the song, while others "saw all of it as criticism of a privileged and vapid worldview". For all the balance that Griswold tries to bring to the piece, his conclusion to it seems to be in support of the latter. He writes, and links:

> *One fan said she had gone "all mama bear" on his critics for that; another lovingly called him "a giant twink" (he is six-foot five and has made jokes about being mistaken for gay), as if he could not intend real offense, or be serious enough to hope to criticize a kind of white, fourth-wave feminism that values individual gratification as empowerment, within an existing social system deeply rooted in exploitation.*

There is trace of the 'genius' narrative in Bo Burnham in some of the other responses, such as that of [46], who writes that "Burnham bullseyes his target" and other similar takes that emphasise the accuracy of Burnham's caricaturing (see "White Woman's Instagram": Bo nails feminine mannerisms : boburnham (reddit.com)). Gogerty reads the tonal shift in much the same way as the commentator cited by Griswold. After a call for white women in general to "get real about their own complicity in upholding the status quo" Gogerty writes that the shift communicates that the character's "project of creating Heaven via a stylized recreation of her life is not the work of an airhead, but of a person experiencing real grief". Gogerty ends with the point that "Burnham's whole comedy career is about having it both ways. His speciality is espousing a sincerely held belief while simultaneously mocking sincerely holding any beliefs". The 'both ways' argument feels somehow simultaneously like a justified take, but also somewhat of a cop out?

The ideas raised and the questions asked in this article circle us back to issues of performativity, empathy and sincerity. As a white man performing as a white woman, is Bo Burnham targeting 'low-hanging fruit'? Is he being mean, or misogynistic or both[1]? Does the tonal shift deviate from that and so cancel it out, or does it reinforce it? Is it all in good fun, in the name of 'comedy'? I think that when you really chase the song down and consider its role and place in the 'special' and album (INSIDE: the songs) this one is definitely aiming to embrace and strengthen the 'comedy' aspect of the work (much like Sexting, a sometimes funny non-bop) in the balance between

[1] This is only partially a rhetorical question

humour and relatable darkness and for that reason the empathy that Burnham allows the caricature (the "moment of soulful introspection" [45]) works more as a signature for Burnham than a genuine moment of empathy – it is, after all, a very Bo Burnham thing to do. It comes down to what we already knew, and is an extreme case of the criticism against INSIDE that counters the readings of resonance, relatability, and the "two-way mirror" [41]: that it is all about Bo, baby.

And so going forward I had to sort all of these issues and perspectives from each other and navigate this minefield of meaning, perception, response, implication while trying to contribute something of worth to this overall project – to explore and examine and follow rabbit-holes in a way that would not misrepresent the writing and ideas that were the basis of my application to the project in the first place. This process led me to the theory of Disavowal, the concept of Protective Disavowal in application to hegemonic masculinity/ies and power-driven proximities, and as grounding for that, the tension between masculinities plural and the "Same Shit" phenomenon. Ultimately, the thinking arrived at proximity as the defining key term for both masculinity/ies and Bo Burnham's work.

As much as it is about anything, INSIDE is about proximity. That is, the work is about many things, but it primarily deals with issues of how close something is to you, how far away something is from you, and the relationship between these proximities and positional desire as well as with "who you are" in the first place. Proximity, of course, is also the basis of hegemonic masculine Protective Disavowal, as discussed earlier: the necessary distancing of the low-Other 'threat', and the reorganization of sight-based reality in service of 'securing' a desired identity and positionality.

In essence, Disavowal concerns one's relationship with reality, and distance is an important concept therein. At least in part, the act of disavowal performs a distancing function, which is a function in the interests of protection of power, when it is enacted by those in power, of course. It is, in other words, a deliberate and protective-defensive reordering of one's proximal relationships. Part "leave me alone" part "I cannot have you be part of me (any longer)" "part you/this don't/doesn't belong here" Disavowal is a complex psychological process that is exclusionary and ultimately damaging. It is also typical, I have argued, of the culture of masculinity. And so we must then talk about anti-Disavowal, as perhaps the quality that drew me to Burnham's work in the first place. What is anti-Disavowal though, when Disavowal is so layered? If Disavowal is avoidance, is anti-Disavowal confrontation? Surely one can only understand anti-Disavowal as confrontation of reality exclusively or purely if we reduce Disavowal to mean the rejection of reality exclusively, when we know that it involves both Parole and protective-defensive action in the necessary repudiation and so reorganization of reality. This is again partly accurate, but again, incomplete. If we had to stop here and begin to extend from this formulation, we arrive at a tricky place where anti-Disavowal starts to feel like Nietzsche's Ubermensch, or worse, Peterson's Room-Cleaning-Man. The man who keeps his house in order, and the man who knows. And then even worse, thinking on the level of heightened awareness, we start to move into 'red pilled' territory. The alt-right has adopted consciousness, insight as values and the narrative of awakening, reacting against 'woke' with appropriations of Fight Club and the Matrix [47], intimacising these films with their ideology, in another response to 'crisis' and in another hypermasculine case of 'threat' management. So, the narrative of insight and willingness to 'see the truth' in attempting to define anti-Disavowal is... troubled by these cultural contexts.

So, perhaps Anti-Disavowal is less about insight, and more about the Disavowal of protection – that we may call the willingness to be vulnerable. To lay down the

arms of self-protective ideological protection and... see what happens. There is a kind of Romance to vulnerability, some feminine quality of beauty – the image of Wordsworth's "sea bar[ing] her bosom to the moon", calling to mind a vast mutual trust, a calm, Natural reciprocity. In INSIDE though and its context, vulnerability takes on a very different kind of essence: as Bo Burnham bares his bosom to the Virus world, things get dark. Hegemonic masculinity, in its protectiveness, is unyielding, and enclosed to the growth of meaning, typical of the necessarily narrowed empathy of heteronormative masculine hegemony. Vulnerability, societally more feminine, is open, but in it, there is now by definition a lack of protection: and whether the world is overwhelming or if it becomes that way through a nihilistic lens, vulnerability allows that world in, and in Burnham's narrative at least, it destroys us. There is seemingly always a connection between the performance of emotional vulnerability and sadness, at the same time as there is a connection between ideologies that have a broader empathetic range (e.g. socialism) and cynicism, a darkness that at times borders on nihilism. The reverse is also true: we see optimism in ideologies of narrowed empathy, this in the determination and hope that we see in conservative pro-capitalist ideologies expounded by the likes of Jordan Peterson and Ben Shapiro. Peterson, Jungian, cites the UN (where? When?) as saying that poverty is being reduced under capitalism, while Žižek, Hegelian, says that the light at the end of the tunnel is the oncoming train. In those pro-capitalist narratives, expounded by the likes of Peterson, there is belief in the potential of the individual to innovate, to affect positive change, to be resilient. But in the world of ideologies of broader empathy that have socialist leanings and that also embrace the openness of vulnerability as a gentler way of being, there is always inevitably darkness, cynicism. We have seen this kind of combination in Marx, in Žižek, in Burnham, in Mulaney, in Oberst, in Dylan, in films like Parasite. We do not really see it in Marvel Movies.

The other issue with regards to the sadness in INSIDE, (and here we are back on the issue of resonance and creative 'Zeitgeist' capturing) is that, objectively, things have been hard. Deterioration in mental health has become a large-scale concern, directly in relation to the pandemic and to lockdowns (see [48–51], and many, many others: the mental health impact of the pandemic is not a particularly contested field). Frank Turner releases "I haven't been doing so well" (the title that perhaps best proves the point I am trying to make here) Hilltop Hoods give us "I'm good?" ("I'm good, I'm good, but not great, how are you cos I'm kinda awful"), 21 pilots with "level of concern" ("is this how it ends?"), Blink 182's "quarantine" (an objectively terrible song, but one that fits on this list): all songs that have sought to both express and capture the impact of the change of the world on mental health, and all that adopt a position of vulnerability that also accounts for the relatability of the work. There have of course been other approaches: Jewel's "Grateful" and then "Gotta be Patient", a collaboration from Michael Buble, Barenaked Ladies, and Sofia Reyes, and, early on, the misdirected collaborative cover of "Imagine" led by Gal Gadot, with definite Do They Know it's Christmas vibes. And while these are not necessarily about the 'suffering' and the element of 'struggle' or reflecting that, they are well-meaning responses to it.

And so, Bo Burnham, speaking from a upper-middle class position, executes the reflective approach of 'this is what it has been like and it has been hard', better and with more skill than say Blink-182 ("quarantine, nah, not for me!"), and that seems to be an important factor in the emotional resonance that INSIDE achieves, along with

the rejection of the typically masculine self-protection response in favour of a more feminine vulnerability. Again, we can choose to look at this in at least two ways: as the use of talent for manipulation, or the creation of resonance and comfort through mutual recognition, especially through music. Fink, Warrenburg, Howlin, Randall, Hansen, and Wald-Fuhrmann [52] write about the ways in which music has been listened to and 'used' in the pandemic era. They draw on the idea that in theory, music "provides a sense of empathic company as indicated by reduced loneliness and heightened empathy" ([53]:online). While Fink, Warrenburg, Howlin, Randall, Hansen, and Wald-Fuhrmann's [52] research showed this kind of "social surrogacy" as a minor predictor in how their respondents used music to cope with pandemic-related stress, the case of Bo Burnham and the response INSIDE has had can, at least in part, be attributed to this phenomenon, where the "surrogacy" element, which is distantive, is reduced through the performance of vulnerability and the extent to which Burnham creates an intimacy with the audience. Certainly Klein [41] takes this view, writing for Forbes in a reading of INSIDE that is all about the issue of reflection, of this thing of 'capturing', Klein writes "simply put: our mental health is dire, our world is hopeless, and our internet is off its rails. Admittance lessens the weight. Thank you Bo for finally saying it. We're no longer alone with this dread". Exploring a specific instance of Burnham and 'capturing' 'our' 'Zeitgeist', Klein argues that the performativity of INSIDE, the exploration of "the pressure of performance" in it is one example of what he calls Burnham's "two-way mirror": "everyday life is now scripted and manipulated to make for better (funnier, sexier, more outrageous, etc.) content to publish. Content is our livelihood, whether it's for attention or money. When fiery outrage to emotional anguish catches eyes and cashes checks, it's hard to tell if Bo is helplessly stranded inside the system, or actually playing into it. It makes no difference. Inside addresses this tension". Such resonance readings, like Klein's and those put forward by [38], Harvey [42], Tyrolt [43] among others, focus on INSIDE as an achievement, and so as much as they emphasise emotionality, they also emphasise Burnham's skill as an artist, a combination of meanings that can also be found in the discourse around Bo Burnham as a 'genius' or indeed 'virtuoso' – Klein, through his title, makes the claim that Burnham creates resonance with the audience "perfectly" similarly to Di Placido's [54] take on it as "painfully accurate". That, in these kinds of readings, is something to respect, something to enjoy, something to admire, something to be grateful for – that the approach of these pieces is rooted in the idea of connection, of having found a connection in a difficult time, and that they celebrate the art behind the bringing of that into their world, is evidence in itself of the manner in which Burnham's approach of vulnerability in his work and his music as opposed to Protective-Defensive Disavowal can, despite the darkness of the work or perhaps because of it in this instance, produce net-positive affects.

In 1807, in response to the conditions of the Industrial Revolution Wordsworth said "the world is too much with us, late and soon". In 2021, Bo Burnham, personifying the Sinister Internet said "could I interest you in everything, all of the time? A little bit of everything all of the time?". Late AND Soon: omnipresent, All of the Time. In Burnham and Wordsworth, there is a complaint about the intimacy between the environment and the self: the ever presence of the shit of the world as at 1807 and 2020 in 'our' space. For Wordsworth, the Romantic, the antidote is return to nature. At the height of lockdowns in 2020, nature was effectively legally outlawed, or at the very least rationed, and a year later Mark Zuckerberg began to argue for the irrelevance of materiality and the human body in the exciting near-future here

metaverse original - YouTube. The condition of being overwhelmed for Burnham and Wordsworth is the intimacy between self and world that is "with us". In INSIDE, Burnham says on two separate occasions and two contexts that the "world is (so) fucked up", and then it is implied through the narrative that that fucked up world is "too much" in our space: one is reminded of the merchant in Aladdin (possibly the Genie?) who invites the viewer to come closer to listen to his story, before we, and the camera, come "too close" and squash his face. In Burnham, there is more suggestion that we 1. Created this world and then 2. Invited it in without any exit plan. Having foregone the usual masculine protection, either out of choice or because the sheer scale of what is wrong with the world ("systematic oppression…income inequality… the, other stuff") renders protection a folly, Burnham asks/pleads: "What do I do?" in Comedy. Good question.

In a scene towards the end of INSIDE, Burnham performs as a 'stand-up comedian', bare-chested and sitting on a stool, full beard that is less about masculinity than about the passage of slow time and self-neglect, 'interacting' with an absent crowd. The following is a breakdown of the words of the scene as well as the visuals:

After a kind of pained 'shared' laugh that we hear over a shot of the outside of the room, with the top-right corner of the door in the centre of the shot. This section of the building and door are painted with shadows of leaves. As the (probably electronic) sound of birds chirping in the background is heard and continues through the scene, Burnham says:

"man you guys are a great crowd, give it up for yourselves for coming out by the way tonight, give it up… [at this point, Burnham begins to emerge]

Here he leads a claps on the mic, which produces a hollow sound – no artificial applause or laugh track this time. He continues: "supporting live comedy in these weird times, uh, … [by this point the shadows of the leaves are inside the room with Bo, as are we (sort of). His body is in that shadow, from the nipples down: "it's crazy, um… these are some pretty crazy times but it's nice during these crazy times, that we can get together, we can laugh… "you know, I've learned something over this last year, which is pretty funny…um… I've learned that … [definite tone shift here] real world, human to human tactile contact will kill you… and that all human interaction, whether it be social, political, spiritual or sexual, or interpersonal should be contained in the… much more safe, much more real interior digital space, that the outside world, the non-digital world is merely a theatrical space in which one stages and records content for the much more real, much more vital digital space… we should only engage with the outside world as one engages with a coalmine: suit up, gather what is needed and return to the surface… um… and is it just me or do pirates need to take a little bit better care of their maps? ['joke' here around the tradition of burning the edges of childrens' 'pirate maps' and staining them with tea, then the punchline following on from the setup of, if a pirate wants you to go through all this effort to find the treasure [55]: "THEN LAMINATE IT!" Followed by a look that says, "that's the punchline, what do you think?" – tragic in context Cue "That Funny Feeling" song, which Burnham intro's with a typical self-deprecating qualifier: "I can't really play the guitar very well, or sing, so you know, [stutters] apologies" Now, what do we make of all this in terms of this as part of a reading of 'ways to be a man'?

It is true that "real world, human to human tactile contact" can "kill you". That interaction in this way has, in Virus world, become a risk. And it is this risk that (fact) led to the enforcing of lockdowns around the world, which in turn, led to an escalation of unemployment and near economic ruin. For people living in suburbs

or free-standing houses in wealthy areas, i.e. those whose living conditions intersect (sort of) with Burnham's, there has been widescale mental health deterioration associated with isolation (see [56–58]).

That, is a fact of reality. Faced with this situation, as we have seen, the response of men has been to 'double-down' on the "Same Shit" (see [59]): a case of Disavowal of a real threat (for once). Burnham speaks out the 'fact', in a performance of a 'comedy show', drowned in its own impotence, drowned in its own non-reality, having previously meditated on the failure of comedy given the 'world' as at 2020 ("should I be joking at a time like this?"). There is some narrative reinforcement here in Bo's words as the fact is that from 2020 onwards "human to human contact" can "kill you", but he says that it "will kill you". That is not true in the objective sense, but the fact of likely death is what prompted the lockdowns, which then became an unfamiliar reality that provoked the wide-scale anxiety and depression that Burnham is... feeling? performing?

The next question is: is this a 'better' way to be a man? Is this an 'honest' way to be a man? Is this, the willing-to-be feminine, willing to be vulnerable Bo Burnham, the suicidal 'genius', the 'virtuoso' who smells like "shit", (y)our king? We have seen that when the enclosing protection of privileged space against 'threats'/threats through Protective Disavowal is at the core of the masculine normative system, damage ensues. Burnham's work, and in his work in this scene in particular, embraces vulnerability, yes. He performs femininity, as part of that, yes. Through speech, he creates an intimacy between himself and the fact of the risk of human contact in 2020 – he brings it close, into his space, into his mind, and into ours, yes. And people have written about his success of 'capturing' the 'Zeitgeist', yes. But, the result of this manner of engagement, this manner of organizing one's proximity to the facts of the world, leads, in the narrative at least, to... suicidality, and therefore full circle to potential death. Burnham, adopting an anti-Protective Disavowal stance, seeks to forego the self-protectiveness of normative masculinity and is floored in the process and horrified by what he finds once the guard is down. What seems to happen in the narrative, and what we have to conclude if we approach INSIDE as a narrative for a second (as it is), is that if we are not busy reorganizing reality through Protective Disavowal in the interests of ideological survival in 2020, the unfiltered force of that reality and our own vulnerable empathy will thoroughly fuck. us. up. Unfortunately, adopting a position of vulnerability (or anti-protection if you will), which is a no-no in terms of the hegemonic masculine standing, will obvious leave one vulnerable, that is to say fully without protection, at which point 'vulnerability' ceases to be a Romantic quality, admirable in its anti-hypermasculinity, and becomes the beginnings of a spiral into the condition of existing in a shower-skippingly depressed state and a mental health "ATL (all time low)". Then, as Tim Dillon asks, there is the question: "do we want to get better?" or does the depressive element of this kind of work that seeks to be vulnerable, to have a broader range of empathy, to understand the world for what 'it is', come to define the individual such that the anxiety, depression, and suicidality become constitutive aspects of identity? And, another question, that I am not going to answer here, is this a case of the romantic celebration of the struggling artistic genius-man: self-reflective, insightful, atypical, depressed?

And can there be any hope in this formulation, any solution, or is the only alternative to masculine Protective Disavowal fully realised nihilism in the guise of feminine vulnerability, as represented by individuals with talent and means to spare? Does Burnham's narrative offer anything in the world of redemption, of a 'healthy' masculinity? I rewatched the 'special' with this specific question in mind,

and this is what I found: hope in the narrative is firmly situated in work. On a few occasions, Burnham sees the special as a kind of saviour: a distraction from "wanting to put a bullet in my head, with a gun". Towards the end, he says that he doesn't want to finish the work, because doing so would mean he would have to "live [his] life", something that he does not want to do (presumably, either his partner and dog are terrible, or he feels nevertheless lonely in their presence, as can happen]. The line in Content: "Robert's been a little depressed, no, and so today I'm gonna try just getting up, sitting down, going back to work, might not help, but still it couldn't hurt". This is not exactly a direct appraisal of the positive utility of work, but this line, in addition to the others in which Burnham talks about the relationship between his work and his mental health explicitly, reveals that, in his narrative, work is the only hope. The aforementioned line is also the only time that Burnham has used his birthname in reference to himself in front of us, so the content of the line can be taken as significant from the point of view of Burnham's message, if there is one. Then, the final shot of the show is of Burnham seemingly at the end of a (first?) full watch-through of the INSIDE product, smiling: he leaves us with a moment that is essentially "pride in work".[2]

This, perhaps surprisingly given all the atypicality I led this section with, is a normative masculine prescription: "For most men, any 'heroic project' begins when they leave for work" (p. 123). Now, Burnham's work is creative, and that has another romantic attachment to it. This is not the case for everyone, of course, whose work may be cubicle-bound, or even non-existent in the case of the 220.5 million number of unemployed people in the world [60]. We see Burnham setting up and testing lights, retaking drafts ("one more"/"I took a big fucking BREATH"), critically rewatching and editing, executing the kind of meticulousness that has always gone into his work and which has always framed his performances. In fact, arguably the most beautiful, directly affective moment of the 'special' comes at the end of White Woman's Instagram, not only because the song is over, but also because the angelic harmony of "whiiiiiite" that we hear coming out of Burnham's laptop, softer than we have just heard it in the 'music video', as he sits and reviews it alone with intense focus in tranquil semi-darkness with his hoodie up like Mr Robot or something, takes on a quality of searching beauty that it does not have when set against the completed video itself. The section we are played when Burnham is listening back and rewatching the song, unfinished at that point in the narrative and so still alive with possibility even though we have just watched the finished product, is used in the song itself as part of the 'comedy' – and he uses the rising sound "whiiIII" to comedic effect as he suddenly appears from behind some bushes as it plays, performing that kind of faux wonder, that exaggerated 'wow!' that is part of his performance of this kind of woman. But the sound only becomes hauntingly beautiful when it is set against Burnham working, like a man. And so, are we right back where we started?[3]

[2] there is an outlier to this as in the prelude to the song *30*, Burnham expresses disappointment in not having finished the project before his 30 birthday and says that the idea of still working on the special in "this fucking room" at that stage disturbed him. But this is less about his relationship between the work itself and his mental health, and more about feeling like a failure against a benchmark that has come to have personal meaning].

