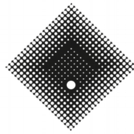


VICTORIA UNIVERSITY
MELBOURNE AUSTRALIA

Masculine identity negotiation in everyday Australian life: An ethno-discursive study in a gym setting

This is the Published version of the following publication

Gill, Peter, Teese, Robert and Sonn, Christopher (2014) Masculine identity negotiation in everyday Australian life: An ethno-discursive study in a gym setting. International Journal of Men's Health, 13 (1). 42 - 59. ISSN 1532-6306

The publisher's official version can be found at

Note that access to this version may require subscription.

Downloaded from VU Research Repository https://vuir.vu.edu.au/29950/

ResearchGate

See discussions, stats, and author profiles for this publication at: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/262677042

Masculine Identity Negotiation in Everyday Australian Life: An Ethno-Discursive Study in a Gym Setting

Article *in* International Journal of Men s Health · May 2014

DOI: 10.3149/jmh.1301.42

CITATIONS
6

READS
218

3 authors:

Peter Gill
Victoria University Melbourne
27 PUBLICATIONS 141 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Robert Teese
Federation University Australia
6 PUBLICATIONS 74 CITATIONS

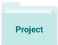
SEE PROFILE

Christopher Sonn
Victoria University Melbourne
112 PUBLICATIONS 2,366 CITATIONS

SEE PROFILE

Some of the authors of this publication are also working on these related projects:

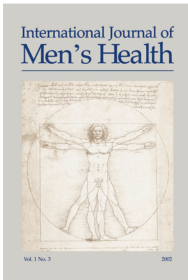
Structural Violence and Community Based Research and Action -- Special Issue View project



Promoting health in Australian high-performance sport View project

All content following this page was uploaded by Robert Teese on 25 July 2014.

The user has requested enhancement of the downloaded file.



International Journal of
Men's Health
1532-6306 (Print)
1933-0278 (Online)

VOLUME 13
ISSUE 1
SPRING 2014

MEN'S STUDIES PRESS, LLC
PO BOX 32
HARRIMAN, TN 37748 USA
WWW.MENSSTUDIES.COM
423-369-2375 (PHONE)
423-369-1125 (FAX)

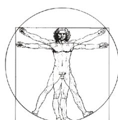
Your Author's Copy is appended below

URL OF JOURNAL ISSUE, DOIS, ABSTRACTS:
HTTP://WWW.MENSSTUDIES.COM/CONTENT/RQ1260XG2173

PUBLICATION DETAILS, INCLUDING INSTRUCTIONS FOR AUTHORS AND SUBSCRIPTION INFORMATION:
HTTP://WWW.MENSSTUDIES.COM/CONTENT/120391/

FULL TERMS AND CONDITIONS OF USE
HTTP://WWW.MENSSTUDIES.INFO/TERMS_AND_CONDITIONS.PDF

This article may be used for research, teaching and private study purposes. Any substantial or systematic reproduction, re-distribution, re-selling, loan or sub-licensing, systematic supply or distribution in any form to anyone is expressly forbidden. The publisher does not give any warranty express or implied or make any representation that the contents will be complete or accurate or up to date. The accuracy of any instructions, formulae and drug doses should be independently verified with primary sources. The publisher shall not be liable for any loss, actions, claims, proceedings, demand or costs or damages whatsoever or howsoever caused arising directly or indirectly in connection with or arising out of the use of this material. For usage of this article on academic webpages or limited-use content systems (UCMS, DSpace, BlackBoard, etc.) within one year of publication, a written request is to be sent to the publisher (MSP).



PETER GILL[1], PH.D., ROBERT TEESE[1], B.A. (HONS.), and CHRISTOPHER SONN[2], PH.D.

Masculine Identity Negotiation in Everyday Australian Life: An Ethno-Discursive Study in a Gym Setting

Identity formation and negotiation is a key contributor to the health and wellbeing of men and much is still to be learnt about how identity processes operate in everyday life. This study used an ethno-discursive methodology informed by critical discursive psychology to investigate adult male identity in an everyday gym setting in inner city Melbourne. Analysis of interview data showed that men identified with shared hegemonic definitions of masculinity, such as autonomy, independence, and potent heterosexuality. Our ethnographic analysis also showed that the men used reflective processes to negotiate, subvert, and exaggerate these discourses. The findings further demonstrate the utility of safe male environments such as gymnasiums and men's sheds where men can share friendships, common activities, and negotiate masculine pressures.

Keywords: masculinity, identity, ethnography, discourse analysis, ethno-discursive, men's health

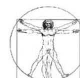
Gender plays a significant role in social life and social organisation, and so too does the extent to which one identifies with one's gender identity (Beasley, 2008). Research demonstrating the existence of multiple masculinities (e.g., Connell, 1995; Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005; Edley & Wetherell, 1997; Finn & Henwood, 2009) has drawn further interest to the discourses of hegemonic masculinity and the impact associated with aspiring to or performing hegemonic masculine discourses such as strength, individuality, stoicism, ration-

[1] Faculty of Health, Federation University Australia.
[2] College of Arts—Psychology, Victoria University.

The authors like to thank the editor and reviewers for their feedback. They also like to thank Marion Kostanski for her supervision role and Lutfiye Ali for her advice.

Correspondence concerning this article should be addressed to Peter Gill, Faculty of Health, Federation University Australia, University Drive, Mount Helen, PO Box 663, Ballarat, Victoria, Australia, 3353. Email: p.gill@federation.edu.au.

INTERNATIONAL JOURNAL OF MEN'S HEALTH, VOL. 13, NO. 1, SPRING 2014, 42-59.
© 2014 by the Men's Studies Press, LLC. All rights reserved. http://www.mensstudies.com
jmh.1301.42/$15.00 • DOI: 10.3149/jmh.1301.42 • ISSN/1532-6306 • eISSN/1933-0278



ality and heterosexual potency. Masculine discourses can be understood as socially constructed and communicated meanings regarding being a man that inform and permeate conversations and behaviours (Wetherell, 2007). Research has indicated that men rejecting traditional masculine discourses in favour of other masculinities may still compare themselves to hegemonic discourses (de Visser, 2009; de Visser & Smith, 2006, 2007; Edley & Wetherell, 1997). Furthermore, whilst distancing themselves from certain hegemonic discourses and behaviours, they may focus instead on how they are masculine in other ways, embodying and performing other elements of hegemonic masculinity (de Visser & Smith, 2007; de Visser, Smith & McDonnell, 2009). Research also suggests that men may embody different masculine discourses according to context (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Such findings leave open a need to further investigate the links between masculine discourses and the subjective experiences of men, and how they deal with potential conflicts with hegemonic masculinity. These experiential accounts of the identity negotiation process may be critical in mental health outcomes for men.

