DISCURSIVE CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINE IDENTITIES IN NEWSPAPERS PULLOUT MAGAZINES IN KENYA

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DECLARATION AND APPROVAL

DECLARATION

This thesis is my original work and has not been presented for a degree in any other university.

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APPROVAL

This thesis has been submitted for examination with our approval as university supervisors.

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DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my mother Rudia Wambui whose support and prayers for my academic progress are incomparable. Second, I would also like to dedicate it to my late father Charles Ngumo who died when the study was just about to be born, and in whose efforts my academic foundation is to be traced.

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ABSTRACT

The study analyzed the discursive constructions of masculine identities in newspapers' pullout magazines in Kenya. It examined if there was a disconnect between the way Kenya's mainstream newspapers' pullout magazines constructed masculinity and the way the readers of these magazines constructed it. The objectives of the study were: to identify and describe the types of masculine identities that are constructed by lifestyle magazines and determine how these magazines justify or legitimize their construction of these identities; to identify and describe the types of masculine identities constructed by readers of pullout magazines and the language they use to construct these identities; to investigate how readers conform to, negotiate or resist the masculine identities constructed by these magazines, and to find out why readers conform to, negotiate or resist these masculine identities as constructed by pullout magazines. The study adopted a Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), the social constructionist view of gender and the encoding decoding model as its theoretical framework. Purposive sampling was used since only information rich magazines were relevant. Data was collected from *The Nation* and *The Standard* newspapers' pullout magazines published between February, 2012 and January, 2013. Two weekly pullout magazines were selected from each paper. The *Saturday Magazine* and *Lifestyle* were selected from *The Nation* while *Woman Instinct* and *The Dude* were selected from The Standard. Data was also collected from readers. Respondents read the magazines individually, and then held a discussion which was tape recorded in focus group discussions. These readers were drawn from male and female students at Kimathi University College and Kagumo Teachers' College in Nyeri. The CDA method of analysis was used. To begin with, the analysis of the construction of masculine identities by the magazines not only revealed multiple identities but also contradictory ones at times. The same tendency was manifested by the readers' construction of male identities. Significantly, the study found out that readers conform, negotiate or oppose pullout magazines' construction of masculine identities. Additionally, both magazines and readers used different linguistic forms to justify their constructions of masculine identities. The analysis also found out that adopting any of the three positions was informed by different ideologies. The finding that masculine identities are multiple reinforces the argument that there is no normal or abnormal masculinity. Thus, Kenyan institutions such as the family, the school,

legal departments, and civil society may need to come up with policies that cater and protect men who manifest identities that do not resonate with hegemonic masculinity.

ABBREVIATIONS

CDA: Critical Discourse Analysis.

KBC: Kenya Broadcasting Corporation

KRA: Kenya Revenue Authority

KTN : Kenya Television Network

NMG: Nation Media Group

NTV: Nation Television

SG   : Standard Group

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CHAPTER ONE
INTRODUCTION

1.1 Background to the Study

Gender has been seen by many modern scholars as a social construct. The argument that gender is an identity separate from biological sex has gained currency. According to Eckert and McConnell-Ginnet (2003:10), gender is not something we are born with, and not something we have but something we do. They argue that the making of a man or a woman is a never-ending process that begins before birth-from the moment someone begins to wonder if the coming child is a boy or a girl. The ritual announcement at birth that it is in fact one or the other transforms an 'it' into a 'he' or a 'she'. Kimmel (1997) concurs by noting that sex refers to physical characteristics while gender refers to roles assigned to men and women through socialization, thus gender is socially constructed. We construct our gender identities through social interaction guided by norms and expectations.

The twin concepts of masculinity and femininity have come a long way. According to Connell (1995), the qualities of men and women were not differentiated in terms of their characters in European culture before the 18th century. Women were perceived as an incomplete version of male identity. Male identity was taken as human identity as a whole. Connell argues that it was not until the 19th century regulation of men and women in separate spheres that the sexes became identified with equivalent and differing characteristics and the concept of masculinity and femininity came about (Connell, 1995). According to Smiley (2004), the women's movement and gay rights movements are the contexts in which gender was discovered and thereafter, men were studied as men, and not as idealized non gendered beings. Smiley refers to the period before the seventies as 'pre-history'. Until the 1970s, issues of masculinity remained largely absent from mainstream academic research (Mac An Ghail, 1996). He emphasizes that there has always been research done on men and by men, but interest in men as explicitly gendered individuals is relatively recent. Before the seventies, masculinity was seen as a single construct. Constructs of masculinity and femininity were seen as polar opposites and measured the masculinity of subjects in terms of the degrees to which they were powerful, strenuous active and steady. The idealized, fixed and natural concept of masculinity in the 'prehistoric' period gave way to the 'androgyny' movement of the seventies in which both

masculine and feminine traits exist to greater or lesser extents in all people (Hinds, 2008). In androgyny theory, gender traits were considered different but not oppositional. Then, in the eighties came the 'ideology movement'. This movement theorized that the concept of masculinity represented an ideology to which individuals were expected to conform (Hinds, 2008; Smiley, 2004). The key characteristics of this ideology included non-femininity, heterosexuality, toughness and risk taking. This conception of masculinity still holds true in many parts of the world. In India, for example, young men prove their manhood through sexual prowess. Having multiple sexual partners and unprotected sex is a sign of being manly (Verma and Mahendra, 2004). Similarly, Jerome (2008) reports that in Malaysia, gender relations are defined by male dominance and female subordination.

The notion of multiple masculinities came about in the mid nineties and persists to date. Several Western scholars hold the argument that in a post-modern world, masculinity takes many shapes depending on one's social context. Some researchers have even suggested that 'manliness' and 'masculinity' are themselves contested concepts. As Anthias (1996) observes, different masculine identities will be produced from differential locations within and across social divisions. In the nineties, again, social theorists observed transformations in the western world where a modern industrial culture based on production was giving way to a postmodern culture informed by consumption of products and ideas (Alexander, 2003). This also led to a change in gender roles and gender identity. Horsley (2008), for example, observes that the macho film role models of the preceding decade such as Arnold Schwarzenegger, Sylvester Stallone and Harrison Ford were becoming rare. Men were instead featuring more in advertisements and increasingly becoming objectified just like women. The definition of masculinity has thus become unstable since the nineties leading to what some have called a crisis of masculinity. Findlay (2007) concurs that in a time when gender roles are shifting, the definition of masculinity has become unstable. Traditionally, the roles of men and women were fixed in diverse institutions, such as the family and religion. At present, as Magalhaes (2005) notes, these fixed identities have given way to mobile hybrid identities. This study investigated how Kenyan pullout magazines construct men and masculinity in the midst of this 'crisis'.

In Kenya, studies in masculinity seem to highlight aspects of traditional masculinity what Connell (1995) has called hegemonic masculinity. Chiuri (2008) observes a trend in Kenya and Africa in general where "male domination is escalating and female subordination is

deteriorating." She argues that while the rest of the world has been attempting to include women in decision-making processes, Africa has continued to exclude them. This argument is upheld by Granqvist (2006) who says that patriarchy as a structure of subordination dominates Nairobi. The city, he says, has been transformed into "masculine zones and feminine non-places". Writing about bull-fighting in Western Kenya, Kabaji (2008) observes that men are expected to engage in sexual conquest and demonstrate unfeminine behaviour. This traditional concept of masculinity is also brought out by Miruka (2007) who observes that men in conflict and post-conflict societies are seen as violent aggressors. They encourage bloodshed and use rape as a means of humiliating their enemies. This study went beyond the concept of hegemonic masculinity and examined other aspects of masculine identities portrayed by pullout magazines.

In the modern world the mass media plays a key role in discourse. Newbold et al (2002) argue that the media play a critical role in the construction of reality that is: the relationship between the ideological and the real. Again, "media discourse is important in propagating modern lifestyles which are templates for the narratives of the self" (Gauntlet, 2002: 103). There is a clear connection between gender construction and the media. To begin with, the media have an acknowledged power to represent 'socially acceptable' ways of being or relating to others, as well as to allocate, or more usually withhold public recognition, honour and status of groups of people. Many times, various groups complain that they have been marginalized by the media.

In the 1960s, for example, systematic research into media images of women flourished in the West. Almost immediately, feminist scholars and activists began to examine how women were being portrayed in the media- including films, prime time television dramas, newspapers, pornography, news magazines, women's and girls' magazines, popular music and soap operas (Horsley, 2005; Kehnel, 2003). Scholars were concerned that the sexist messages of these media forms socialized people, especially children into thinking that the binary and hierarchical sex-role stereotypes were natural and normal.

It is clear, therefore, that the media are instrumental in the process of gaining public consent. Media texts never simply mirror or reflect reality but instead construct hegemonic definitions of what should be accepted as 'reality'.

According to Coffey (2009), lifestyle magazines generally uphold a very essentialist view of gender; men are necessarily masculine, where women are necessarily feminine. This is how discourses of gendered practices are created, such as the familiar stereotypes of women being

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obsessed with shoes and men with football. This study was concerned about exposing and analyzing this kind of essentialism in pullout magazines' texts.

Kenya ranks high among African countries that guarantee freedom and independence of the media. The Kenya Constitution (2010) under article 34 (1) stipulates that "freedom and independence of electronic, print and other types of media is guaranteed…" Under sub-section 4 (c) the media is allowed to "afford fair opportunity for the presentation of divergent views and dissenting opinions." This implies that writers of lifestyle magazines have freedom to give representations of women and men from their own perspectives. Do their representations resonate with the construction of men and masculinities by their readers? This question was at the heart of this study.

Additionally, local magazines in Kenya have over the years tended to focus on women and their issues. Magazines such as *Drum, True-love, Parents, and Pregnant* have been visible in the media landscape mainly because of their focus on women. Citing research by Target Group Index, Kimutai (2009) reveals that the readership of magazines such as *Drum*, *Adam*, *True Love* etc. has been on the decline. This may explain the popularity of pull out lifestyle magazines inserted in major newspapers. Kenya has a number of daily newspapers which include the *Daily Nation*, *The Standard*, and *The People*. The leading daily is undoubtedly the *Daily Nation* in terms of readership followed by *The Standard*. According to the BBC Trust (2006), all other dailies fall far below these leading newspapers in readership. The BBC Trust further notes that as of 2006, the *Daily Nation* and *Sunday Nation* had a 74.2 percent readership followed by *The Standard* at 23.4 percent readership. It follows that their pullout magazines have an equally big readership. This is why the study sought to focus on some selected pullout magazines from these two dailies. Pullout magazines have tended to give men more attention than before. A cursory glance through their pages reveals that magazines such as *Saturday (Saturday Nation), DN2 (Daily Nation), Woman Instinct (The Standard), Woman Essence (The People Weekend), and Crazy Monday (The Standard)* also cover a wide range of issues about men which include sports, interviews, adventure, fashion and grooming. Columns such as 'Man Talk' (*Saturday*), 'Guy IQ' (*The People Weekend*) and 'Menonly' (*Woman Instinct*) specifically target men. Such columns are important sites for analyzing the way men are constructed in lifestyle magazines because of their obvious directness. Equally important are columns such as 'Female Speak' (*Saturday*) which focuses on women because inadvertently, issues of men and masculinity are raised. These

types of magazines have the potential to reach a wide audience as they are marketed and distributed with the parent paper.

1.2 Statement of the Problem

Much of the research that has been done on media representations of gender has tended to focus on the media texts themselves. However, the fundamental question of how readers relate to media texts is rarely raised. There are no known studies on the relationship between the Kenyan public thinking of masculinity and how it is related to the print media. To address this concern, this study attempted to uncover if there was a disconnect between the way pullout magazines in Kenyan newspapers constructed men and masculinities and the way the readers of these magazines constructed them. Many writers of lifestyle magazines present their views and opinions on men and masculinities as if they were unassailable truths or what they write about men was natural or a matter of common sense. Therefore, a central concern of this study was to find out if readers of pullout magazines had their own independent ways of constructing men other than what was represented by the magazines.

1.3. Research Objectives

1. To identify and describe the types of masculine identities constructed in newspapers' pullout magazines in Kenya.
2. To determine how these pullout magazines justify or legitimize their construction of masculine identities.
3. To identify and describe the types of masculine identities constructed by readers of pullout magazines and the language they use to construct these identities.
4. To examine how readers conform to, negotiate or resist masculine identities as constructed by Kenyan pullout magazines.
5. To find out why readers conform to or negotiate or resist the masculine identities constructed by these pullout magazines.

1.4. Research Questions

1. What types of masculine identities are constructed in pullout magazines in Kenyan newspapers?

2. How do these magazines try to justify or legitimize the construction of these identities?

3. What types of masculine identities are constructed by readers of Kenyan pullout magazines and what type of language do they use to construct these identities?

4. How do readers of Kenyan newspapers' pullout magazines conform to or negotiate or resist the magazines' construction of masculine identities?

5. Why do readers conform to or negotiate or resist these masculine identities as constructed by pullout magazines?

1.5 Justification of the Study

It is hoped that the findings of this study will generate and promote knowledge in the areas of linguistics, gender and media since the study cuts across these disciplines.

With respect to language, it is hoped that the study will sensitize readers of pullout magazines to adopt a critical attitude as they read these magazines. Language use is political and a medium of power that can be used to create or legitimize inequality (Richardson, 2007; Fairclough, 2001). The power of language they emphasize is neither neutral nor democratic. Some peoples' speeches are more powerful than others and the opinion of certain people is taken to be more credible and authoritative than the opinion of others.

Most gender related media research has tended to focus on women. Comparatively few studies have examined the portrayal of men in the mass media. This is clearly gender inequality which needs to be addressed. Gender discrimination leads to reduced access to or control of opportunities and resources.

Again, this study will make a contribution towards the liberation of women. Kehnel (2003) observes that, while studies in masculinity may seem contradictory to the aims of feminism at a superficial level, they actually support and further feminist work by deconstructing and analyzing the social and cultural expectations of men. This position is also upheld by Coffey (2009) who argues that the study of masculine representation in lifestyle magazines contributes to how women are viewed. If men are defined in terms of essentialist characteristics such as physical strength or a lack of emotional expression this allows for women to be defined conversely.

It is therefore hoped that this study will make a contribution towards achieving gender equality. Article 27 (3) of The Constitution of Kenya (2010) states that "Women and men have

the right to equal treatment, including the right to equal opportunities in political, economic, cultural and social spheres."

1.6 Scope and Limitations of the Study

The scope of the study fell within Pullout Magazines inserted in *The standard and Nation* newspapers. The study specifically focused on the following magazines:

Saturday   (Saturday Nation)

Lifestyle   (Sunday Nation)

The Dude (The Standard)

Woman Instinct (The Saturday Standard)

This selection was made because the two newspapers have a national readership and are greatly relied upon and their worldview is therefore likely to influence many people.

Secondly, the scope of the study was limited to pullout magazines. As Polyzou (2008) correctly observes, lifestyle magazines are a fruitful site of research on language and gender as their content is explicitly gendered. Concentrating only on pullout magazines facilitated an in-depth analysis.

The selection of the magazines was confined to between February, 2012 and January, 2013.Twenty four articles were selected for analysis. This allowed for an in-depth analysis on the current situation. The study also limited itself to articles that focused on men, for example columns like 'man Talk', 'Casanova Diaries' (Saturday Magazine), 'men only', (Woman Instinct) are written from a man's point of view while 'Female Speak' (Saturday Magazine), discusses men from women's point view.

1.7. Definition of Terms

Hegemonic masculinity: Relates to the concept of men exerting power through consent rather than coercion. Hegemonic discourses are offered in a subtle way; as something you already agree with. The values of the dominant group (men) are perceived as values dear to everyone.

Identity: used here to refer to individuality: people project themselves as a certain type of person. Identity construction is an ongoing process. We create, maintain and revise who we are.

Ideology: A set of ideas that constitutes a person's or a society's goals, expectations and actions; a way of looking at things, as in common sense.

Masculinity: possessing qualities or characteristics considered by society typical or appropriate to a man. In this study, the plurality of the term is upheld since different societies have different expectations for men.

Masculine Identities: These are the features or characteristics that constitute the definition of one as a man.

New lad: A man who completely and unrepentantly subscribes to the traditional hegemonic conception of a man.

New man: A man who indulges in consumption in a way that was previously associated with women. Such a man is characterized by an increased emphasis for fashion and grooming.

Pullout Magazine: A Magazine inside a newspaper complete in itself and may be removed and retained

Sex: These are biological characteristics or attributes of men and women which are unchangeable, for example, women will always give birth while men will always father babies.

Style: A concept that attempts to account for variations in the lexical and syntactic structures of texts. It is a comparative concept that describes some relevant differences between texts or discourses.