[3] This is a fully rhetorical question.

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Chapter 3

Alternative Dominant Masculinity: An Intersectional Observation of the Combat Soldier

Dana Grosswirth Kachtan

Abstract

The aim of this paper is to examine the construction of different masculinities through the intersection of gender, ethnicity, and cultural context. The paper will show that this intersection occurs through a process of "reciprocal ethnicization" between ethnicity as a social category and the surrounding ethnic culture. Ethnicity influences the construction of an ethnic cultural context, which subsequently influences the construction of ethno-masculine identities. In this way, there is a mutual influence of ethnicity on the cultural context and vice versa. The study is based on an examination of the military, which is a central organization for the construction of masculine identities; and it will focus specifically on combat soldiers, who constitute the most significant model of idealized masculinity. I argue that in order to construct the combat soldier, infantry brigades create various images of the combat soldier as a result of the different ethno-cultures of each brigade.

Keywords: diversity, intersectionality, hegemonic masculinity, ethnicity, military

1. Introduction

Critical diversity studies in organizations is a growing field of research, which attempts to build an alternative understanding of the positivistic and essentialist view of diversity. From a critical point of view, diversity is perceived as a socially constructed and perpetuated ongoing contextual process [1]. Within the broad range of critical theories examining diversity in organizations, one of the most recent and fruitful approaches has been the notion of intersectionality [2–4].

Intersectionality concentrates on the way social and cultural categories intertwine, focusing on how power relationships are constructed through an intersection of gender, race, ethnicity, sexuality, and other categories of social differences [5–7]. As such, intersectionality involves more than research on gender differences between men and women and within each group [8]; it is also concerned with analyzing social and cultural hierarchies within various discourses and institutions [9].

Based on intersectionality, the aim of this paper is to examine the construction of different masculinities through the intersection of gender, ethnicity, and cultural context. I argue that this intersection occurs through a process of "reciprocal

ethnicization" between ethnicity as a social category and the surrounding ethnic culture. The cultural context of the organization is constructed according to ethnic characteristics and therefore becomes ethicized. This ethnic surrounding, in return, takes part in the construction of ethnic identities. Thus, ethnicity influences the construction of an ethnic cultural context, which subsequently influences the construction of ethno-masculine identities. In this way, there is a mutual influence of ethnicity on the cultural context and vice versa.

This study is based on an examination of the military, which is one of the most notable organizations for the construction of masculine identities; specifically, those of combat soldiers, who constitute the most significant model of idealized masculinity. More specifically, in the research, I examine two infantry brigades in the Israeli Defense Force (IDF) – Golani and paratroopers. Both brigades have the same military occupation and designation and share the same training, nonetheless, each brigade is characterized by different culture and branded by different image. The differences in the cultures of these two brigades are the product of ethnic characteristics. I argue that in order to construct the combat soldier, infantry brigades create various images of the combat soldier as a result of the different ethno-cultures of each brigade. In other words, the intersection between gender, ethnicity, and cultural surrounding constructs various masculinities.

The contribution of this research is threefold: First, it deconstructs the dominant masculinity while challenging its hegemonic image and indicating that this image is diverse. Second, studies on organizational masculinity have demonstrated that masculinity is not composed solely of gender, but also of additional social classifications, which creates a multiplicity of masculine discourses, identities, and practices that produce different forms and models of masculinities [10–15]. Following these studies, I wish to deconstruct the hegemonic masculinity while suggesting an alternative. Following these studies, I wish to deconstruct the hegemonic masculinity while suggesting alternative images to hegemonic masculinity. Furthermore, I would like to enrich the use of intersectionality in organizational study, where the use of intersectionality theory is still in its inception [4]. Although masculinity in organizations has been examined as part of a complex social construction that is influenced by hierarchies and various social categories [16–19], the use of intersectionality has not been utilized to examine masculinities in organizations. Furthermore, while intersectionality research has focused on inequality [1, 4, 20, 21] I would like to apply the research of masculinity not only to the examination of inequalities but also to the challenging of hierarchies and power relations of hegemonic masculinity while suggesting alternatives.

Finally, research reveals that diverse masculinities are constructed based on ethnic characteristics that are embodied in cultural context. Critical theories of diversity have shown that diversity is contextual, localized, and situated [22, 23]. While these studies referred to the negotiation process within a context and to challenging or resisting the context, I argue that the context is part of the intersection that creates organizational identities. The intersection does not occur only within a specific context; instead, the context takes an active part in the intersection. In this way, the intersection is made up of gender, ethnicity, and cultural context. Furthermore, by making the cultural context a category in the intersection, I wish to explore intersectionality by examining both micro and macro levels of intersectionality on the individual, organizational, and societal levels [2, 4, 24].

The paper is organized as follows: I will begin by theoretical framing of diversity and masculinity in organizations. In the following section, I will present the methodology of this study and the research background. In the third section, I will examine

the process of constructing ethnic cultural context, followed by the intersectional process of challenging the hegemonic masculinity while suggesting alternatives.

2. Diversity in organization

Early studies on diversity in organizations focused on the way inequality is based on social categories such as gender [25–27] and racio-ethnicity [28, 29].

While these studies were based on a sociological paradigm, the following research is based on a psychological paradigm that focuses on the constraints and limitations faced by minorities in the organizations [1]. These studies examined the impact of social categories of various organizational aspects on the individual, such as equal opportunities [30] and performance [31] networks [32]. While the research mentioned above focused on the structure and mechanisms that created and perpetuated inequality, later research explained inequality as a result of prejudice and discrimination.

Initial notions concerning diversity in organizations were concerned with societal differences so that social inequalities could be managed and used by the organizations to influence performance, for instance, [33].

Critical diversity literature has questioned these approaches: First, studies on diversity have resulted in a narrow understanding of diversity in organizations, since they focus on a single category difference while neglecting the influence of, and intersection with, other categories. Second, these approaches demonstrate a lack of reference to a specific context and its role in shaping the meaning of identity. a critical point is concerned with inadequate reference to power that led to essentialized differences, without referring to historical, institutional, or socio-economic context [1, 34].

Critical diversity literature addressed these points and focused on a discourse through which identities and diversity are constructed in specific contexts [35], and the meaning of diversity in organizations is negotiated [36, 37], masculine identities [38, 39] and whiteness in organizations [40] are also discussed.

The most fruitful critical approach to diversity – one that has been slowly entering the research of organizations, and on which this paper is based – is intersectionality [4]. This concept emerged at the end of the 1970s in feminist theory, as a new way of examining social, cultural, political, and economic inequality [41]. Intersectionality began as a way of understanding the interconnectedness of gender, race, class, and later other social categories such as ethnicity, sexuality, religion, and nationality that occur both at the micro level of the individual and the macro level of institutions, society, and culture [5–7, 42]. Intersectionality is concerned with the analyzation of social and cultural hierarchies within various discourses and institutions; it reveals multiple forms of discrimination and inequalities and provides a critical view of how an individual or group becomes "the other" in normative surroundings within Western culture [8, 9, 43, 44]. Rather than focusing on one dimension, intersectionality theory emphasizes the complexity of multidimensional categories.

Applied to organizations, intersectionality has enabled the examination of multiple identities in organizations and their connection to the wider social context, which leads to the analysis of the power relations underneath the process of constructing identity [2, 3, 45]. Later research moved toward a structural dimension of inequality [20, 44, 46, 47] and to an understanding of both the influence of micro and macro, of the individual, and of the cultural and organizational level [48].

The first study of intersectionality in organizations focused on the intersection of gender, race, and class as a basis for inequality in organizations [46]. This study was followed by other studies examining the various intersections of religion, age, sexuality, nationality, management, and professions [23, 49, 50]. While the literature on intersectionality in organizations has gained much attention in recent years [2, 4, 24, 46, 51], it has mostly focused on the double (or triple) mechanisms of social oppression and inequality of women, thereby neglecting the role of intersections in influencing organizational masculine identity struggles, which are the focus of this paper. Furthermore, while studies of intersectionality have focused on the production and reproduction of inequality in organizations, I wish to highlight the way in which intersectionality challenges the image, perception, and demands of organizational identities, more specifically, in challenging the hegemonic masculinity while suggesting an alternative.

Based on the notion of intersectionality, I wish to examine the "performative view" of diversity that is actively produced within the organization [22] and to show that, identities are constructed while performing day-to-day activities based on various categorizations and classification systems [23]. Furthermore, I wish to move from the individual level and link it to the structural levels [4] by examining the construction of identities in the interaction between the culture of the organization and society. In this way, the research will broaden the intersectional theory of diversity by deepening the analysis of the context of intersectionality [52], and by showing that context plays an active part in the process of constructing identities within the organization. I argue that context does not just set the boundaries of the intersection but is one of the components of the intersection.

3. Organizational masculinity

Organizations are an important site for the construction of masculinity and masculine identities. In recent years, more and more attention has been given to the processes in which masculinity is experienced, performed, and negotiated in the context of work [12–15, 53]. Studies on organizational masculinity demonstrate the multiplicity of masculine discourses [54], the multiplicity of masculine identities [11, 55, 56], and the various practices that sustain and recreate different forms of masculinities [10, 57].

Based on Connells' research on masculinity [39], researchers began examining masculinity in organizations as a social construction process, this enabled them to explore the multiple, dynamic, fluid, and complex nature of masculinity. Consequently, more attention was given to the power relations between different types of masculinities [16, 18], including men from blue- and white-collar occupations [19], black and white men [17] and heterosexual vs. gay men at work [58]. As a result, masculinity is perceived nowadays as multidimensional and experienced differently in various organizational contexts and in different organizational ranks and occupations [38, 55, 59–64].

Within organizations, the military is one of the most significant sites for the construction of masculine identities since it has been socially, culturally, and historically perceived as a male institution that relies on dichotomous definitions of femininity and masculinity for its existence [57, 65–69].

The combat soldier is observed as a meaningful model of masculinity and is associated with physical potency, power, aggressiveness, independence, discipline,

sexual potency, violence, heterosexuality, commitment to mission, facing difficult situations, a sense of imperviousness, and, above all, manhood [38, 68, 70–73]. In this sense, the combat soldier represents the dominant ideal of masculinity. However, existing literature regards the image of a combat soldier as unitary and homogenous. In the current paper, I use intersectionality to challenge the homogenous image of military hegemonic masculinity by deconstructing its unidimensional images of the combat soldier. I argue that the various masculinities are constructed through an intersection of gender, ethnicity, and cultural context. While challenging the hegemonic image of masculinity, the soldiers assert legitimacy for ethno-masculine identities previously considered inferior to the hegemonic masculinity and suggest that they may offer alternative masculine identities.

4. Methodology

The analysis is based on a qualitative methodology that utilizes a semiotic-interpretive approach, which is particularly well-suited for examining the subjective point of view of individuals operating within the studied frame of meaning [74]. This approach looks for the experiences, perceptions, and behavior of the respondents. Additionally, it enables to examine ethnic identity as a product of social construction that is the product of performances.

Based on the interpretations and experiences of sixty combat soldiers, the current study proposes a grounded theory [75]. This research strategy provides an understanding of the social processes under examination and develops theoretical considerations that are rarely studied in this field, thus leading to the generalization of subjects' experiences and interpretations and the formation of a broader theoretical statement.

4.1 Data collection

The study is based on semi-interviews with sixty soldiers serving as combat soldiers in two infantry brigades in the Israeli military. The interviewees were combat soldiers who had completed their obligatory military in the range of one to three years after they have completed their service. Each interview lasted between one and two hours and was recorded and transcribed. In order to locate interviewees, I began with personal contacts or public notices, following that I used a snowball method. In order to evade the similarity bias of this sampling method, subjects were selected from varied social networks and from various geographical areas. The interviewees derived from diverse residential zones, lifestyles, socioeconomic status, family, religious, and ethnic backgrounds.

Using semi-structured interviews obtained a few identical questions, however, they were encouraged to elaborate outside the scope of the question they were asked, and to illustrate their answers by telling anecdotes, on the assumption that these narratives would further enrich the data.

All interviews began with a general question regarding the interviewee's military service. Although the intention of the general question was to create and was to produce a relaxed and comfortable atmosphere, I assumed that even this general question would generate relevant information about the brigades' respective organizational cultures. Following this, the soldiers were asked specific questions about the most notable features of their brigades, their perceptions of combat soldiers, and their ethnic identity.

The question enabled me to learn about the brigades' cultural characteristics and the process of constructing the combat soldier and to identify the unique culture, and especially, the unique masculinity of each brigade.

4.2 Data analysis

Intersectionality analysis offers not only one but multiple methodology approaches [73]. This study is based on an interpretative approach and a hermeneutic reading, which involves searching for repetitive patterns in order to decipher concealed meanings [76]. This enables us to focus on the perception and interpretation of the interviewees.

I began the first reading by looking at the interviews for the brigades' cultural characteristics. I collected all the quotes that demonstrated the brigades' cultural behaviors, practices, and norms. In the second reading, I identified the masculine characteristics that each soldier displayed while describing the brigades. While analyzing the culture of the brigades, I realized that ethnicity played a crucial role in the process of constructing the culture and the soldiers' identities. Therefore, in the third stage, I began an analysis of the cultural characteristics of each brigade, based on ethnic category. During the fourth stage, I analyzed the process of constructing masculine identity through the intersection of ethno-culture, gender, and ethnicity, based on the ethno-culture of each brigade.

These three categories became the basis of my theoretical model. In the following section, the process of data analysis and sense-making will provide further validation for the intersection of these categories as the basis of constructing an alternative masculinity that challenges hegemonic masculinity.

The analysis will be based on cultural characteristics that became apparent from the interviews, including noise level, appearance and dress code, music, phenotype, and the soldiers' nicknames. Beforehand the findings and analysis, I will introduce the background of the brigade and ethnicity in Israeli society.

4.3 Case study

4.3.1 Golani and paratrooper brigades

The research foci, the Golani and Paratrooper brigades were selected out of a varied infantry units in the IDF with the same designations. They share the same demands, activities, and purposes, and both the brigades go through the same training. Nevertheless, each of them has a very distinctive culture, image, and identity.

This basis of the distinctions is different cultural characteristics: the Paratrooper is professed, both by society and the military, as prestigious and elitist joined by unique symbols. This is a volunteer brigade and there is a selection process. The military provides them distinct uniforms, and they undergo parachute course, which entitles them to the end paratrooper wings. Paratroopers see themselves as a notable brigade, with an admired heritage and a history.

Since its establishment, the Golani brigade has been known as the "people's brigade," a symbol that continues to be a substantial part of the brigade's ethos. There is no selection process, and it is not a volunteer-based brigade. However, many desire to enlist in Golani because of its exclusive culture. While the paratroopers know as one who stresses the values of excellence and superiority, Golani stresses family values and brotherhood. I argue that these cultural differences are based on ethnic characteristics. So while in each brigade there are soldiers from various ethnic origins, each

brigade is characterized by one specific and different ethnic culture; the Paratrooper brigade is perceived as Ashkenazi (immigrants from Europe and North America), while Golani is perceived as Mizrahi (immigrants from Arab countries).

Characteristics	**Golani**	**Paratroopers**
Trademark	"The people's brigade"	elitist
Values	family	excellence
Enlistment	assignment	volunteer-based
Uniform	regular uniform black boots brown beret	special shirt red (brown) boots red beret paratrooper wings
Culture	Mizrachi culture	Ashkenazi culture
Dress code	Sloppy	Neat
Behavior	noisy, disobedient, undisciplined	quiet, obedient, disciplined
Music	Mizrahi and Arabic	mainstream Israeli, pop
Phenotype	dark skin	blond with blue eyes
Nickname	"Arab"	"Yellow"

4.3.2 Ethnicity in Israel – "Ashkenaziness" and "Mizrahiness"

"Ashkenaziness" and "Mizrahiness" are two enduring ethnic identities in the Israeli society. Profoundly embedded in Israeli culture and public discourse. Israel despaired to become a "melting pot" for immigrants from different countries and cultures [77]. The idea of the melting-pot society was to eradicate all ethnic differences, in order to merge all into one collective with a single nationality [78]. Mizrahi immigrants were expected to go through "de-socialization" process that demand them to abandon their traditional customs, which were perceived as culturally subordinate. The military was one of many institutions that took part played in "re-socializing" the Mizrahi immigrants in order to adopt the "advanced" and "progressive" Western culture [79].

It was only during the 1970s that critical sociologists started to examine Mizrahi's "Mizrahiness" and the reasons for ethnic inequality and unequal access to opportunities; inequalities that persist even today [80–84]. As part of the critical discourse, "Ashkenaziness," which was historically associated with the social elite in Israel, and hence considered normative, neutral, and non-ethnic, was exposed as an ethnic identification [78, 80].

There is until nowadays an innate ethnic perception regarding Mizrahiness and Ashkenaziness that is based on a hierarchy that holds these ethnic groups as distinct. However, most of the discrepancies between Ashkenazi and Mizrahi are not so much as o result of origin but rather become largely symbolic [84].

As a result, in my discussion of Mizrahiness and Ashkenaziness, I will discuss the cultural characteristics and construction of each group, rather than the origin of each identity. What emphasizes this hypothesis is that soldiers in each brigade, regardless of their ethnic origin, undergo a process of socialization that teaches them the ethnoculture of the brigade [85].

5. The ethno-cultural context

5.1 Noise and quiet

In each brigade, I identified diverse characteristics. The first character is the difference between noise and quiet. Golani soldiers characterize their brigade as a "neighborhood" and associate themselves with resistance and lack of discipline, which is reflected in their music and singing, and the rowdy impression they create.

For example, Ehud, a Mizrahi who served in the Golani brigade, describes the boisterous nature of the brigade:

> *"It's like ... we make a lot of noise and trouble, and when the commander tells us to shut up, it's... who the hell are you, like... we can talk, [and] say whatever we want; we are not listening [to you]. Even if you're a really good kid, Golani is Golani. It's not like there were no Ashkenazim in Golani; there were lots. Really, some even came from a kibbutz... but... I don't know how it turned out like this, in my squad and in the squads above me and below me, there were lots of Mizrahi."*

Ehud indicates that noise was one of the characteristics of Golani, and in doing so, refers not only to the volume of speech itself but rather to the lack of discipline and disobedience represented by it. In identifying noise with Mizrachiness and implying that quiet is characteristic of Ashkenaziness, he emphasizes that it is not innate, but cultural. Ethnicity is not a matter of origin, of essential identity, since there are also Ashkenazis in the Golani brigade. Instead, it is a cultural characteristic that is perceived as Mizrahi, and that serves as one of the behavioral norms of the Golani brigade.

The paratroopers, on the other hand, are characterized as quiet and disciplined. This is not to say that there is no singing in the paratroopers brigade, but it is not a major feature of this brigade.

Gilad, a former paratrooper of Ashkenazi origin, describes the differences in the Paratrooper and Golani brigades according to noise level:

> *"In the training camp, Golani's squad commanders sing with the soldiers in the dining room [...]. It's very different than in the paratroopers, where only the soldiers were singing. Our squad commanders never sang with us. I was shocked to find out that Golani's squad commanders sing with them."*

Singing is not forbidden in the paratroopers, but it is not considered to be characteristic either. The commanders do not criticize it, yet they do not take an active part. In contrast, in Golani, this norm is encouraged by the commanders.