Previous research has demonstrated that hegemonic masculine discourses (e.g., strength, stoicism) can contribute to negative physical health outcomes for men (Creighton & Oliffe, 2010; Evans, Frank, Oliffe & Gregory, 2011; Lumb, 2003; Mahalik, Levi-Minzi, & Walker, 2007). For example, Corboy, Macdonald and McLaren (2011) found that men experiencing serious health concerns would often, in line with the negotiation of their masculine identity, downplay their health concerns, and minimise symptoms and the need to seek medical attention. Lumb (2003) argued that "men's health is significantly socially constructed, meaning that masculine values and practices, as well as men's location in social structures and environments, influence their health outcomes" (p. 74). In particular, it has been argued that certain groups of men (e.g., the working class, low socio economic status) are more likely to experience negative effects associated with this process, as exemplified through poorer health outcomes and increased vulnerability to psychological conflict related to the internalisation of hegemonic scripts (Evans et al., 2011; Lumb, 2003). Whilst past research and government initiatives have noted these effects, the lived experiences of these men have been largely ignored by academics (Evans et al., 2011; Lumb, 2003). In order to better understand how these men experience and negotiate their masculinity, researchers need to engage with men in their everyday contexts. Utilising an ethnographic approach provides an avenue to investigate critically these masculine discourses.

According to Griffin (2000), such deep engagement through ethnographic research is very limited within the discipline of psychology and is often dismissed as being unscientific. While there is a growing body of research on men's discursive interactions, these mostly focus on macro discourses, language performance, and action orientation. The psychological significance of men's interactions are less frequently analysed within discursive psychology. However, some research (see de Visser & Smith, 2006; Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2003) which Wetherell (2007) describes as critical discursive psychology has combined different methods and analyses to study macro discourses, individual subject positions, and psychological consistencies. The current study aims to broaden further this body of research by investigating the discourses and the meanings of masculine behaviour and masculine identity in a sample of Australian men using an ethno-discursive methodology.

THE SOCIAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL DIMENSIONS OF IDENTITY

Identity formation is a complex and dynamic process. Whilst one's identity is personally felt, prominent theoretical approaches such as Tajfel and Turner's (1979) Social Identity Theory, and Identity Theory (Burke, 1980; Castoriadis, 1997a/1990; Stryker, 1980; Stryker & Burke, 2000) acknowledge the importance of others in the construction of identity, as well as the process of reflection that takes place. These theories emphasise that one's identity is formed, at least in part, by reflecting on one's performance of role-related behaviours and social standing. Support for these theories has led to wide acceptance of the importance of others in forming one's identity, and to the idea that one's identity is constructed and maintained within social contexts (Aboim, 2010; Beasley, 2008; Burke, 1980). It is therefore important that identity theorists give due consideration to both the individual and the broader society to which the individual belongs.

Traditionally identity has been understood from either an essentialist position in which the human subject has a "core identity" (Freud, 1991/1923; Kohut, 1977; Sutherland, 1994; Winnicott, 1989), or a relativist position in which identity is fluid, highly contextual, and historically situated (Bourdieu, 2000; Mauss, 2000; Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005; Rose, 2000). Most social psychological research now acknowledges multiple and fluid elements of identity; for example, a key tenet of Self-Categorization Theory (Turner, 1985) is that the person sees her or himself both as an individual and as a member of a group, and that these are equally valid expressions of the self.

However, there remains a conceptual dilemma of how to, as Berzonsky (2005) and Wetherell (2007) point out, recognise and deal with individual consistencies. It has also been proposed that the tendency for people to strive for unity and consistency in their identities, that is to perceive themselves and have themselves mirrored as whole and coherent, has often been ignored (Edley, 2006; Frosh et al., 2003). There have been theoretical attempts to address such limitations, for example theories of narrative identity (e.g., Ezzy, 1998; Singer, 2004) have been proposed as a way of acknowledging the influence of social and psychological factors in identity construction. Further, by viewing identity as a self-constructed narrative, these approaches allow for a sense of personal unity and consistency across multiple contextual elements and experiences (Singer).

As well as narrative approaches, discursive and psychoanalytic perspectives have been combined to further address identity consistency (see Frosh et al., 2003; Gough, 2004; 2009). These authors argue that the unconscious mind stores endless cultural discourses, including their affects, learnt by the historically situated subject, as well as the affects and memories that constitute a consistent human subject. Identities, while fluid and contextual in nature, require a level of internal stability, a sense of one's own consistency across time. As Berzonsky (2005) noted, "to adapt effectively, people still need to act, solve problems, and make decisions in a relativistic world" (p. 134). Berzonski further argued that although knowing and understanding are always relevant to a socio-historical reference, a core identity or ego identity "can provide a personal frame of reference for acting and making decisions within a post-modern world of continuous change and flux" (p. 126). In other words, people require a personal reference point from which to evaluate their social world. From this perspective, the notion of an individual identity implies that an individual will be stable yet malleable across multiple varied contexts. As proposed by Levine (2005), if there is no core self then subjective accounts are of no value as they just mirror or echo social dis-

courses, hence we must acknowledge the unique imaginings of each subject. From this perspective, a functional identity is one with multiple aspects that allows the individual to adjust and perform to a number of roles and situations.

This study proposes that identity is best understood as a psychosocial process in which identities are negotiated in everyday life and that hegemonic masculine discourses are a primary part of the identity negotiation process and a potential source of psychological tension. In order to explore the ways masculine identities are lived, and how masculine discourses are negotiated, an ethnography was conducted among the members of a gymnasium in Australia. Using a discursive analysis of interview text, this study also aimed to identify the masculine discourses at play within this highly masculine environment. It was hoped this ethno-discursive design would contribute a detailed description of masculine identity negotiation in the everyday lives of a group of Australian men.

METHOD

Ethnography

Ethnography involves participant observation and has its roots in cultural anthropology (Denzin, 1997; Griffin, 2000). By deeply engaging with men and becoming a participant observer, the researcher is able to gain a detailed understanding of a particular subculture. In ethnographic research the researcher becomes part of the group and subjectively reports on behalf of the other members (Harrington, 2003; Huberman & Miles, 2002). The process of becoming a group member and gaining trust is a complex negotiation (see context and participants). As such, the researcher's subjective interpretation is seen as an important part of analysis and reporting. For this study the culture of interest was a working-class Australian male culture within a gymnasium location.