Text: Refers to any written stretch of discourse, of whatever length, that forms a unified whole. It could be a sentence, verse, dialogue or prose.

CHAPTER TWO
LITERATURE REVIEW

2.1 Introduction

This chapter explores literature related to the study and also outlines the study's theoretical framework. It begins with a look at social theory followed by media studies in general and then a review of gender and the media is made. The chapter then goes on to provide insights into construction of gender identity. Constructions of hegemonic masculinity and the 'New Man' are also examined. Additonally, the chapter reviews literature on studies of men and masculinities in Kenya. Lastly, a discussion on theoretical framework is done.

2.2 Background in Social Theory

The analysis of textual features can only be useful in ideological analysis when positioned within social theory (Fairclough, 1995; Richardson, 2007). Consequently, the ideas of social theorists, Foucault, Barthes and Gramsci were instrumental in illuminating the dialectical connections between the texts under analysis and social practice.

2.2.1 Antonio Gramsci and Hegemony

According to Gramsci, the notion of hegemony is rooted in the distinction between coercion and consent as alternative mechanisms of social power (Stoddart, 2007). Coercion is the state's ability to use violence against those who refuse to follow mainstream ideas. Hegemonic power on the other hand strives to convince individuals to subscribe to the social values and norms of the dominant group (Stoddart, 2007). In other words, voluntarism and participation are the key rather than the threat of punishment. Gramsci elaborates that hegemony is the dominance of one group over other groups without necessarily using the threat of force (Dai-Rong, 2006). Hegemony has also been described as a situation where a "provisional alliance of dominant groups exerts authority over other subordinate groups by shaping consent so that the power of the dominant group appears both natural and legitimate" (Dai-Rong, 2006: 84). Hegemony is presented as common sense that guides our everyday understanding of the world. People's perspectives are skewed in favour of the dominant group, therefore allowing hegemony to control the way ideas become 'naturalized' as common sense (Dai-Rong, 2006). Hegemony is a relation between classes, in which a dominant class represents its interests as the interests of all.

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Gramsci argued that in industrial capitalist societies, hegemonic power is more prevalent than coercive power. He noted that the state uses the 'civil society': church, school, the mass media and the family to reproduce and disseminate hegemonic power (Gramsci, 1999). The Kenyan writer Ngugi wa Thiong'o illustrates this by arguing that in the context of colonialism "the bullet" was followed by "the chalk and the blackboard" (Thiong'o, 1986: 9). Ngugi elaborates that while the bullet was the means of physical subjugation, language and colonial education were the most important elements in achieving psychological control of the colonized. Dai - Rong (2006) stresses this by observing that cultural institutions such as schools and the media create a compatible version of reality which favours elite interests. In this study, pullout magazines are conceived as representing the ideas and the world view of the dominant groups while the consumers are seen as subordinate. A cursory glance at Kenyan newspapers' pullout magazines reveals that they are pervasively influenced by western cultural hegemony. Both written and visual images in Kenyan pull out magazines resonate with tastes of the middle and ruling classes which are premised on western lifestyles.

Hebdige (1999) notes that forms cannot be eternally normalized; they can always be deconstructed. He argues that consensus can be challenged, overruled or resisted; even the groups in dominance can lightly be dismissed or automatically incorporated. Similarly, Gramsci argues that hegemonic power is always contested, predicated on history and always unfinished. He believes that revolutionary seizure of means of production is not useful in bringing about social change (Stoddart, 2007). He argues that what is needed is a prolonged cultural war of position to remove the hegemony of the ruling class and crystallize a new hegemony. The current study examines the extent to which the pullout magazines' readers contest the naturalized presentations of the magazines and whether there are elements of transformative social action. In other words, do they have different concepts of masculinities?

2.2.2 Michel Foucault's Concept of Power

While discussing the construction of male identities as represented by both pullout magazines and their readers, questions of power unavoidably arise; the power of the magazines to influence their audience and the power of the audience to make independent interpretations of what they read as well as the readers' power to create new masculine identities in their own discourses.

The French philosopher Michel Foucault strongly disagreed with traditional notions of power. If we take a Marxist perspective, for example, power is seen to reside within a dominant class while the masses are seen as powerless. Similarly, feminists argue that in patriarchal societies it is men who possess power while women are powerless. Another traditional view of power is where power is seen as cooperation or consensus (Lemke, 2010).To Foucault; however, power is not something that one can possess. In addition, power is not a substance or an asset that one can have, a territory to be conquered or a good that can be exchanged, but must be analyzed in relational terms (Gauntlet 2002, Lemke, 2010). He further argues that power is not a right reserved for certain individuals, groups or classes to the exclusion of others.

Following his critique, Foucault replaced the term 'power' with 'power relations'. In his view, power flows through relationships or networks of relationships (Foucault, 1991, Lemke, 2010, Gauntlet, 2002). He emphasizes that power is everywhere, diffused and embodied in discourse, knowledge and regimes of truth (Foucault, 1991). Foucault further explains that power is everywhere not because it embraces everything but because it comes from everywhere (Gauntlet, 2002). He sees power relations in society accounting for the generation and functioning of the state. Power goes beyond politics; instead, it is an everyday socialized and an embodied phenomenon. Thus, power relations can be seen to be enacted between producers of pullout magazines and readers of those magazines.

Foucault also sees power as 'truth' which is negotiated and is in constant flux. He reasons that power is constituted through accepted forms of knowledge and 'truth'. He notes that every society has its own 'regime of truth': the type of discourses which it accepts as true; the mechanisms and instances that make one to distinguish between true and false statements and the techniques and procedures accorded value in the acquisition of truth (Foucault, 1991). Moreover, Foucault argues that the 'regimes of truth' are as a result of scientific discourse and institutions and are reinforced by the media among others.

The fact that power is everywhere does not, however, imply that there is no inequality in access to power. According to Foucault, we may find "states of domination if power relations have become so entrenched that they are almost one-sided and unchangeable" (Gauntlet, 2002). This brings us to Foucault's concept of resistance. Wherever there is power, Foucault argues, there is resistance. He sees a capacity in humans to question and resist socialized norms and constraints (Foucault, 1991). Resistance, like power, also appears all over the place. With

respect to this study, Foucault's model of power is important in analyzing how readers of pullout magazines conform or resist the magazines view of men. Again, this model helps examine how the readers express their own power by viewing male identities from their own standpoints. To challenge power is not synonymous to seeking absolute truth but it is an act of detaching the power of truth from the forms of hegemony (Foucault, 1991).

2.2.3 Roland Barthes: Myth as Ideology

If we take ideology to mean beliefs and representations that sustain and legitimate current power relations, then it is possible to see the term 'myth' as Barthes uses it as being synonymous with ideology. According to Barthes (1986), a dominant power legitimates itself by promoting beliefs and values favourable to it. This is done through naturalizing and universalizing such beliefs so as to render them inevitable. Barthes presents myth as a socially constructed reality that is passed of as 'natural'. In *Mythologies* published in 1957, Barthes argues that the opinions and values of a historically and socially specific class are presented as universal truths (Barthes, 1986). He emphasizes that myth transforms history into nature.

Barthes explains that language is a system of signs which reflect the assumptions of a particular society at a particular period. He warns that if we fail to correctly read texts we might end up supporting the enemy, that is the bourgeoisie norm, and therefore mistake history for nature (McNeil, 1996). He gives the example of the cover of *Paris Match's* presentation of a young Negro in a French military uniform saluting, with his eyes uplifted (Barthes, 1986). According to Barthes, this picture signifies that France is a great empire, has no colour discrimination and all serve under her flag and that there is no better answer to critics of an alleged colonialism than the zeal shown by this young Negro serving his supposed oppressors (Barthes, 1986). Again, Barthes gives the example of a big headline in *France-Soir* that screams in capital letters that there is a fall in prices of fruits and vegetables. He concludes that the signification of the myth in this headline is that the government has made prices to come down, yet the paper adds in small type that the fall is due to seasonal abundance (Barthes, 1984). Barthes also gives the example of cars, a BMW and a Citroen, which share the same functions, yet they connote very different things about their owners (Barthes, 1986). Barthes therefore tries to challenge the 'innocence' and 'naturalness' of cultural texts and practices which are capable of producing all sorts of connotations. In *Mythologies*, Barthes is concerned about uncovering these

secondary meanings. In short, Barthes tries to question the obvious, what is taken for granted. In keeping with Barthes warning, magazines present men in their articles as if what they write was natural and irrefutable.

Barthes wrote during the post-war period and wanted to analyze the myths prevalent in contemporary society-the false representations and erroneous beliefs of that era. He believed that what we accept as natural is an illusion created in order to mask the real structures of power in society (McNeil, 1996). Myth, Barthes argues, is depoliticized speech and to bourgeois ideology, myth is the most appropriate instrument for the ideological inversion that defines society (Barthes, 1986). He goes on to argue that in myth things lose their memory; reality is turned inside out, emptied of history and filled with nature. The function of myth, he says is not to deny things; instead, myth purifies them and makes them look innocent and natural. The idea of myth is relevant in the analysis of magazines' construction of masculine identities for it is important to uncover the language used in these magazines and how it may be used to mask the reality or manipulate the reader. It was therefore important for this analysis to show how language supports existing power structures which purport to be natural.

2.3 The Politics and Economics of the Media

Fairclough (1995) observes that there are many individuals and social groups that do not have access to the media in terms of writing, speaking or broadcasting. This is because media output is very much under professional and institutional control, and in general it is those who already have other forms of economic, political or cultural power that have the best access to the media. In Kenya, for example, the media is "under direct political interference, reprehensible meddling by owners and managers" (Ochieng1992: 2). Admittedly, Ochieng was writing about the situation in the nineties but there is still interference today as we shall see shortly. Fairclough therefore emphasizes that any analysis of the media, as in the proposed study, must consider the economics and politics of the media.

Economics of an institution is an important determinant of its practices and texts. Fairclough (1995) observes that like other profit making institutions, the mass media have a product to sell. This may determine what is published and how it is published. Particularly, concentrated ownership of the media has essential influence on media discourse (Macnamara 2006; Fairclough, 2001). In Kenya, for example, a few corporations and individuals own most of the

commercial media. Oriare, et al (2010) note that there is a tendency towards media concentration and cross media ownership. For instance, Kenya Broadcasting Coorporation (KBC) has over 20 radio stations, the Royal Media Group (RMG) owns 11 radio stations and two television stations and Radio Africa group owns 5 radio stations. The Nation media Group (NMG) and the standard Group (SG) whose publications were the focus of this study control a huge chunk of the broadcast and print media. The NMG owns seven newspapers and Nation TV (NTV) while SG owns three newspapers, a radio station and Kenya Television Network (KTN). Fairclough (1995) argues that concentration of ownership ensures that dominant voices are those of the political and social establishment.

The politics of the media should also be considered in any media analysis because the commercial mainstream media works ideologically and is in the service of the powerful, the elite and the state (Macnamara, 2006). Ochieng (1992) further, observes that the media in the third world is hugely influenced by an overwhelming international economic, cultural and information order. Similarly, Oriare, et al (2010) observe that the Kenyan media faces immense government, political and commercial pressure that constrains journalistic independence and integrity. KBC, for example, is state owned and its independence has been compromised for a long time (Rutten etal, 2001). Election observers in 2007, for instance, criticized it for its bias against Raila Odinga and favouritism towards the incumbent president Kibaki (Oriare, et al, 2010). Similarly, with regard to private media owners, commercial interests are more important than media independence (Oriare et al, 2010). This means that media owners directly interfere with editorial decisions to preserve and protect the interests of advertisers and sponsors. Oriare et al (2010) also observe that big spenders on advertising such as Safaricom, Kenya Revenue Authority (KRA), and East African Breweries Limited wield immense influence on the media and can influence the angle articles take. The relevance of this is obvious on the current study. It means that the way Pullout Magazines represent men is affected by the commercial interests of their owners and their partners.

2.4 Audience Research in Media Studies

The question of how people respond to media messages has dominated media studies for a long time. How do people make sense of media texts? How do they respond critically to dominant media messages? Specifically, there has been a lot of debate on two contrasting views

of how audiences respond to media messages. On the one hand are the proponents of the active audience impervious to any kind of influence and on the other the passive audience that is conformist and gullible (Biocca, 1988; Gauntlet, 2002). Within this dichotomy lies the question of agency: the issue of individuals' freedom in the face of institutional control.

2.4.1The Hypodermic Needle Model

This theory dates back to the 1920s and posits that audiences passively receive media messages without any attempt to challenge these messages. This model ignores the intelligence, experience and opinion of an individual in responding to a text. The theory gained currency at an age when governments used the media to churn out propaganda to an unsuspecting populace. This was especially common in Europe during the First World War. The passive audience is depicted as gullible and defenceless against the power of the propagandists. The model's view of the audience suggests that they are easily manipulated and that people's behaviours can easily be changed by media texts. It was argued that since the same image could be seen in every newspaper, then it produced the same effect in the audience (Hall, 1993)

Theordor Adorno, a member of the Frankfurt School for Social Research viewed the media as a tool for propaganda (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1993). Gauntlet argues that Adorno's negative view of the media may have been fuelled by Hitler's ability to use the media for widespread propaganda, again, the revolution predicted by Karl Marx had not materialized. Instead of revolting, the workers seemed happy since they could watch movies and listen to music from the radio. The mass media is seen as producing entertainment products in order to make profit (Adorno, 1991). Horkheimer and Adorno further claim that all products of the culture industry are 'exactly the same' in the sense that they reflect the values of the established system (Adorno and Horkheimer, 1993). The two emphasize that the individual has no choice since the person seeking entertainment must also take what the culture the manufacturer is offering. Adorno and his associates therefore argue that the audience is merely an object of the media. They tellingly note that most movies are quite similar as only slight modifications are added to new ones and it is quite clear about how a movie would end once it started.

Adorno and Horkheimer (1993) are concerned about the passivity that the media creates in people. To them, media encourages conformity by trying to make people subscribe to the status quo, thus, conformity replaces consciousness. They further argue that the mass media 'impedes

the development of autonomous, independent individuals who judge and decide consciously for themselves'.

If it is true that the media manipulates the audience, it is important as van Dijk (1995) argues to analyze how they do this. van Dijk argues that in order to make sense of media messages it is important to pay detailed attention to the structures and strategies of such discourses. The current study therefore identified and analyzed the language and strategies used by pullout magazines to construct masculine identities, and further investigated the responses of the audience to these media texts.

2.4.2 The Active Audience Argument

The argument that the media can totally control their audiences has been challenged by many scholars. van Dijk (1995), for example, argues that media power is mainly symbolic and persuasive. He correctly observes that the media lacks the ability to directly influence the audience the way legal or bureaucratic institutions use physical or coercive force to control the actions of people in case of non-compliance. Again, the media's quest for total influence of individuals is severely limited by the availability of other sources of information. Thus, despite the pervasive symbolic power of the media, consumers of information possess some autonomy and will to respond more or less actively (van Dijk, 1995). Consequently, some members of the audience will be able to resist media persuasion. Similarly Fiske rejects the views advanced in the hypodermic needle model by observing that "popular culture is produced by the people, not produced by the culture industry" (Fiske, 1989a: 24). He correctly observes that we do not have a singular mass of manipulable consumers but unique individuals each with their own changing tastes relating to their social backgrounds. Culture, to Fiske is a living, active process which cannot be imposed on people from without or above (Fiske, 1989a). He, for example, argues that pop charts are not something that people have been cheated by the mass media to like, but reflect what is genuinely popular. He sees most texts as containing a preferred meaning, the one intended by the writer, yet, readers also have opportunities for creating their own resistant readings. The meaning of any text, Fiske argues, is not complete until interpreted by an individual within the context of their lives (Fiske, 1989a). He gives the example of Madonna's image which she sees as "a site of semiotic struggle between the forces of patriarchal control and feminine resistance, of capitalism and the subordinate, of the adult and the young" (Fiske,

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1989b:120). As Gauntlet (2002) sums it up, Madonna becomes a cultural resource that can be used by individual fans in their own ways to add something to their lives.

Audience activity has been interpreted differently by different theorists, Biocca (1988), for example, notes that activity is both cognitive and socio-structural, normative and objective, socially variable yet innate. Some theorists equate activity with audience selectivity. It is argued that audiences have the capacity to select what to perceive or retain (Levy and Windahl, 1985). Other theorists view activity in terms of the utility of choices made. This goes beyond mere selectivity and the rationality of individual with regard to their needs (Dervin, 1980). Thirdly, there are theorists who see activity in terms of intentionality, a view that emphasizes on the individual's cognitive abilities. The argument goes that media consumption is schema driven; patterns of consumption reflect an individual's motivation, personality, their cognitive processing structure (Biocca, 1988). Yet, some theorists conceive activity in terms of individuals being 'impervious to any kind of influence' from the media (Biocca, 1988). This type of activity is sometimes viewed as subversion of communicator goals and intentions. Examples of failed information campaigns have been given to support this dimension of audience activity.