Ami, a paratrooper of Mizrahi origin, discusses the ethnic aspect of noise level and the way each brigade is perceived:

> *"Yellows are wimps [...] they are old, they don't make too much trouble; [are] not very interesting. An Arab is someone who is warm, makes noise, has presence, [is] hot-blooded, and has many discipline problems."*

Noise in Golani represents presence and power, existence, as opposed to being weak and unnoticed. However, for the paratroopers brigade, which perceives itself

as being an elite unit, quiet means strength. These soldiers do not have to prove their power since their position is secure. The maintenance of a quiet environment reflects the firm confidence they have in their standing.

The Golani brigade's status, on the other hand, is not assured and is not taken for granted, so they announce their presence by making noise. Thus, loud, exciting, and stimulating singing becomes one of the symbols that represents strength for Golani. Moreover, their use of noise to attract attention and status is not just a matter of volume or noise level, but rather, symbolizes defiance against accepted behavior, not only of the army but of society as well.

5.2 Music

While music becomes a vehicle for the expression of sound and volume, the music that soldiers listen to, both at home and in the military, is, in and of itself, a differentiating characteristic. Paratroopers, overall, tend to listen to Israeli mainstream and rock music, whereas Golani soldiers listen to Mizrahi and Arab music[1].

The following quotes by Tamir, a Mizrachi paratrooper, illustrate the socialization process that soldiers undergo, involving music-related expectations that characterize each brigade:

> *"Most of the music we hear is what you call Israeli music, and most of the time we were sitting with a guitar at night, before we went to sleep, and started playing and singing. Before I was enlisted I did not connect to this kind of music; I listened to Mizrahi music, but the Israeli music I've listened to during my military service stayed with me until today. The paratroopers made a dramatic change in me."*

While Mizrahi music is predefined as ethnic the "Israeli music" preferred by paratroopers is presented as "neutral." Furthermore, whereas the "Mizrahi" music is perceived as "the Other", as "non-Israeli," while the "Israeli music," identified with Ashkenaziness, is perceived as neutral and non-ethnic [88]. However, the perception of Israeli music as "neutral" does not imply that the music does not have ethno-cultural characteristics, but rather, it reinforces that their status as the hegemonic group is taken for granted.

5.3 Appearance and dress code

Another characteristic differentiating the two brigades is appearance and dress code. While at first glance it looks like all uniforms are the same (khaki uniforms, army boots, a variety of pins, and emblems) and the only obvious difference is the color of the beret, closer scrutiny discloses a much wider diversity in appearance. The following quotes describe differences in the dress codes. As we can see in the quote of Ami, a paratrooper of Mizrahi origin:

[1] The term "Israeli music" refers as we can learn from the historiography of Israeli music to "songs of the Land of Israel" (Shirei Eretz Israel), and later on, to Israeli rock music [86, 87]. Eretz Israel songs and the rock music ("Israeli" music) that the paratroopers listen to are identified with "Ashkenaziness," and perceived as "normal" while Mizrahi music, the kind listened to by Golani soldiers, is identified with "Mizrachiness," which in turn is perceived as "other;" as "non-Israeli" [88].

> *"The colors of the berets are very different. In Golani, they decided that it would be the color of the terrain.*[2] *Our [paratroopers] beret is red, which is more prestigious. Elite units all over the world wear a red beret. It also looks better. In my opinion, if someone sees red or brown, red is always more attractive. The type of uniform is also very different, and it is really distinct between both brigades. We wear our shirts outside our pants. And of course, we wear red boots. The other units are not that different, they all wear black boots and a regular uniform. The color of the beret is the only thing that makes them distinctive. In the paratroopers, in fact, everything is different; everything."*

Liran, a former Golani soldier of Mizrahi descent, adds to the description:

> *"In Golani, when they [the soldiers] go home, they do not straighten the elastic band on top of the boots, as the master sergeant requests. They place it downwards. And they also wear their pants very low, as low as they can. Then they shorten the weapon strap, so you can see the top of the weapon over their shoulder. All sorts of stupid Golani stuff. The paratroopers, on the other hand, whenever you see one of them at the central bus station, they look very neat: the elastic band is on top of the boots, and the weapon strap is the standard length."*

These quotes illustrate the fact that each brigade has different dress codes constructed through various practices. Even though the military supposedly dictates an identical dress code for both brigades, in practice, two different modes of dress have developed. Paratroopers have unique uniforms and symbols and the soldiers comply with military disciplinary rules and are expected to adhere to a strict dress code that represents order, discipline, and prestige. Golani soldiers set different rules for themselves that push back against the requirements of the military; their sloppiness projects a general lack of compliance with wider military norms.

In providing a different uniform for paratroopers, the army positions them as distinct and elite, whereas Golani soldiers create their own distinctive mode of dress. In fact, the unofficial Golani uniform is not only different from that of the paratroopers but also contradicts military regulations in general. The Golani dress code, expressing disorder and a lack of discipline, challenges the hegemonic cultural concepts of the institutional demands.

5.4 Phenotype

The last separating characteristic I will refer to is phenotype. The skin is supposed to reflect one's "natural identity," and the skin color becomes a cultural and/or political mark [89]. So, prior to one's acting or speaking, a process of classification occurs, during which, the individual is classified into a particular ethnic group due to his phenotype and is then expected to act in a way that follows that group.

Every group has its own expectations from its soldiers, and these expectations are related to a certain phenotype. An example of this, we can see in the words of Ofer, a Golani soldier, who is half Ashkenazi and half Mizrahi:

> *"I'll give you one example. It's a bad one, but I remember it. I had this squad commander; he was a complete Nazi; he was mean. One day, [a guy named] Shai Grossman*

[2] The color of Golani beret is brown.

> *arrived from a kibbutz and I remember what he did to him one lineup. [He shouted:] 'Hey, Yellow, come here. You, if you don't paint your face every morning and report to me black, I'll kick your ass.' I can't say that this was what influenced me, but after you see this again and again, there's no doubt that at some point, even unconsciously, you start thinking that black is good, and that being Mizrahi in the army is good."*

As we can see from the quote there is an altered expected phenotype in each brigade. The white phenotype that signifies the Ashkenazi hegemony in Israeli society is perceived as wrong, out of place, and incapable of full assimilation to Golani. The group is unwilling to accept the continued presence of the "Other" inside the group, so he is compelled to modify himself to the others in the group.

This discussion concerning skin color and the use of skin color to outline the group is a segment of the fixation of stereotypes; nonetheless, at the same time, it exposes the fact that these stereotypes are the outcome of social construction of ethnicity.

The last differentiating feature is the characterization of paratroopers as "yellow"[3] and Golani soldiers as "Arab." Gilad, an Ashkenazi paratrooper, describes this phenomenon:

> *"The paratroopers are perceived as Ashkenazim, as "yellow", and the majority are indeed of Ashkenazi origin. In the battalions, for example, I'd say they are about half and half. But on the squad commander training course, where you find the best people of the brigades and the battalions, you can see the difference. A good number of Paratroopers who get there are "yellow", that is Ashkenazim, good kids, wearing glasses. They are always on time, they do not get into trouble, they do not argue. Well, they do argue but … only about professional stuff. They think they are the smartest. They are good soldiers. You ask them to do something and they will do it. Golani soldiers [on the other hand] are the "Arabs" of the course; they are like… from the "hood"."*

The paratroopers are, first and foremost, characterized in terms of the color: yellow. Being "yellow" means being disciplined, organized, and obedient and meticulous who seeks excellence.

According to Gilad's description, paratroopers do not define themselves but talk about the way they are perceived by others. This is reflected in his use of the third person: "paratroopers are perceived as Ashkenazim." Only later does he switch to the use of the first person: "it's as if they think… we think we are the best." When speaking in the first person, he talks of excellence and refers, inter alia, to the selection process they go through to become paratroopers. In doing so, he describes the cultural characteristics of paratroopers in neutral terms.

On the other hand, Golani soldiers are described according to distinctive ethnic characteristics that represent the background of the Mizrahi. While the paratroopers do not perceive or call themselves "yellow, Golanis' soldiers are the ones who call the paratroopers "Yellow" and refer to themselves as "Arab". They consciously adopt Mizrahi characteristics, perceived in Israeli society as inferior, and flaunt them. Instead of eliminating them, as might be expected, Golani soldiers embrace the Mizrahi identity that has been imposing on the Mizrahis [78] and excesses it through their appearance, behavior, and by calling themselves "Arabs."

[3] "Yellow", in military slang, refers to elitist characteristics, as opposed to the English meaning. In English, "yellow" has been used to denote a cowardly person or alternatively, to signify Asian people.

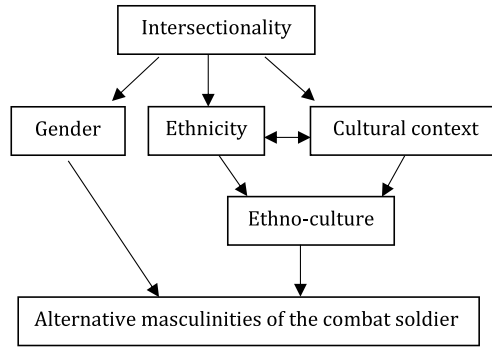

Figure 1.
Reciprocal ethnicization.

As I have illustrated, each brigade has its own cultural characteristics that coincide with operational and professional demands. Within each brigade, these characteristics are not neutral but incorporate specific ethnic content. While the Golani brigade represents and displays Mizrahi culture, the paratroopers represent and display Ashkenazi culture.

The issue here is not the essential, inherent identity of each soldier in the brigade; ethnicity exists in everyday action, culture, practical experience, personal experience, and interpretation. No matter the ethnic origin of the soldiers in each brigade, it is the performance of the ethnicity of the particular brigade that matters and is central.

Moreover, the construction of culture in Golani represents a process of resistance to the normative (culturally Ashkenazi) perception of the military organization. Golani soldiers, therefore, construct and preform a contrasting (Mizrahi) ethno-culture that is perceived as inferior to the "normative" (Ashkenazi) culture.

In the following section, I will examine the intersection of the ethno-cultural context with gender and ethnicity that construct alternative masculinity, as seen in **Figure 1**.

The brigades' ethnic characteristics are founded on the Israeli ethnic cultures that characterize and comprise the first facet of "reciprocal ethnicization." Once ethnicity, as a social category, penetrates the brigades, it creates ethnic context and constructs ethnic culture. These ethnic cultures are the basis for the construction of the soldiers' identities.

Both brigades train combat soldiers who represent the ideal preferred masculinity, however, as I argue, there is more than one image of combat soldier masculinity. Through a socialization process, the soldiers learn the brigade culture, which they continue to perform in their day-to-day activities. This enables the second facet of "reciprocal ethnicization" that occurs when the soldiers not only learn the ethno-cultural context, but the ethno-cultural context constitutes their organizational identity. Moreover, the continuous performance of this ethno-cultural context maintains and perpetuates the culture of each brigade. This process of "reciprocal ethnicization" serves as the basis of the construction of ethno-masculine identities. More specifically, it demonstrates that there is not only one unitary and homogenous image of the combat soldier, but rather, different types of images for the same role.

While the military presents soldiers with clear expectations of behavior and appearance, the Golani brigade sets a different code. Through cultural characteristics that distinguish the brigade, Golani soldiers construct defiant masculinity.

This process challenges the hegemonic masculinity represented by the Paratrooper brigade while suggesting the construction of a legitimate alternative identity for the hegemonic masculinity. The construction of different masculinities and the challenge of accepted homogeneous hegemonic masculinity occur through the intersection of gender, ethnicity, and the cultural context construct.

6. Conclusions – Intersectional observation of the combat soldier

Both brigades studied here to share one military objective, yet they exhibit different cultures, which serve as fertile ground for the creation of different masculinities. The basis for these differences is ethnic characteristics that are expressed through dress, music, phenotype, nicknames, and noise level, and create an ethnic culture for each brigade.

This paper demonstrates the way in which an organizational cultural context acts as a vehicle for intersectionality since the process of constructing different combat soldier masculinities takes place via an intersection between masculinity, ethnicity, and cultural context. Each brigade demands certain cultural behavior from the soldiers, alongside operational and professional requirements. In this way, the organizational identity is composed not only of the job requirements but also of the cultural context.

As I have demonstrated that intersectionality [6–9] enables a deeper understanding of the process of constructing organizational identities.

While studies on organizational masculinity have demonstrated that masculinity is composed of an intersection of gender with other social classifications, which creates different models of masculinities [10–15]. The use of intersectionality theory allows to challenge of hegemonic masculinity and therefore the possibility of alternative dominant masculinity. In this way, intersectionality exposes the struggle of "the other" to become a legitimate alternative identity, masculinity, and culture. By doing so, the research suggests that intersectionality enables a deeper understanding of the characteristics that influence the construction of hegemonic masculinity and challenges the social hierarchies of masculinities.

I showed that the intersection occurs through a process of "reciprocal ethnicization" between ethnicity as a social category and the surrounding ethnic culture. So the intersection does not occur only within a specific context, instead, the context takes an active part in the intersection. In this way, the intersection is made up of gender, ethnicity, and cultural context.

Furthermore, this study attempts to highlight the micro–macro intersection [2, 4, 24] by illustrating how the organization enables individuals to perform and manage intersectionality through a cultural context. While focusing on individuals in groups within the organization, the research extrapolates the processes and mechanisms of the organization that are embodied and resonates within the individual. In this way, the study illustrates how social categories such as ethnicity and gender are preserved and perpetuated, not only by institutional mechanisms, policy, and structure but also by individuals through "reciprocal ethnicization."

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Chapter 4

The Sisyphean Task of Nursing: Muscular Roles and Masculine Responsibilities of Malayalee Male Nurses

Cinoj George and Feyza Bhatti

Abstract

Hospitals all around the world are failing to keep up with demand due to an aging staff and a rising population. India has a severe shortage of nurses and the number of males entering the nursing profession has increased significantly over the last two decades, which shows that Indian men are eager to seek careers in nursing. Their experiences in the profession, however, has not received significant attention. This chapter aims at exploring the work experiences of male nurses in a profession in which workforce is predominantly female. A total of 45 participants from three major cities in Kerala were recruited for the study using a qualitative phenomenological approach. Semistructured face-to-face interviews were used to collect the data and thematic analysis were used. Four key themes were found. Male nurses had individual motivation to choose the profession, but over time, they have become discouraged and disillusioned with it. Male nurses were reticent to advocate nursing to other males because they saw no future in the profession. The study highlights the difficulties that male nurses encounter, and if these difficulties are not addressed, there may be a significant decline in the number of males choosing to pursue careers in nursing.

Keywords: male nurses, gender, recruitment and retention, qualitative study

1. Introduction

The Covid-19 outbreak, which has ravaged the world over the past 2 years, has certainly put healthcare and caregiving in the limelight. The pandemic and its aftermath continue to transform healthcare delivery in the twenty-first century. How care is administered has never been more varied, including where, when, how, and to whom it is offered. Although the way care is delivered is changing and becoming more visible, it has not been able to successfully duplicate diversity in the caregiving profession [1]. Nursing has long been considered a female-dominated profession, and males have long been seen to be incapable of doing nursing duties as well as women [2].

Ninety percent of the world's nurses are women, and the pandemic has exposed the global nursing deficit that most nations are experiencing. This has reignited calls for more male nurses to join the profession to fulfill the growing demand [3]. Nursing is a profession in which the primary responsibility is to provide care to patients, and it is a human experience. It is not necessary to belong to a specific gender to provide care to another individual. Throughout history, men have made significant contributions to nursing, and they continue to do so in many nations, despite their small numbers. When male nurses chose nursing as a profession, they have the same good aims and motives as female nurses, yet they are unwanted and are often seen as not on par with female nurses [4–6].

Males have a long history in nursing in India; the first nursing school in the world, which opened in 250 BC, was exclusively for men. Before Florence Nightingale gave nursing a new meaning as a profession requiring female compassion and empathy, men nurses were highly active in providing care. According to a new study, Indian male nurses were highly active in the early twentieth century, particularly in the final two decades before independence [7]. A limited amount of male nurses were found in several regions, including Southeast Asia (21%), the Western Pacific (19%), Africa (35%), the Americas (14%), and the Eastern Mediterranean Region (21%) in the gender equality workforce study based on available multiple sources [8–15],

Men typically rule most occupations, yet there is a handful where female employees prevail [2]. One industry where women outnumber males in the workplace is nursing, where there is a very high level of gender segregation in comparison to many other industries. Nearly every country has male nurses, however, the proportions vary depending on which country they are in. In general, there are between 9 and 12% of male nurses in English-speaking nations such as the United Kingdom, USA, New Zealand, and Australia [16]; however, this figure substantially decreases to between 2 and 6% in Asian nations such as China and Korea [17–19]. Since the early 2000s, India has seen a steady increase in the proportion of male nurses, which now exceeds 20% [20]. Even though there are more male nurses in India, there isn't much research on them compared with other nations where men make up a smaller proportion of the nursing workforce.

Due to male nurses being a minority, a very unwelcoming door has opened up, exposing them to situations they weren't used to, such as encountering prejudice, preconceptions, and disparities from the three P's (peers, patients, and public) [1, 21]. According to one study, the necessity and significance of male nurses were generally disregarded and even accepted [22, 23]. Men's potential contributions to nursing were not emphasized; rather, the paucity of male nurses was only considered the inevitable result of prevailing societal mores and attitudes. The lack of assistance and study for male nurses merely exacerbates their situation; it has turned into a festering sore that won't cure. Male nurses' ability to provide the patients with the best care possible is hampered by the societal stigma associated with selecting a career that is unusual for males. Additionally, the stigmatization makes it challenging for male nurses to adjust to and perform as males in a job where women predominate [24, 25].

The stigmatization permeates every aspect of life, not just the job. The stigmatization starts in the classroom, where there are often more female students than male students. Male nursing professors struggle to teach as much as a male nursing student struggles to learn, and they both are equally stigmatized [22, 24, 26]. Degendering occurs as a result of the difficulties male nursing instructors and students experience to become more prominent nursing practitioners. To put it mildly, few people are aware of the difficulties male nurses experience and the coping mechanisms they use, particularly when degendering [27].

Although data demonstrate otherwise, stereotypes that male nurses lack compassion will only harm the profession, promote division, and thwart attempts to achieve gender equality for all nursing personnel. They also make the worldwide nurse shortage, which is already at a breaking point, worse [28]. The lack of workplace diversity is another impact of the shortage of male nurses, which effectively denies patients of both sexes a caring environment that is holistic and loving. Due to the physical and emotional stress that preconceptions and stereotypes induce, men may continue to leave the nursing profession if prejudices are not eradicated [29].

The pandemic has amply demonstrated to the public what a health worker shortage may be like and the harm it might do. To achieve the very minimum required for caring for its population, India requires more than 2.4 million nurses. Despite the high need for nurses, an increasing number of Indian nurses are leaving the country in search of better prospects in the Middle East and Europe [30]. To analyze the contextual variables influencing the career trajectories of Malayalee male nurses and propose policy recommendations to attract and retain male nurses, this study will focus on their work experiences. Studying the work experiences of Malayalee male nurses in Kerala may also offer insightful information on how to attract and keep male nurses in other Indian states that have a similar nursing shortage. However, researching Malayalee male nurses can help us better understand how masculinities and gender play a role in the nursing profession across a range of social and cultural situations.

2. Background

The study focuses particularly on the challenges faced by male nurses in Kerala, a state in southern India. Malayalee is the name given to the Malayalam-speaking population of Kerala. Kerala was chosen for the study because, compared with the other 28 states in India, it has consistently produced more nurses over a lengthy period. Due to the historical and cultural consequences, Kerala has been at the forefront in bringing progressive attitudes toward women. While much of India had a patriarchal family structure, Kerala had a matrilineal structure that allowed women to choose to work outside the house. Additionally, women from Kerala who opted to become nurses came from middle- and high-income families rather than low-income ones [30]. The rationale for this choice is that going into nursing gave women the chance to be more independent and to have greater job chances without having to compete with males in the workplace. The potential for migration to oil-rich Middle Eastern nations and several European nations was another factor in the decision to pursue nursing [31].

It was also in Kerala, UNA (United nurses association) was formed as a union to protest against the working conditions in private hospitals. There have been many protests and strikes since its formation all over India, and male nurses were at the forefront of the protests [32]. Since Kerala and Malayalee have been at the helm of it all, it was only a natural choice for the study.