Discursive Psychology

There are many variations of discursive methodologies; however, they generally involve the detailed analysis of conversation. According to Durrheim (1997), and substantiated by others (Edley, 2001; Frosh, Phoenix & Pattman, 2000), discursive approaches help illuminate how particular understandings of the world come to pass as truth and are taken-for-granted. In the present study, conversations emanating from interview transcripts were analysed to reveal the masculine discourses around which the men positioned themselves. While some researchers suggest that discourse analysis is limited to identifying the discourses that inform or permeate conversation, others believe that we can go further and interpret the individual and psychological relevance of these discourses (Wetherell, 2007). The current study is part of the latter grouping informally known as critical discursive psychology.

Ethno-Discursive Method

By conducting interviews as part of an ethnographic fieldwork study the researcher was able to gain an in-depth ethnographic understanding of a male subculture, including detailed narrative information about group members. In addition, discourse analysis of the in-

terview transcripts revealed the relevant masculine discourses for this group of men. Hence a fine-grain analysis of talk was embedded in a detailed understanding of context and the individuals within it. As Parker (2005) noted, ethnography can be an integral part of analysis and not just a means of appreciating the social context in which conversations are embedded.

Context and Participants

This study involved over two years of fieldwork from 2005 to 2007 with a group of men who frequented a gymnasium in metropolitan Australia. Approval to conduct this research was granted by the Victoria University Ethics Committee in 2004. The researcher's selection of the gymnasium location was based on the idea that the men being researched shared a common interest, as well as age and gender characteristics. It was premised that these factors combined to produce shared understandings, meanings, and normative masculine identities specific to that grouping of men. Further, participant groups were selected on the assumption that they were representative of "blokey" males, due to their overt involvement in hegemonic masculine cultural practices (competitive sport; body building; refer to Table 1 for a description of the men). It is these hegemonic masculine practices that have been problematised within the literature (Whitehead, 2005) as offering restrictive masculine repertoires and hence are in need of detailed exploration.

Table 1
Introducing the Men (The Characters)

Name	Age	Employment	Marital Status	Masculine Identity
Magilla	35	researcher	single	"smart guy"
Max	36	security guard	married (kids)	"tough guy"
Michael	32	retail manager	single	"nice guy"
Spiros	30	accountant	de facto	"player"
Alex	37	entrepreneur	divorced	"player"
Petro	27	analyst	de facto	"sports man"
Billy	26	sports rep	engaged	"athlete"
Stan	50	gym owner	divorced	"sports man"

The ethnographic investigator was in his mid-thirties and was a white middle-class male. His interest in men's issues began five years ago when he studied the narcissistic elements of identity from a psychoanalytical perspective. The current ethnographic study arose out of a desire to study in detail the identity of men, and in particular the identities of sub-groups of men, as a means of improving men's health and wellbeing. It was anticipated that entry into the gymnasium group would be possible. It was believed, moreover, that conversational-style focus groups and interviews would also be feasible in accordance with research aims and institutional expectations. As a young adult male from the same city as the intended male subjects, and a member of the same gymnasium, the researcher began fieldwork from an "inside" position (Loftland, Snow, Anderson, & Loftland, 2006).

My (ethnographic investigator) journal notes indicate that I perceived the environment in the gymnasium as low fuss and unpretentious (14th July, 2005). The equipment was old and outdated, and the place could generally be described as run-down and dirty. On the plus side, it was spacious and generally quiet (low membership numbers), and hence suited to the more advanced weight trainer. Most of the clientele were men between the ages of 18 and 45. I had an existing friendship with the gym owner whom had given me his permission to conduct the research, and there were two other members whom I knew quite well. I had also shared head shake acknowledgements and the odd conversation with a number of guys who trained in the mornings. I began by significantly extending the period of time I spent at the gym, and began increasing the level of engagement with gym members.

As time went by I slowly informed more and more group members of my research role. At first, when participants became aware of my motivations they became slightly hesitant, curious and attuned to the type of testimony expected, as well as the ways in which the testimony might be perceived and presented to others. It was only in the final stages of data collection that I had the level of friendship and trust to conduct conversational interviews. Moreover, gaining the interviewees' consent had minimal impact on relational dynamics.

The first evidence of a change in the nature of my relationships with group members came when I received an unexpected phone call on a Sunday afternoon. Alex told me he needed to speak to me straight away and I met him at a cafe near his home. He explained that he had broken up with his girlfriend and needed to send her some flowers but they did not deliver on Sunday. He asked me to drive to his girlfriend's house and deliver his flowers disguised as a delivery driver. I was happy to do this so as to make a positive contribution to Alex's life. To be able to give back to the group members made me feel less of a "user" and more of a collaborator (Burgess, 1991). I was pleased also that he trusted me with this personal information and that he would seek my help and advice. This gesture strengthened our friendship and Alex's trust in me. It was a significant step in becoming a group member as my research role was largely dormant and conceptualised as separate from my role as a friend.

Data collection

Along with participant observation (recorded in journals) the researcher conducted four focus groups, each containing four members. These focus groups were conducted at the gymnasium or at other venues where members would normally meet. Each focus group was between two and four hours in length. These interviews were conversational and the participants were left to direct the topics of conversation as much as possible (Wilkinson, 2003).

The researcher also conducted eight conversational one to one interviews. The eight men were aged between 21 and 37, except for one member who was 50. The participants were eight of the men from the gymnasium (see Table 1), and the interviews lasted between one hour and three hours in duration. These interviews took place towards the end of the researcher's two years of participant observation. The researcher began each focus group interview and one to one interview by repeating the general aims of the study and then asking participants to talk about what it is like to be a man in Australian society. The researcher then used probing questions where appropriate and helped facilitate a relaxed conversational environment.

Data Analysis

It was the aim of this study to utilise discursive analysis to locate broad socio-historical discourses in the conversations of men, and narrative ethnographic fieldwork insights to help identify and recognise individual psychological consistencies. As noted by Denzin (1997) and others (Griffin, 2000; Lofland, 2002; Wolcott, 1999), ethnography is an eclectic discipline and can utilise multiple techniques. In particular, ethnographic research can be utilised to focus on the consistencies in the ways people position themselves in relation to normative discourses, while discourse analysis of interview text can identify the normative discourses themselves.

In total there were four A4 notepads containing journal notes. Journal notes were analysed only where they related solely to those men who were interviewed or were approached for an interview. Journal notes were read multiple times before being condensed and summarised. They were used primarily for formulating group and individual narratives, patterns and histories. These were then written as a set of stories including group stories and also as individual life narratives (Ricoeur, 1983; 1984; 1985).