2.4.3 The Reading Process

The text in a modernist tradition was taken in high esteem. According to a post-modern point of view, however, meaning does not solely reside within the text but it is the result of the interaction between the reader and the text (Hermes, 2010). Within post-modern thinking all texts contain potentially many meanings (are polysemic) and it is the role of the researcher to find out how readers deal with these meanings (Hermes, 2010). Stuart Hall has similar view as he argues that a text does not have a fixed meaning and that meaning is in the interpretation (Hall, 1993). He further says that only within a specific historical or cultural context can you discuss the meaning of a text (Hall, 1993).This viewpoint has far reaching implications for the current study, for example, it follows that there are no universal laws that influence the responses of readers of pullout magazines since meaning is locally produced. Therefore, this study was interested in examining the view that texts are utterly powerful and could give false consciousness in all their readers.

Consequently, the study examines whether reading is a creative and active process rather than passive reception. To begin with, readers' judgements of what they read reveal their own norms

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and the societies they come from. Thus, readers bring a part of themselves and their background to the interpretation of what the writer has written. Readers try to relate the content of what they have read to their understanding of themselves or even the world. Guillard (2011) argues that reader agency should always be considered because readers are not empty vessels into which writers pour their ideas. Giving the example of romance novels, Lee (2008) observes that readers pick and choose aspects of the text which they agree or disagree with. Similarly, Deblase (2003) reports on a case study of girls reading romance novels that while individuals construct and reconstruct gender according to what they read; they also have a give- and- take relationship with the text. This supports the notion that gender is constructed by not only what we read but also by the socio-cultural context within which we read it. Guillard (2011) gathered data from online dialogue of readers of *Twilight* books, American novels written in a series. He reports that there is an active, agentic reading community. However, some of the readers were not critical of *Twilight* series.

Guillard (2011) correctly notes that context is important when it comes to interpreting what we read; we judge what we read based on the context we find ourselves in that moment. He further observes that researchers must consider the gender, sex, age and the collective life experiences of the reader at the time of their response to a text. In the current study these variables have been captured by eliciting information about the respondents' personal background information.

Fundamentally, Guillard (2011) adds that because context is constantly shifting, readers' responses and identities will also shift constantly. Thus, readers of pullout magazines' responses to these magazines were analyzed within the context of their reading at a particular time. This also implies that in studying readers of pullout magazines, the questions of how and when the respondents are asked to respond to the text had to be considered. Tobin's warning, therefore, becomes timely: that reader response studies based on single-cause, single-effect relations are questionable (Tobin, 2000).

Tobin (2000) emphasizes that reader response studies should focus on a multitude of responses that could be generated from one text and not on only one type of response. A single text taken in isolation cannot therefore form the basis of a reader's behaviour or response. Guillard (2011) argues that as readers read and enjoy a text, they are aware of the voices of other selves and can summon these voices to challenge the same text in other contexts. He also

introduces the concepts of dialogism, the presence of more than one voice in a text and heteroglossia, the interaction of different social languages often in ideological conflict with each other. We play different social roles and context dictates how we perform those social roles, thus our understanding and response to pullout magazines construction of masculinities will be dependent on the context we are in. Thus, as Guillard (2011) observes readers' interpretations cannot be uniform at all times. Their interpretive stance should be viewed as dynamic rather than static.

2.5 Construction of Gender Identity

During (2005) argues that identities may be more complex than they at first appear. He argues that from one perspective, they define who somebody is according to traits. It could be a physical feature, a belief, a genealogy or a cultural preference. This resorts in lumping individuals into groups of people who share a similar trait. This means that one's identity as a man both defines him as an individual and also puts him together with fifty per cent of the population. This radically reduces a person's individuality.

A number of commentators have pointed out that identities also have boundaries. Barker (1999), for example, notes that subjects are formed through differences, so that we are in part defined by what we are not. We are defined in part by being differentiated from 'how they are' (Robertson, 2003). Again, the distinctions of 'us' and 'them' are characterized by 'them' embodying a negative connotation (Glover, 1997). 'They' are mainly presented as problematic and difficult, thus the media may try to legitimize certain constructions of male identities while vilifying others. During (2005) concurs by observing that the terms used to define identity do not describe traits and groups neutrally. He emphasizes that they are culturally inflected and are determined by power relations in society between those using the identity descriptor and those to whom the descriptor applies.

During (2005) goes on to argue that some identity words are used affirmatively by the groups they describe while others are not. Again, individuals differ with respect to the passion they have to connect with certain identities. Consequently, During argues, some individuals struggle to 'disidentify' or detach themselves from some given identities. On the other hand, individuals can still internalize negative identities as powerfully as they do positive ones (During 2005). This is really important in the light of the current study since the investigation is about determining

whether there is a disconnect between the way pullout magazines construct male identities and the way the readers of those magazines construct men.

2.5.1 Identity Construction in Post-Modern Societies

Before discussing the concept of identity, it is important to consider the notions of tradition and modernity. The ideas of Giddens about identity, tradition and modernity are particularly useful for this study. To begin with, Giddens is not happy with the term 'post-modernity'; instead he prefers the terms 'late modernity' or simply 'post-tradition' (Gauntlet, 2002). Giddens argues that in a traditional society, we do not bother to analyze individual actions because choices have already been pre-determined by tradition and custom. However, in post-traditional times, what has been prescribed by past generations is not particularly useful. People begin to make decisions about how to behave since society has become more reflexive and conscious of its own unstable state.

In a modern society, identity becomes a fundamental issue. In traditional societies, individuals had clearly defined roles but in modern societies individuals are compelled to make important choices about the way they dress, what they eat, how they appear as well as the relationships that they forge. There is a connection between individual identity and the "the big macro picture of the state, multinational capitalist corporations and globalization" (Giddens, 1991). This view is upheld by During (2005) who notes that societies, identities and individuals do not exist independently of one another. Giddens gives the example of changes in intimate relations where, for example, divorce has become common and issues of sexuality are discussed with more openness. At the micro level these changes have been occasioned by the fact that individuals have become more rational and changed the way they view life. At the macro level there has been a decline in religion as well as state intervention in terms of change of laws relating to marriage and sexuality.

Giddens thus argues that in the post-traditional social order the 'self' is made rather than inherited, a view that is in keeping with this study. He elaborates that in a post-traditional order, self identity is a reflexive project. This means that we are always working and reflecting on our identities. He powerfully asserts that "We create, maintain and revise a set of biographical narratives-the story of who we are, and how we came to be where we are now" (Gauntlet, 2002: 112). This view is also advanced by Barker (1999) who argues that identity is not a fixed thing

that can be possessed but a project that is always shifting which is also socially constructed. Barker further explains that identity is never a reflection of a fixed natural state of being but a process of becoming. It cannot be pinpointed because it keeps changing, its meaning also keeps being redefined and new things are added onto it while some things are removed from it. Identity is therefore a social phenomenon which exists within cultural representations and acculturation (Thompson, 1985). Barker (1999) describes acculturation as the process through which an infant acquires knowledge and skills in the way of the culture. The media is thus one of the forces that help the child construct the self.

Giddens then raises the important question of the role of capitalism in identity formation in a post-traditional society. He argues that the dirty factories in Marx's analysis have been replaced by fashion and glamour, must have toys, movies, nice food and houses. What we can buy to express ourselves has an impact in creating self identity. These commodified influences, Giddens argues, will be resisted by the reflexive citizen. According to Gauntlet (2002), consumerism is a fundamental way of developing and projecting a lifestyle. He argues that everyone in a modern society will have to select a lifestyle. Lifestyle choices give our personal narratives an identifiable shape linking us to communities of people who are like us (Gauntlet, 2002). The media, as Giddens argues, is a powerful force in popularizing modern lifestyles. Gauntlet further notes that the media offers narrow interpretations of certain roles or lifestyles. It is these narrow interpretations that some readers of magazines, fall back to in defining their own identities.

2.5.2 Construction of Gender Identity in the media

Unsurprisingly, much of what has been written and studied about gender and the media revolves around women because of their obvious marginalization especially in the third world. Macnamara (2006) reveals that it is only recently that gender discussion has begun to focus on men. This is an obvious gap that the study seeks to fill by focusing on men and masculinities. The study will give only a few examples of studies on women since the focus is on men and masculinities. However, it is rewarding to note women's concerns in the mass media as they demonstrate that media and gender identities are an important area and point to the trends that inform the investigation.

Using CDA, Williams (2007) examined how the competing discourses of traditional femininity and empowered femininity are encoded in women's fitness magazines. She, for

example, shows how women are objectified through the naming of their body parts and use of beauty adjectives. Conversely, she demonstrates how empowered femininity is brought out in the magazines through references to strength, discipline and action. The study also shows how the two discourses are merged in the magazines. First, this study brings out the idea of multiple femininities thus providing direction to the proposed study which adopts a multiple view of masculinities. The study also makes a contribution to the current study because it offers insights on how CDA can be applied to examine gender identities. In particular, it shows how a critical lexical analysis of a text can uncover hidden ideologies, for example, adjectives like "sexy", "shapely" are used to objectify women and therefore bring out traditional femininity in the magazines. This study also has a methodological relevance to the current study. It gives clues on the justifications of selecting certain articles in a magazine, for example, in situations where there are multiple articles on the same subject one can be selected randomly. However, it leaves gaps for the current study to fill in since, first, it was done in the West and, secondly, its focus is on women while the proposed study seeks to investigate men and masculinities.

Magalhaes (2005) studied advertising discourse using CDA in Brazil to uncover gender identities. She found that traditional identities coexist with new representations of women and men. She also discovered that the Brazilian media are sexist in the way they represent men and women. Through devices such as cohesion, intertexuality, vocabulary and semiotic aspects such as photos, the adverts construct the feminine as dependent on men, even in the case of professional women. Women are, for example, constructed as frail and needing expert help to conduct their personal lives. Again, the feminine is represented as a commodified body that can perform as an engine and which can be desired the same way one can desire a car. This study makes a contribution to the current study by showing how CDA can be applied to study gender identities. In addition, the issues it raises such as the commodification of the female body are also raised in masculinity studies. It should however be observed that its focus is on advertisements while the current study dealt with magazine articles. Further, the study is situated in Brazil while the current study sought to examine the Kenyan situation.

Donnelly (2000) examined the teaching of femininity in South African lifestyle magazines using CDA. Donnelly examined the views of female readers towards *Cosmopolitan* and *True Love* magazines representation of femininity using focus group discussions. The study found that black girls in South Africa were becoming more weight conscious implying that increasing

modernity and globalization of the media leads to a more westernized definition of beauty. Again, the status of women magazines as authorities in matters of beauty led to readers' feelings of inadequacy in comparison to the perfect images in the magazines. The focus group revealed that black readers felt marginalized by the *Cosmopolitan* since its main interest were western women. Additionally, it was found that participants who were culturally more exposed were better able to deconstruct media messages and adopted more oppositional reading positions. Donnelly's study has a number of inputs to the current study. It shows that focus group discussions can successfully be used to get the views of readers towards lifestyle magazines' constructions of gender identities. Secondly, the study confirms that power does not reside only within dominant groups since some magazine readers oppose the way women are represented which is also a core concern of the current study. This study, again, does not analyze the magazines themselves in order to understand the perspective of the dominant group (the magazine producers). The current study sought to fill in this gap by looking at both the voices of the producers and consumers of pullout magazines.

2.5.3 Hegemonic Construction of Masculinities

The hegemonic masculinity gender role as identified by Alexander (2003) contains four items: no sissy staff, the big wheel, the sturdy oak and give them hell. According to Alexander (Ibid), a real man must never resemble a woman or display strongly stereotyped feminine characteristics.

In a dissertation on the construction of masculinity and femininity in alcohol advertisements in men's magazines in South Africa, Nowosenetz (2007) identified several discourses regarding masculinity. They included the discourse of patriarchy, violence as a masculine quality, men being unemotional and independent. Commenting about the discourse of patriarchy, the researcher concludes that men are portrayed as privileged and having power in all aspects of society. It is also about a traditional view of gender where the male is the breadwinner. The visual images analyzed display males characterized by unfriendliness and menace that is also embodied in a violent look. The researcher interprets this look to be one of power and dominance. One male advertisement has text that reads 'drink it your way'. The researcher argues that this statement can be interpreted as having an aggressive undertone as its tone is of demand and order. It is important to note that, first, that these are male magazines while the

current study targets lifestyle magazines in general. Secondly, these are advertisements yet the current study analyzes articles in lifestyle magazines. It was therefore important to investigate if the same identities obtain in Kenyan lifestyle magazines and outside of advertisements.

Hinds (2008: 4) attempted an analysis on the rhetorical construction of masculinity in *Maxim*, an American lifestyle magazine that originated in Britain. He notes that *Maxim* projected the image of the 'new lad', a man who is unabashedly invested in traditional hegemonic masculinity. He argues that *Maxim* teaches its readers how to perform the new lad (new dude) construction of masculinity. The magazine uses the discourse of the old school hero who through his audacity, toughness, risk taking and sexual prowess represents a role model for the 'new dude'. The magazine also profiles men using macho discourse through phrases such as 'lady killers', 'party animals', 'military valor', 'trash talking' and so on. Hinds highlights an article called 'Maxim's Guide to Ball Busting' where a list of insults for many occasions and social contexts including 'General Cruelty', 'Sex and Dating', and 'The Office' are provided. Most of the insults involve undermining others' sexuality, masculinity, penis size or sexual prowess of one's friends or making outrageous sexual claims about their mothers, sisters and girlfriends.

Kehnel (2003) also discusses the construction of hegemonic masculinity. In his analysis of American magazines he identified the discourse of 'rugged individual'. It entails appeals to engage in solo behaviour and define oneself as separate from the larger society through one's presentation, interests, or accomplishments. Phrases such as 'walking your own path', 'determining your own destiny' are used to advance this discourse. Images reflecting the "rugged individual' frequently depict a man without any social ties, alone in the wilderness and standing separate from other people. Kehnel (2003) also identifies the discourse of agency or power. It suggests that a man is wholly responsible for his social position, in control of any given situation and capable of affecting his environment either socially or physically. Texts representing this construction appeal to ideas of economic power and social grace: namely knowing what is expected and valued in society and using one's resources, knowledge and position to attain whatever is deemed important. Linguistic texts combine with images of good life to bring this out.

In their analysis of construction of gender in computer magazines' advertisements, Johnson et al. (2006) note that while there has been a significant reduction in overtly sexist texts, hegemonic understanding of masculinity continues to structure the discourse of computer magazines. They

note that computing magazines like any other media texts are a reflection of popular culture discourses, and tell us much, not only about dominant understanding of computers, but also ways in which they relate to the role regarded as natural or normal for men and women. They analyzed advertisements from ten issues of home computing magazines-3 New Zealand and 2 Australian publications were analysed. They conclude that discourses in these magazines represent men stereotypically as experts and powerful.

Coffey (2009) analysed sexist jokes in the UK. Using CDA, Coffey demonstrated the role of jokes and humour in constructing male-directed sexism which she asserts have negative repercussions for feminism itself. She argues that through maintenance of masculine stereotypes men are able to hold power over women. She observes that female magazines ignore non-hegemonic masculinities and amplify the hegemonic ones. One of the jokes that she analyses has the following structure:

HE SAYS: I've done the weekly shop

HE MEANS: I bought alcohol

This joke, Coffey (2009) concludes, reinforces the traditional image of a man as a drunkard. It also implies that men are irresponsible and that it is women who usually do domestic tasks like shopping. She further argues that the use of "he" as a generic referent for men in the joke has a homogenizing effect. In other words, all men behave this way.

Male sexuality is especially used to emphasize hegemonic masculinity. Polyzou (2008), in his study on masculinity constructs, in 3 Greek lifestyle magazines found out that the magazines perpetuated the belief that male sexuality is "beastly", "unsophisticated" and 'rough'. He identifies examples where male sexuality is characterised as a beast which is difficult to control and thus needs to be locked up. They include phrases such as:

Show restraint

Don't grope her loutishly

Don't hurry

The implication here is that if men are not repeatedly reminded to control themselves they would be rough, unrestrained, loutish and so on. It stereotypes all men, and constructs this stereotype as a given reality, which therefore has to be accepted (Polyzou 2008: 6). Macnamara (2008) makes similar conclusions in his study of media representation of men and male identity in Australia. The study reveals that men are portrayed as sexually promiscuous and commitment

phobic. He cites feature articles in *Cosmopolitan* which had the following titles: 'Cheatproof your Relationship', 'Find Out if your Relationship Can Handle a Baby', and 'Remember that Idiot Who Dumped You Out of the Blue.' He also observes that these magazines focus on men's sex drive mostly with a perfomative focus. These two studies were also relevant to the current study since male sexuality is a dominant topic in Kenyan lifestyle magazines.