3. The study

3.1 Design

The most suitable approach for this investigation was thought to be a qualitative one. In general, qualitative research enables in-depth examination of the phenomena

being studied while taking into account nuances and complexities [33]. The subject of this study, which elaborates on a phenomenological study, is the lived experiences of male nurses in Kerala and how becoming a nurse affects their masculinity. Face-to-face, semistructured interviews took place at a location that was convenient for the participant of the study. Three significant metro cities in Kerala were chosen for the study (Kochi, Trivandrum, and Calicut).

3.2 Participants

For this study, a purposive snowball sampling method was adopted, and a total of 45 participants were recruited for the study. Twenty male nurses from five private hospitals spread across three major cities in Kerala were recruited for the study. Only nurses who were currently employed and had been working in hospitals consistently for more than 3 years were included in the research. Additionally, human resources managers of the five hospitals were interviewed too. To understand how female nurses evaluated their male colleagues, a female nurse from the same hospital was interviewed for every male nurse. Male nurses who were questioned often worked in intensive care units (ICUs), operating rooms (18%), and other hospital departments such as ambulatory care, surgical wards, and emergency rooms (12%).

3.3 Data collection and analysis

Between June and August of 2018, interviews were conducted. The male nurses' interviews included a range of subjects, such as their motivations for choosing the nursing field and their perceptions of the benefits and drawbacks of being a male nurse. The major topics of discussion during the interviews with human resources managers were how they viewed the advantages and drawbacks of female and male nurses, as well as their thoughts on the hiring and retention of male nurses. All of the interviews were captured on audio and then transcribed verbatim. Thematic analysis was used to code the transcripts in Atlas Ti.

The face-to-face, in-depth interviews concerned six phases: thematizing, designing, interviewing, transcribing, analyzing, and verifying. To prevent direct responses from individuals, the question was structured plainly. Malayalam was the language of choice for all participants during face-to-face interviews. Audio recordings of the interviews were made for later transcription. When no novel thought was presented and there was a recurrence of concepts among the individuals, data saturation occurred.

Two researchers conducted a thematic and inductive analysis. The thematic analysis seeks to isolate the most evocative information to derive codes, which are then shrunk and recognized as the most prevalent categories. As a result, groups of codes (categories) were combined into text, allowing themes to emerge that clarified the research participants' experiences as male nurses (self-perspective) or experiences of working with male nurses (female nurses/HR perspective).

Overall four themes emerged, including the reasons for men choosing nursing as a career and its challenges, male nurses as undesirables (cultural), male nurses' desire to change the status quo, and male nurses as undesirable employees due to protests.

The data analysis intended to capture and provide a comprehensive description of all interviews, to interpret the experiences of male nurses from a self-perspective, HR manager's perspective, and female nurses' perspective. Exploring these three perspectives helps the researcher to understand the struggles and coping strategies of male nurses and how they were bargaining for their masculinities in a female-dominated environment.

3.4 Ethical consideration

Ethical approval was granted by the authors' institution's ethics committee. Additionally, participants were made aware of their ability to pause or end an interview as well as their 6-month withdrawal window from the study following the interview. A number was assigned to each audio recording and paper so that participants could not be specifically identified by name and participants were also made aware of this. As a result, all identities stated in the interviews have been changed, and the nurses who participated in the study have been given a pseudonym to use when reporting the results. Everyone who participated in the interview signed a permission form after receiving assurances about the confidentiality and anonymity of the information gathered.

3.5 Credibility and qualitative rigor

Credibility, confirmability, dependability, and transferability were used to evaluate the reliability of the qualitative study results [34]. Credibility was attained through continuous interaction with the study subjects and data and sustained interaction through repeated reviews of the interviews. Additionally, it was made guaranteed by including all of the study's objectives in the semistructured interview guide's design. To proofread and offer ideas, the researchers' coworkers received the initial draft.

Regarding confirmability, all procedures in the study including research phases and data collection methods were meticulously documented. Several research colleagues were also given access to the research procedure to verify its objectivity. By having the research's conclusions reflect those of the participants rather than the researchers, confirmability was attained. This was accomplished by verbatim transcribing the data and using verbatim quotes to support the findings.

Another external auditing was employed to compare and contrast the researcher's understanding and the external auditor's understanding of the issue to gauge dependability.

For the reader to have a favorable opinion of data transferability, the researcher attempted to completely describe the context in which the study was done by providing an accurate description of the participants, sampling procedure, and time and location of data collection in detail for the study to be replicated in the future.

4. Findings

4.1 Theme 1: the reasons for men choosing nursing as a career and its challenges

According to the research, all male nurses chose the profession on their own. They were inherently motivated to pursue nursing as a career. In some instances, male nurses had to convince their families to let them pursue nursing. In Kerala, parents and close relatives have a strong say in what a family member must pursue academically. Nursing is not a career parent in Kerala want their children to pursue as it was considered feminene. Eighteen out of 20 male nurses cited the success of female nurses as a reason to become a nurse. The success of female nurses in this particular context was their ability to secure jobs in developed countries.

> *I had to fight with my family when I told them I want to be a nurse. My parents could not believe that I want to be a nurse. They wanted me to join a business course, but I saw*

no opportunity as the industry was saturated and there were no jobs. Most of my cousins had a business degree and had no success in securing a decent and satisfying job. (M 16)

I was the only person from my school to go into nursing school, and this was in 2005. At that time everybody wanted to be an engineer, but there were very few colleges at that time and I wasn't sure if I will get admission. I used to see a lot of advertisements about nurses wanted for Ireland. To me, it was better to do nursing and go to Ireland. Nursing was also far cheaper than an engineering degree or business degree. The tuition fee is less, but the return on investment is high. (M 9)

In my village, there are many nurses (female) and most of them work in the UK, USA, or Ireland and they are all financially stable. They have a successful career, they have a house in Kerala and one where they work. I don't know many professions where you could be this successful. (M 7)

Some male nurses chose nursing as a second career. Eight male nurses possessed another qualification before they switched careers to nursing. According to them, it was only natural to do so as there were job opportunities in nursing in Kerala and abroad.

I decided to become a nurse after finishing my course in biochemistry, in India, there is no scope for biochemistry and I was unable to find any jobs. I did some marketing jobs for Airtel and I decided to pursue nursing after that. (M 19)

I did nursing after I met my then-girlfriend and now wife. I was working in customer care and I was not happy with my job, she suggested I do nursing as it would be easier for us to migrate. (M 4).

4.1.1 Nursing as a tool to migrate

Though all male nurses had given many reasons why they chose nursing, a common and recurring theme was their dream to find a job in Europe, Australia, and New Zealand or countries in the Middle East such as Oman, UAE, Qatar, Kuwait, and Saudi Arabia. The prospect of working as a male nurse in Kerala through the entirety of their career was not appealing to most. When probed further, 18 participants said they would try their best to find a job overseas, and if they can't they will stop working as a nurse in private hospitals as they found no future.

I wanted to become a nurse as it has many opportunities abroad. Nursing is the easiest job to get abroad after software engineer. (M 5)

I chose nursing to migrate to Quebec, my sister is already working there and as a nurse, I get more points to migrate. (M 11)

I have no idea what to do. It is getting difficult to work as a nurse in Kerala as each day pass. I am trying very hard to find a job abroad. I am thinking of doing some courses in Canada as it is easier to get a PR there if I can't get a job as a nurse in the UK. (M 17)

I became a nurse with a dream to migrate to the UK. I am preparing for my language tests, if I get a good score I can apply for NHS jobs. This is my third attempt at IELTS

> *and if I don't pass this time I might give up the idea and look for some other jobs in India or abroad. (M 2)*

Male applicants 17 and 2 failed to get the necessary IELTS scores after several tries. Both of them were undergoing language instruction for the IELTS exam, which is fairly frequent among Kerala's nurses, both male and female. Male 17, who was preparing for his final try at the time of the interview, planned to give up nursing as a profession if he failed the test.

4.1.2 Shelf life for male nurses

Male nurses chose the career to grow and succeed and to succeed they have to compete with female nurses who dominate the industry and are often more preferred for jobs. In the stiff competition, they face they felt they had only two choices either to shape up or to ship out. Male nurses felt they had an expiry date on their career and if they failed to migrate within that period, which most nurses mentioned before they turn 35, they will not be preferred in any other hospital. Male nurses felt they had to look for jobs in other private industries if they can't migrate. Fourteen male participants mentioned quitting after 35 rather than continuing working in Kerala. Male participants believed they are a liability to the management.

> *Male nurses have no future in nursing. After a certain age male nurses are not preferred in our industry, we have a lot of female nurses and the hospitals don't feel the need for having a male nurse. (M 4)*

> *Men usually quit nursing after they are 35, now in our hospital men who were one of the first to become nurses are all leaving slowly as they don't see a future in this career. (M 13)*

> *I believe a male nurse has 10 to 12 years in the industry before he can make it, if not they look for jobs elsewhere. It is funny that we have an expiration date on our careers. (M 3)*

> *Who will hire a male nurse who is bald and 35 years old? When they have young female nurses do the same job. (M 14)*

4.1.3 Challenges to finding a bride: no women wants to marry a man who is a nurse

Male participants came from three religious backgrounds. Nine were Christians, seven were Hindus, and four were Muslims. Only two male nurses had wives who also were nurses. Fifteen participants were unmarried and three were married to women who had other jobs. Unmarried men shared their apprehension about getting married as they had heard the struggles their peers had gone through. Unmarried male nurses were waiting to get a job outside India before they marry; otherwise, they intended to pursue another career before they look for a prospective bride.

> *It is very hard to find a bride, the very first thing my dad told me when I chose nursing was that I will never get married. I think his prophecy is coming true. (M 19)*

> *I am 32 years old and I have difficulty finding a bride. No woman wants to marry a man who is a nurse. (M 12)*

> *In my community, there are very few male nurses, and no family would let me marry their daughter. Being a Muslim and a male nurse makes my life very difficult. Now I am looking for a female nurse to get married to, but even female nurses don't want to marry a male nurse. It is becoming embarrassing as I get rejected all the time. (M 8)*

> *The curse in our job is that everybody makes fun of us, even female nurses make fun of us sometimes saying that we will never marry a male nurse. (M 6)*

As it is common practice in Kerala to have marriages arranged by the family, male nurses feel they are unwanted and incapable of finding a suitable bride. Love marriages are the exceptions and not the norm. Due to their poor pay and society's resistance to accepting males as nurses as it was against the traditional masculine role of men, male nurses are not regarded as desirable candidates for marriage. Three of the male participants said that because male nurses have a lower probability of becoming as successful as female nurses, even female nurses are not interested in marrying one. One of the female participants had something similar to say.

> *I don't want to marry a male nurse, not because of his job but because of the problems I might face in the future. If I were to migrate as I intend to, my husband who is a male nurse has fewer chances of becoming a registered nurse, so he might end up working in a non-nursing profession or might become a carer in a care home. Both jobs don't pay well and that might create family problems due to the male ego. I have heard such stories. (F6)*

4.2 Theme 2: male nurses as undesirable due to prevalent cultural beliefs

Male nurses in Kerala have to fight the perceptions of the three P's (Peers, Patients, and the Public). Male nurses feel that the efforts they put in are often overlooked and though their numbers have swollen up in the ranks of nurses over the last two decades, they have been largely unsuccessful in changing the perception of people. According to male nurses, the public is used to seeing them in a hospital and is accustomed to them, but as nurses, they still don't feel very welcome and accepted. There still exist prejudices and other cultural barriers for male nurses to excel and succeed in their careers. The lack of appreciation therefore only exacerbates and intensifies their desire to either migrate or quit nursing.

4.2.1 Patients' perspectives of male nurses

Patients' responses differ from one patient to the next. While some patients don't like male nurses at all, others are quite accepting, interested, or both. According to 12 participants, dealing with young patients between the ages of 14 and 40 is the most difficult. Regardless of gender, people in this age bracket seem to choose female nurses. Four participants said there was no hard and fast rule and that age had no bearing. Rather, they thought it depended on the nurses' ability to make the patients understand that nurses were there to do their jobs and that gender had no bearing on the quality of care they provided.

> *I think it is very difficult to get along with male patients, especially if they are young. You see they don't like being touched by another man. Young female patients are even worse. (M 8)*

> *Female patients especially if they are young are hard to deal with, in fact, more than the patients it is their relatives that are hard to please. It is funny because women are completely fine with male doctors, but are uncomfortable with male nurses. What is the difference? (M 16)*

> *I struggled a bit in the beginning, now I just talk to them with authority and tell them it is my job and I have to do it. If you give them a chance they start complaining. (M 5)*

> *I am very comfortable with old patients (male and female) because they don't care about gender, all they want and need is the care that we give. They are usually pleasant and loving. It is usually patients below 40 who give me all the trouble. (M 20)*

4.2.2 The public perspective of male nurses

The public perspective of male nurses was generally bad according to most male nurses. Most of the participants had done their nursing degree between 2005 and 2010 and at the time male nurses had only started entering the profession. It was very difficult for these pioneers as they had to bear the brunt of public disapproval. It was uncommon those days for men to be nurses, though the society's perception has begun to change, it hasn't changed a lot or not at least to the expectation of male nurses. Nursing for a man was even considered as a sign of being gay.

> *After my school final exam, I told my friends that I wanted to become a nurse, they laughed at me and called me gay. It was hurtful. I felt disappointed. Now I am married, but those initial years were difficult for me. I had taken a loan from the bank to study, otherwise, I would have just quit. (M 16)*

> *My best friend laughed and he had tears in his eyes from laughter. He simply could not resist laughing, he was shocked at my decision. (M 8)*

> *I studied in a boy's school and I was the first to choose nursing as a career from my school. My teachers advised my parents not to send me to a nursing school. They said I was going to waste my career. This was in 2004 and there weren't many men joining nursing at that time. There was a wave of men entering the nursing profession in the years between 2003 and 2013. After the 2012 protests, career prospects have been damning. Now very few men choose to nurse. (M 1)*

From the study, it is clear that due to fewer career prospects and lack of acceptance, male nurses feel the number of men entering the profession will dwindle. There was always a strong barrier for men entering nursing, male nurses broke through the barrier but now are bogged down by the lack of acceptance and career prospects.

> *We are a dying breed. What I mean by that is Malayalee male nurses are a dying breed. We might have men from other states of India becoming male nurses, but in Kerala, our growth is stymied by hospital management, government, and the public. Male nurses are by and large unwanted in Kerala. Some of them made it to developed countries, the others made it to the Middle- East and the rest moved to North Indian*

> *states as they have staff shortages for both male and female nurses. For the male nurses in Kerala, there is no future. (M 10)*

According to most male nurses, there is systemic and institutional discrimination against them in the hospitals in Kerala. So their only choice is to move to other cities in India or other countries should they choose to continue working as a male nurse.

4.2.3 Peer perspective of male nurses

Male nurses have had to battle prejudices from patients, the public, and also from peers. Nursing is a profession that was dominated by women until the early 2000s. They had no competition and there were hardly any male nurses in Kerala until then. With the arrival of male nurses in the profession female nurses started to create their own identity, which they believed was the crux of nursing. They saw in male nurses qualities that were new and sometimes unsuitable for the job.

> *I believe as a woman even our attitude is suitable for this job. We are more compassionate than men are. Male nurses get angry easily and they retort to patients and relatives. They are not suitable for nursing in my opinion. They are good in some areas like in ICU. (F 6)*

> *Women are kind-hearted and more service-oriented, male nurses, can't be as polite as female nurses are. They don't communicate much with the patient. They just do their duty and go home. Male nurses often lack empathy, which is a very important nursing quality. (F 17)*

> *I believe women in general are more compassionate and caring than men are. I am not saying men are not good at it. It is in our blood we are natural when it comes to giving care. Most men have to make an effort. When you put in the effort it becomes tiring and they become harsh and lack empathy. (F 5)*

One of the female participants believed it is better to work under dominant men than under dominant women.

> *When you have only female nurses, some nurses want to become very dominant and they pretend like they are men. I think it is better to work with real men than these female nurses who act like men. (F 16)*

Even in this case a male nurse is not seen as a male nurse, but under the lens of a dominant role that society has ascribed to men. Though all female nurses had good and bad things to say about male nurses. Female nurses in general saw male nurses as the "other." Female nurses had a "us" vs. "them" attitude. They believed men can be nurses, but at the same time were unwilling to accept them as competent as female nurses. There was only one participant who categorically mentioned a nurse is a nurse and gender plays no role in it.

> *People don't understand that a nurse is a nurse both female and a male nurse is trained to save lives, there is no differentiation. All male nurses can deliver the same performance. It is just that their approach may be different. (F 13)*

4.3 Theme 3: male nurses' desire to change the status quo

Male nurses have left an indelible mark in the history of nursing in Kerala in particular and India in general. The lack of public, peer, and patient acceptance along with the working conditions prompted men to challenge the order of the day. Male nurses were appalled at the work culture in private hospitals in Kerala. They demanded change and wanted it done as quickly as possible.

4.3.1 Defending nursing as men's work

Occupational gender segregation has resulted in established norms in every society, though women have been breaking down barriers, and foraying into professions primarily held by men, the same cannot be held for their male counterparts. Men have continued to work in professions that by and large are dominated by men. According to male participants, this is primarily due to a lack of will and lack of awareness. For some male participants, justice hasn't been delivered for men as far as entering female-dominated professions is concerned. Male nurses believe that for women, there are campaigns, government programs, and quotas to welcome females into a men-dominated career, but it's completely lacking for men who wish to enter a female-dominated profession. Male nurses pointed out the lack of government initiative in attracting men into nursing, while there are social campaigns for transgenders. Male nurses in Kerala were no less important than anyone else and deserved equality.

> *It is wrong for society to think that women are better at providing care, if women can do jobs that have been traditionally associated with men, why can't men do the same. In India, we need a lot of nurses, and not many people choose this profession. Why can't men fill that vacuum? (M 12)*

> *A job is a job, it can be done by any gender even a transgender. You see in Kochi metro we have transgender and the government provided so much PR to get them accepted, they even provided security. I appreciate that and I believe people should stop identifying jobs with gender. (M 19)*

One of the participants believed a better nurse is a male nurse as he is stronger and is not too emotional. According to him being overwhelmed with emotion is detrimental to this profession and female nurses often get carried away.

> *People think nurses should be women, but I believe nurses should be men. The assumption of nursing as a caring profession is a lie perpetrated in the last century. It is a physically demanding job, and who better to do a physically demanding job than men. Are doctors compassionate? You need to do your job and all this hullabaloo with compassion and nursing is just propaganda. (M 9)*

4.3.2 Occupational segregation: carrying the weight on their shoulders

Male nurses believe that their role as a nurse has been relegated to departments where physical strength is in demand. Male nurses claim to have no responsibilities in departments where the primary responsibility is providing care. Most male nurses

worked in departments such as the intensive care unit, emergency room, and operation theatre.

> *If someone sees you free, you are immediately called to help female nurses move a patient. I understand it is nice to help our colleagues, but that doesn't mean I am seen as a person who is in the hospital to just help other staff carry things. (M 3)*

> *Hospitals want only one man in these [OT, ICU, and ER] departments to do the job, the rest can be done by women. If you ask a female nurse she would want more male nurses in these departments. (M 19)*

> *If I am in ICU, I am there to give CPR or carry patients. In my hospital, there are very few male nurses and we have one or two in almost all departments. We are hired to carry and do the heavy work. It is like male nurses are paid to assist female nurses in doing a job that needs strength. (M 11)*

One of the male participants mentioned that male nurses are only needed to use their strength and what would be the use of an old male nurse who may not be in a position to carry and move things around. He would neither be needed to provide care nor would he be needed to use the heavy lifting work.

> *Nobody wants an old male nurse. If at all they want us it is only when we are young as we carry and push stretchers and wheelchairs. (M 14)*

4.3.3 Nurses' burnout: a Sisyphean task

All nurses complained about exhaustion and burnout at work. Some of the practices at hospitals that were unfathomable included long working hours without breaks and holidays. The problem of long work hours is due to staff shortage and the management is unwilling to address the issue. Male and female nurses were unhappy with the work culture, which included threats of not issuing experience letters/references, inadequate breaks, no leaves, non-nursing duties, and derisory salary.