Focus group and interview data was transcribed (by the researcher), condensed, and summarised as part of the analytical process. Each transcript was read at least five times until the researcher felt he had a general understanding of their content. Key aspects of the transcribed text were highlighted; hence the text was reduced to a more manageable length. The highlighted text contained discursive patterns which required further analysis.

The researcher then synthesised the discourse analysis with the narrative ethnographic analysis. Specifically the discourses were examined as to their meanings for the group (positioning) and for individual group members (reflectivity and emotional significance).

FINDINGS

Overall the analysis revealed the discourses that were used to construct the men's *definition of man* (refer to Table 2). These were discourses of admired and idealised male attributes in a favourable relation to which the men consistently endeavoured to position themselves. The men's conversations were predominantly in the service of generating humour and connectedness through sharing an understanding of hegemonic masculinity. Similar hegemonic discourses have been identified by previous researchers (see Connell, 1995). As the purpose of this analysis was to contextualise these discourses within the men's lives we present a discussion of three of the discourses referred to in Table 2.

Biologically Based

Analysis of interview text revealed that the men often presented themselves as being more sophisticated modifications of basic biological predispositions and drives. Most behaviour that was typically male was quite often reduced to its biological and instinctive origins. The men often used animal metaphors and nature/nurture arguments to present a male essence that was modifiable but never completely controllable. The instinctive origins of man were constructed as pure, natural, and meant to be. In the following quoted passage, Spiros and Max discuss male sexuality:

Table 2
Summary of Findings: Discourses Used to Construct the Definition of Man

Discourse	Example
• Biologically based	"I think it comes down to being animals."
• Man has simple needs	"All we really need ... is food, sex, and shelter."
• Managing others	"I'll dominate you, well hey, no you won't."
• Independence/Autonomy	"Blokes ... don't want their Mrs knowing about this place."
• Women: The problematic other	"Women are so materialistic now."

SPIROS: I think men are very sexually oriented and I think there are a lot of sexually frustrated people around ... a lot of people don't feel satisfied with their sexual lives, especially men.
Max: A lot of guys are sexually frustrated whether they're getting a little or a lot.
SPIROS: I think it comes down to being animals and you look at any animal species ... males, it's in our make-up to be sexually aggressive ... you just have to look at history and the animal kingdom to see that we'll never change.

Across all discussions, the men in general associated sexual drives and behaviours, competition and sporting achievement, with biological instinct. The need or desire to engage in this form of biological reduction served the goals of simplification, self-acceptance, and understanding. As noted by Town (2004), biological arguments help present oneself and one's thoughts and behaviours as functional, normal, and in the service of nature. In opposition to this stance, the men seemed to consider the influence of socio-cultural forces as corrupting, tainted, and unnatural. In conversations the men often complained that women demanded unrealistic levels of success and attractiveness in their male romantic partners, hence setting up a competition between men. As shown in the excerpt below the men are arguing that a basic need for protection and shelter is now represented by the female having developed a materialistic need, and a calculated assessment of a potential partner's providing capabilities. The pressure the guys felt to compete in terms of jobs, status, and material wealth is being projected onto women as carriers of this superficiality.

STAN: It's that unbeatable combination of money and status as Max said, I'd say 90% (women) look at that as a no brainer. They exclude the physicality of a man if they've got those two attributes.
SPIROS: That's a fair point and I think a lot of guys are frustrated cause (because) they do the right thing, work hard, and take care of themselves and feel like they can't get anywhere cause, like, women are so materialistic now. Unless you're a pop star you don't get a look ... and I think its western society in general.

Ethnographic insights. My ethnographic notes revealed that, while this masculine presentation was common, it was more often Spiros who spoke of himself in this way. Spiros was in a long term de facto relationship but was reluctant to marry or have kids. He presented as being unsure as to whether this would be a good move for him or whether he would feel restricted or repressed. I concluded that Spiros was trying to negotiate his sex-

ual and relationship identity, and its compatibility with social expectations such as marriage and children. In group situations Spiros presented as predictable and untainted by social expectations. In my one-to-one interview with him, he revealed how strongly he felt family pressures for him to marry and have children. His life narrative suggests that he was hedging his bets by appeasing a traditional male family gender role by being in a long-term relationship, and at the same time appeasing the discourse of male sexual potency by not marrying, not having children, and presenting himself as discontent with only one sexual partner. He appeared to utilise the biological discourse as an identity characteristic to justify his resistance to family pressure, and to help relieve any related anxiety. This may also be related to a desire to maintain his independence and autonomy (see Independence/Autonomy).

Managing Others

Another area of manhood that the men discussed was associated with dealing with other men who presented as being superior. This was particularly salient in a context in which one man attempts to raise his status by putting down another. While this behaviour in extreme form was looked down upon, the ability to stand one's ground and save face was respected. The men talked about hypothetical threats and unknown men or casual acquaintances that tried to put them down. The common theme was to overcome this positioning by holding your own, rising above, and finding a way to retort under pressure:

> MICHAEL: You come across blokes that you've never met before and in five minutes they're a better human being.
>
> MAGILLA: You can sense their malice in their operations can't you? What do you think that is?
>
> MAX: Maybe their mummies and daddies didn't love them enough.... I honestly don't understand it.
>
> MICHAEL: It's like they're trying to stake their claim as far as I'm concerned. And again it comes down to a power shift. I'll dominate you, well hey, no you won't! No! You! Won't!... I need to have a comeback for it. I would feel like I'm as weak as piss.
>
> MAX: That's exactly right and I mean it all comes down to pride.

Simultaneously, while the men frowned upon one-upmanship, the capacity for independent thought and the demonstration of the strength to stand out, resist peer pressure and be different were respected. In one instance, Max talked about the pressures of settling down and starting a family. In this example he brought up the tendency for guys to be threatened by those who are different and do not conform, and the tendency for guys to pressure each other into conformity (an attitude strongly presented by these men also). However, on a more personal level he was also saying that he is not like that and that he respects the other guys' difference and uniqueness.

> MAX: If you let people influence how you live your life you should be in a paddock eating grass. I could easily say to you guys, you're getting on, when are you going to settle down? I wouldn't. Other blokes in the same position would, cause they'd like to see you sucked in like they've been sucked in.

This overt display of confidence and security in oneself to stand alone and not to conform to the pressure of others was much supported by the other men. Possessing the "balls" to stand up for what you believe in was evidently a much-admired quality amongst the men. Interestingly Max refers to family life as being "sucked in," which again suggests that heterosexual promiscuity is the perceived natural position.