2.5.4 Modern (New Man) Constructions of Men and Masculinity

There is a new masculinity which invites men of all social positions to take part in consumption in such a way as was previously reserved for female consumers. It is characterised by an increased emphasis on fashion and grooming for men (Macnamara, 2008; Magalhaes, 2005; Ostberg, 2005). Macnamara (2008) observes that in Australia, traditional masculine appearance is increasingly criticized in favour of David Beckham type images of hairless, coiffured, gymnasium sculpted male bodies. In Greek's *Status Magazine,* advice is provided on issues of men's fashion, style and skin care. (Polyzou, 2008). Promotion of consumerism and a preoccupation with appearance, stereotypically associated with femininity is evident.

Similarly, Jerome (2009) concludes that Malaysian lifestyle magazines used descriptive language through adjectives that associated men with fashion and styles. The image of a modern male was represented through male beautification with the magazines emphasis on beauty products and accessories. In the study mentioned earlier by Coffey (2009) in UK female magazines, she shows how men have been objectified in *Love* magazine through the analysis of the following quotation:

"Since Jesse Metcaffe, twenty nine, first hit our screens as sexy gardener John Rowland in Desperate Housewives, we've been spellbound. With his phenomenally-hot body and puppy dog eyes Jesse's a treat for any woman."

Using CDA, Coffey (2009) concludes that the use of inclusive pronoun 'we' places the reader in a subject position in the sexual objectification of Jesse. She further observes that his physical attractiveness is presupposed by the use of possessive pronoun 'his'+ noun phrase, 'body' and 'eyes' are modified by evaluative adverb 'phenomenally', adjective 'hot' and the metaphorical descriptive noun phrase 'puppy dog.' The use of 'treat' in the final clause alludes to a discourse of commodification due to its association with luxury items. The male body is represented as a product to be consumed by the reader (Coffey, 2009: 7).

Using visual research method, Schroeder and Zwick (2004) discuss how masculine identity interacts with consumption. They argue that consumption plays a major role in the construction, maintenance and representation of male bodies. They found out that visual representations of men in magazines play a central role in forming a masculinity of 'playboy' and 'new man' type. They observe that there is an increased feminization of masculinities, as men are urged to partake in the carnival of consumption, to become concerned about their appearance and get in touch with their emotions. Similarly, Godeo (2005) explored the construction of the visual discourse of male perfume advertising in British male magazines. The researcher concludes that various features of the visual examined turn out to be consistent with the new image of masculinity. The visual structure of the images highlights the impeccable personal looks of the masculine participants. The images also bring out a new, more caring form of masculinity-men who are ready to come to terms with their emotions.

Alexander (2003) examined a postmodern construct of masculinity in some American health magazines which is similarly based on consumption. She analyzed the front covers, stories and features. She identified a construct which she calls 'branded masculinity'. She argues that 'branded masculinity' is rooted in consumer capitalism wherein corporate profit can be enhanced by generating insecurity about one's body and one's consumer choices. She notes that the form of branded masculinity found in men's health magazines constructs muscles combined with fashion sense and financial success as the necessary characteristics of a real man today. The lexical choices are in keeping with this 'branded' masculinity. To enhance a muscular body, readers are given "hard body basics" and are also asked to "harden your whole body". They are also advised to reduce weight by trying to "beat the fat," eat "food that fights fat" and by buying "15-minute fat burners". Additionally, they should take the "energy diet" and "new anti-stress diet". Alexander argues that men are advised to watch their diet primarily for constructing hard bodies and not because they are concerned about health risks.

Male sexuality has become a victim of objectification similar to the objectification of women which has been widely discussed (Macnamara 2008). His study of British magazines reveals that men in female magazines are portrayed as virile 'hunks' with 'six-pack' stomach muscles and with model looks. He cites *Cosmopolitan* magazine which presents a man without a shirt and urges readers to 'check out this month's half naked spunk'. A look at Kenya's lifestyle magazines also reveals that images of half naked men are becoming prevalent.

2.5.5. Studies of Men and masculinities in Kenya

Much of what has been written about men in Kenya revolves around hegemonic masculinity. In this literature, power positions and decision-making processes are shown to be controlled exclusively by men. Some of these studies also show attempts by different groups to resist the domineering and oppressive tendencies of hegemonic masculinity.

Momanyi (2007) studied how masculinity is depicted in Waswahili poetry from the 19th century to the second half of the 20th century. In her study, she tries to show how masculinity is socially constructed through a historical process supported by male ideologies. The idea of multiple masculinities comes out through this study since the concept of masculinity is shown to change in different historical periods. In some periods, the relationship between men and women is portrayed in a master slave dichotomy, for example, in one of the poems men have power over their wives and consequently the patriarchal order demands that women show happiness even when this is not genuine. In the same poem, men are depicted to have divine power to determine their wives' fate after death within the context of Islamic teaching. In this instance, male ideology is given force by being infused in religion. Yet, as Momanyi argues, there is nowhere in the Koran where men are given such divine powers. This poem also brings out the fact that power is masculine and women are consequently taught to suppress the desire to express their power or even anger. Other poems in the study show that men are supposed to control the wealth of their communities. However, poets like Said Ahmed Mohammed challenge patriarchy in their poems.

Momanyi's (2007) study is relevant to the current study since it gives insights into the history of gender relations in Kenya. Of particular importance is the study's notion of multiple masculinities which happens to be the stand the current study takes. The study also demonstrates that hegemonic masculinity can be resisted which is in keeping with the stand taken by the current study. However, the study confines itself to hegemonic masculinity while the current study investigated a wide range of masculinities constructed by pullout magazines. Further, Momanyi studies masculinities through the lens of a feminist perspective, but this study adopted the CDA framework which is not only critical but also linguistic.

Onyango (2008) examines the masculine discursive construction of rape in the Kenyan press using the CDA framework. He traces rape to a male ideology in Kenya where the male world view is seen as dominant. He reveals that idioms such as "if you are man enough" are liberally

used. He also notes that the symbol of the bull is synonymous with a tough man in many Kenyan communities, for example, the Luhya and the Luo. Similarly, Onyango reports that the male genitalia is depicted as an instrument of domination citing communities such as the Gikuyu who liken impregnating a woman to breaking her leg. In addition, Onyango demonstrates that rape is portrayed in men's utterances in the press as a key instrument of dominating women. He, for example, cites an utterance made by a male politician in 1991that all Kikuyu women would be raped if the community continued to support proponents of multiparty politics. Onyango's study makes a significant contribution to the current study in linking ideology to gender discourses. Similarly, one would expect certain ideologies to inform the way men are constructed in Pullout Magazines. Onyango's study, however, only focuses on masculine construction of rape in the Kenyan press in general but the current study specifically examined masculinities in Pullout Magazines.

While Onyango (2008) looks at masculinity in relation to rape, Chiuri (2008) investigates the role of men in persistent rural poverty in Kenya. Women in focus discussion groups revealed that men in rural households have excess time but do not utilize it in labour. They also reported that men never completed the chores and responsibilities they were supposed to undertake meaning that activities such as planting, weeding and harvesting were done late and poorly leading to great losses for the families and inevitable poverty. Women also claimed that some men stole the little food there was and sold it. The men who were interviewed explained that they declined to work in the farm because they expected to have jobs in offices. They further blamed the government for failing to provide them with jobs. Chiuri argues that formal education has reinforced hegemonic masculinity making men regard farming and manual work with contempt, and internalize the belief that such work is for women. She concludes that masculine notions that emphasize male supremacy lead to persistent rural poverty. While Chiuri's study makes an important contribution to the current study by showing how hegemonic masculinity is linked to labour and poverty, it is not grounded in linguistics a gap that the current study sought to fill in.

Granqvist (2006) takes the study of hegemonic masculinity from Chiuri's location of rural Kenya to the city of Nairobi. Granqvist studied hegemonic masculinity as it is represented in the Spear Books series which were produced in Nairobi between 1960 and 1990. The picture that is painted of Nairobi in this novel is that of a modern city that is very masculine and heterosexual. The male characters are represented as misogynists who treat women like objects. Granqvist

gives the example of Dodge Kiunya, a character in Charles Mangua's *Son of a Woman*. This character introduces himself as a hungry jigger that likes to bite beautiful women. Like the men in the study by Chiuri (2008), Kiunya contemptuously says that he is a graduate of the University of London and yet cannot get a job. Granqvist argues that Kiunya seeks to rejuvenate his crushed male ego by dehumanizing women. Other male characters in these books are also presented as misogynists, racists, rapists, drunkards and criminals. Granqvist concludes that the men portrayed in these books reflect a masculinist politics that is segregationist and dangerous. The femininity that embodies mother, lover, sister, according to Granqvist, is subordinated and conceptualized as nurses, and prostitutes. Although he identifies various representations of men, his study falls within the field of literature, but the current study adopts a linguistic approach. Again, like many other Kenyan studies Granqvist's study stops at hegemonic masculinity while the current study sought a more open approach to masculinities.

Like Granqvist (2006), Onyango (2007) also examines representation of masculinities in literary texts by focusing on the way masculinities are constructed in Kiswahili children literature in Kenya. Onyango analyses Ken Walibora's three children books: *Mtu* wa *Mvua, Ndoto ya Amerika* and *Mgomba Changaraweni* using CDA and the Hegemonic Masculinity Hypothesis. Onyango found out that in one of the stories from *Mtu wa Mvua* a boy named Fumbo Amutala does not believe in defeat, is deceitful and calls himself Simba (lion). In another story, a male character named Okungu possesses magical powers which make him able to stop the rain and cannot also be rained on. Yet another male character is portrayed as truant and violent which is in keeping with hegemonic masculinity according to Onyango. The researcher concludes that in these books, the dominant masculine ideology casts female characters as objects. This study resonates with the current study in that some of the magazines that were studied use fictional stories to discuss issues of men and therefore offers valuable insights on how to analyze them using CDA. However, its focus is hegemonic masculinity only while the current study seeks to examine all masculinities depicted by the magazines.

On his part, Kobia (2009) examines masculinity and femininity in English Primary text books in Kenya. Using the gender theory framework, Kobia sought to investigate male and female interaction as brought out in the *Let's Learn English* textbooks. Through content analysis, Kobia established that more male names were mentioned in the series and when the titles 'Mrs.' and 'Mr.' were used it was the 'Mr.' title that came first. In addition, Kobia's study reveals that more

men (74.7%) were linked to productive activities with women taking the remaining 25.3 percent. Moreover, the data shows that more women than men are depicted in reproductive roles which are not remunerated. The researcher also notes that while there was an attempt to balance the portrayal of positive traits, males still had a higher representation than women. Similarly, men were presented in leadership positions and were also shown to be technologically advanced by the textbooks.

Kabaji (2008) examines how masculinity and ritual violence are brought out in bullfighting among the Luhya of Western Kenya. Kabaji also investigates the construction of masculine metaphors that define standards of masculinity and maleness in the Luhya community using a psychoanalytic approach. He argues that the folklore surrounding bullfighting is largely misogynistic, and being uninterested in sexual conquest is a demonstration of unmasculine behaviour. Except for the bull owner's wife, no other woman is allowed to cross the bull's path as it is driven to the fighting arena. The bull as a symbol is common, for example, a man referred to as *ijirichi* or a bull is understood to be virile, powerful, tough and a womanizer. Such a man, the researcher reports, is not only feared but also revered. To Kabaji, bullfighting is a male contest revealing the degree to which one has achieved the masculine ideal. Kabaji views the bull as a human male surrogate isolated from other bulls in order to condition it to hate them and become aggressive. The study concludes with the assertion that bull fighting is a psychological outlet for men where anxieties of violent sexual tendencies are vented. The bull is an embodiment of aggression and power which goes with virility.

2.6 Theoretical Framework

This study seeks to analyze lifestyle magazines in Kenya using the CDA framework proposed by Fairclough (1995 and 2001), the social constructionist theory of language and gender as espoused by the following: Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2000) Butler (1999), Foucault (1978) and Connell (1995). The encoding/decoding model developed by Hall (1993) was also used to interrogate readers' views of the media. The CDA framework helped uncover the meanings of the linguistic features used in both the magazine and focus group discussion texts while the social constructionist theory helped to analyze how masculine identities are socially constructed. The three theories were necessary because the study has linguistic, gender and media dimensions.

2.6.1 Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA)

Fairclough (2001) argues that to fully understand what discourse is and how it works analysis should show the form and function of the text, the way the text is related to the way it is produced and consumed and the relation of this to the wider society. In this sense, CDA approaches text as a circular process in which social practices influence texts and in turn texts help influence society (Richardson, 2007). Fairclough (2001) proposes that the analysis should start with the text then gradually build outwards to include more complex discursive and social practices.

2.6.1.1. Analysis of the Text

From the perspective of CDA, we should not consider elements of vocabulary, grammar and semantics to be of great importance in themselves. Instead, it is their functions that are of utmost interest to an analyst. Richardson (2007) emphasizes that we must examine the traditional forms of linguistic analysis in relation to how they reproduce or resist the systems of ideology and power. The formal feature used in a specific text can be seen as particular choices from the options available in the discourse types which the text draws upon (Fairclough, 2001). Fairclough further argues that in order to interpret the features that are present in a text, it is important to take into consideration other choices that would have been made. Thus, Fairclough advises that in an analysis of a text, one should constantly alternate between what is there in the text and the types of discourses the text is drawing upon.

Analysis of a text, according to Fairclough (1995) should involve linguistic analysis in terms of vocabulary, grammar, semantics and cohesion-organistion above the sentence level.

In this study, the linguistic choices made in the pullout magazines' articles were examined. The lexical and grammatical choices were analyzed with a view to uncovering how pullout magazines construct men. Similarly, the texts produced by the readers of the magazines in the focus group discussions were subjected to linguistic analysis in order to analyze how they resist or conform to magazines' constructions.

2.6.1.2. Discursive Practices

This study also considers the discursive practices of the pullout magazines under study. The discourse practice dimension of a communicative event involves various aspects of the processes of text production and text consumption (Fairclough, 1995). According to Richardson (2007) it is

at this stage that analysis becomes discourse analysis rather than textual analysis. In this study the way writers of pullout magazines draw on already existing discourses and discourse genres to create their texts and how the readers apply available discourses and genres in the consumption and interpretation of the texts is examined. This is because discourse analysis involves an analysis of texts as they are embedded within, and relate to, social conditions of production and consumption. In discursive practices the meaning of media texts is encoded by their producers and the reader decodes a meaning from the intersection of the text itself and the context in which the text is read (Richardson, 2007).

In addition, Richardson (2007) observes that discursive processes are a two way process since, first, the producer and the mode of production encode meaning into the text, for example, choosing to highlight one view rather than another or one word for another. On the other hand, the text also affects the producer by shaping the way that information is collected and presented due to the conventions of the text's genre. A fictional narrative in a magazine would, for example, be expected to be presented in a very different way from an argumentative article even if their ideological messages were the same. The same principles apply at the level of consumption. To begin with, the messages of the text are geared towards influencing the reader; however, as Fairclough (2001) argues readers do not simply receive messages. Readers have "perspectives, agendas, and background knowledge that may differ radically from that encoded in the text" (Richardson, 2007:41). It therefore follows that the reader of a pullout magazine may resist or fail to conform to the messages that are contained in a text. This is of great interest in this study. Indeed, Wodak and Ludwig (1999) claim that the right interpretation does not exist since readers depend on their background knowledge and information when interpreting a text. They also add that discourse is always historical, meaning that it is connected synchronically and diachronically with other communicative events.

Even more interesting is the fact that discursive meaning is not merely the outcome of encoding and decoding of messages. Readers' assessments of texts is often influenced by our judgement of who produced it since we tend to believe the point of view of people or institutions we trust (Fairclough, 2001; Richardson, 2007). In the same vein, production of texts and configuration of meaning always has consideration on the target audience.

2.6.1.3. Social Practices

A key concern of this study is to examine how the language used in pullout magazines reflects and affects the society. According to Richardson (2007), it is at the level of social practices that discourse analysis becomes critical discourse analysis. CDA should involve an analysis of the text's "socio-cultural practice" or "the social and cultural goings-on which the communicative event is part of" (Fairclough 1995: 57). We should, for instance, ask: "what does this text say about the society in which it was produced? What impact do we think the text may have on social relations? Will it help to continue inequalities and other undesirable social practices, or will it help to break them down?" (Richardson, 2007: 42). In the case of pullout magazines, it is interesting to examine how the way they construct men affects social relations. An examination of the texts produced by readers may also show their capacity to change or maintain current social relations, for example do the readers conceptualize masculinities in different ways other than what the magazines say? This is in keeping with Richardson (2007) emphasis that CDA involves an analysis of how discourse relates to reproduction and production of social relations especially unequal power relations. The study is premised on the feeling that there is unequal relationship between producers of pullout magazines and the readers of these magazines where the magazines represent dominant ideologies while the readers represent marginalized ones. Therefore, to paraphrase Blommaert, CDA is used to subject discourse to ethical and political critique challenging the perpetuation of structured inequalities, exposing power abuse and mobilizing people to remedy social wrongs (Richardson, 2007). He warns that to effectively deal with issues of gender, power and social inequality, one must consider societal structures and inequitable distribution of social and economic power.