> *My workload is huge, there is tremendous pressure at work. From the time you start your duty to the time you finish you just have to work without any break. I have had situations where I was taking care of a patient and my colleague was feeding me because I have no time. Because if I were to take a break I have to take off the gloves and clean myself up. There is no time for such things.*

Most participants have had similar experiences often if not every day. The reason to have broken this way is again due to staff shortage. The nurse-to-patient ratio in an ICU was 1:6 and when someone needs to take a break of 10–15 min, washing up, and taking off gloves alone would consume 5 min. Most hospitals had their cafeteria either on the ground floor or on the top floor. Going and coming would take more time than the break itself. Nurses, therefore, were forced to manage their breaks in ingenious ways.

> *Do you know how stressful the job is? We get so tired after work. We have no time for breaks even. In ICU we have deaths almost every night. In Cardiac ICU at least 1 death a night. We have to manage that. When we have night shifts it is even longer sometimes. The public is not aware of these things. I work for 12 to 13 hours every day*

> *for a salary of 15000 rupees. It is not an easy job as well, we have to carry the patient, take care of his health, give CPR and document everything. For such a hectic job we get paid so less. Do you have any job where people get paid less? We are professionals, not some slaves. I think nursing is equal to slavery. (M 4)*

Nurses in general had long working hours across all hospitals in Kerala. This was the norm, and nurses had to get accustomed to working in this routine. Since nursing is a physically challenging job, it gets very tiring for nurses, they spend 60–75% of their day in the hospital. The common perception among nurses was that they were expected to put in long hours of work because they were often young and unmarried. Most nurses opted to stay in hostels and other accommodations close to their hospital to avoid traveling home after work. Even if they stayed in the same region, a nurse would spend an average of 16 hours traveling to and from work. Both nurses were physically fatigued as well as emotionally, especially those who worked in operating rooms where they had to stand for lengthy periods each day without breaks.

> *We have left, but we are not allowed to take them, usually, we get paid an extra month if we don't take leaves. It is because of staffing issues, we don't have enough staff at work. Generally, we don't take leaves, if we do someone has to work more or I have to compensate that day with double duty in that month. (F 10)*

> *We don't give leaves, my nursing supervisor cancels my leave citing a lack of staff. So every time I apply for leave I get rejected citing the same reason. Curses of the nursing profession are nurses themselves some nurses don't join our protest. The reason why we suffer today is that our seniors never bothered to protest. (M 19)*

Nurses working long hours rarely got the opportunity to have a day off. More than half of the participants had at least once worked 30 days without a day off in their tenure at the hospital. Most nurses believed the current workplace culture was established by the management due to the complacent and lackadaisical attitude of nurses from the previous generation.

> *It is a big problem, once you start working in a hospital you need to work for at least 2 years to get a proper experience letter. If you leave before two years they provide you just a letter which is not accepted anywhere. This is illegal but this is the practice. Some nurses work in small hospitals and pay the management to get experience letters. You need 2 years of experience to find a job abroad so they pay and get the experience. They will work for 1 year and maybe buy 2 years' experience. This happens in small hospitals. (F 9)*

> *In Kerala, you have to work for 2 years to get an experience letter. The reason is, that nurses are always looking for jobs abroad and when they find one they leave. Hospital management wants to stop this. If they don't have the letter how can they prove their experience? (M 12).*

Hospital management uses coercive strategies to get the employees to comply with the work culture. The common practice in Indian hospitals is to issue a detailed experience letter after an employee quits an organization, but if an employee doesn't work for 2 years, the hospital issues a letter that just states that they worked in the hospital, it wouldn't give any details on what roles and responsibilities they had in the

hospital. Such a letter is usually not accepted by employers. Using such covert strategies, hospitals ensure the continued commitment of nurses even though employees are unhappy with the hospital.

> *Generally, we have to take care of the equipment, like carrying them, counting them and cleaning them. Cleaning equipment is not our job. There should be assistants to do this job in every department. Why should we clean the equipment? Imagine working for such long hours and you have to handle patients and clean equipment. (M 1)*

> *We have a lot of non-nursing duties, we are made to clean the ventilator, cardiac table, and Ambu bags. Sometimes senior nurses ask junior nurses to do it. There is a lot of cleaning work that could be given to non-nursing staff. (M 7)*

> *After our duty hours, or when the surgery is over we have to clean the OT we have 9 OTs and nurses have to clean them all. We are only 4 staff in our OT. All this work can be given to housekeeping. An OT after surgery is very messy, and cleaning that is not easy. We have to clean all the equipment and keep it ready for the following morning. I don't think it is our job to clean OTs. (M 17)*

Male nurses complained about performing non-nursing duties such as cleaning equipment, which should be done by medical assistants or housekeeping staff. To cut corners management of most hospitals substitutes nurses for these tasks, which makes their work hours longer and takes away their productive hours.

Another major concern was the salary, despite working long hours, with short breaks and fewer holidays while doing non-nursing duties, a nurse usually earns less than an unskilled laborer.

> *We are not paid properly. We don't get paid for overtime. My salary is just 15000 rupees. A daily wage laborer gets 800 rupees in Kerala. It is funny he gets 5000 rupees more than I do. We spend money and time on education and get nothing in return. (M 1)*

When HR managers were asked about why nurses were paid so less, lesser than most professions that don't even require to have a university education. Managers defended it by saying they are the largest group of employees in a hospital, and they cannot afford to spend so much cash on them.

> *We can't pay the salaries they demand as it is not feasible for any hospitals in Kerala, as you know we have an ongoing case in the court about revised pay, but if we pay 20000 rupees to each nurse that joins we cannot operate this hospital. We pay a new joiner around 9500 rupees and it doesn't make any sense to increase their salary by 100 percent. It will result in an operating cost of almost 70% of our income. Do you think any organization can function with just 30% of its earnings? (HR 1)*

4.3.4 Male nurses as agents of change

Due to the appalling working conditions in hospitals across Kerala and the exploitation nurses experience at the hands of hospital management, male nurses rose in protest against the management. Since early 2012, protests have sprung across Kerala

and across Indian cities where the bulk of the nursing workforce is Malayalee. Male nurses have been at the helm of these protests and have spearheaded such agitations by forming a nursing union called UNA.

> *Male nurses are expected to take on the wrong and unjust practices in hospitals. Female nurses provide us all the support but they want us to lead from the front. Female nurses tend to be more submissive to hospital management and that is what the management wants. (M 12)*

> *What they are doing [Protests] is right but this is Kerala and I don't have faith in any hospital management. Even charitable hospitals run by religious institutions be it any religion all exploit nurses. So I think what male nurses are doing is right. In another 15 years, I think there won't be any male nurses in Kerala. (F 3)*

> *Nowadays men entering the nursing profession is gradually decreasing. 10 years back we had a lot of men considering nursing but now numbers are low and after all the media reports more and more men are not choosing the nursing profession. Our fight for justice has affected men in their careers. (F 4)*

Male nurses have taken it upon themselves to protest against the existing workplace conditions and bring dignity and honor to the nursing profession. For 70 years, nurses endured such work practices, and it is only after men entered the nursing profession that such unity of strength was put on display. Female nurses are happy about the protests, but they also feel that Malayalee male nurses paid a hefty price for it. Most female participants believe that had the male nurses not protested society would not have known what nurses were going through in the private hospitals in Kerala. Though the protests started in Kerala, they eventually spread all over India.

4.4 Theme 4: male nurses as undesirable employees: why invite trouble?

Since the protests began in 2012, male nurses are generally not hired. Male nurses have been viewed as trouble makers. Hospital management believes that without male nurses it would be easy to control the female nurses at hospitals. Though there is no official declaration banning male nurses from being hired, their hiring in hospitals is generally discouraged by human resources managers.

> *Male nurses are expected to take on the wrong and unjust practices in hospitals. Female nurses provide us all the support but they want us to lead from the front. Female nurses tend to be more submissive to hospital management and that is what the management wants. (M 19)*

> *The management wants to keep the number of male nurses to a minimum. Hospitals see us as a threat. They think we are here to protest. All we want is a good salary and good working hours. (M 11)*

> *Being a male nurse is a crime in Kerala, there is huge discrimination. The only good thing that happened because of us joining the workforce is that we made the whole country learn about our condition. After male nurses joined we fought against the injustice. (M 17)*

> *Men nurses are not seen as nurses and it is a bad thing. If there were no male nurses most female nurses would carry on with their idealistic doggedness and nothing would change. (M 20)*

HR managers interviewed for this study were unanimous in seeing male nurses as a threat. They, therefore, plan to keep the number of male nurses to the bare minimum. HR managers fear male nurses can stir things up and make it difficult for the hospital to function. According to them, a female nurse rarely questions the management wherein a male nurse does it authoritatively and encourages others to do so.

> *Men joined nursing only to migrate, In Kerala, we did not have male nurses before 2000 it is only in the last 10 or 15 years due to high opportunities abroad they have joined. Most nurses who have joined protests are people who can't migrate. It is their frustration that led to most strikes. (HR 1)*

> *Male nurses are trouble makers, we used to hire them until 2014, but now we don't hire them anymore. It is the management's decision. We are a small hospital and we can't afford strikes. (HR 2)*

> *I don't think male nurses are bad at work. Most hospitals in Kerala were hiring male nurses, now things have changed. To be honest, though women participate in strikes more than men do. It is male nurses who instigate everything. After the strikes began, male nurses started questioning doctors too. Doctors decided to have female nurses. As a hospital we need to listen to doctors, patients come to the hospital because doctors are good, not because nurses are good. (HR 3)*

> *We have plenty of female nurses in Kerala and even the patients prefer female nurses, so why should we hire male nurses. Why invite trouble? (HR 4)*

> *Male nurses are ungrateful to the management, we had no need to hire them, and even then we hired them and gave them jobs. Now they are creating problems all over the state. Is this how they pay us back? This is India, not UK. Since they can't go to the UK they are trying to create the UK here. We don't have the budget to be like UK. (HR 5)*

According to HR managers, male nurses are trying to create a space for themselves in Kerala by asking for better working conditions. The hospitals fear that if the number of male nurses increases, naturally they will demand more as years pass by. Earlier hospitals were satisfied with having a workforce that was more or less a floating crowd. Most nurses worked for 2 years, gained experience, and moved on to other countries. This gave the hospitals a young and cheap supply of nursing workforce. When male nurses failed to migrate, they started asking for better working conditions as they wanted to pursue the career in which they had invested their time and money. Female nurses see the arrival of male nurses in the profession as a blessing, because of which many work practices that were thought to be acceptable are no more acceptable and the plight of nurses has been brought to the public's attention, thereby forcing the government to direct hospital managements into overhauling the existing system.

5. Discussion

In the study, it was vividly established that all male nurses had individual and personal motivation in choosing nursing as a career. Male nurses see nursing as a career as good as any other. They have had to fight their way into this profession due to a lack of acceptance and awareness among the public in Kerala. Consistent with the finding of Uhlimann and Cohen [35], when men generally pursue professions that are dominated by women, like nursing, they usually see it as a new opportunity or unexplored territory where they can make startling gains such as getting career promotions faster than women and also to get hired easily than their female counterparts. Even if this thought is not intentional, it is subconsciously present.

Although Malayalee male nurses had similar noble reasons as their female colleagues, it was the opportunity to migrate that acted as the pull factor. The challenges faced by male nurses are different from what women face in a male-dominated profession. For a woman professional her sexuality is not questioned when she chooses to pursue a career in a male-dominated profession, whereas for a male nurse his sexuality is questioned and nursing for men was considered as a threat to traditional masculine roles [2, 3, 36, 37].

Numerous studies have explored male nurses' experiences within the Western context, but only a few such studies have been conducted in India to understand the lived experience of male nurses and their challenges. Malayalee male nurses working in private hospitals across Kerala feel like their career choice has been a mistake due to the unexpected turn of events. Malayalee male nurses braved the storm of ridicule and embarrassment that they had to face at the onset of their career only to realize that they were not seen as equal to a female nurse.

There were cases of male nurses abandoning a career to choose nursing as it offered better prospects. Some of the nurses possessed another qualification before they went to nursing school. Nursing therefore for some was not the first career choice. Most male nurses entered this profession at the peak of international recruitment when more and more female nurses got job opportunities in Europe. Female nurses from Kerala were always finding work in the Middle East, but it was the newfound opportunity in Europe and the other developed world that attracted male nurses into this profession.

Since the primary reason to choose nursing as a profession was to migrate, they found stiff competition from female nurses. Female nurses were generally preferred over male nurses in most countries, and this was an impediment male nurses could not overcome.

Working conditions in private hospitals in Kerala could be deemed disastrous and detrimental to the health and well-being of an individual. Long working hours, coupled with few short breaks resulted in emotional and physical exhaustion. Male nurses who had dreamt to move abroad in search of a better life had to come to grapple with the reality of having to work in private hospitals in Kerala for longer than they had imagined.

Male nurses were given work that included heavy-lifting and cleaning, which they believed was not part of their job roles and responsibilities, but they were matching with what was expected from a man. All of this was done for a salary that was meager and negligible. Female nurses had coped with such working conditions before, and they didn't protest as most knew they had a higher probability of finding a job outside of India, but for male nurses, the chances were slim to none. Male nurses thus rose in

protest against the management of private hospitals across Kerala asking for a better wage in particular and better working hours in general.

The power of collective bargaining and unionizing helped male nurses to get the attention of the public and government to the plight of nurses in the hospitals of Kerala. Such efforts resulted in male nurses being declared as trouble makers, thereby jeopardizing their career opportunities in Kerala too.

Malayalee male nurses are caught in a rut now, with their careers at stake. Most male nurses interviewed were apprehensive about leaving the job as they would find it difficult to find another job in the nursing profession. Most male nurses have come to terms that their future in nursing is at stake. Male nurses are generally preferred to work in departments where they are expected to use their physical strength, but now male nurses believe as they age, they will be unwanted as they will be physically weaker than now.

The dream of going abroad is fading and so are the job prospects in Kerala due to their efforts in organizing protests against inhuman working conditions. The fate of the Malayalee male nurse is sealed. Male nurses use their physical strength until they are deemed unfit, or they use their masculine traits of organizing and rebelling against the injustice perpetrated against them. In the process, male nurses have lost more than what they have gained. Their presence in nursing benefitted female nurses the most, who until then had inured to the appalling work environment. Male nurses became the catalyst that expedited the process of breaking the shackles of wage slavery, which was enforced on nurses by private hospitals. The efforts of male nurses in galvanizing the entire nursing workforce to act in unison though a success came with a steep cost. They have come to the stark realization of the existence of a shelf life for their career, which is far shorter than expected. A Malayalee male nurse has become a tragedy resembling Sisyphus who was cursed to roll a boulder up a mountain only to see it roll back down. Malayalee male nurses have been laboring hard but to no avail. Nursing to them has become a Sisyphean task.

6. Conclusion

Overall, we found that, after entering the nursing profession, Malayalee male nurses had worse career prospects and promotion chances compared with their female counterparts. Though male and female nurses had similar working conditions, their career prospects were vastly different. The extraordinarily low participation percentages of males in nursing are directly correlated with popular stereotypes and biases against men who work in fields where women predominate. The high turnover rate among male nurses is further explained by their significantly lower professional prestige when compared with other masculine professions.

6.1 Implications for nursing management

India has a better proportion of men in nursing in comparison with many other developed countries. Though India has a higher number of male nurses, the current working conditions and job prospects will dissuade many prospective male nurses from joining the nursing workforce. India, like many developing countries, faces an acute shortage of nurses, which if not addressed will only exacerbate over the years. The need to bridge the gap in nursing demand is pertinent and must be done to ensure access to healthcare for millions of people who at the moment have no access to healthcare whatsoever.

It is important to devise strategies to attract, recruit, and retain more male nurses. This can be achieved by running government campaigns to create awareness among the younger population to choose nursing as a career. Measures must also be made to ensure proper working hours and a government-mandated salary, which can raise the social status of nurses.

6.2 Strengths and limitations

One of the study's shortcomings is that it only included nurses who worked in Kerala's cities; those in rural regions were left out. It is advised that further studies be carried out utilizing a mixed-method approach because the usage of a single technique and design is another constraint. The fact that this study is one of the few to explore the motivation and experiences of male nurses in India was one of its strengths.

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Chapter 5

Impacts of Masculinity on Men's Health in Maseru, Lesotho

Nkeka Peter Tseole

Abstract

Masculinity is a health determinant for men and a risk factor for non-communicable diseases. This chapter explores how dominant masculinity influences lifestyle risk factors for non-communicable diseases focusing on adult men. The study conducted eight exploratory focus group discussions with adult men from Maseru, Lesotho. The participants were recruited using purposive sampling. Thematic analysis processes were followed to analyse data. The participants' rationales and behaviours indicated dependence on women for healthy living even though men claimed taking responsibility as one of the key descriptions for a man. Smoking was perceived as one of the practices used to prove masculinity. Participants were informed about the unfavourable impacts of smoking. Stress, leisure time and peer pressure were reported as contributing factors to harmful alcohol consumption among participants. Many participants understood the benefits from healthy diets, however, they depended on females for healthy meals. Nearly all the men were aware of the health benefits of physical activities. Participants were aware of the undesirable effects of physical inactivity. Participants reported various challenges to effective physical activities and classified some activities as suitable for middle-class individuals. Health education focused on men is critical in order to alleviate the negative impacts of masculinity on men's health.

Keywords: lifestyle risk factors, noncommunicable diseases, masculinity, adult men

1. Introduction

Masculinity is a multifaceted concept which is socially and culturally constructed [1]. Masculinity is a significant socio-cultural determinant of health and health-related behaviours [2]. Masculinity traits are largely created and shaped by life experiences in different settings resulting in sets of behaviours in which men, in particular, are socialised to practice [3]. In many countries, men often lead health defeating behaviours owing to their subscription to toxic masculinity. The two predominant approaches used in the study of masculinity are the trait and the normative approaches to masculinity. The trait perspective is essentially rooted in the differences between male and female genders [4]. Based on normative viewpoint to masculinity, the concept of masculinity is socially constructed and does not necessarily depend on the differences perceived between men and women [4]. Masculinity qualities appear similar across the globe. They include independence, invulnerability, sexual promiscuity, competitiveness,

bravery, leadership and control, and physical strength. In most societies, men are socialised as those with high tolerance to pain, are self-reliant, and the sole decision-makers, and fundamentally avoid any feminine behaviours [5, 6].

In addition to power dynamics between genders on dominance and subordination, masculinity may also be described in relation to power relations between different sides of masculinity. Scholars in the field acknowledge hegemonic masculinity, complicit masculinity, marginalised masculinity, and subordinate masculinity as the main facets [2, 7]. Hegemonic masculinity is the dominant type and is characterised by strength, heterosexuality, superiority, being white, suppression of emotions as well as feelings [2]. Complicit masculinity is the passive expression of masculinity which lacks most characteristics observed in hegemonic masculinity. Men in this category do not challenge gender systems, they somehow benefit from being males [2, 7]. Marginalised masculinity refers to the subculture of hegemonic masculinity. Even though men in this group do not have some qualities of hegemonic masculinity like race, individuals in this category demonstrate the same traits as the hegemonic masculinity, for instance, physical strength, suppressing emotions and ferociousness [2, 7]. Subordinate masculinity displays the opposite characteristics from those of hegemonic masculinity. Men in this category demonstrate feminine behaviours comprising physical weakness, and they easily show their emotions [2].

Negative masculinity traits encourage health defeating behaviours [8, 9]. Individuals who subscribe to masculinity are most likely to embrace hazardous behaviours that discourage a healthy lifestyle and long life [8, 10]. Irrespective of their awareness of the negative consequences of unhealthy living, masculine men resist healthy living practices and often engage in risky behaviours generally associated with manliness [11, 12]. The reckless behaviour practised by masculine men shows how dedicated men identifying with dominant masculinity are to proving their masculinity. Different media platforms similarly contribute in different ways to the construction of masculinity. Images depicting hegemonic masculinity showcasing undesired behaviours, for example, reliance on fast-food, excessive alcohol consumption and excess consumption of red meat as cool and attractive influence the construction of hegemonic masculinity [13]. This chapter explores the role played by masculinity in the prevalence of lifestyle risk factors for non-communicable sicknesses.