Ethnographic insights. Despite Max's display of robust individuality, I observed over the two years I knew him that he made humorous self-deprecating comments about his baldness in nearly every social interaction. This tactic helped prevent other men from using his baldness against him in the form of jokes and insults. On one level it was an admired quality because it positioned him as an equal and allowed the men to make light of, and ease anxiety relating to, a common fear. Making fun of his baldness could also show that it didn't seem to bother him. Unfortunately Max overdid this self-deprecation so that it became annoying to the other men. Making constant reference to his baldness showed that it was a concern for him and hence should be a concern for others in a similar position. If he was actually ok with his baldness he would have discussed it less frequently, thereby subverting discourses of male virility and reducing collective anxiety. As it was, his constant focus on his baldness actually reinforced this fear, and made the men wish he would just get over it. It was often the repetition of topics introduced by group members that demonstrated a psychological consistency and need to work through issues relating to social discourses (e.g., baldness taboo, male virility) on an individual level, as well as through dynamic group interactions, and hence at the same time a social level.

Independence/Autonomy

The men displayed a strong need to be independent and to control their own destinies. The power to make decisions about one's life was continually fought for, while relinquishing that power to another or others was resisted. Independence equated to their having places of their own and of their choosing to which they could retreat. It also equated to having multiple friendship and familial relationships to reach they could turn. They generally avoided a life that was socially enmeshed, or where they had few social networks at all. In the case of the former, the men feared the situation where everyone they knew also knew one another. They would then be completely predictable, open, and exposed, with no privacy. The men craved the flexibility offered by having multiple worlds, for instance a work crew, a number of different friendship networks, a nuclear family circle, and broader family networks. The desire was not complete separation but enough separation to feel independent and autonomous to at least some degree. I discussed with Stan the situation surrounding his not being invited to Billy's wedding. Stan and Billy had been friends for many years and Stan was shocked and hurt by being left out of the other's wedding.

> STAN: I don't know whether it should be affecting me that much, but that's the way I am, and I'm not gunna [going to] be at peace till I speak to Billy about it. And at least let him you know that if that was my situation, he would be in my top five or six invited. I have to tell him that, just so he knows what my take on our friendship was. Obviously he's different.
>
> MAGILLA: I don't think he thinks any less of you. It's this thing of compartmen-

talising. For him and a lot of blokes they don't want their Mrs [partner] knowing about this place, they want separate worlds.

STAN: Well Petro doesn't want his wife Nancy here. She's wanted to train here a number of times in the past and he's always said no, this is my place. He's been doing that for 9 or 10 years.

Shortly after this we discussed the issue of gender differences in the interpretation of life events which seems to have the potential to disrupt the safe space where they could freely express the hegemonic discourses constructing their worldview. Stan's ex-wife had recently gone on a date with a friend of his. Stan was furious and felt betrayed that his mate had done this, especially as he had not approached Stan for his permission. Instead, Stan was informed of the date by a third party. He had told me that opening up to another woman, a gym member and wife of Fabulous Frank, had not been helpful.

STAN: I made the mistake of telling Kate. What a hard ass bitch she is. She's as hard as nails.

MAGILLA: I reckon she locks Frank away at home in a gimp outfit.

STAN (animated): Jump Frank! Jump! Oh, how high Kate, how far? F**kin hell, Jesus.

MAGILLA: But that's the revenge thing coming from a woman's perspective, because you left her.

STAN: She said to me, she said what are you worried about? She's allowed to do what she wants; you don't live with her no more. I said I'm not talking about my ex-wife I'm talking about him [Stan's mate] who I've known 25 years.

MAGILLA: Girls aren't gunna [going to] see it that way.

STAN: She was hearing it but not taking it in. She kept coming back to my ex-wife. She can do what she likes. Me and her are still good friends, but this c**t [Stan's friend]....

For Stan it was a matter of disloyalty within friendship. Within these male circles dating an ex-partner without first getting permission is an act of betrayal. In this case their friendship would never be the same. The different perspective offered by Kate, and potentially by other outsiders/partners, could disturb the equilibrium of what normally was a contained space where the men could express shared masculine discourses and perspectives. The gym also offered a secure environment where the men could negotiate these discourses in their own way and in their own time.

Ethnographic insights. I observed that for many of the men in this study, the gymnasium and the friends within it offered them a sanctuary. It was a separate world they could enjoy and it was largely out of the reach of others in their life. Most men deliberately kept it this way while others appeared to maintain separateness on a more unconscious level.

Another way of presenting this need for independence and autonomy is as a need to have multiple aspects of identity. Keeping different life worlds necessitated the utilisation of multiple aspects of identity according to context. It enhanced the perception of autonomy and gave the men a greater variety of experiences. In this way it made their lives more socially stimulating. The alternative was being marked with a predictable and static repertoire of

identity characteristics that one was implicitly pressured to repeat for the sake of consistency and authenticity. The men constantly attempted to balance their need for recognition by significant others, with their need to express multiple aspects of their identity. A too-fragmented life made difficult the task of reflecting on a coherent overall identity, and made difficult the task of forming satisfying relationships. Alternatively, sameness limited and stifled the expression and development of multiple aspects of identity.

As was evident through my ethnographic observations of the men, in an all-male, informal and relaxed environment, these hegemonic masculine discourses were heightened and intensified. In one-on-one situations these discourses were less visible, and self-presentations became more complex. For instance, Spiros, who always presented as a "player" and misogynist in all male interactions, talked to me one-on-one about his need to negotiate intimacy, love, sex, infatuation, and arranged marriage to form some guiding principles for his own relationships. At times he was a sexual predator, at other times an old-fashioned family man. He was also a good son in a traditional European-Australian family, and part of a modern world with increasing choices and blurred gender roles. He was able to choose a position according to context and hence function as a member of different social groups. In his reflective space, however, it was conceivable that these multiple positions were a source of tension and anxiety. The more time I spent with Spiros, the more his intelligence and reflective capacities shone through. He was able to hide this side of himself from all but two other gym members. It seemed that Spiros preferred the light-hearted interactions of "the player" within the gym context, and saved more in-depth discussions for one on one contexts and for those he knew well and could trust.

DISCUSSION

The analysis of interview text revealed hegemonic masculine discourses similar to those found in previous research (Connell, 1995), particularly research dealing with "blokey" men. This confirms that despite socio-cultural shifts hegemonic discourses were still relevant to these men. Certainly the characteristics of strength, autonomy, simplicity, skill, heterosexual potency, and mateship are key identity markers and need to be negotiated. The men presented themselves favourably (but not too favourably) in relation to these discourses. It may be that these hegemonic discourses are reinforced and resistant to change because they serve a relational function. Understanding these discourses (on at least an unconscious level), and using them in conversation was a shared source of pleasure that brought the group together. These findings support previous research that suggests that men need to be acutely aware of hegemonic discourses in order to successfully engage with other men, regardless of whether they subscribe to a hegemonic script (de Visser & Smith, 2006; de Visser, Smith & McDonnell, 2009). By knowing these discourses the men shared meaningful connections that were beneficial to their health and well-being. The gym environment provided an important space for men to connect and evolve together, in line with a growing body of research reporting that sporting and leisure activities such as gymnasia and men's sheds can provide safe environments where men can develop, manage and negotiate their identities (Bradley, 2010; Fildes, Cass, Wallner & Owen, 2010; Hall, 2011; Golding; 2011; Reddin & Sonn, 2003).