Similarly, Fairclough (1995) argues that analysis in this dimension involves three aspects: economic (in the current study the economy of the media), political (power and ideology of the media) and cultural (values). As pointed out in the literature review, the media have a product to sell and are therefore open to commercial pressures. This determines what is published and how it is published (Sheyhoslami, 2001). Moreover, concentrated media ownership ensures that dominant voices are those of the political and social establishment (Chomsky 1989, Sheyhoslami, 2001). As earlier argued, in this study, there is a basic assumption that the pullout magazines represent the dominant ideologies while the readers of the magazines represent ideologies of subordinate groups. With respect to the politics of the media, Chomsky argues that the media works ideologically and is in the service of the powerful, the elite and the state. The

media therefore contributes in reproducing social relations of domination and exploitation. Many commentators observe that the media does not influence the masses through coercion but achieves its ends through ideology. This is done through Gramsci's notion of hegemony where dominant practices are naturalized as a matter of commonsense (Fairclough, 2001).

2.6.2 Social Constructionist Theory of Gender

Traditional or common sense accounts of gender tend to view it as biologically determined. Gender differences are seen to be innate and these differences range from physiological factors such as male muscular qualities and females reproductive attributes, to claims of psychological differences (Macnamara, 2006). Consequently men are said to be rational, brave, aggressive and sex-driven while women are said to be irrational, passive, and relationship driven (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003;). This essentialist view not only says that male and female are different but also claims that these differences are permanent and unchangeable.

The current study was however informed by the social constructionist theory of gender as proposed by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003), Connell (1995), Butler and Foucault (1978). This is a perspective that is founded on the argument that gender identities are influenced by social conventions and practices.

The social constructionist framework also looks at the way language and images are constructed to structure power relations between genders. In this study, the theory helped to identify how linguistic forms are used to construct masculine identities and also what those choices say about the society. In addition, social constructionism argues that language is not neutral or transparent. Language assists in the creation and construction of reality therefore linguistic choices tell us a lot about a society's view of a certain gender (Terre Blanche and Durrheim, 1999). Hegemonic masculinity is, for instance, constructed as powerful while femininity is subordinated to it (Thompson, 2008). Winterich goes on to observe that the femininity that is most valued in our society casts women as attractive, thin, young, heterosexual and middle-class.

2.6.2.1 Gender as Social Construction as Seen by Eckert and McConnell-Ginet

Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (2003) argue that gender does not simply unfold from biology and that it is not even an individual property, but a social arrangement built into the social order. They further observe that:

> The gender order is a system of allocation, based on sex-class assignment, of rights and obligations, freedoms and constraints, limits and possibilities, power and subordination. It is supported by-and supports-structures of convention, ideology, emotion and desire. These are so interwoven that it is often difficult to separate gender from other aspects of life (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet, 2003: 34)

The power behind convention or custom lies in the fact that we learn ways of doing things without realizing the reasons behind them, and without being aware of the larger structures that they belong to. They significantly note that part of the process of conventionalization is an erasure of the route through which the practice in question came about. This convention was established on the grounds of male superiority. Thus, this shows how linguistic convention is determined by gender ideology and how it in turn supports the ideology. Additionally, a gender discourse may become privileged by virtue of the power of the people who engage in it. The media, for example, has a lot of power and what it reports about gender is associated with authority, thus, it may pass as knowledge, fact or commonsense.

The two scholars emphasize that gender is so embedded in everything we do that it appears to us to be natural. They further argue that ideas about gender are so commonplace that we take it for granted that they are true. Indeed, "it is because gender seems natural, and beliefs about gender seem to be obvious truth, that we need to step back and examine gender from a new perspective" (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003:9). They therefore propose a social constructionist framework that seeks to uncover the process of gender construction that creates what we have so long thought to be natural and inexorable.

Consequently, linguists analyzing gender identities need to go beyond the study of lexical choices to the questions of who is under what circumstances and with what consequences (Abbas, 2010). The social constructionist framework gives insights into how our society is organized and why it is organized that way. It emphasizes on meaning, significances and metaphors and how they inform gender and power relations in society. Gender is not biological, therefore not fixed, and is consequently subject to socio-cultural influences. Gender is not a natural thing because gender norms depend on societal expectations and cultural practices

(Dworkin and Wachs, 2009; Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003). According to Eckert and McConell-Ginnet (2003) the main principle of the social constructionist theory is that gender is a social construct. Nature and nurture interact to define people's identities and social roles (Thompson, 2008). It is argued in this study that gender identities, conceived as social identities, are discursively produced, reproduced and transformed.

2.6.2.2 Gender as Performance

A number of scholars view gender as performance. Butler, for example, views gender as the performance and embodiment of acceptable acts (Thompson, 2008). West and Zimmerman (1987) reinforce this performative aspect of gender by arguing that "doing gender means creating differences between girls and boys and women and men, differences that are not natural, essential or biological". Individuals act their gender through performing what is expected of them. If one deviates from these expectations they are sanctioned through stigma and being labelled deviant. From a social constructionist view, norms of masculinity are reproduced and regulated by society. This implies that the way pullout magazines construct masculine identities is informed by the society in which they are written. Thus, masculine and feminine norms are learnt through socialization facilitated by social institutions such as family, school and media. Pullout magazines, being a media form, are a socializing agent that tries to influence its readers to conceive men in a certain way. An interesting question that this study attempts to answer is if the readers of the magazines 'perform' gender roles as represented by the media or resist the magazines' representations.

In *Gender Trouble* Judith Butler criticizes feminism for talking about women as if they were a single entity oppressed by another group called 'men' (Butler, 1999). She argues that by constructing women as a stable subject, feminists unwittingly ended up regulating gender identities thus becoming sexist. Consequently, Butler vehemently opposes the heterosexual matrix of constructing sex in a binary manner of male or female and gender being constructed socially alongside the same binary opposition. To Butler, sex and gender do not follow each other and the connection is only artificial. Even with regard to sex itself, the binary nature is a social construction since hermaphrodites are, for example, neither male nor female. Butler arrives at the conclusion that we should not assume that people have certain kinds of identities

simply because they are either male or female. She thus argues for a multiplicity of gender identities.

Butler disagrees with the notion of gender as an attribute which is fixed and is part of a person's self. Instead, she sees gender as a fluid variable that can change in different contexts and at different times. This brings us to Butler's core argument that gender is performance. Gender, is therefore not a universal attribute that people have but what they do at particular time in a specific context. She emphasizes that the view that gender is performative seeks to show that what people take to be an internal essence of gender is a product of sustained acts. She further contends that what people take to be an internal attribute of themselves is actually what they anticipate and produce through certain bodily acts of naturalized gestures. This is quite illuminating in the analysis of masculine constructions in pullout magazines as it follows that there is no identity that is better than another neither is there a real or a normal or an abnormal identity. It was therefore interesting to find out if pullout magazines elevate some male identities above others or construct some as being normal and others as abnormal. It was also interesting to examine the fluidity and multiplicity of masculine constructions in these pullout magazines.

Butler argues that it is normative sexuality that fortifies normative gender. According to this thinking, one is a man or a woman if they embrace the dominant heterosexual frame and questioning this frame makes one risk losing their sense of place in gender. To Butler, then, subverting gender entails the possibility of displacing those naturalized notions of gender that support masculine hegemony and heterosexual power. Butler then is calling for the overthrow of traditional understanding of gender by entertaining any alternative performance of gender. Ultimately, it is not difficult to change our identities because the self is always being made and remade in daily interactions. As Gauntlet (2002) observes, Butler's mission statement is that "everyday life is a political project which everyone can work on and potentially transform."

2.6.2.3 Foucault on Sex and Identity

Gauntlet (2002) has correctly observed that sex is at the heart of gender identity today. He observes that discourses of magazines, self-help books, and screen dramas make knowing one's sexual identity a fundamental factor towards achieving inner happiness. The ideas of Foucault about sexuality in *The History of Sexuality vol. 1* can also be categorized under the social constructionist view of gender. Foucault argues that the repression of sexuality in the Victorian

age still influences us today (1978). He explains that within the repressive hypothesis power is exercised to repress discussion on sex. The discourse on sex, claims Foucault, has been confined to the institution of marriage:

> Sexuality was carefully confined…into the home…the couple imposed itself as a model, enforced the norm, safeguarded the truth, and reserved the right to speak while retaining the principle of secrecy. The rest remained vague…nor did it merit a hearing. It would be driven out, denied, and reduced to silence. Not only did it not exist, it had no right to exist and would be made to disappear upon its least manifestation-whether in acts or words (Foucault, 1978: 78)

We can, thus, decipher from Foucault's explanation of the repressive hypothesis that those in power control the kind of knowledge we have about sex since they decide what we can say about sex, how we can say it, who can say it and to whom it can be said. To Foucault, what is important about sex is that by being repressed it has been turned into a discourse where any discourse on it outside marriage and heterosexuality is almost non-existent. We therefore see that according to Foucault, the power mechanisms of sexuality are socially constructed, unstable and influenced by history. This hypothesis is relevant to the current study especially with regard to the way magazines construct male sexuality. As mentioned before, the study theorizes that the magazines represent domination while the readers are subordinated. It was therefore necessary to interrogate critically what the magazines tell readers about male sexuality, for example, are there some sexual orientations and practices that are constructed as the normal or natural ones while others are constructed conversely?

2.6.2.4 Hegemonic Masculinity

Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) attribute the concept of hegemonic masculinity to works by Australian scholars. They trace its genesis to reports from a field study of social inequalities in Australian high schools in 1982 by Kessler and his associates. This was followed by two contributions from Connell: first a paper on masculinities and men's bodies written in 1983 and a debate on the role of men in Australian labour politics in 1982. Connell notes that the ideas of the Italian Marxist Antonio Gramsci who discussed the idea of hegemony were current in the eighties. In Gramsci's sense, hegemony is the way in which the ruling class establishes and maintains domination. It involves persuasion of the greater part of the population, mainly through the media in ways that appear natural or ordinary (Donaldson, 1993). These beginnings

were formalized in an article titled: "Towards a New Sociology of Masculinity." (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). The article, they report, critiqued the male sex role literature and proposed a model for multiple masculinities and power relations. They in addition note that closely related ideas were emerging from other countries. The idea of multiple masculinities is in keeping with the thrust of this study since it seeks to question the notion that there may be uniform ways of constructing masculinity.

The central features of hegemonic masculinities according to Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) are the plurality of masculinities and the hierarchy of masculinities. They report that multiple patterns of masculinities have been identified in many studies in many settings. Again, widespread research has shown that certain masculinities are more central or more powerful than others. They also argue that the concept of hegemonic masculinity presumes the subordination of non-hegemonic masculinities. Key also to this concept according to the two, is the notion that the hierarchy of masculinities is a pattern of hegemony not simple domination based on force. They also document cultural consent, discursive centrality and institutionalization as key features of dominant masculinities. An interesting argument about the concept is that hegemonic masculinity doesn't have to be the commonest pattern in everyday lives of boys and men. They explain that it works in part through enactment of exemplars of masculinity, for example, sports stars and media celebrities. These are symbols of authority despite the fact that many men do not live up to them.

Connell sees power in terms of leadership and domination and consequently talks of complicit and subordinate masculinities. The term 'complicit' connotes an alliance while subordination suggests domination. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005) argue that hegemonic masculinity illegitimately dominates subordinate masculinity while simultaneously and legitimately 'leading' complicit masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity therefore has a positive relationship with complicit masculinity and negative one with subordinate masculinity. The appropriate behaviours and actions are differentiated from inappropriate ones by looking for a group to vilify. They conclude that hegemonic masculinity gains legitimacy by degrading subordinate masculinity and thus convincing complicit masculinity that subordinate masculinity is illegitimate. Hall (2002) argues that hegemony as a belief system involves an emotional component. Strongly held beliefs mixed with emotion make certain practices to be viewed as natural or normal. Pullout magazines writers tend to portray men in ways deemed as natural and

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unquestionable and this is the subject of interrogation in the proposed study. On the other hand, perceptions of illegitimate power relations are likely to elicit negative emotions which bring about resistance. A key observation which is central to this study is that a dominant pattern of masculinity is open to challenge from many quarters, for instance, women resistance to patriarchy and men who represent alternative masculinities. Specifically, this study interrogates whether readers of pullout magazines conform to media representations of men or resist these representations. Whitehead (2002) also agrees that no hegemony is a totality because there is always contestation. Similar ideas are expressed by Wetherell and Edley (1999) who observe that the desire for the hegemonic to be taken for granted is an ongoing struggle. Hegemonic masculinity is also subject to construction and reconstruction. This is because at both micro and macro levels situations in which masculinities are developed change over time.

The concept of hegemonic masculinity is relevant in studies on media representations of men as in this study because it helps make sense of selectiveness of images. The concept also makes a contribution in trying to understand representations of different masculinities in pullout magazines.

In the media, for example, hegemonic masculinity constructs men as powerful and domineering. Stereotypical phrases in the media such as 'acting like a man' and 'man enough' may encourage men to engage in risky activities while at the same time shunning passive and sensitive roles which are deemed feminine (Young, 1980).

Thus, in the current study, the social constructionist theory helps to show how masculine identities in pullout magazines are culturally and historically specific. Linguistic items in pullout magazines were examined to see what they reveal about the Kenyan society's construction of masculine identities.

Some of the criticisms directed at the concept of hegemonic masculinity include a perceived ambiguity and overlap. It is not clear, the critics argue, who represents hegemonic masculinity, for example, many men who hold immense power do not exhibit ideal masculinity. Donaldson (1993) also argues that there did not appear to be much masculine substance to those men identified by researchers as hegemonic models. Wetherell and Edley (1999) also point out that the concept fails to specify what conformity to hegemonic masculinity constitutes in practice. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005), however, defend ambiguity in gender processes arguing that it is an important aspect of hegemony.

2.6.3 Stuart Hall's Encoding-decoding Model

Many media scholars have correctly observed that dominant groups will always attempt to package meaning to suit their own interests. Additionally, these mainstream groups have the necessary power and influence to present the world through their own lenses. In this study, journalist and media practitioners in general are construed to be part of this dominant group. Out of their own unconscious beliefs or through deliberate and calculated distortions and restrictions, media practitioners try to exercise control over meaning production. However, it has been pointed out by many scholars that communication is a complex undertaking and controlling how people respond to media texts may not be easy.

Hall (1993) came up with the encoding- decoding model to prove that the media may not wholly have it their own way when it comes to the process of producing meaning. Determining the final outcome of any meaning-making process is fraught with unpredictability since decoders of meaning may not be easily manipulated. To Hall, the receiver of a message is an important component in the process of making meaning. The fate of the meaning of the encoder may indeed never be realized since it can be misinterpreted, distorted, ignored, resisted or even reconstructed. Thus, in Hall's model the meaning of the text is located between the producer and the reader. The producer or encoder packages meaning in a certain way, then the reader or decoder unpacks the message according to his or her social background. Hall's model proposes three reading responses:

2.6.3.1 Preferred Readings

Hall (1993) argues that this is the message that encoders or producers of a message would prefer the readers to decode. Readers in this category will simply accept the message that is presented by the encoder. Such readers conform or interpret meaning within the frame of the dominant group. With regard to this study, newspapers' pullout magazines in Kenya present men in an all knowing manner using various strategies. This model was useful in determining whether there are readers who wholly conform to the magazines' construction of male identity.

2.6.3.2 Oppositional Readings

According to Hall, these are readers who wholly reject the message that is encoded by the producer. Under these circumstances, the reader may create his or her own version of the

message. Such a reader may therefore resist or even subvert the dominant meanings that the encoder attempts to convey. Those readers, Hall argues, operate within an oppositional code. In this study, the motivations behind readers who resist the dominant presentations of masculinities in newspapers' pullout magazines were interrogated.

2.6.3.3 Negotiated Readings

The third possibility according to Hall obtains when a reader accepts some meanings of the preferred meaning but rejects some others. The reader in this case may therefore accept some aspects of the dominant meanings but alter or reject others to suit his or her world view. The current study sought to find out how and why some readers negotiate the way masculine identities are discursively constructed by pullout magazines in Kenyan newspapers.