This chapter draws from a qualitative study that was conducted in Maseru, Lesotho. Data was collected using eight exploratory focus group discussions (FGDs). The FGDs were made up of adult men aged 18 years and older. The FGDs were arranged with different groups of men who devoted their time, efforts and experiences to inform this study. Each group of men was invited to a central place for that specific group. These places included worship buildings, schools and sports facilities. The researcher transported most participants to and from these central places. However, some participants voluntarily transported themselves to and from the places where the FGDs were facilitated. The researcher had planned to recruit more men for FGDs, however, from the sixth group, it was evident that the researchers were not going to get any new information. A total of eight FGDs were held. On average, 60 adult men took part in eight FGDs on risk factors for non-communicable diseases (NCDs). A relaxed atmosphere during the FGDs encouraged open discussion among participants as well as between participants and the facilitator. The FGDs covered questions related to risk factors for NCDs—harmful consumption of alcohol, smoking, unhealthy diet and physical inactivity. Data were collected from November 2016 to February 2017. Verbatim narratives were used in this chapter in order to substantiate participants' arguments.

Participants were recruited through purposive sampling where the existing men's social groups such as recreational and sports clubs, business cooperatives and religious groups were targeted. The other strategy was to identify '*popular men*' comprising local school principals and local business owners from different communities. These men were instrumental in that they assisted in recruiting adult men who showed interest to participate in the study from their communities.

During data analysis processes, thematic analysis was used. This approach was useful in that it assisted the researcher to explore the study participants' opinions, knowledge and experiences from the qualitative data collected. Six steps practised in thematic analysis were followed, that is, the familiarisation with the data and notes, coding, generation of themes, revision of the generated themes, defining and naming of themes and lastly the writing up of the analysis report emanating from the data.

The names used in the report are not the real names of participants in order to protect their identity. The main study was conducted through the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban, South Africa. The ethical clearance was attained from the University of KwaZulu-Natal's ethics committee (reference number: HSS/0697/015D). The study participants, that is, adult men, were members of society and were not representatives of any organisation during the interviews. Data collection process did not require any approval from any organisation; however, participants were given consent letters which invited them to participate in the study. The consent letter further provided details on what the study was about and highlighted that participation was voluntary and that participants were allowed to pull out from the study at any time they felt uncomfortable. The potential participants who were comfortable participating in the study signed the consent letters and returned them back to the researcher.

2. Who is a man?

In their description of a man, participants used age, sex, marital status, being a father, and taking responsibility with varying emphasis as the key contributing factors to who a man was perceived as. Being born male and aged 18 years and older, a male person was defined as a man by most participants. Alex, a participant in one of the FGDs put it this way:

> *A man is a male individual who is eighteen years old and can take responsibility, married or not married. As long as he is old enough to be trusted to take responsibility in the family he is a man.*

Heterosexuality was an important determinant for one to be referred to as a man. This stereotype led to hegemonic masculinity subscribers disregarding homosexuality irrespective of other characteristics and behaviours related to manliness. Homosexual males were mostly disqualified as men by most study participants. In addition to homophobic views perceived, some of the FGD participants emphasised that some heterosexual males were ignorant:

> *Being born male does not necessarily mean that we are all men. There are [male] people who are eighteen years old and above and responsible in their families but whose [social] behavior and the way they live does not say they are men. I have an example; gay men were born males but the way they conduct their lives does not*

> *reflect the way a man should live. They are 'women', they take women's role even in sexual intercourse. Even their general behavior in public is similar to that of women.*

Being married was another determining factor in the definition of a man. Most participants in the FGDs strongly associated manhood with marriage. In most societies, bachelor men are alleged irresponsible and socially deviant. This perception led boys to be taught from a young age by their mothers and shown by their fathers how to become men [14]. Jacob explained this as follows:

> *A man is a married male person. When he is married, he is now having the responsibility of caring for other people, his wife and children which he did not have before getting married. If you do not get married and start having children, you are still a boy.*

In addition to marriage, men who had biological children had a sense of pride and bearing children had resulted in acknowledgement and acceptance of these men in their families. One of the newly married men confirmed:

> *Just like me, before I got married, in my family, the elders treated me like one of the boys in the family regardless of my age especially for serious family matters. My opinions in any family matters were not taken serious until now. Now I am married and my wife is pregnant. My voice is heard in the family, my elders have started treating me like one of the family men and even listening to me. So, for me, until a male person is married, in my opinion and experience he will always be a boy.*

> *One cannot become a father without bearing a child, at the same time; he cannot become a man unless he gets married. If he is not married, he can only be referred to as a man as praise if he has done some good works associated with men. So, in this case, his good actions can lead to referring to him as a man, but it will be temporary. (Tigger, FGD#3)*

Among the older men, graduating from traditional initiation school was one of the determining factors for males to qualify as men. Physical and emotional capabilities similarly dictated the definition of a man. Men who had the ability to protect and provide for their households were defined as men:

> *I can say a man is somebody who can work and provide for his family, one who can be able to protect the family and somebody who has control and works and protects the family. He can do tough/heavy jobs. He can work in the garden, prune trees. The other thought that comes to mind goes together with a Sesotho saying which says 'a man is a sheep, he does not cry'. He does not display emotions. (Thabo, FGD #7)*

> *A man is a male person who has gone for our Sesotho traditional initiation school (lebollo). When he gets back to the society, he is now referred to as a real man because we have now taught him how to be a man while he was in the mountain. He can even get married now. (Thabo, FGD #7)*

The last part of the previous quotation highlights extreme hegemonic masculinity which usually led to men living risky lifestyles is highlighted in the quote

above. Men are socialised as strong even against illnesses resulting in these men shying away from consultation with health professionals. One of the participants alluded:

> *There is also this statement: 'Be a man', drive like a man, man up, etc. for you to be a man you should drive at a certain speed, at high speed basically, for you to be a man you should drink so many quarts [of beer] a day. The risky kind of behaviours one engages in, the man you are. The feminine part of a man who takes a good care of himself, respecting his family and wife is seen as not being man enough. A man is a sheep, he does not cry. Even if you go through hardship, do not cry, do not let people know. A man can be sick, but cannot go to the hospital or clinic because that would be a sign of weakness. A man is expected to be resilient and able to stand the pain in any forms of it. A man should mask his emotions and emotional experiences he goes through and should always come out as strong. (Tsebo, FGD#2)*

Young men were acknowledged as men post their graduation from the traditional initiation school. After the initiation process, the older generation in society trusted these initiates and perceived them as ready to take responsibility including getting married. The traditions taught at initiation school were thought to have shaped, equipped young men and capacitated them to become accountable members of society. Some males, particularly those who were born and grown in urban areas did not subscribe to traditional initiation schools and its teachings. These men did not believe that young men's behaviours could only be transformed through traditional initiation experience:

> *Those people are not turning into men just because they have gone to the mountain. They are just full of theory of what a man should be like. They are still boys until they get married like everybody else. Some of them practice the worst behavior when they come back to the society. (Tumelo, FGD #6)*

3. Masculinity and smoking

Participants in the study knew about the harmful health effects of smoking. Nevertheless, they still reported a high prevalence of cigarette smoking, specifically among the working class and students at institutions of higher learning. Hand-rolled tobacco smoking was a common habit among older men, particularly the unemployed and men with lower formal education while smoking marijuana was common among younger men. Most current smokers during the study reported that the habit of smoking was developed during teenage-hood when they wanted to prove their masculinity owing to peer pressure and too much leisure time:

> *I was in secondary school when I started smoking and it was out of peer pressure and also wanting to be regarded as cool and as a man. To tell you the truth, I was already convinced that smoking was not right from what we were taught at school. (Mike, FGD #4)*

> *I do not really keep track of how many times I smoke a day but now I think I have decreased my smoking to roughly four times a day. One of the reasons why I have decreased the number of times I smoke is because I am now busy most of the time.*

> *Before I came here (college campus) I had nothing to do for almost the whole day so I smoked a lot. Since I came here, I have really decreased my smoking because of being busy throughout the day with my schoolwork. (John, FGD #2)*

Once initiated, smoking is addictive:

> *I have always thought smoking helps me release stress, but honestly speaking, if I go for two or three days without smoking, I feel good. I usually get back to it because of the strong cravings I get, but health wise it is not good to smoke. I tried stopping to smoke, in fact at one point I stopped for six months. I cannot really tell what happened, but today I am back to smoking. I think there is something about smoking; it is not easy to stop smoking once you start. (Pule, FGD #2)*

Subscribers to dominant masculinity avoided any feminine behaviour. One man who was a current smoker alleged:

> *I cannot smell like a woman, smoking gives me that smell, different from a woman. There should be a difference between a man and a woman. We cannot smell the same. (Andre, FGD #5)*

A follow-up from a different participant in the same FGD however indicated that the reasoning by the participant above was flawed. There were women who smoked, and the trend was reported growing during the study:

> *Can I say something about women and smoking? Eish! We are seeing this habit of smoking growing even among our women here. This was not a norm, but it is becoming popular especially here. So, it's not only men who are smoking my brother. (Morena, FGD#5)*

4. Harmful alcohol consumption

Detrimental periodic heavy drinking was the most prevalent among men in this study. This binge drinking often took place on weekends and at social events. Beer, especially the locally brewed '*Maluti*' was the popular beverage among men. Very few men consumed traditional beer. Similar to smoking, the men who consumed traditional beer were mostly older unemployed men with lower formal education. Participants said social drinking was therapeutic as they got to share life experiences with other male counterparts during these drinking gatherings:

> *I always hangout with my boys. Mostly on weekends. We drink and talk about life; I mean everything from our hurts and joys maybe from the family or girlfriends. It is funny that when we are sober it is difficult to talk about some stuff. I for one cannot openly talk about family issues to my friends when I am sober, but when I am tipsy anything goes. I do not know why this happens so for me that is one of the reasons why I drink, I become free. (Luke, FGD #3)*

Some men in England believe excessive drinking of alcohol makes one to appear masculine [15]. This stereotype contributes to the high and reckless consumption of alcohol by men in comparison to their female counterparts [10, 16]. The

masculine standards of being a '*playboy*', endearing and taking risks are determinants alluded to in literature for heavy consumption of alcohol and high risks of alcohol-related challenges [17]. Subscribers to hegemonic masculinity hide their feelings or emotions when they are abstemious. The avoidance of emotions, the belief that excessive alcohol consumption prevents boredom and that stress caused by female partners caused men to excessively consume alcohol were illustrated as follows:

> *Men usually cannot stand pain. Not physical pain as such, this emotional pain. For example, a man who has a wife who is always shouting at him would rather be in a bar and get home drunk and care free. Unfortunately, some women do not realise that they are the source of their husbands' bad drinking habits. (Thato, FGD #8)*

> *For some the reason is family problems faced. They are running away from a nagging wife. They would rather arrive home drunk because they are not respected in their houses anyway. They are treated like children. For some, bars are the only place where they get to socialise with friends and avoid boredom. (Thabang, FGD #2)*

> *I think we are created different from women. Men get stressed when they are just idling, that is when the thought of at least going to the bar comes. Even if there is money in the house that the wife has hidden for some serious housekeeping, a bored man would steal some of that money and go for alcoholic drinks. (Tumelo, FGD #4)*

One of the participants differentiated men from women, as seen from other men, he attributed this difference to masculine identities especially the competitive nature of masculine men:

> *Yeah, there is a huge difference. Men drink more alcohol containing beverages than women. Men like showing off what they can do. Somebody mentioned the issue of competition; that is one of the reasons. Men enjoy competition almost in everything they do. (Lerata, FGD #6)*

Different from smoking, participants did not instantly link harmful consumption of alcohol to negative health effects, instead they related excessive alcohol consumption to social issues experienced in society. They pointed out unwanted behaviours that usually lead to more violence and fights between friends and family members, avoidable road accidents and deaths.

5. Masculinity and healthy food consumption

Participants considered cooking as a women's obligation. This finding concurs with previous studies that reported cooking as a feminine task [18]. The belief that cooking is women's responsibility has resulted in unhealthy eating behaviours in men [14], particularly in the absence of females who are expected to prepare food for men. Men who endorse traditional masculine identities are therefore at higher risk than women of developing chronic NCDs related to poor diet. Most men in Maseru, Lesotho relied on women for food preparation mainly because food preparation was considered a feminine task. Similarly, other men from different surroundings who do not cook [19], some men in Maseru said they did not cook at all in their households:

> *I do not know much about food stuff and preparation. The truth is that I am not interested. As long as my stomach is full I am okay. (Molisa, FGD #4)*

Masculinity was associated with less attention on food and what to eat. For men having especially dominant masculine characteristics, cooking their own meals is often optional [20]. Finnish men from different working groups define food purchasing and preparation as feminine [20]. Femininity is also used to label food and beverages in most communities. For instance, consuming red meat and alcoholic beverages is an indicator of masculinity in different cultures, whereas eating salads, fruits, and desserts is considered feminine [20]. The femininization of food preparation and cooking is a stereotype that has led to men's poor eating habits which are health defeating and exposing men to multiple NCDs. Men who were married but were not living with their spouses reported that they only ate healthy meals when their wives visited them. Single men who were not living with their partners but lived with their family members and depended on their female relatives for healthy meal preparation. Men who were single, and not living with their family members and not with their partners failed constantly to cook healthy meals for themselves. Buying fast food was a common alternative for this group of men.

> *I am not staying with my wife here, so I always go for meals that are easy to get at work and even at home except if my wife is around. If I cook, it's always eggs or grilled chicken from the oven and prepare some papa and eat without vegetables. The only time when I eat healthy food is when my wife is around. On my own, I always go for fast food. Proper cooking is a mission. (Liketso, FGD #6)*

> *It is my wife who always prepares food for my family. I usually prepare my own meals when there is a need, [that is], when my wife is not around. (Paul, FGD #8)*

Cooking was considered a woman's obligation even though there was an acknowledgement of unfairness to cooking deemed a women's responsibility, especially in cases where both partners were working:

> *The fact that women are also working these days, they are doing men a huge favour, they should be staying at home nurturing babies and making sure that there is cooked food for the kids, men and the family at large while men are out at work. Strange enough when we get back home, both from work, I sit down and expect her to give me some food and even start complaining that she is too slow to prepare me some food. (Liketso, FGD #3)*

With regards to the unemployed men, there was inclination to sharing responsibilities such as cooking and other household chores previously perceived women's responsibility:

> *It is not only women who should cook in the house. We should assist and share whatever house chore we have. Even doing laundry is one of the activities that I personally help with. I really do not mind. (Thulo, FGD #5)*

Being intentional about healthy diet consumption was criticised by some participants as feminine. However, there were men who aspired to develop courage and commitment to healthy eating in the future:

> *I have lately realized that some men, like women, are too careful on the food they eat. They are so picky. It is a very small number of them that I have seen. I think that is a good thing to practice. I am not one of those men but hopefully I will be one day. For now, for me, being so selective on food to eat is too much admin. Maybe as time goes I will be able to change. For now, I eat whatever I lay my hands on. As long as I am full and the food is nice, I am a happy man. (Mohau, FGD #7)*

Participants were asked to provide possible and effective strategies that can be used to encourage men to practice healthy dietary habits. The majority of the men alluded to nutritional education and awareness specifically targeting men. Some men thought that there was a general need to empower men to challenge health by defeating cultural beliefs and practices.

6. Masculinity and physical inactivity

Physical strength and competitiveness are among other features previously deemed important to masculinity. Men usually participate in rigorous physical activities to realise these two qualities. Individuals aspiring and subscribing to masculine energy usually participate in rigorous physical activities. Research reports physical activity as more prevalent, especially among men than it is among women [10]. High competition is one of the traits associated with masculinity and participation in competitive physical activity exposes masculine subscribers to a platform for competition with others with similar characteristics.

Majority of the men were aware of the susceptibility to various health challenges and undesirable health effects related to physical inactivity. However, due to a lack of knowledge and awareness for some men, physical activities, especially recreational physical activities were associated with sophisticated community members and sportsmen. This lack of understanding and awareness restricted physical activities to leisure physical activities. Unemployed men and non-office workers were some of the groups that perceived physical activity as a middle-class practice. The blue-collar employees were of the view that their daily jobs were already physical activities, but they did not know of the health benefits attained from physical activities carried out at work:

> *It [physical activity] is mostly done by the middle-class people who are usually using cars as their mode of transport most of the time so they try and do jogging as a physical activity to keep healthy. From there it would be those people who are actively participating in sports who go jogging to get their bodies ready for games. I am a construction worker, when I get home; all I need is to rest for the next day. My job takes all my energy away. (Mosebi, FGD #6)*

Some participants engaged in domestic activities which they correctly perceived as physical activities:

> *I am a farmer, I am always busy in my garden and I also feed my chickens and pigs and clean their shelters on daily basis. In doing so, I believe I am engaging in physical activities that keep me healthy and active. What do you think? (Tanki, FGD #6)*

However, consistency in physical activities was lacking:

> *There are days when I do not enjoy this thing [farming]. If it was not work I would not be doing it. (Lebo, FGD #4)*

Some men in the study reported that they did not participate in any form of physical activities owing to their too busy daily schedules:

> *To be honest with you, for me there is no sport or games that I play. I do not have the time. The only time I get to do a physical activity is when am at church. The type of music we do there makes us run around and jump up and down. I would therefore say that is the only chance I have for a physical activity in a week. (Tlotli, FGD #5)*

Consistent physical activities are associated with healthy body weight. When asked about the societal meaning attached to men's body mass in Lesotho's context, most responses alluded to associations between wealth and being obese, especially with the older generations. However, the men reported a shift in perspective where the current generation seems aware that obesity is unhealthy and does not indicate wealth. Some men indicated that they were aware of the health challenges linked to obesity. One participant alluded to the fact that many illnesses that are caused by obesity are avoided. Study participants also shared that obesity constrains physical activities citing particularly men's sexual performance:

> *I work with women in the farm. When they see a fat man, they always comment that they doubt that fat [man] is doing well in his sexual life because of the weight he is carrying. So, when women see fat men, they get too curious about their sexual performance in bed. You cannot even satisfy your woman in bed if you are fat my man. These women talk chief. I do not think this relate to sexual life alone. I mean, being fat must be heavy; I am sure any physical work is a challenge for a fat man. So again, I would say for me when I see a fat man, the first thing that comes to mind is laziness. (Jerry, FGD #3)*

> *I do not know, but personally I think a man should be physically fit. That helps him to be admired and respected by other men as well as women. (Theo, FGD #1)*

Hegemonic masculinity is protective as seen in the quotation above showcasing that men's sexual prowess was valued by masculinity subscribers.

7. Conclusion

Masculinity is one of the major determining factors contributing to the risky lifestyle of masculine men. The preventable exposure to NCDs increases particularly in men due to increased risky behaviours masculine men practice. This chapter explored the role of masculinity in the prevalence of lifestyle risk factors for NCDs. Participant's lifestyle and attitude did not match the men's awareness and knowledge about the harmful health effects caused by lifestyle risk factors. Not all characteristics of masculinity have negative effects on health, however, identifying with masculinity can be problematic. It contributes to the initiation of smoking, excessive alcohol consumption, and lack of motivation to maintain healthy food consumption. Masculinity can be protective thereby resulting in motivation to maintain a healthy body weight. Key features to the definition of a man included having the knowledge, and the ability

to take responsibility for others, however, it was startling that men generally relinquished responsibility for their health to their female counterparts, for example, their wives and female partners. Men can be considered high-risk members of society. They need to commit and adopt lifestyle changes that lessen the negative effects related to lifestyle risk factors for NCDs.