While these discourses were relevant for the men in this context, it does not necessarily follow that the men's identities were limited to the repertoires that the researcher and other

members witnessed. Masculinity is context-specific and, as noted by Hearn (2012), the ways hegemonic masculinities are negotiated are socio-culturally and historically dependent.

The findings also support research that suggests that "blokey" men are not just passive consumers and reinforcers of hegemonic discourses (De Visser, 2009; Frosh et al., 2003). Alboim (2010) suggests also that masculinity is dynamically constructed within discursive practices, and that every behaviour and every interaction contributes to a man's masculine identity. Similarly, the men in this study were active in their construction of their masculine identities. They appeared able to reinforce, subvert and transform identity discourses to suit their needs. Some men were able to take alternative positions such as the nice guy or the smart guy and still keep their masculine credibility. It could be argued that the men could attach to or detach from hegemonic masculinity according to need and to context (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). As the men all shared the masculine endeavour of body-building and had demonstrated physical strength, they may, as de Visser et al. (2009) described, have had enough masculine capital or credit to allow them to take some alternate positions. Also it appeared that some men were generally more committed to hegemonic discourses than others. Men such as Magilla, Spiros and Michael were able to utilise the discourses while often not "buying into" them. They appeared to use their reflective capacities to negotiate the discourses. On the other hand, Max appeared more anxious and literal in relation to hegemonic discourses. As mentioned above it was noted that Max joked about his baldness "far too much". While the psychological tension that this issue caused Max was not evident in the tone of reference (jovial/self-effacing), it was the consistency with which he brought it up that gave him away. It was also known that in his youth Max had had blonde curly hair that women often complimented. His appeal to women was a big part of his masculine heterosexual identity and his baldness was a bitter pill to swallow, and although he'd been bald for many years he had yet to realign his identity to incorporate it.

It was concluded that within male interactions hegemonic discourses were serving multiple identity functions. For one man the discourse could have virtually no psychological significance and he merely acknowledges that he knows it and can talk it in order to belong. Another man may be talking about it to negotiate an identity position and gain support from the social group. Another man may be in psychological distress and avoiding or changing the topic. It was clear that social and psychological identity processes were operating at once within men's conversations. This represents what Castoriadis (1997a/1990) referred to as the men's reflective capacity.

Reflectivity

The process of identity negotiation, and maintenance of a sense of group and sense of self can be understood through Castoriadis' (1997a/1990; 1997b/1990; 1997c/1989) processes of sublimation, identification and reflection. Through identification the men learnt the discourses that were relevant to living as "a man" within their social context. That is, a man is natural, simple and predictable, competitive, strong and loyal. Simply sharing these understandings of male discourses brought the men together and formed the foundation of their friendships. Through the process of sublimation the men had psychological investment in these identifications. According to Castoriadis (1997a/1990) sublimation is the process by which the subject redirects innate psychological energy towards social goals. The manifes-

tations of this psychological investment were observed as laughter, anxiety, joy, tension, anger, and sadness. The passion displayed by men in this study was testament to the psychological significance of these masculine discourses. The men's sublimated investment in discourses was also found to be complex, individualised, and dependent on reflective processes. Reflection is the process by which the men negotiate their sublimated psychological investment in, and manipulation of, identified discourses (Castoriadis, 1997a/1990). This finding may be particularly important in the context of masculine identity negotiation. Given that the age profile of the sample extended across young and middle adulthood, it may be that men in this age group may be more experienced in negotiating their identity through the process of reflectivity. The development of reflective identity practices may be an extremely important process for young boys and men, particularly in relation to hegemonic masculinity, and to mental health. Further, identifying ways to promote the development of reflective processes should be the goal of future research. In the current study it seemed that respected male leaders could help facilitate this development by communicating their thoughts and their values.

Interestingly, despite often presenting extreme and simplified caricatures of themselves the men were able to both collectively and individually work through issues. Reflection was observed as a group activity when masculine discourses were discursively exaggerated or subverted. It was also, and at the same time, observed as an individual activity through interpreting men's discursive contributions within a framework of identified patterns and narrative understanding. Reflection of this kind is also facilitated by a sense of acceptance and belonging. Sharing similarities with others and feeling a part of a group allows for a critical reflective capacity that is not available when one is off-balance, insecure, anxious or depressed, or simply desiring to fit in. Thus, people in minority cultural groups or who are otherwise marginalised would likely reflect on dominant discourses in a different way than the men in this study did. In learning and understanding the values of a different culture, one is necessarily less likely to be forthright in challenging norms and in being secure in one's difference. Moreover, the dominant group often creates discourses regarding minority groups, so that the latter are assigned identity characteristics and hence rarely begin interacting from a neutral position (Phinney, 2005; Rattansi & Phoenix, 2005). The men in this study shared similar cultural backgrounds and were generally from cultural groups with social privilege. Hence this study is limited in its ability to discuss identity processes in minority groups or marginalised groups.

Implications and Conclusion

The findings of the current study emphasise both the social and psychological factors at play in masculine identity negotiation within a natural setting. It can be seen that the masculine discourses that operate within these settings may serve both adaptive and maladaptive functions for men's health and well-being. These findings are in line with studies on psychosocial identity that demonstrate that shared discourses and social activity provide a range of positive psychological benefits (Corboy et al., 2011; Haslam, Jetten, Postmes, & Haslam, 2009; Macdonald, 2011). Initiatives such as men's sheds (Fildes, et al. 2010) that offer men a safe space and a shared activity may be important in improving men's health. In line with past research (de Visser, 2009; de Visser et al., 2009) men were able to negotiate their masculine identity by shifting their focus across hegemonic discourses, easing their

levels of anxiety and sharing the burden, providing further benefits to mental health and well-being. It seems that men benefit from sharing activities with other men whether it be in designated contexts (community centers, men's sheds etc.) or more opportunistic contexts as was evidenced in this study.