The importance of Hall's model to this study is immense since it shows that the encoding of a message is simply the first step in the complex process of making meaning. Consequently, the model allows the study to go beyond producers of meaning and interrogate how readers interpret pullout magazines' construction of masculinities in Kenya. It thus helped mainstream the voice of the reader in media discourses.

2.7 Summary

In this chapter, literature related to the study was reviewed both globally and in Kenya. Studies related to gender and masculinities, the media and linguistics shed light into the current study and also exposed gaps that the study sought to fill. To start with, it was argued that economics and politics affect what is written by the media. It was also observed that the commercial mainstream media works ideologically and is in the service of the powerful, the elite and the state. Similarly, it was argued, that the way pullout magazines represent men is affected by the commercial interests of their owners and their partners.

On audience research in media studies, the hypodermic needle model which posits that audiences receive media messages without any attempt to challenge them was discussed. Additionally, the active audience argument was discussed. This view says that some members of the audience will be able to resist media persuasion.

The chapter also looked at construction of gender identity in post-modern societies. It was argued that in a post-modern society, the self is made rather than inherited. It was proposed that

we are always working and reflecting on our identities. The issue of how gender identities are constructed in the media was also discussed. This was followed by a discussion on hegemonic construction of masculinities and modern constructions of masculinities.

A literature review of studies of men and masculinities in Kenya was then done. It was argued that much of what has been written about men in Kenya revolves around hegemonic masculinity. It was, for instance, observed that power positions and decision making processes are controlled exclusively by men in most of these studies.

In addition, the chapter also discussed the study's theoretical framework. The study was first located within social theory where the ideas of Gramsci, Foucault and Barthes were examined. Afterwards a discussion of CDA, the social constructivist theory of gender and the encoding-decoding model concluded the chapter.

CDA as espoused by Fairclough was discussed. His arguments on analysis of form and function of the text and the way the text is related to the way it is produced and consumed were highlighted. The social constructionist theory of gender was then discussed. Key principles of the theory as proposed by, for example, Butler, Foucault and connell were highlighted. Lastly, Stuart Hall's Encoding-decoding model was examined in order to shed light on how the media operates.

CHAPTER THREE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

3.1 Introduction

This chapter focuses on study location, research design, population, sample and sampling procedures, procedure for conducting focus group discussion, data collection instruments and data analysis.

3.2 Study Location

The study was carried out in Kenya where the magazines under the spotlight are published and distributed. The focus group discussion participants were drawn from institutions of higher learning in Nyeri County. Students from Kimathi University and Kagumo Teachers College were sampled for the discussions.

3.3 Research Design

The study adopted the case study research design which is deemed appropriate since the study focused on a specific group: men as represented in pullout magazines. According to Kothari (2004), "the case study involves a careful and complete observation of a social unit, be that unit a person, a family, an institution, a cultural group or even the entire community" (p. 113). Kothari further observes that the case study is an approach that focuses on depth rather than breadth. Therefore, the case study is basically an intensive investigation of the particular unit under consideration. Data was collected from pullout magazines and readers of the magazines, and was then subjected to intensive analysis in order to understand how men are constructed.

Kothari (2004) notes that the case study is popular with qualitative analysis. The current research is largely qualitative though quantitative aspects come in especially at the level of data presentation.

Case studies have, however, been criticized because of the danger of false generalization and the fact that they can only be used in a limited sphere (Baxter & Jack, 2008). Despite these criticisms, as some scholars correctly observe, most of these limitations can be eliminated if the researcher is well trained in the modern methods of collecting data and in the scientific techniques of assembling, classifying and processing them (Kothari, 2004; Neal, et al., 2006; Zainal, 2007).

3.4. Population

The population in the study constituted Kenya's newspapers' Pullout Magazines. Pullout magazines have become increasingly popular in Kenya in the last ten years or so. Some of them cover a wide range of issues relating to men, for example, style, fashion, design and relationships. These magazines can be considered fruitful sites for the gathering of data on modern male identity (Jerome, 2008).

Population for the respondents comprised students from Kimathi University and Kagumo Teachers College. According to Jerome (2008), students and people under 35 years read magazines a lot. The two institutions were selected because they are national and represent almost all communities. A simple survey of the students' newspaper reading habits reveals that they are ardent readers of pullout magazines.

3.5 Sample and Sampling Procedures

The newspapers were sampled first followed by the pullout magazines. Lastly, sampling for focus group discussion was done.

3.5.1 Sampling Newspapers

The Nation and *The Standard* newspapers were purposively selected. The two have a truly national readership so their ideas are likely to reach all corners of the country. According to the BBC Trust (2006) the leading daily in Kenya in terms of readership is the *Daily Nation* followed by *The Standard*. All other dailies fall far below these leading newspapers in readership. Newspapers published between February, 2012 and January, 2013 were selected because they were the most current.

3.5.2 Sampling pullout magazines

Pullout magazines for the months of February, 2012 to January, 2013 were purposively selected. This was mainly because the male identities that would emerge were likely to represent the most current trends in the conceptualization of masculinities. A full year focus would reflect all seasons, special occasions, holidays and monthly trends that may be significant. Purposive sampling was used since only information rich magazines were relevant. Consequently, relevant articles from *Saturday (Saturday Nation), Lifestyle (Sunday Nation), Woman Instinct (Standard*

on Saturday) and *The Dude (Standard on Sunday)* were selected. These pullout magazines were selected because they directly talk about gender issues.

The pullout magazines potentially available for study were many; therefore, it was necessary to limit the number to be studied in a reasonable manner. Scholars have pointed out that the success of a study in discourse analysis is not dependent on the sample size. A large sample does not necessarily indicate a more rigorous or worthwhile study, indeed, it may simply add to the labour without adding anything to the analysis (Soden, 2009). In light of this argument, twenty four articles were selected.

Saturday magazine is colourfully designed and published on Saturday by the *Daily Nation*. It has several columns that raise issues related to men. Some of the articles are written from a male perspective while others are written from a female perspective. Similarly, *Lifestyle* pullout magazine, distributed inside the *Sunday Nation*, focuses on issues of men from the perspectives of both genders.

Woman Instinct and *The Dude* are published by *The Saturday Standard* and *The Standard* respectively. As the title suggests, *Woman Instinct* is women magazine, but inevitably many issues revolving around men are also raised. *The Dude* targets young men especially teenagers and those in their twenties.

3.5.3. Sampling for Focus Group Discussion

Focus groups were used because they not only elicit in-depth information but also allow an exploration into people's opinions, beliefs and discourses (Morgan, 1993; Krueger &Casey, 2000). These discussions helped the researcher to record views expressed by respondents on the way men are represented by pullout magazines.

Four focus group discussions were used to gather the views of magazine readers concerning the representation of men. Four groups were chosen because of the homogeneity of the target population. Homogeneous groups do not necessitate many focus groups because one may get data that is more or less the same (Wong, 2008). Again, it was felt that four groups would allow the researcher to do an in-depth analysis of the data collected.

In view of this, the first group comprised adult male students aged between 20 and 35 from Kagumo Teachers College. The second group comprised female students of the same age bracket from the same institution. Groups three and four consisted of students from Kimathi University

with group three comprising male students and group four female students in the same age bracket. It was deemed necessary to separate the two genders because they might not be honest or comfortable in discussing some issues if the opposite gender is present. Indeed, Grundens-Schuck, Allen and Larson (2004) point out that while it is important to elicit as many points of view as possible from focus groups, these views should come from people with similar characteristics. They warn that individuals will tend to censor their ideas in the presence of people who differ from them. This is especially evident in discussions that touch on sensitive issues (Wong, 2008).

Each focus group comprised 6 respondents. This number of participants was suitable because it was large enough to sustain a discussion and small enough to manage and accord everyone an opportunity to participate (Morgan, 1993). The rationale behind choosing these groups lay in the fact that "women, students and people under 35 read magazines more than any other group (Donnelly, 2000).

All of them were selected using purposive sampling. The method targets information rich cases from which one can learn a great deal.

3.6. Procedure for Conducting Focus Group Discussions

The administrators of the two institutions were contacted to request them to allow their students to take part in the discussions. Notices were then put up on notice boards asking students who read pullout magazines to come forward. With the help of the institutions' administrators, the time and venues of the discussions were arranged.

Two main procedures were used:

1. Reading tasks
2. Group discussion

The respondents were given selected magazines and were asked to read them within a week. They were also requested to make short notes on the following: their views on construction of men and masculinities in the magazines and their views on the language used to represent men and masculinity in these lifestyle magazines.

Group discussions then followed. There were two groups from each institution and in order to have exhaustive discussions each group sat for one session for one hour. Discussions were

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guided by questions from the discussion guide. In addition, refreshments were offered as the discussions progressed to motivate the participants.

3.7. Data Collection Instruments

A discussion guide, a digital recorder and a notebook were the key data collecting tools from the focus group discussions.

3.7.1. Focus Group Discussion

The discussion guide in the focus group discussion provided a framework for the researcher to ask questions. Questions were designed for the male and female students. Specifically, open-ended and unambiguously worded questions were formulated. Three types of questions as outlined by Wong (2008) were used. These are engagement questions that introduce the participants and make them comfortable with the topic; exploration questions, which target the core of the discussion and exit questions which check if anything was missed.

3.7.2. Audio Recording

As earlier mentioned, four focus groups were used where two comprised male college students and two constituted female students. Each session took 60 minutes and was tape recorded.

Once data was tape recorded, it was transcribed to allow for analysis. This process was selective where certain phenomena and interaction were transcribed. A selective transcript is more useful as extraneous information makes a transcript difficult to read and may obscure the research purpose (Davidson, 2009).

3.7.3. Observation and Note taking

A notebook was used to complement the tape recorder since there were details that could not be captured using a tape recorder. As Krueger and Casey (2000) observe, apart from the content of a focus group discussion, emotions, tensions and silences are also important. These may only be noted in a notebook.

3.8. Data Analysis

Categories of analysis were generated after reading through magazines' articles and readers' responses. CDA, the encoding-decoding model and the social constructionist frameworks were used to analyze the data from both the pullout magazines and the focus group discussions. Analysis of the following items and others was done in order to uncover these constructions:

3.8.1 Lexical Analysis

The analysis of particular words used in magazines' texts is almost always the first stage of any text or discourse analysis (Richards 2008: 47). Words convey the imprint of society by giving both denoted and connoted meanings. Areas of note under lexical analysis include:

(a) Naming and Reference

How a writer chooses to name people in a magazine article can have significant impact on the way they are viewed. We all simultaneously possess a range of identities, roles and characteristics that could be used to describe us equally accurately, but not with the same meaning. One could be a father, a policeman, a drunk and so on. The reference that a writer uses not only identifies the named, but also the attitude of the writer. It also influences the view of the reader and the society at large towards that person or group.

(b) Lexical Presupposition

It is a type of linguistic device that can be used at the word/phrase level to manipulate readers. Presuppositions assume the truth of the statement in which they are used.

(c) Modality

Richardson (2007) describes modality as referring to judgements, comments and attitudes in text and talk, and specifically the degree to which a writer is committed to the claim he or she is making. Modality is usually indicated through the use of modal auxiliaries such as: may, could should, will, and must as well as their negations: may not, couldn't, shouldn't and must not.

(c) Metaphor

The use of metaphor involves casting ideas in a certain light. Much of our thinking and communicating is done through metaphor. (Huckin, 2002). Metaphor is commonly used by writers to give meanings a certain slant.

3.8.2 Sentence/Utterance level

Strategies used at the sentence utterance level include:

(a) **Transitivity**

It describes the relationship between participants and the roles they play. Richardson (2007) argues that the study of transitivity is concerned with the way actions are represented; what kind of actions appear in a text, who does them and to whom they are done. This means that transitivity is at the heart of representation of men in lifestyle magazines. It describes the relationship between the participants and the roles they play in the magazines.

(b) **Deletion**

This is the deliberate omission of information in a sentence. This may occur when a writer chooses to omit mentioning the agent of an action, and uses an agentless passive.

(c)**Topicalisation**

This is the positioning of a sentence element at the beginning of the sentence in order to give it prominence (foregrounding).

(d) **Insinuation**

In the sentences, "unfaithfulness is dangerous" and "Men should avoid dangerous lifestyles", the second sentence insinuates that men are unfaithful.

(e) **Intertexuality**

It is founded on the notion that texts cannot be viewed or studied in isolation since they are not produced or consumed in isolation (Fairclough, 2001; Richards, 2008). Discourse markers

such as 'another', 'further'' 'additional' and modifiers such as 'new' in magazine articles are proof of intertextuality. Quotations and reported speech also exemplify intertexuality.

(f) Sentence Complexity

Writers may use simple or complex sentences. Complex sentences give and withhold information, subordinate some ideas to others. Simple sentences, on the other hand, may be used for emphasis (Leech and Short, 1981). The major devices for linking ideas together into a complex sentence are coordination and subordination.

(g) Narrative Voice

Writers employ the third person narration and the first person narration. In rare circumstances the second person 'you' is used. In this study the researcher examined the narrative voices as used in sampled articles and the functions they play.

(h)Analysis of Level of Formality/Informality

Articles may adopt different levels of formality or informality and this has a bearing in the interpretation of the text. Lexical items were examined to reveal their level of formality and informality and their implication.

CHAPTER FOUR
CONSTRUCTION AND LEGITMIZATION OF MASCULINE IDENTITIES IN PULLOUT MAGAZINES

4.1. Introduction

To gain insights into how male identities are constructed and legitimized by Kenyan newspapers' pullout magazines, the Fairclough model of CDA was used. This model was particularly useful in showing how aspects of language ranging from formal linguistic features such as lexis, syntax and transitivity, modality, rhetorical tropes, to cohesion devices etc. reproduce systems of ideology. Additionally, relevant insights from other CDA practitioners such as Van Dijk and Ruth Wodak are alluded to wherever necessary. The social constructionist View of gender as espoused by Eckert and McConell-Ginet, Judith Butler, Foucault and Connell (hegemonic masculinity) also forms a key component of the analysis. Furthermore, the analysis of textual features can only be useful in ideological analysis when positioned within social theory (Fairclough, 1995; Richardson, 2007). Consequently, the ideas of social theorists, Foucault, Barthes and Gramsci were instrumental in illuminating the dialectical connections between the texts under analysis and social practice. The categories of analysis were generated after reading through the pullout magazines. Articles with similar masculine identities were therefore discussed under one heading.

4.2. Men as Wielders of Power

van Dijk (1993) presents the persuasive argument that power involves one group controlling other groups. He further correctly contends that power is enacted in a more effective way by persuasion, dissimulation or manipulation to change the minds of others in one's own interest. Consequently, this section seeks to expose the implicit means through which men's dominant position is maintained and reinforced by pullout magazines. The notion that men should wield power over other groups comes out in a number of articles.

Let us begin by analyzing the following article from the Saturday Nation. The article is titled *'A skill -set for every modern man',* November 7, 2012**.** The writer, Jackson Biko, writes from the perspective of a man, and a journalist. His position as a journalist gives him access and legitimacy to write in a pullout magazine, and also makes him credible in the eyes of readers.

Being a man also gives him authority to write about issues related to men. These positions put him in a dominant position vis- a -vis the reader.

The article falls within the genre of argumentation. Argumentation seeks to increase or decrease the acceptability of a controversial standpoint for the reader by advancing propositions intended to justify a writer's position (Richardson, 2007). This article qualifies to be an argumentation because as Richardson (2007) argues, it aims at exerting an influence on the opinions and attitudes of the readers about what makes a 'modern man'. The title is followed by a subtext 'In addition to buying a Swiss knife and a leather jacket, every modern man should know some important things, like how to tell a truthful lie'

Some attributive adjectives trigger presuppositions as in 'modern' in the noun phrase 'every modern man'. The adjective presupposes that a modern man exists which fits in with the writers ideological agenda that men need to evolve new methods of domination. The generic noun phrase 'every modern man' in both the title and the subtext implies that all modern men need the skills the writer is talking about. Furthermore, the writer uses the same noun phrase to attempt to legitimize telling a lie. The writer further legitimizes telling a lie by categorizing lies among 'important things'. Paradox (truthful lie) is also used to justify telling a lie, a culturally unacceptable thing. When one reads further, it becomes apparent that the reason behind a man telling a lie is considered a good thing has to do with wielding power.

This time, he legitimizes his assertions through the use of intertextuality. The concept of intertexuality is predicated on the argument that texts are a product of interacting with other texts (Wong, 2008). Richardson (2007) has also argued that a text cannot be viewed in isolation from other texts because they are not produced or consumed in isolation. Importantly, Fairclough (2001) holds that the notion of intertexuality invites us to view discourses and texts from a historical perspective and emphasizes that intertextual analysis helps to pinpoint which other texts are drawn upon in the text being analyzed:

> A few moons ago I ran into some helpful story written by revered journalist and author Charles Onyango-Obbo, about the things every modern man should possess. It included, among other items, a leather jacket, a Swiss knife and such – like manly gizmos.