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Chapter 6

The Effect of Entrepreneurship Education, Masculinity, and Femininity on the Entrepreneurial Intention of Students

Davy Vercruysse

Abstract

In the last decade, a lot of studies have focused on the effects of entrepreneurship education on entrepreneurial intentions of students. However, various conclusions are seen in previous literature regarding the impact of entrepreneurship education on the entrepreneurial intentions of students. In a lot of papers regarding the relation between entrepreneurship education and entrepreneurial intentions and behavior, the variable sex (being male or female) is a control variable or studied as moderator. Since sex is not always seen as a sufficient moderator, some researchers split the total test group into two subgroups, based on the gender role orientation of people (masculinity and femininity) rather than the sex differences, although research in this area is quite scarce. This book chapter tackles this research gap and examines the effects of entrepreneurship education on student's entrepreneurial intention, when emphasizing not only on sex but also on masculinity and femininity. Two different empirical studies are integrated. The first study demonstrates that male students have higher entrepreneurial intention compared with female students, and people with high masculinity also score higher in entrepreneurial intention, compared with people with low masculinity. The second study reveals that an elective, lecture-based course especially suited the students with high masculinity.

Keywords: entrepreneurship education, entrepreneurial intention, gender, sex, masculinity, femininity, SEM, theory of planned behavior

1. Introduction

1.1 The importance of entrepreneurship for economic growth

Entrepreneurship has been and will remain an important driver for the economies of all countries. The call for more entrepreneurs has found its way from a side note in

economic research to a strategic topic of key importance in political mission statements of, e.g., the United Nations [1] or the European Commission [2]. More entrepreneurs are needed since entrepreneurship can foster societal benefits such as job creation, innovation, internationalization, individual well-being. Moreover, in modern economies, entrepreneurship is considered to be the far most important factor for economic growth [3].

First, regarding *job creation*, Zoltan and Szerb [4] examined that exceptionally fast-growing businesses—like often given in the start-up community—are responsible for most job creation and a significant share of economic growth. Also, Malchow-Møller [5] concluded in their research that start-ups in Denmark are responsible for 25% of job creation.

Second, Zhao [6] discussed the reciprocal influence between entrepreneurship and *innovation*: both interact to help an organization to flourish. Also Henrekson [7] concluded that innovation is important for entrepreneurship and growth, but has to be supported by the government to be able to flourish. In accordance to that, Huggins et al. (2015) claim that entrepreneurship is an important driver of innovation if this relationship is supported by the suitable network and network capital.

Third, entrepreneurship is said to foster *internationalization*, especially when the start-up is able to rely on the knowledge of foreign markets, by which new chances are met [8]. Also Cavusgil et al. [9] associate rapid internationalization with huge chances in order to create competitive advantages.

Besides those named societal benefits, Phelps [10] also claims that entrepreneurship, combined with creativity and the interest for adventures, can give a positive impact to *life satisfaction*.

1.2 Sex and gender perspectives in entrepreneurship research

Since entrepreneurship needs to be fostered from a societal perspective, a lot of scholars perform research on this topic. However, previous research mainly focused on male entrepreneurs [11–13], while also women-owned businesses significantly contribute to wealth creation in all economies [14]. So the call for more entrepreneurs has become a greater focus, particularly in research agendas examining how to foster women's entrepreneurship (e.g., [15]), especially since the European Commission promotes and supports women to become entrepreneurs via the Entrepreneurship 2020 Action Plan [2]. Since the call to emphasize in research also on female entrepreneurship, recent studies have primarily concentrated on the differences between men and women (e.g. [16–18]). This way an empirical emphasis is put on *sex* analysis (the difference between being a man and a woman).

However, sex analysis is only one side of the coin of entrepreneurship research: among others, Tedmanson, Verduyn, Essers, and Gartner [19] claim that besides the difference in sex, there also needs to be put attention on a *gender* analysis (the score of every individual regarding their masculinity and femininity characteristics). In fact, with the growing awareness of the historical inattention to women entrepreneurship research from a more nuanced perspective [20, 21], there is plea to address sex and gender from their own distinct or, even more pronounced, *combined* analysis perspective.

Research traditions have shifted when it comes to the focus within women's entrepreneurship [22], even though the distinction of sex and gender analysis still has not appeared in many articles. Some conceptual papers focus on gender studies and gendered discourses [23, 24], although empirical papers mostly survey sex, while

surveys on entrepreneurial intentions (EIs) and the effect of gender (i.e., socially constructed masculinity/femininity) remain rare.

In fact, more and more researchers are aware that women's entrepreneurship should not (only) be limited to sex analysis. Recent research states that gender role orientation (masculinity and femininity) is seen as a better indicator of entrepreneurial intentions and behavior [25]. Carter and Williams [26] present the idea that starting a firm is not only influenced by being a man or a woman, but that more attention should be drawn to the impact of the socially constructed gender and gender role orientation, which find their base in Social Feminist Theory: men and women have different cultural backgrounds and different ways of thinking. Sex is seen as the physiological difference between men and women, while gender refers to culturally specific patterns of behavior, including entrepreneurial behavior [27].

Via gender analysis, the socially constructed aspects of masculinity and femininity have become more prominent when analyzing the genderedness of entrepreneurial contexts [28–31], identities [32], or activities [33]. While this development of a new research agenda is promising, and a lot has in fact happened in politics, academia, and education in the last two decades, there is still much to be done in both the scientific and practical realms [34].

1.3 The lens of entrepreneurship education to foster entrepreneurship

In order to raise entrepreneurship, the European Commission asks for educational programs that stimulate the entrepreneurial mindset (intentions) or the entrepreneurial behavior. The European Commission gathers therefore knowledge and evidence via 91 studies collected from 23 countries in order to get to know how the impact of entrepreneurship education (EE) is achieved. Based on this collection, the European Commission is convinced that entrepreneurship education has a positive influence: students and alumni are more likely to start up their own company and are more successful than students who did not have any entrepreneurship education. If alumni of entrepreneurship education did not choose to start up their own business, they are still more successful in their job and have a lower risk of becoming unemployed. The European Commission also states that on a bigger scale the impact of entrepreneurship education is positive for educational institutions, the economy, and the society (EC, 2015).

Moreover, lots of research has been performed regarding business failure, and this research is very diverse [35–38]. This study gives an answer to the call of Walsh and Cunningham [38] to better understead how business failure can be avoided, since they state that it is important that we learn to benefit from education among other variables such as legislative environment and social support.

In the last decade, a lot of studies have focused on the effects of entrepreneurship education on entrepreneurial intentions of students. However, various conclusions are seen in previous literature regarding the impact of entrepreneurship education on the entrepreneurial intentions of students. Some authors conclude that entrepreneurship education (EE) does not change the entrepreneurial intentions (EIs) of students [39], while other studies found a favorable [40] or unfavorable [41] effect of EE on EI.[1]

[1] Since entrepreneurship education is organized under several formats (e.g. lectures, case studies, action based like making a business model or business plan, hackathons, excursions or a combination of the above), we wanted to variate also in this book chapter and integrate a study about a traditional lecture based course as well as a study about a non-traditional course like a hackathon.

In a lot of papers regarding the relation between entrepreneurship education and entrepreneurial intentions and behavior, the variable sex (being male or female) is a control variable. Most researchers state that male students have initially more entrepreneurial intentions than female students [40, 42] and that sex is a moderator for entrepreneurial intentions and eventually entrepreneurial behavior since female students might be less likely to act on their intentions [43].

1.4 Main research question

Since sex is not always seen as a sufficient moderator, some researchers split the total test group into two subgroups, based on the gender role orientation of people rather than the sex differences. This gender role orientation implies that personal characteristics are not related to being a man or woman, but are related to the masculinity and/or femininity of every person [44]. Marlow and Martinez Dy [33] concluded that the gender agenda of entrepreneurship research should be rethought, with a special focus on masculinity (and also femininity), based on the research of Jones [24] where she states that entrepreneurship education is more linked to images of white male successful entrepreneurs with masculine normative templates. Studies where the effect of entrepreneurship education on entrepreneurial intentions or behavior is measured with an emphasis on the difference between students with high and low masculinity and/or femininity are rare. Addressing this research gap, the following leading question can be posed:

> *"How can we stimulate the entrepreneurial intention of students via entrepreneurship education if we look at the differences in sex and in gender?"*

2. Methodology

In order to give an answer to this central question, this book chapter exists out of a literature review of relevant papers and two empirical analyses after explaining the chosen theoretical frameworks: the Bem Sex Role Inventory (BSRI) Model and the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB).

The systematic literature review deals with the topic entrepreneurship education and gender when only higher education in Europe is taken into consideration, delivering a total map of research regarding this topic. The two empirical contributions emphasize more on the differences in sex as well as high masculinity and/or femininity scores, starting first with a cross-sectional analysis, followed by a pre-post-study, offering a compiled discussion and conclusion.

2.1 The choice of the Bem sex role inventory model

The conceptual model in order to test masculinity and femininity is the Bem Sex Role Inventory [45], using the shortened version with 20 validated items in the work of Campbell et al. [46]. In particular regarding gender awareness and gender behavior, the construct validation of the Bem Sex Role Inventory is good measurement for this kind of test. The shortened version of the Sex Role Inventory created by Sandra Bem is tested by Campbell et al. [46] on 791 subjects via a corfirmatory factor analysis to compare the long (60 items) and shorter (20 items) version: here it is concluded

Masculinity	Femininity
1. Willing to take a stand	1. Affectionate
2. Defends own beliefs	2. Warm
3. Independent	3. Compassionate
4. Has leadership abilities	4. Gentle
5. Strong personality	5. Tender
6. Forceful	6. Sympathetic
7. Dominant	7. Sensitve to needs of others
8. Aggressive	8. Sooth hurt feelings
9. Assertive	9. Understanding
10. Willing to take risks	10. Loves children

Table 1.
The 10 items of masculinity and femininity.

that the shorter form yields more reliable scores. The 10 masculine items and 10 feminine items are presented in **Table 1**.

Although some researchers argue that the BSRI could be seen as a rather classical and somehow outdated stereotype of gender analysis, this theoretical framework is ideal compared with others. For example, the theory of Gender Identity and Transgender Identities [47] is an interesting approach to study sex versus gender discourses; however, for these analyses, this is not the core of the research gap we want to address and especially with the empirical characteristics of the samples[2], this theory would take us too far into transgender issues.

Nevertheless, the choice is made for a deeper analysis than only the traditional male versus female approach of the Gender Binary Theory [48]. In a lot of gender discourses, there is a gender analysis approach via the Gender Role Orientation (GRO): the GRO is a construct, which is used over the last years frequently in research papers where a gender analysis is performed. As a first example, Mueller et al. [49] studied the interplay of biological sex and gender roles in relation to the motivation to become an entrepreneur. However, in order to perform the gender analysis, they used the Bem Sex Role Inventory Model since the factors masculinitity and femininity had a strong reliability within their samples. Also Yarnell et al. [50] used the BSRI to classify the participants into a gender role orientation category for their study about gender differences in self compassion. Furthermore, Perez-Quintana et al. [51], who performed a study about starting entrepreneurs, tested the gender role orientation of their sample via the BSRI. All in all we can state that however the gender role orientation construct could be seen as a more recent approach for gender analysis, the questions in the surveys to analyze the GRO are based on the Bem Sex Role Inventory. The choice to use this construct is also discussed in the call of Gupta et al. [52], where

[2] In the two empirical analyses, we asked the students to fill in if they referred to be male, female, or "diverse." Overviewing all the answers of the students in the different samples revealed that none of them categorized theirself to be "diverse." Therefore, the traditional dichotomy of being male or female remained as the approach of the sex analysis, while the gender analysis was performed via the Bem Sex Role Inventory. So, although there is no further explanation regarding "diverse" people in the samples, this variable was taken into account by the initial screening of the samples.

they state that they encourage entrepreneurship researchers to use a "lens of gender," which can be based on the BSRI.

Furthermore, a pilot test is performed in order to investigate whether Flemish students understand the terms of masculinity and femininity and whether the scores are comparable to other studies. The pilot test revealed that students were familiar with terms as assertiveness, leadership, dominant, … as being masculine and terms as gentle, understanding, sympathetic, … as feminine. Besides, the scores of masculinity and femininity of both sexes is comparable with the meta-analysis of Donnelly and Twenge [53].

2.2 The choice of the theory of planned behavior

The theoretical framework for the study about the entrepreneurial intention and/or behavior of students is based on the Theory of Planned Behavior (see **Figure 1** for the relation between entrepreneurial intention and its three antecedents as part of the total schedule). Overviewing literature regarding the effects of entrepreneurship education on entrepreneurial behavior, two models are often used in literature as a theoretical base [54]: the Theory of Planned Behavior [55] and the Entrepreneurial Event Model [56]. Survey tests show that both models offer strong statistical support in predicting and explaining entrepreneurial intention and behavior [57], and the predicting effect of both models is also comparable [58]. Since the Theory of Planned Behavior (TPB) is seen as very consistent and robust [58] and there has been extensive research on it [59–61], the use theory of planned behavior will be central in this book chapter.

Since entrepreneurship research indicates that entrepreneurial behavior succeeds entrepreneurial intention [58], entrepreneurial intention is a very strong

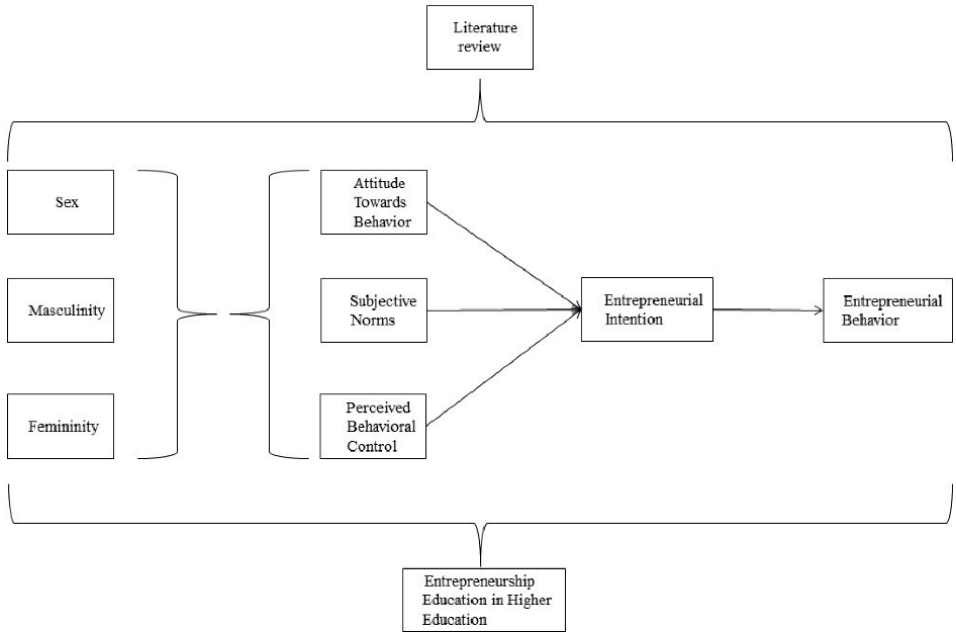

Figure 1.
Theoretical framework.

predictor of planned behavior [62], to such as starting a business or not. Hence entrepreneurship is a type of planned behavior for which these intention models suit ideally [57].

In the Theory of Planned Behavior model, three antecedents or independent predictors of entrepreneurial intention are set up:

- Attitude Toward Behavior (ATB) is the attitude a person has toward the behavior (here entrepreneurial behavior): the higher the score for ATB, the stronger it will influence positively the EI of that person.

- Subjective Norm (SN) measures the social pressure someone feels from others, in respect of the desired behavior. The more encouragement an individual gets from others, the stronger the EI of that person will become.

- Perceived Behavioral Control (PBC) or the belief someone has in order to execute his or her behavior: the perception a person has how easy it is to start up or not. The easier a person thinks it is to start as an entrepreneur, the more likely it will be that he or she becomes self-employed.

To make rigor and relevant use of the TPB framework, the following in literature raised critiques have to be taken into account. Ogden [63] concluded in her pragmatic analysis that the use of social cognition models (where the theory of planned behavior is one of them) raises difficulties. She states that the constructs of these models are too unspecific and that conclusions are often true by definition instead of by observation. Ajzen and Fishbein [64] deepened due to these critics their research and concluded that intentions could be predicted by the three theoretical antecedents together, but that even only one or two of them could be sufficient: the relative importance of every antecedent can vary from one population to another. In other words, in some studies a predictor can have a significant influence while in another contextual setting this may not be the case.

2.3 The integration of the theory of planned behavior and the Bem sex role inventory in one model

In **Figure 1**, the model with the relation between the different variables over the different studies is given.

As stated before, the literature review focuses on recent papers about entrepreneurial intention/behavior with an emphasis on gender (and sex) in the area of entrepreneurship education in Europe.

The first empirical analysis is a cross-sectional study based on a survey of 501 business students. The sample consisted of 268 students of University College Ghent and 233 of student of Ghent University. The University College students were in their third and final bachelor of business administration, and all followed several mandatory courses of entrepreneurship during their education. The students of the Ghent University survey were in their second bachelor year of Business Economics and had already been following some mandatory entrepreneurial courses as well. The main purpose this is to investigate the relation between masculinity, femininity, and sex (as predictors) in relation to entrepreneurial intention (as dependent variable) and its three antecedents: attitudes toward behavior, subjective norms, and perceived behavior control (as mediators) via a structural equation model.

The sample of the second study was taken from an introductory course in entrepreneurship, which is organized over the total university. Here 178 students came from different background (law, economics, engineering) in order to follow this elective course. The course was a combination of lectures regarding business modeling and opportunity recognition combined with testimonials of entrepreneurs.

The main purpose here is to explore the effect of entrepreneurship education on entrepreneurial intention (and its three antecedents), with an emphasis on the difference between students with high and low masculinity via a split plot factorial design.

2.4 Literature review

Since reviews about entrepreneurship education in combination with gender studies are rare, the purpose is to provide a state of the art regarding entrepreneurship education and gender between 2006 and 2016. Two main questions are posed: What kind of research is performed on entrepreneurship education and gender on the European continent? What are the main general and gender-related issues and key findings regarding this topic?

This literature review is based on a systematic approach according to the work of Pickering and Byrne [65], generating a European map of research. The literature research was performed among international peer-reviewed articles (in English) in the following databases: Web of Science, Science Direct, Business Source Premier, and ABI/Inform. A sample of 87 were integrated into a database to manually examine 54 characteristics of every paper. Deductive and inductive coding approaches were applied for the content analysis based on the work of Epstein and Martin [66].

The 87 articles are found in 42 different journals with disciplines including education, business, entrepreneurship, gender, social sciences, management, and technology. The journals having the most articles are Education and Training (14), Journal of Enterprising Culture (6), International Entrepreneurship and Management Journal (5), and International Journal of Gender and Entrepreneurship (5).

Based on the deductive and inductive coding, six research topics were identified: EE and female entrepreneurship, the impact of EE on students' competencies and/or entrepreneurial propensity, the study of EI and/or its antecedents in relation to EE, the beliefs of students about the characteristics of entrepreneurs, the beliefs and attitudes of students about entrepreneurial courses, and the beliefs and attitudes of students about entrepreneurship (starting up).

Based on the content analysis of the papers, following conclusions are important: women initially show fewer entrepreneurial intentions than men; women have less interest in an entrepreneurial career compared with men; there is no clear conclusion whether entrepreneurship education has a positive impact on intentions or not. One finding in particular is important: in five of the six topics, "gender" is used as a synonym for "sex" while in the topic "the beliefs of students about the characteristics of entrepreneurs," gender is more based on the masculine and feminine characteristics of individuals. This gives rise to the question what kind of research could be performed when the effect of entrepreneurship education is measured on entrepreneurial intention and behavior when testing for the variable "sex" (being man or woman) as well as for the variable socially constructed "gender" (having masculine and or feminine characteristics).

Therefore, the two performed analyses focus on the impact of sex, masculinity, and femininity as predictors of entrepreneurial intentions and its antecedents.

3. Results

As stated before, two analyses are performed: a cross-sectional study with structural equation modeling and a pre- and post-study from students following an introductory course in entrepreneurship.

3.1 Entrepreneurial intentions of business students

The purpose of this study is to offer new insights regarding the entrepreneurial intention of business students, with an emphasis on their masculine and feminine characteristics (socially constructed gender) besides the usual classification male/female. The following main question is posed: does a higher or lower score in entrepreneurial intention (and its antecedents) depend on the factor whether a person is (1) male or female, (2) has high or low masculinity, (3) has high or low femininity? The Theory of Planned Behavior is used as underlying framework, with entrepreneurial intention as dependent variable and its three antecedents ("attitude toward behavior," "subjective norms," and "perceived behavior control"). A survey is administered and filled out by 501 Belgian business students of different universities. Masculinity and femininity are measured by the Bem Sex Role Inventory Model.