The current study replicated dominant hegemonic discourses and comparisons to them (de Visser, 2009; de Visser & Smith, 2006, 2007; Edley & Wetherell, 1997). Reinforcement of hegemonic masculine ideals can potentially inhibit the likelihood of these men seeking help for health-related problems or encourage health-risk behaviours as shown by previous research (e.g., Corboy et al., 2011; Lumb, 2003; Mahalik et al., 2007). However, recent research has demonstrated that the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and health is not a simple one and that discourses such as the action man and the healthy man can interact dynamically with the caveman to influence health related behaviour (Farrimond, 2012). Men struggling to negotiate their masculinity through reflective processes, as seen in Max, may run the risk of having limited behavioural repertoires, of having their masculine shortcomings over-emphasised, and consistently reinforced—limiting their ability to move on, and maintaining a sense of inadequacy and anxiety (Sparkes & Smith, 2002; Watkins & Blazina, 2010). Further research is needed on the dynamic reflective practices of men with attention paid to the intersection of factors such as age and SES. These reflective practices may be important determinants of men's mental health and wellbeing.

References

Alboim, S. (2010). *Plural masculinities: The remaking of the self in private life*. Farnham, UK: Ashgate.

Beasley, C. (2008). Rethinking hegemonic masculinity in a globalizing world. *Men and Masculinities, 11*(1), 86-103. DOI: 10.1177/1097184X08315102

Berzonsky, M.D. (2005). Ego identity: A personal standpoint in a postmodern world. *Identity: An Interntional Journal of Theory and Research, 5*(2), 125-136.

Bourdieu, P. (2000). The biographical illusion. In P. du gay, J. Evans & P. Redman (Eds.), *Identity: A reader* (pp. 299-312). London: Sage.

Bradley, G.L. (2010). Skate parks as a context for adolescent development. *Journal of Adolescent Research, 25*(2), 288-323. DOI: 10.1177/0743558409357236

Burgess, R. (1991). Sponsors, gatekeepers, members, and friends: Access in educational settings. In W. Shaffir & R. Stebbins (Eds.), *Experiencing fieldwork: An inside view of qualitative research* (pp. 43-52). Newbury Park, CA: Sage.

Burke, P.J. (1980). The self: Measurement requirements from an interactionist perspective. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 43*(1), 18-29.

Castoriadis, C. (1997a). From the monad to autonomy (D.A. Curtis, Trans.). In D.A. Curtis (Ed.), *World in fragments: Writings on politics, society, psychoanalysis, and the imagination* (pp. 172-195). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Castoriadis, C. (1997b). The state of the subject today (D. A. Curtis, Trans.). In D.A. Curtis (Ed.), *World in fragments: Writings on politics, society, psychoanalysis, and the imagination* (pp. 137-171). Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press.

Castoriadis, C. (1997c). The social-historical institution: Individuals and things (K. Blamey, Trans.). In K. Blamey (Ed.), *The imaginary institution of society* (pp. 273-339). Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Connell, R.W. (1995). *Masculinities*. Sydney, Australia: Allen & Unwin.

Connell, R.W., & Messerschmidt, J. W. (2005). Hegemonic masculinity: Re-thinking the concept. *Gender and Society, 19*(6), 829-859.

Corboy, D., Macdonald J., & McLaren, S. (2011). Barriers to accessing psychosocial support services among men with cancer living in rural Australia: Perceptions of men and health professionals. *International Journal of Men's Health, 10*(2), 163-183. DOI: 10.3149/jmh.1002.163

Creighton, G., & Oliffe, J.L. (2010). Theorising masculinities and men's health: A brief history with a view to practice. *Health Sociology Review, 19*(4), 409-418.

De Visser, R. (2009). "I'm not a very manly man": Qualitative insights into young men's masculine subjectivity. *Men and Masculinities, 11*(3), 367-371.

De Visser, R., & Smith, J.A. (2006). Mister in-between: A case study of masculine identity and health-related behaviour. *Journal of Health Psychology, 11*(5), 685-695.

De Visser, R., & Smith, J.A. (2007). Alcohol consumption and masculine identity among young men. *Psychology and Health, 22*(5), 595-614. DOI: 10.1080/14768320600941772

De Visser, R., Smith, J.A., & McDonnell, E. (2009). 'That's not masculine': Masculine capital and health related behaviour. *Journal of Health Psychology, 14*(7), 1047-1058

Denzin, N. (1997). *Interpretive ethnography: Ethnographic Practices for the 21st century*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.

Durrheim, K. (1997). Social constructionism, discourse, and psychology. *South African Journal of Psychology, 27*(3), 175-183.

Edley, N. (2001). Analysing masculinity: Interpretative repertoires, ideological dilemmas and subject positions. In M. Wetherell, S. Taylor & J.Y. Yates (Eds.), *Discourse as data: A guide for analysis* (pp. 189-228). London, England: Sage.

Edley, N. (2006). Never the twain shall meet: A critical appraisal of the combination of discourse and psychoanalytic theory in studies of men and masculinity. *Sex Roles, 55*, 601-608.

Edley, N., & Wetherell, M. (1997). Jockeying for position: The construction of masculine identities. *Discourse & Society, 8*(2), 203-217. DOI: 10.1177/0957926597008002004

Evans, J., Frank, B., Oliffe, J.L., & Gregory, D. (2011). Health, illness, men and masculinities (HIMM): A theoretical framework for understanding men and their health. *Journal of Men's Health*, *8*(1), 7-15.

Ezzy, D. (1998). Theorizing narrative identity: Symbolic interactionism and hermeneutics. *The Sociological Quarterly, 39*(2), 239-252.

Farrimond, H. (2012). Beyond the caveman: Rethinking masculinity in relation to men's help seeking. *Health* (London)*, 16*(2), 208-225.

Fildes, D., Cass, C., Wallner, F., & Owen, A. (2010). Shedding light on men: The building healthy men project. *Journal of Men's Health, 7*(3), 233-240.

Finn, M., & Henwood, K. (2009). Exploring masculinities within men's identificatory imaginings of first-time fatherhood. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 48,* 547-562. DOI: 10.1348/014466608X386099

Freud, S. (1991). The ego and the id (J. Strachey, Trans.). In A. Richards (Ed.), *The Penguin Freud library* (Vol. 11, pp. 339-407). London, England: Penguin. (Original work published 1923)

Frosh, S., Phoenix, A., & Pattman, R. (2000). Cultural contestations in practice: White boys and racialisation of masculinities. In C. Squire (Ed.), *Culture in psychology* (pp. 47-58). New York, NY: Routledge.

Frosh, S., Phoenix, A., & Pattman, R. (2003). Taking a stand: Using psychoanalysis to explore the positioning of subjects in discourse. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 42*, 39-53.