Wang (2008) argues that journalists tend to make reference to people of 'high status' to give force to their arguments. Charles Onyango-Obbo is described as a 'revered journalist and author' to give credence to Biko's argument. The underlying implication is that since Onyango-Obbo is

a revered journalist, then he is an expert in matters relating to men and thus the reader should believe what he says. 'A leather jacket' and ' a Swiss army knife' evoke images of military or physical power and are also described as 'manly gizmos' which presupposes that such items cannot be carried by women.

The writer then makes the claim that men have lost their power to women and need to reclaim it:

> And the modern man's world is not what it used to be; it's not as large as it was, when say, Kool and the Gang was all the rage. Now it's been infringed upon by the opposite sex and the playing room is much smaller.

The noun phrase 'The modern man's world' is used here as a metaphor to refer to the contemporary life of men. The definite article 'the' and the adjective 'modern' presuppose an earlier time for men when things were much better, thus, the writer is trying to persuade his male readers to reinvent the good old days. The notion of hegemonic masculinity is being invoked here as the writer nostalgically longs for the times when men wielded more power. The metaphor 'playing room' connotes the idea of a game in the way men wield power over women. This is a strategy of convincing readers that for men to be all powerful is a harmless thing. It also suggests competition for power between men and women. The verb 'infringe' implies that it is men's legal right to wield power and it is illegal for women to contest it. The readership is therefore made to feel that men are legally entitled to wield and exercise power in society. This point is made even more poignantly and emphatically in the following text:

> The liberties that were once available to all men have since been moderated by equality laws and watchdogs, changing the rules of engagement. It is for this reason that we need to change with these times and adopt new tools to better play in this playground.

Hegemony involves establishing and maintaining domination through persuasion of the greater part of the population through the media in ways that appear natural or ordinary (Fairclough, 2001; Connell, 1995; Gramsci, 1999). In this text, the writer uses the word 'liberties' to persuade the reader that men had the freedom or right to dominate women. In the first sentence: "the liberties that were once available…" there is absence of agency since the sentence is an attribution process type, thus the reader does not know who gave men the 'liberties' mentioned. Again, by using the inclusive pronoun 'we' the writer seeks to create solidarity with his male readers in order to persuade them. Furthermore, the writer positions the reader in such a way as

to view laws and watchdogs in a negative way. Ordinarily, these types of laws would be seen positively but because they threaten men's hold on power, they are presented negatively. Again, the generic noun phrase 'all men' is used to make the claim that the so called liberties were accessible to all men without giving any evidence. The writer uses the strategy of omission to legitimize his claim, as he does not tell us what these liberties available to men were. Once again, the metaphorical portrayal of power contestation as a game is revisited. Men are asked to adopt new tools to better "play" in this "playground" which makes the whole business of wielding power sound innocuous.

The writer then goes on to discuss the skills every modern man needs in order to reclaim his position of power:

<u>A little sensitivity</u>
Apparently, 'macho died with Rambo. These days, it's not that bad for a man to cry anymore (not wail, cry. 'Crying' involves letting tears down one's cheeks, not punch the pillows sort of theatrics –and certainly not after watching a girlie flick).

The quantifier "a little" is important in the sub-heading as the writer implies that if a man shows a lot of sensitivity, then he is likely to lose his power. The phrase "not that bad for a man to cry" coveys the same message that men must not express their emotions fully if they are to regain their dominant position. The negating phrase "it's not that bad" has a similar function as the writer is trying to avoid making the categorical statement that "it is good for men to cry". He tries to justify his claims by positioning himself as an expert by purporting to define for the reader what crying means in relation to a man. Conversely, the reader is positioned as lacking in knowledge to understand what crying is all about. Use of present and past tenses in phrases like "Crying *involves*", "Macho *died*", constitute expressive modality (Fairclough, 2001; Richardson, 2007). Expressive modality allows writers to make categorical statements thereby asserting their authority. This puts the writer in a dominant position while the reader is subordinated and, consequently, dominant voices are naturalized as a matter of commonsense. It is instructive also that the writer intertextually alludes to the fact that "macho died with Rambo", a film character, playing the role of Vietnam War veteran. The reader is expected to consume this information as commonsense since the writer does not attempt to explain why, yet countless action movies with Rambo-like character continue to be produced. In the following text the writer advises men to pretend they can fix something in order to regain their dominant position in society:

<u>The ability to fix something</u>

A blocked sink. A toaster that will not toast. The DVD player. A flat tyre. Anything, really. You don't even have to actually fix it; just grab a toolbox and fiddle around with the broken object while you frown and say 'Hmm'.You have to show interest enough to give her the impression that you know what you are doing, even when it is very obvious to you (and innocent bystanders) that you don't. So pop open her bonnet, open the radiator, frown and gravely say 'your plugs are definitely the problem'. She won't know any better; all she knows is that at least you are trying.

Again, the writer positions his male readers to view a culturally negative attribute (dishonesty) from a positive perspective. He tries to achieve this by first using short sentences to enumerate the things that a man should fix to attain emphasis (Leech and Short, 1981). This is also achieved through negation as in the second sentence 'don't even have to fix it'. The writer also implicitly emphasizes his authority by using the modal auxiliary 'have to' in the third sentence signalling that what he is telling the reader is incontrovertible. The writer then adopts a conversational tone by using the pronoun 'you'. This makes the male readers feel close to the writer and thus have a feeling of solidarity (Leech and Svartvik, 1975, Fairclough, 2001; Richardson, 2007). By so doing, the reader is prevailed upon to believe that pretending in order to wield power is justifiable. The writer also attempts to naturalize men's domination of women by implying that women cannot fix anything and must wait for men to do it for them: 'So pop open her bonnet, open the radiator…' Women are also depicted as foolish because they won't even know they are being lied to. By using discourses that position women as weak, dependent, ignorant and foolish the writer legitimizes men's dominant position in society. This is in keeping with Fairclough's (2001) observation that if a discourse so dominates an institution other discourses become more or less entirely suppressed as it begins to be seen as natural. Thus, as Eckert and McConell-Ginet (2003) observe, subject positioning is a key variable in the social construction of gender.

The writer goes on to explain that for men to regain their dominant position, then, they must have economic power as exemplified by the following text:

An income
This is the one skill that has remained a constant. Of course it helps a great deal if your income is more than hers…But money means power, and before long, you will start to wonder if the reason she does certain things the way she does them is because she has more financial clout than you, then you will start looking for ways to 'earn' your place as the man and this will cause untold friction. It is easier and stress-free to make more money than she does.

The writer, first, makes the unsubstantiated claim that having an income is always a marker of a man's power. To be sure, van Dijk (1993) argues that social power is related to privileged access to valued resources such as wealth and income. The use of 'of course' in the second sentence implies that it is a natural and an incontestable fact that men must have a higher income than women. The pronoun 'hers' is used generically to refer to all women. The same assumption is revisited when the writer equates money with power and further implies that if a woman earns more than a man, then, she will undermine him. Men are made to feel insecure if they have less income than their women as it will cause 'untold friction'. The adjective 'untold' is used here without any attempt to give credence to the assertion. This also presupposes that for the family and by extension the society to remain in harmony, then, women must earn less than men. The writer uses the phrase 'stress-free' to suggest that for men to earn less than their women it will make them psychologically disturbed which implies that it is unhealthy for women to earn more. The obvious attempt to subordinate women and elevate men as dominant economically corresponds to the notion of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995; Connell and Messerschmidt 1995).

The writer also argues that for men to be dominant over women they must never tell women the whole truth. He curiously calls this 'gift of the gab'. As earlier noted the writer tries to legitimize lying, this time, through the use of a positive idiomatic expression (gift of the gab). He says in the text:

> **Fact:** Women can't handle the truth. They get touchy. And so this modern skill will come in handy when critiquing a woman in such a manner that she feels complimented. It is an art form that isn't taught in institution; you will learn the hard way in the beginning when you tell the entire truth and suffer the consequences.

The word 'fact' is written in bold to emphasize to the reader that what the writer is about to say cannot be contested. The writer then employs short sentences to argue that women cannot hold the truth in order to emphasize his case. The writer suggests that women are gullible since they are made to believe that they are being complimented when they are actually being criticized. He further uses the metaphor "art" to legitimize lying. Hence, readers are invited to view lying in good light; that is, as a creative endeavour rather than dishonesty. Telling the truth is conversely constructed as a negative thing, which will ultimately make men 'suffer', and by implication lose their dominant position.

4.3. The Irresponsible man

In a number of the articles under study, men's irresponsibility is constructed through various perspectives ranging from sexually irresponsible men, irresponsible fathers and irresponsible drunkards.

Let us start by analyzing how Njoki Kaigai in the column *Femalespeak*, (Saturday Magazine, March 17, 2012) handles this. She writes from the position of a woman, who is a journalist. Her status as a single woman who has experience about men gives her credibility to discuss men's irresponsibility. Additionally, her position as a journalist also gives her authority to make certain claims with authority. These positions put her in a dominant position in relation to the reader. This article is also a form of argumentation where the writer attempts to convince the reader that men are generally irresponsible.

The article is titled *Playing with fire? Expect a Burn*. On reading the article, the reader realizes that the title is metaphorical. The writer is warning men that once they engage in unprotected sex with women, then, they should be ready to take responsibility of the resultant child. The construct of irresponsibility is highlighted by this choice of metaphor. In many societies children are advised not to play with fire because they will get burned. This is a case of infantization as men are relegated to the level of children who are ignorant that by playing with fire they will get burnt. Moreover, men are depicted as if they perceive responsibility as an unpleasant thing since taking care of the baby is equated with "a burn".

In the subtext that follows, the writer declares: "only a man with no moral backbone would walk away from a child who bears 23 of his chromosomes." This text is written in bold for emphasis. Again, the metaphor "moral backbone" is used to reinforce the notion that a man who abandons his child is morally weak. The writer then makes the claim that many men are irresponsible in the following text written in bold: "most men are high on sex drive and low on responsibility." The phrase "high on" suggests that male libido is uncontrollable and it is like a drug, thus men are incapable of sexual responsibility. The writer does not make reference to any statistical information to back her claim that most men are irresponsible. She constructs male identity in a largely biological or essentialist manner. It is as if men are identical in their sexual behaviour, yet as West and Zimmerman (1987) observe, gender is a social construct and, hence, norms of masculinity are reproduced and regulated by society. The writer then uses intertextuality to stress her claims that men are indeed irresponsible:

> A certain gentleman who writes in this magazine made some outrageous accusations a few weeks ago. He claimed that single motherhood is now a choice that women are making. He cited many reasons. Skewed to illustrate his point, but failed to point out the one glaring truth: For every single mother, there exists an absent father who has elected to ignore or avoid his duty to his spawn.

Wang (2008) has shown that it is possible to use intertexuality to create distance with the source referred to. The writer tries to distance herself with the male writer whom she refers to as "a certain gentleman who writes in this magazine." This implies he is not important and even his views should not be taken seriously. Indeed, Eckert and McConell-Ginet (2003) correctly observe that forms of address are sensitive indicators of how people view those they address. Thus, the reference "a certain gentleman" is aimed at showing distance and absence of solidarity between the writer and the addressee. Additionally, readers are being asked to view him as an outsider. She then uses negative adjectives such as "outrageous" and "skewed" to discredit his argument. She tries to legitimize her own argument that men are irresponsible by using the noun phrase "one glaring truth", yet this is merely an opinion. It is indeed not true as she claims that "for every single mother there exists…" a man whose has ignored his responsibility, for as the male writer argues, there are women who choose to raise their children without the help of the men who sired them.

She further suggests that men's irresponsibility has led to social decay as can be seen in the following text:

> Part of the social decay that we are experiencing is housed in the cavalier attitude many men have towards the babies that they have helped create. In some quarters, men like to regale friends and hangers-on with tales of how many babies they have sired across counties.

In this text the writer claims that men actually enjoy being irresponsible. The word "regale" clearly shows that men view telling stories of children they have sired and abandoned as entertainment. It is also suggested that men are idle as they tell these stories to "hangers-on". The text also implies that men are insensitive and cruel. Men's sexual irresponsibility is further highlighted in the following text:

> Most men will come running at the speed of light when promised some midnight booty action expecting the woman, who is providing both the venue and pleasure, to give them food, drink and in some cases the latex tools of trade.

The writer turns to informal language by using the slang term "booty" that refers to sexual intercourse. Richardson (2007) notes that stylistic variation in media discourse should not be taken for granted, for example, use of 'booty' is an indicator that the writer seeks to create familiarity with the reader. This kind of informality makes the reader feel close to the writer while at the same time vulgarizing men sexual desire. Once again, men's untamed sexual desire is contrasted to their lack of responsibility. The metaphor 'at the speed of light' illustrates this uncontrollable desire. The writer also portrays men as selfish and uneconomically endowed as they cannot even afford a home or food, creating the image of parasites. They are not even responsible for their own health as they cannot purchase condoms euphemistically referred to as "latex tools of trade". The metaphor "Trade" constructs the frame of transaction which implies that men view sex as a commodity, yet, ironically, they are not ready to contribute anything in its acquisition. The writer also deliberately objectifies women in this article in order to emphasize on men's irresponsibility. Men are constructed as viewing women as objects of their pleasure and comfort.

Intertextuality is used in the following text to justify the writer's argument about men's irresponsibility through Biblical allusion:

> Let us face the obvious: most men do not respond well to unexpected pregnancies. Even Joseph in the Bible had to get divine intervention to bring him back from the hills he had scuttled to upon hearing the 'baby news' from Mary.

As Fairclough (2001) argues naturalization makes claims sound like commonsense, thereby, entrenching certain ideologies. The writer makes the claim that it is "obvious" that most men do not respond well to unexpected pregnancies. The word "obvious" as Barthes (1986) argues is aimed at universalizing and naturalizing this claim. Alluding to "Joseph in the Bible", is aimed at making the reader believe that this is true of all men since time immemorial. The reference to the Bible is for giving discursive authority in order to legitimize the writer's argument as many Christians in Kenya perceive the Bible as holy and a reservoir of truth. The analogy of Joseph implies that men need divine intervention in order to take their paternal responsibilities seriously, since this is what happened to Joseph. The metaphor of scuttling to "the hills" also implies that men are cowardly when it comes to facing their responsibilities. "Hill" belongs to the frame of elevation and safety, hence, men will arguably seek safety (avoiding responsibility) in their dominant and oppressive position in society.

The next text which portrays men as sexually irresponsible is from *The Dude*, Wednesday, November 14, 2012 (The Standard). It is titled *I impregnated My Fiancée's sister*

The article falls within the genre of advice articles where a reader asks a question outlining his problems and a contributor represented as an expert gives a response. Fairclough (2001) categorizes counselling under discourses of therapy. He contends that individuals are made to feel that social problems arising from modern capitalism are personal and thus require help from some other source. He also terms them discourses of colonization because of their tendency to encroach into personal matters. These kind of articles can be quite persuasive as actors speak in their own voices. Again, the inclusion of an "expert" gives authority to whatever he or she says. The following article exemplifies this as the person seeking advice gives information of very personal nature to the expert and by extension readers of the magazine:

> I have been in a relationship with my girlfriend for five years. About two years ago, her sister came to stay with us and within that time, I started having sex with her. Things have been going well since this year when we announced a wedding. Soon after, she came up to me and told me she was pregnant with my child and threatened to speak out if I went ahead with the marriage. She is taking advantage of the fact that my fiancée and I don't have a child yet. I am very stressed and I don't know what to do. I really love my fiancée. Please help me…

CDA is concerned with examining the role that discourse plays in producing, reproducing or resisting social inequalities (Fairclough, 2001; Richardson, 2007). This text is an example of how media attempts to reinforce relationships of dominance, discrimination and exploitation. The writer tries to justify not taking responsibility for the unborn child using various means. He, for example, highlights that he has been in a relationship with "my girlfriend" for five years in order to distance himself from the other relationship he has had with his girlfriend's sister. In fact, by using the phrase "having sex", he is trying to cast the relationship as a mere sexual activity which impersonalizes and trivializes the affair. Yet, he has been having a sexual relationship with this woman for two years. Citing Aristotle, Richardson (2008) informs us that an audience can be persuaded through *pathos* or emotion. *Pathos,* he explains, can be used to move an audience to pity. Similarly, the writer of this text tries to position the reader to sympathize with his sexual irresponsibility while the affected woman's quest for justice is positioned as blackmail and therefore a negative thing. He seeks sympathy from the reader by revealing that the girl is blackmailing him because "my fiancée and I' don't have a child". It is important to note the way he tries to enjoin his fiancée in his irresponsibility. He further seeks sympathy by claiming he is

"very stressed" and that he loves his fiancée. Since this man does not show any remorse for cheating on his girlfriend and impregnating her sister, this text implies that it is natural for men to cheat and also abdicate their responsibilities. The reader is also expected to understand that it is normal for men to have multiple sexual partners. The man argues that "things have been going well" until the sister announces she is pregnant which again seems to justify cheating. The "expert's" answer seems to legitimize the notion that it is okay for men to be irresponsible and cheat on their partners:

> Your situation needs to be managed at the earliest possible to ensure that it is contained. Blackmail can drag on for many years and as such its leverage needs to be detonated early. The only way to detonate the situation is by walking right into the conflict and turning the tables against her…By threatening to blackmail you, she is playing hardball and it is that very game that you should play as well.