3.1.1 Derivation of the hypotheses

Many articles emphasize the difference in entrepreneurial intentions via the Theory of Planned Behavior in the context of sex analysis between men and women. Schwarz, Wdowiak, Almer-Jarz, and Breitenecker [67] found that male students have a significantly higher intention toward entrepreneurship than female students. Joensuu *et al.* [42] also concluded that female students show a lower level of initial intentions. Kurczweska and Bialek [68] found that female students expressed lower entrepreneurial intentions than their male counterparts. Kourilsky and Walstad (1998) refer to previous studies where women (including female students) have a less positive attitude toward entrepreneurship and a lower desire to start businesses of their own. Other recent studies that affirm this lower-level attitudes toward entrepreneurship are Vukovic [69], Camelo-Ordaz, Diánez-González, and Ruiz-Navarro [70], and Shinnar et al. [43]. Furthermore, Haus *et al.* [71] showed in their study that there is a mediation effect for attitudes toward behavior, subjective norms, and perceived behavior control between sex and EI. Last, the reason why women show less intention to start up can be due to various reasons: women tend to be more risk averse [72]. Another reason is they do not find easily support from financial institutions [73] by which they have less control over their entrepreneurial situation.

Based on these mentioned articles, we expect that being male has a positive direct impact on EI and also indirect via attitudes toward behavior, subjective norms, and perceived behavior.

When focusing on the relation between masculinity and entrepreneurial intentions, some scholars associate possessing masculine characteristics positively with entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial intention [74]. For example, Gupta, Turban, Wasti, and Sikdar [52] stated that entrepreneurs are perceived as having characteristics similar to

those of masculine gender-role stereotypes. Their study found similar results about the fact that men and women have higher entrepreneurial intentions when they possess masculine characteristics. Regarding the impact of masculinity on attitude toward behavior, Gupta *et al.* [52] concluded that entrepreneurs and business people tend to possess a more hostile and predatory attitude, which is seen as masculine. Furthermore, Heilman [73] indicated in her research that a "good" entrepreneur is predominantly described using masculine attributes with a masculine leadership style, which implies an attitude as daring to take risks in a financial or managerial context, daring to take a stand, or being independent [75].

Therefore, we hypothesize that masculinity has a positive direct impact on EI and also indirect via ATB, SN, and PBC.

While literature provides insights that masculine norms, which are of benefit in the start-up world, are linked to higher EI, successful entrepreneurs tend to have also some feminine attributes such as helping others, understanding, being emotional, etc. [76]. Contrary to that, recent studies give raise to the assumption that the dominance of the socially constructed femininity can have a more negative effect to become an entrepreneur. Following Ahl and Nelson [77], insights are given that feminine individuals are socially constructed as the "others" in entrepreneurial (ecosystem) discourses: being inadequate and/or extraordinary without taking into account the social and structural conditions that shape their entrepreneurial intention and action. Accordingly, researchers found that words related to femininity such as gentle, sensitive to the needs of others are associated with attitudes such as cautious and selfless, which are the opposite of entrepreneurial [15, 74]. Hence, feminine-orientated persons show a negative attitude (ATB) toward entrepreneurial behavior.

Therefore, we hypothesize that femininity has a negative direct impact on EI and also indirect via ATB, SN, and PBC.

3.1.2 Methodology and results

The hypotheses were tested using a quantitative questionnaire survey.

Of the effective sample, the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin test for sample adequacy was high (0.869) and Berlett's sphericity test was highly significant ($p = 0.00$), so the data are suitable for factor analysis. Besides factor analysis, we tested also the reliability of every variable. For example, *Entrepreneurial intention* as the dependent variable was measured by the mean score of eight items on a seven-point Likert scale (1 totally disagree; 7 totally agree). Six of the eight items are similar to Liñán and Chen [78]. Two extra items were added based on the research of Kolvereid [79]. Cronbach's alpha was 0.959, showing a reliable measure, which is comparable to former research [78]. Similarly, reliability checks and factor analyses are performed for the other variables, revealing similar scores.

The dataset was analyzed with SPSS 25, and the structural equation modeling (SEM) is performed with StataMP 15. Adding covariance errors between ATB, SN, and PBC, the model fit is perfect (RMSEA = 0.00, Chi-square = 0.64, NFI = 1.00, CFI = 1.00, standardized RMR = 0.005), and the model is saturated.

The analysis via SEM (**Figure 2**) makes it possible to detect the direct and indirect impact of effects in the model. Solid lines show the significant relations, dotted lines the insignificant ones for sex, masculinity, and femininity. We see that sex (being male) has a positive direct impact on EI (compared to being female) with $p = 0.000$ and a T value of 4.56. Furthermore, masculinity has a positive direct impact on EI (compared with non-masculinity), with a T value of 2.23 ($p = 0.026$). Finally,

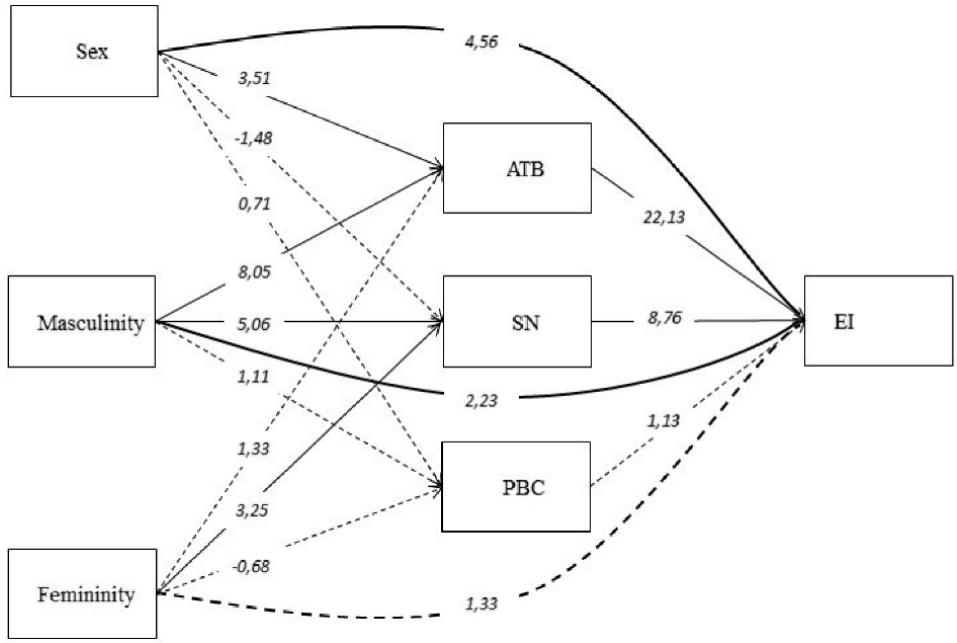

Figure 2.
The analysis via SEM.

femininity has not a negative direct impact on EI (compared with non-femininity) with $p = 0.182$, so there is no significant change.

Furthermore, a Sobel test was performed in Stata MP 15 to test the indirect effects. We found that sex (being male) has a positive indirect impact on EI via ATB, but not via SN nor PBC. Second, masculinity has a positive indirect impact on EI via ATB and SN, but not via PBC. Finally, femininity has never an indirect negative impact on EI: in fact, femininity has a positive impact on EI with SN as mediator.

In the next part, the effect of entrepreneurial education (lecture-based course) is performed via a pre- and post-test on a different group of students following a lecture-based course in entrepreneurship, with a focus on the difference between students with high masculinity and students with low masculinity.

3.2 The effect of an entrepreneurship course on the entrepreneurial intentions of business students with an emphasis on masculinity

This study explores the effects of entrepreneurship education on entrepreneurial intention for students with high and low masculinity. Contrary to previous studies addressing the differences between male and female students, and guided by socially learned stereotype theories, we consider the potential moderating effect of masculinity via a split factorial design.

3.2.1 Derivation of the hypotheses

In many papers regarding the impact of entrepreneurship education on entrepreneurial intentions, sex (referring to being male or female) is a control variable. Most researchers state that male students initially have more entrepreneurial

intentions than female students [40, 42]. However, some articles conclude that the entrepreneurial intention of male students increases following an entrepreneurship program, while the intentions of female students decrease [39]. In order to understand these different conclusions, some researchers divided the total test group into several subgroups of students not based on sex. Since sex is not always seen as a sufficient moderator, some researchers split the total test group into two subgroups based on the gender role orientation of people instead of their sex differences. Studies where the effect of entrepreneurship education on entrepreneurial intentions is measured with an emphasis on the difference between students with high and low masculinity are rare.

Nwankwo et al. [25] have concluded that masculine individuals have higher EI than others because they display stronger self-esteem and possess more career self-efficacy. Consequently, masculine characteristics are positively associated with entrepreneurship and entrepreneurial intention [74]. But, to our knowledge, no articles have to date achieved conclusions based on quantitative analyses. Splitting a total group into subgroups with high or low masculinity has yet to be performed The following hypothesis is proposed and is guided by the emphasized implications of research on EI and masculinity: prior to a course, students with high masculinity will have a higher EI score than students with low masculinity.

Since entrepreneurship education significantly influences the development of these kinds of entrepreneurial traits [80], and there is often a positive impact of entrepreneurship education on entrepreneurial intentions in general [81], we expect that masculinity moderates the impact of entrepreneurship education on entrepreneurial intentions. Based on the existing literature, we propose the following hypothesis: when taking an EE course, students with high masculinity will have a higher positive change in EI than students with low masculinity.

3.2.2 Methodology and results

A split plot factorial design [82] within group treatment was used to measure the differences between subjects of high and low masculinity, as well as within the same subjects in the pre-test (t1) and the post-test (t2). An entrepreneurship course was given to all students between t1 and t2. A median split was performed based on the research by Vafaei et al. [83]. A total of 178 students filled in the pretest (at the beginning of the first course session) and post-test (at the end of the last session). Those who scored equal or higher than the median were labeled as the high masculine group (N = 83). Those who scored lower than the median masculinity score were labeled as the low masculine group (N = 95).

Also this time entrepreneurial intention (EI) as the dependent variable was measured by the mean score of eight items on a seven-point Likert scale (1 totally disagree; 7 totally agree). Six of the eight items were similar to Liñán and Chen [78], and two extra items were added based on the research by Kolvereid [79]. Cronbach's alpha in the pre-test was 0.938 and 0.947 in the post-test, indicating a reliable measure, and which is comparable to previous research [78]. Masculinity was measured via the Bem Sex-Role Inventory [45] using the shortened version with 10 items validated in the work by Campbell et al. [46]. Concerning reliability, a Cronbach alpha of 0.854 in the pre-test and 0.869 in the post-test was measured. Following the approach of Chandler and Lyon [84], factor analysis with varimax rotation was performed on the main variables to evaluate if the items loaded on the appropriate construct, which was the case.

Calculating the means for entrepreneurial intention revealed following results: the overall mean for EI in t1 was 3.54, and 3.55 in t2, which is high or similar compared with other studies in a European setting. In the research by Varamäki et al. [41], EI scored 3.30, while in the research by Liñán and Chen [78], the score in the pre-test was 4.01 and 3.77 in the post-test. An ANOVA test was performed between the means of the initial levels of EI between the two groups in t1. Prior to the course, there was only a marginal significant difference (p = 0.066) between the high (3.72) and low masculine (3.35) groups, which the first hypothesis needs to be rejected: prior to the course, students with high masculinity did not have a significantly higher EI score than students with low masculinity.

For the second hypothesis, differences in EI changes were measured using another ANOVA test between the high and low masculine group. Here, the difference in change for each group was measured between periods t1 and t2 (the duration of the entrepreneurial course). The mean score of change in EI of the high masculine group increased by 0.18, while the mean score of DEI of the low masculine group decreased by 0.16. Since p = 0.007, the difference in changes in EI between the high masculine group and the low masculine group was significant, by which we accept the second hypothesis. As extra control variables, the difference between sex was tested as well: there was only a significant difference in EI between males and females prior to the course. Finally, also the differences in EI between people with high and low femininity were tested: here there was never a significant difference in EI score between both groups.

4. Discussion and conclusion

This book chapter aimed to contribute to the existing research regarding the impact of entrepreneurship education in order to foster entrepreneurship of students and to avoid business failure in future [38], with a specific emphasis on differences in sex and gender perspectives.

The research question we wanted to answer was: *"How can we stimulate the entrepreneurial intention of students via entrepreneurship education if we look at the differences in sex and in gender?"*

In order to give an answer to this research question, this book chapter consists of a systematic literature review and two empirical papers. The literature review revealed that research in entrepreneurship and entrepreneurship education has been performed in a very diverse way, but also that "gender" is used as a synonym for "sex" while "gender" can also be seen from a social feminist approach, dealing with the masculine and feminine characteristics of individuals. This gives rise to the question what kind of research could be performed when the effect of entrepreneurship education is measured on entrepreneurial intention and testing for the variable "sex" (being man or woman) as well as for the variable socially constructed "gender" (having masculine and or feminine characteristics), and how this lense of gender can help to avoid business failure.

The first empirical study looks at the differences in sex and gender at a given point in time: the survey comprised students at the end of their bachelor study revealing an important role for masculinity and also femininity besides the difference of being male or female. The second empirical study looked at students before and after they were following an entrepreneurial course (lecture based, elective) where the conclusion was taken that this kind of entrepreneurial course stimulated especially masculine students.

Underneath we want to discuss (1) the most important conclusions and some limitations, (2) the main implications for further research, and (3) the implementation in education.

4.1 Important conclusions

This book chapter gives the insight that entrepreneurship can be fostered by entrepreneurship education but differences of participants regarding their sex and gender should be taken into account. This contribution is important since entrepreneurship is a considerable factor to maintain the well-being of individuals [85] and because it has a positive impact on several aspects of the of the society [2].

The literature review revealed that the impact of entrepreneurship education on entrepreneurial intentions is diverse: some papers state that women profit more than men from entrepreneurship education, while other papers conclude the opposite. Therefore, we aimed with this book chapter to deepen the analysis not only from a sex difference approach, but we integrated also the gender difference approach. The first empirical analysis showed that entrepreneurial intentions are indeed higher for male students compared with female students, but entrepreneurial intentions are also higher if a person has high scores for masculinity. Expanding the research also toward the antecedents of entrepreneurial intentions, we found that high masculinity is a good predictor for entrepreneurial intentions with attitude toward behavior and subjective norms as mediators. Besides, high femininity is a good predictor for entrepreneurial intentions with subjective norms as mediator. The second study revealed that an elective, lecture-based course especially suited the students with high masculinity. This study was performed via split factorial design with a pre-test and a post-test and aimed to give an answer to the different outcomes regarding the impact of entrepreneurship education on entrepreneurial intentions of students. While, prior to the course, students with high masculinity did not show significant higher entrepreneurial intentions than those with low masculinity, the difference in entrepreneurial intentions increased significant while and after following the entrepreneurial course in favor of the high masculine students. This means that this lecture-based entrepreneurial course especially stimulated students with high masculinity compared with those with low masculinity, while other gender or sex differences did not have an important impact.

4.2 Implications for educational practices

Concluding on the insights of the analyses, several implications for education are suggested, on the one hand to educate students better in entrepreneurship and on the other hand to avoid business failure in future since entrepreneurial courses can vary in their specific objective (ranging from informing students about entrepreneurship toward increasing entrepreneurial skills or even starting up): this way courses can be described as being "about," "for," "through," or "in" entrepreneurship [86]. Depending on the outcome the educator aims for, the courses can change regarding the didactical approach. If an educator wants to inform students "about" entrepreneurship, a uniform lecture-based course is a good solution. Depending on the specific goal of the course, the educator can learn the students' entrepreneurial skills in entrepreneurship, and by doing so increasing the entrepreneurial intentions of especially the masculine students. This means that if an educator wants to persuade all participating students to become more entrepreneurial by increasing

their entrepreneurial intention and behavior, elective entrepreneurial courses should be organized, with customized programs for different groups of participants: this way courses "through," "for," or "in" entrepreneurship will stimulate relatively more students than via the traditional approach.

Based on the empirical studies, we suggest that educators should take in mind that students have different characteristics, which are important to take into account before setting the aim of the entrepreneurial course.

If educators do not only want to inform their students about entrepreneurship, but also want to increase the entrepreneurial intention of their students, the combination of a sex and gender analysis approach could be a good solution. Screening the initial levels of masculinity and femininity could help to target different groups of students with the same characteristics in order that they feel united with the kind of approach of entrepreneurship education they receive. While a general introduction (first lesson or session) of the entrepreneurial course is still a possibility, the subsequent sessions should be adapted to every subgroup with different sex and gender characteristics. In other words, lessons regarding the idea generation of the product idea, the business model and certainly networking events, and testimonials of entrepreneurs (success stories) could be programmed for every subgroup individually, guided by individual tutor or mentoring sessions per subgroup.

Furthermore, courses "through," "for," or "in" entrepreneurship could also help future entrepreneurs to understand better what important decisions they have to make in order to make a success of their business rather than failure. To come back to the work of Walsh and Cunningham [38] where they state that that the better we understand business failure, the greater all stakeholders can benefit in terms of education (among other factors), more attention should be drawn to the impact of different types of courses in entrepreneurship education. The next generation of entrepreneurship should take into account that there are people of different sexes and of different gender types: they should get educated in a proper way where they understand not only how to start up a business, but also to be able to maintain this business as successful as possible.

Gender-based entrepreneurial courses should therefore develop an approach with an adaptation to the needs of different subgroups. Here, more freedom in learning and reducing existing stereotypes is important to promote the self-confidence and individual development of the students. Since entrepreneurs are having characteristics more related to the masculine gender-role stereotypes and since men and women have higher entrepreneurial intentions when they possess masculine characteristics [52], organizing entrepreneurship courses via a lecture-based course (without paying attention to subgroups) could strengthen this discrepance between people with high versus low masculinity and their entrepreneurial intentions and this rather than the difference between male and female students. Indeed, Langowitz and Minniti [87] state that gender role orientation and explicit masculinity are more important drivers for entrepreneurial intentions than sex. Their research noted how individual displaying characteristics consistent with those of masculine gender role stereotypes would have higher entrepreneurial intentions, and this independent of whether this person is a man or woman.

4.3 Suggestions for future research

The first suggestion for further research is based on the limitation of sample sizes and courses that are surveyed. For the two empirical papers, several surveys were used with different sample sizes and different student groups who followed

entrepreneurial courses in a mandatory or elective way. For the first study, the survey was taken from two different student groups. We could collect this survey one time. A post test was not possible. The students of the second study were able to fill in the survey two times, so a comparison between the pre-test and post-test was possible.

With this in mind, we would like to suggest a more general survey collaboration between different universities and educational programs in order to analyze within the same time frames different mandatory and elective courses. This way differences of approaches regarding entrepreneurial courses could be tested via a pre-test, a post-test, and a follow-up test. The analysis could even be broadened toward other universities of other countries, in order to test on more variables.

A second suggestion for further research is based upon the fact that only quantitative analyses are performed. Therefore, we propose to perform a qualitative analysis with semistructured interviews of students who started up in order to learn what triggered them to start up and also with students who have high entrepreneurial intentions but did not start up yet in order to learn what holds them back. Via a qualitative analysis reasons for not starting up can be collected as well as the triggers that really caused the start up. Hence, upcoming papers should also study the reasons behind these decisions of starting up or not. The central question to be posed then would be if entrepreneurship education can be seen as a potential trigger for actual entrepreneurial behavior as suggested in former research [88, 89].

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Masculinity Studies - An Interdisciplinary Approach brings together scholarly research on theoretical issues and empirical studies on men and masculinities from different parts of the world. The book reflects the need for future studies that follow interdisciplinary and intersectional approaches, together with profound engagement with feminist and queer studies to understand men and varying forms of masculinities that men learn, embrace and perform at global and local levels. The book will appeal to students, teachers and researchers in social sciences and humanities, as well as professionals, employers and practitioners. It is a vital resource for those interested in theoretical, practical, and cultural issues around men, boys, and gender in social sciences.

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