Golding, B. (2011). Older men's wellbeing through community participation in Australia. *International Journal of Men's Health, 10*(1), 26-44. DOI: 10.3149/jmh.1001.26

Gough, B. (2004). Psychoanalysis as a resource for understanding emotional ruptures in the text:

The case of defensive masculinities. *British Journal of Social Psychology, 43,* 245-267.
Gough, B. (2009). A psycho-discursive approach to analysing qualitative interview data, with reference to a father-son relationship. *Qualitative Research, 9*(5), 527-545. DOI: 10.1177/1468794109343624
Griffin, C. (2000). More than simply talk and text: Psychologists as cultural ethnographers. In C. Squire (Ed.), *Culture in psychology* (pp. 17-29). New York, NY: Routledge.
Hall, N. (2011). "Give it everything you got": Resilience for young males through sport. *International Journal of Men's Health, 10*(1), 65-81. DOI: 10.3149/jmh.1001.65
Harrington, B. (2003). The social psychology of access in ethnographic research. *Journal of Contemporary Ethnography, 32*(5), 592-625.
Haslam, S.A., Jetten, J., Postmes, T., & Haslam, C. (2009). Social identity, health and well-being: An emerging agenda for applied psychology. *Applied Psychology: An Internatinal Review, 58*(1), 1-23. DOI: 10.1111/j.1464-0597.2008.00379.x
Hearn, J. (2012). A multi-faceted power analysis of men's violence to known women: From hegemonic masculinity to the hegemony of men. *The Sociological Review*, *60*, 589-610.
Huberman, A.M., & Miles, M.B. (Eds.). (2002). *The qualitative researcher's companion*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Kohut, H. (1977). *The restoration of the self*. New York, NY: International Universities Press.
Levine, C. (2005). What happened to agency? Some observations concerning the postmodern perspective on identity. *Identity: An Interntional Journal of Theory and Research, 5*(2), 175-185.
Lofland, J. (2002). Analytic ethnography: Features, failings, and futures. In A. M. Huberman & M. Miles, B. (Eds.), *The Qualitative Researcher's Companion* (pp. 137-170). Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage.
Loftland, J., Snow, D., Anderson, L., & Loftland, L. (2006). *Analyzing social settings: A guide to qualitative observation and analysis*. Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.
Lumb, P. (2003). Why is men's health and well-being policy not implemented in Australia? *International Journal of Men's Health, 2*(1), 73-88.
Macdonald, J. (2011). Building on the strengths of Australian males. *International Journal of Men's Health, 10*(1), 82-96. DOI: 10.3149/jmh.1001.82
Mahalik, J.R., Levi-Minzi, M., & Walker, G. (2007). Masculinity and health behaviours in Australian men. *Psychology of Men and Masculinity, 8*(4), 240-249. DOI: 10.1037/1524-9220.8.4.240
Mauss, M. (2000). A category of the human mind: The notion of person, the notion of self. In P. du gay, J. Evans & P. Redman (Eds.), *Identity: A reader* (pp. 327-347). London, England: Sage.
Parker, I. (2005). *Qualitative psychology: Introducing radical research*. Berkshire, England: Open University Press.
Phinney, J.S. (2005). Ethnic identity in late modern times. *Identity: An Interntional Journal of Theory and Research, 5*(2), 187-194.
Rattansi, A., & Phoenix, A. (2005). Rethinking youth identities: Modernist and postmodernist frameworks. *Identity: An Interntional Journal of Theory and Research, 5*(2), 97-123.
Reddin, J., & Sonn, C. (2003). Masculinity, social support and sense of community: The men's group experience in Western Australia. *Journal of Men's Studies, 11*(2), 207-223.
Ricoeur, P. (1983). *Time and narrative* (K. Blamey & D. Pellauer, Trans. Vol. 1). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
Ricoeur, P. (1984). *Time and narrative* (K. Blamey & D. Pellauer, Trans. Vol. 2). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.
Ricoeur, P. (1985). *Time and narrative* (K. Blamey & D. Pellauer, Trans. Vol. 3). Chicago, IL: The University of Chicago Press.

Rose, N. (2000). Identity, genealogy, history. In P. du gay, J. Evans & P. Redman (Eds.), *Identity: A reader* (pp. 313-324). London, England: Sage.

Singer, J.A. (2004). Narrative identity and meaning making across the adult lifespan: An introduction. *Journal of Personality, 72*(3), 437-460.

Sparkes, A.C., & Smith, B. (2002). Sport, spinal cord injury, embodied masculinities, and the dilemmas of narrative identity. *Men and Masculinities, 4*(3), 258-285. DOI: 10.1177/1097184X02004003003

Stryker, S. (1980). *Symbolic interactionism: A social structural version*. Menlo Park, CA: Benjamin Cummings.

Stryker, S., & Burke, P.J. (2000). The past, present, and future of an identity theory. *Social Psychology Quarterly, 63*(4), 284-297.

Sutherland, J.D. (1994). The self and object relations. In J. Scharff (Ed.), *The autonomous self: The work of John D Sutherland* (pp. 284-302). Northvale, NJ: Jason Aronson.

Tajfel. H., & Turner, J. (1979). An integrative theory of inter-group conflict. In J.A. Williams & S. Worchel (Eds.), *The social psychology of inter-group relations* (pp. 34-47). Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Town, C.J. (2004). "The most blatant of all our American myths": Masculinity, male bonding, and the wilderness in Sinclair Lewis's *Mantrap*. *The Journal of Men's Studies, 12*(3), 193-205.

Turner, J.C. (1985). Social categorization and the self-concept: A social cognitive theory of group behavior. *Advances in Group Processes: Theory and research*, *2*, 77-122.

Watkins, C.E., & Blazina, C. (2010). On fear and loathing in the fragile masculine self. *International Journal of Men's Health, 9*(3), 211-220. DOI: 10.3149/jmh.0903.211

Wetherell, M. (2007). A step too far: Discursive psychology, linguistic ethnography and questions of identity. *Journal of Sociolinguistics, 11*(5), 661-681.

Whitehead, A. (2005). Man to man violence: How masculinity may work as a dynamic risk factor. *Howard Journal of Criminal Justice, 44*(4), 411-422.

Wilkinson, S. (2003). Focus groups. In J.A. Smith (Ed.), *Qualitative psychology: A practical guide to research methods* (pp. 184-204). London, UK: Sage.

Winnicott, D.W. (1989). *Psycho-analytic explorations*. New York, NY: Karnac.

Wolcott, H. (1999). *Ethnography: A way of seeing*. London, England: Altamira Press.

View publication stats