Noteworthy in the 'expert's' response is the fact that he does not condemn the reader's sexual irresponsibility. This is in keeping with the argument that gender is socially constructed and in the Kenyan society hegemonic masculinity is constructed as powerful while femininity is subordinated to it. The noun phrase "your situation" masks the highly insensitive and irresponsible actions of the reader. The verb "manage" also seems to give respectability to the reader's sexual irresponsibility. The "expert" also concurs with the reader that the pregnant woman is blackmailing him not fighting for her rights. The verb "detonate" and the noun "conflict" connote a war situation where the victim (the pregnant girl) is the enemy. By so doing, the "expert" validates cruelty while demonizing innocence. The writer concludes by advising the man to play "hardball". This implies that the man should deal with the girl insensitively.

The next article is drawn from *Woman Instinct*, Saturday, November 24, 2012. (The Standard) This article also falls within the genre of advice articles. However, advice is not given by a single expert but by several other readers. The plurality of responses gives the reader a false belief of fairness or democracy. A notion is created that the views expressed are held by many people, yet we know every magazine is subject to editorial policies where some contributions are upheld while are others are rejected. The article is titled: *"I bore him Girls: he's now leaving us".* The title suggests that women are objects for supplying men with children, it is also implied that children belong to men. The reader then reveals:

> I am 32, a mother of three girls and have been married for nine years. We were a happy family until last year when I discovered that my husband was having an affair with a young woman in our estate. We fought about it and he assured me

that it was over. She disappeared for a while and now is back with a baby boy and this has driven him crazy. He spends all his time at her place only to come home past 11pm…I think I am losing the man I love and I don't know what I can do to keep him. I don't mind him supporting them, but I just hope we can remain his first priority.

Just as in the previous text, the reader seems to treat the issue of men cheating in a relationship as natural and therefore justifiable. This is in tandem with Fairclough's (2001) warning that ideology is connected to common sense. He defines ideological common sense as common sense that is in the service of unequal relations of power. Despite the fact that the man in question has clearly abdicated his responsibilities as a father and as a husband the woman still loves him desperately. She describes him as "the man I love" and she doesn't know what to do in order to "keep him". The reader positions women as dependent on men, and, therefore; have no choice but to put up with men's irresponsibility.

One of the readers, Ashikanga, advises Doris to "engage him in an open talk and let him know that you still love him and you are ready to accommodate the new development."
Another reader, Ogara Gorge, advises Doris to "extend an olive branch to him because it is evident he wanted a baby boy. Accept, change your tactics, and ask for forgiveness."

In both responses, the man is positioned as a victim who as in the case of Ashikanga must be convinced that he is still loved despite his irresponsibility. Ashikanga then euphemistically refers to the man's irresponsibility as "new development" and implies that it should be accommodated.

Ogara's response implies that women are to blame for men's irresponsibility. Doris is advised to ask for forgiveness which presupposes that she is at fault for her husband leaving her for another woman. The metaphor "extend an olive branch" reinforces this notion of Doris' husband being the wronged party.

The next article from *Lifestyle* magazine (Sunday Nation August 26, 2012) is titled *"Why bad boys get all the action."* This is a weekly column on relationships between men and women. The writer of the article is Chris Hart. It is important to note that Hart is white, male and a psychologist writing in a lifestyle magazine. In the African context, as documented by writers such as Ngugi wa Thiong'o and Chinua Achebe, being white makes one to be viewed as powerful and knowledgeable. Reports, for example, abound in the newspapers where whites are given preferential treatment in public places such as airports. Again, the tag "psychologist" makes Hart to be viewed as a scientist or an expert, thus, knowledgeable on matters of

relationships which makes his opinions legitimate. Furthermore, his being male gives him authority to talk about men. All these roles and positions are important in placing the writer on a higher pedestal than the reader, thus making persuasion easier.

The article is also a form of argumentation and follows structural patterns of such a genre as discussed before. A sub-text follows in bold: "Women on the prowl will be attracted to their confidence, ambition and physical dominance." The writer uses a lot of presupposition in this article. According to Fairclough (2001), presuppositions can have manipulative and ideological functions when what they assume has the character of common sense. The use of the interrogative "why" in the title helps the writer to presuppose, first, there is a category of men called "bad boys" and, second, these men get all the "action". On reading the article, one realizes that "action" is used metaphorically to refer to sexual intercourse. There is also an implicit suggestion in this title that getting "all the action" is a good thing that should be sought by all men. Therefore, the writer tries to perpetuate the ideology that irresponsible sexual behavior is a good thing for men. In the sub-text the writer presupposes that "bad boys" are confident, ambitious and dominant, all positive traits. One wonders if there are men with these traits who are not "bad".

The writer then uses the strategy of overwording to justify that being a bad guy is a positive thing:

> And bad guys never slouch. They take up a lot of space and everything about them shouts high status and cool. They are always calm and don't move much. They rarely nod, never fidget or fiddle with their clothes, hair or face. They rarely smile, have fearless eye contact and don't gush over girls or show their feelings.

Overwording is "an unusually high degree of wording often involving many words that are near synonyms…shows preoccupation with some aspect of reality-which may indicate that it is a focus of ideological struggle" (Fairclough, 2001:96). In this text the adverbs "never", and "rarely" and the verb "don't" are near synonyms and are also used repeatedly. The writer seems to be at pains to prove that 'bad boys' are different from other men. Indeed, these words are used to negate. Negation can be used to manipulate the reader in order to project certain ideologies. In this instance, the writer seems to be telling men that the corresponding positive attributes, for example, showing feelings, should be shunned. Overwording has also been used to presuppose that "bad boys" are insensitive and insensitivity is a good thing. The phrases "take a lot of space", "always calm", "don't move much", "rarely nod", "rarely smile", "don't gush over girls

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or show their feelings" are all used to emphasize that "bad boys" are admired because of their insensitivity.

In the following text, irresponsibility is hailed as a mark of being a "bad boy" and something to be emulated and envied:

> And he knows what women want. So even though they are manipulative, arrogant and calculating, the bad guys get more of the action. While modest Mr. Nice Guy loses out…women go for a guy who throws his money around. And who has a brilliant sense of humour-in fact, believe it or not, you can even predict how many women a man has slept with by how good his jokes are.

The text continues to glorify the "bad boy". The pronoun 'he' is used in the first sentences generically to represent the "bad boy" and once again presupposition is used to make the claim that all "bad boys" are intelligent since they know "what women want". The writer also presupposes that all women want the same thing. The logical connector "even though" is used in the second sentence to reconcile two diametrically opposed ideas: being insensitive and being admired by women. The writer further uses juxtaposition to legitimize this claim, that it is the irresponsible man who wins women. The "bad boy" is juxtaposed with another type of man derisively referred to as "modest Mr, Nice Guy". The "arrogant" "bad boy" gets "more of the action" (sex) while "modest Mr. Nice Guy" "loses out" (gets no sex). Fairclough (2001) observes that words have expressive values and ideologically contrastive schemes embody different values. Using the words "action" and "losers", the writer tries to persuade the reader to believe that a sexually irresponsible man is a winner while a modest man is a loser.

The writer then makes the claim that financial irresponsibility is good for men because they will win women's hearts: "women go for a guy who throws his money around". The writer also claims that you can predict the number of women a man has slept with by listening to his jokes. The implicature here is that what would culturally be considered as sexual irresponsibility-sleeping with many women-is a good thing. The writer seems to be persuading his male readers to be more humorous in order to sleep with more women.

Finally, the writer of this article rampantly uses expressive modality, a categorical commitment of the claims he makes. The use of simple present forms as in "they *are* always calm", "they *take* up a lot of space", "*have* fearless eyes", "they *are* manipulative" present what is said about "bad boys" as categorical truths. The use of expressive modalities gives credence to a writer's claim to authenticity or claims to knowledge. Fairclough (2001) observes that such

categorical modalities support a view of the world as transparent where no interpretation is needed.

The view that "bad boys" are loved by women and it is indeed a good thing is revisited in the column *Roguebachelor* written by Jack (Woman Instinct, Saturday, December 8, 2012). The column is fictional and the story is narrated in the first person. The story is titled *How does a Man become a Bad Boy?* The story starts:

> "You should be a bad boy," Sharon had said. Then, casually, she had walked away… The way she had said it clearly implied that anything was possible between us. I was sorry to disappoint her.

In this article, the writer uses direct speech to give credence to the argument that men should be "bad boys" or promiscuous. Importantly, it is a woman who is saying it in her own voice. The text implies that Sharon was willing to sleep with the narrator if only he were a "bad boy". The text also seems to reinforce the notion of hegemonic masculinity where women are constructed as being attracted to men who are sexually irresponsible and domineering rather than those that are sensitive. Sharon actually 'walks away' and the narrator "disappoints her" because he is not yet a "bad boy". The title of the column *Roguebachelor* also seems to glorify this, wild irresponsible and carefree kind of man.

Men are again constructed as sexually irresponsible in the column *Menonly* by Tony Mochama (Woman Instinct, Saturday, Nov 17, 2012). In the story titled *Stay Clear of Come We Stay* the writer informs his male readers that there is a new marriage bill that seeks to consider a six month stay with a woman a "presumptive marriage." In the following text, the writer implies that irresponsible sex has been a good thing for single men:

> I shudder for all the single men out there who are still testing the waters of fornication without having made the slow but hard choice of whom to settle down with.

The grammatically correct phrase "test the water" means to check people's reaction before you do something, thus the phrase "testing the waters of fornication" may imply that it is normal for men to engage in sex with different women before choosing a marriage partner. The word "fornication" is used casually and non-judgementally in this text, yet, it is used in the Kenyan society to show strong disapproval towards sex before marriage. Priests, for example, preach strongly against fornication. In fact, the writer proudly declares that he had cohabited with three women before marrying in the following terms: "If that 'six month law' would have been in

operation, my current wife would be my fourth missus." The phrase "current wife" implies that he may abandon her for another woman in the future. The writer seeks to persuade his readers through the use of informal language as in the word "missus". As earlier noted, informality is a strategy of creating solidarity with readers.

In the following text, the writer continues to write as if men's promiscuity is a matter of common sense:

> So rule number one to avoid the come- we- stay forced marriage. Never let her spend more than 24 hours at your digs. In the good old days (that is before last week) you could let her come on Friday evening with her monkey bag, and leave on Monday morning having done all the deeds-dirty and cleaning-for your majesty.

In the first sentence the writer arrogates himself discursive authority by purporting to give rules concerning the stipulation of the new bill which he derogatorily calls "forced marriage". The second sentence in the text is an imperative which also emphasizes the writer's authority. He juxtaposes the past and the present which reinforces the notion that men are naturally promiscuous. He describes the past, when the said marriage bill was not there, as the "good old days" which creates a sense of nostalgia. Then, men could sleep with different women without any fear of the law. The reference to "your majesty" elevates men to the level of kings, while women are relegated to the level of slaves who provide men with pleasure and clean their mess.

Then, in the following text, the writer advises single men to sleep with women but destroy any evidence that might incriminate them:

> Mostly, make sure nary a trace of the woman remains in your humble abode. She leaves a tooth brush, throw it out. Bra, burn it! The times are changing.

The writer implies in this text that men should not be responsible of their sexual escapades. Additionally, women are objectified in order to elevate the stature of men. The imperative sentences "make sure…", "Throw it out", "burn it!" emphasize the writer's authority, and thus, readers are persuaded to believe his argument. The writer also seems to construct and rationalize a criminal image of men since it is criminals who, for example, "burn" things that may be used as evidence against them. This call can be explained using a social constructionist framework of gender which argues that men are expected to be sex-driven, tough and insensitive.

Men are also depicted in a number of magazines as showing more interest in beer and cars than their families. This is clearly brought out in the feature article "*Why Fun-loving Urban*

Socialites are Flocking to the Car Salons." (Lifestyle magazine, Sunday Nation, January 27, 213). The article is written by Carlos Mureithi and Eugene Mbugua. The noun phrase "fun-loving urban socialites" deceptively suggests that the writers are referring to both men and women, but on reading the article the reader realizes that its main focus is men. This is perhaps a strategy by the writers to persuade the reader that they are objective. They introduce the article through intertextuality by making reference to a song: "On Friday night you are with your friends at the bar then on Saturday you are washing your car," goes Atemi's song Domestic.

The writers inform us that in the song, a disappointed woman is complaining because her lover is either with friends or at the car wash. Since artists are highly regarded, the reference to this song is aimed at giving force to the writers' argument that men are irresponsible as exemplified by the following text:

> This song could not have better captured the emerging trend among the flamboyant urban men hanging out at the car wash. While they genuinely want their cars cleaned, they also use it as an excuse to escape the boredom of the house at the weekend to the bar.

The adjective "flamboyant" suggests that urban men are attention seekers while the informal phrasal verb "hanging out" implies that these men are idle and therefore irresponsible. Going to the car wash is also described as "an excuse to escape the boredom of the house". The noun phrase "an excuse" suggests that men are dishonest and false. Again, the verb "escape" implies that men regard being at home with their families as an unpleasant thing. This suggests that men are irresponsible. This notion is amplified by the noun "boredom" which suggests that men do not find family responsibilities interesting. Men's irresponsibility is also implied by the noun "bar" which connotes, in this context, taking alcohol. Thus, men would rather take alcohol than spend time with their families. This further implies that it is women who take care of their families. There is no condemnation for this kind of behavior which seems to indirectly naturalize and thus legitimize it. This comes out even more clearly when the writers contrast men's behavior with women's:

> But the car wash hang is largely a man's thing. Terry Gachoka, a city businesswoman, says she only goes to the car wash when her car is dirty and does not have time to sit around.

This text suggests that women are too busy to idle around at the car wash. However, it also creates the perception that it is okay for men to do so through the noun phrase "a man's thing".

This idea is developed further in the following text where men are also shown to almost worship their cars:

> "At the car wash where I take my car in Buru Buru, you'll always find men talking about theirs and newer models. I leave mine there and hours later when I come back, they are still pawing over the tiniest of scratches on theirs. Their cars even have names, she says laughing.

As observed before, men spend 'hours' at the car wash which shows how idle they are. By contrast, women, as exemplified by Terry, are too busy to afford such idleness. The word "paw" as used here has a sexual connotation which implies that men have transferred their sexual feelings and affection from their women to their cars. This is further illustrated by the fact that they have even given names to their cars, just like human beings. Yet, Terry can only "laugh" at this instead of condemning it. This is in keeping with the view of gender being socially constructed, thus, even women accept that there is nothing wrong in men acting irresponsibly.

4.4 The Responsible Man

There are also columns and features in pullout magazines that emphasize a new form of masculinity where men are expected to act responsibly and sensitively. The column *Man Up* in *The Dude* magazine (The Standard, July 11, 2012) is a good example. The writer seeks to persuade his readers through argumentation. The article under analysis is titled: *Want to be a Gentleman? Stay on Top*. The writer, Simon, begins by explaining to the reader what "maning up" is all about:

> The thing about maning up is that it is not an explicit decision you make to be or not to be a gentleman. It is the things you do in your stride which determine which side of the coin you are. There must have been a reason, a dividing factor that led to the definition of two classes of the 'male-man'-a man and a gentleman. The distinction is almost as clear as the difference between sheep and goats.

First, through the use of expressive modality in sentences like "maning up *is"* the writer presupposes that a concept like "maning up" exists. This justifies not giving evidence to back his assertion. The writer then claims that there "must have been a reason", "a dividing factor" that brought about two types of men. The auxiliary "must" gives authority to the writer's claims, and significantly, agency is unclear in the sentence. We thus do not know who came up with these two categories of men. Then, through the use of juxtaposing metaphors, like "which side of the coin" and "between sheep and goats" he constructs the two types of men: gentlemen and those

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that are not gentlemen. The writer seems to lose the reader through the claim that "maning up" is not an "explicit decision" that one makes. He pursues the argument further in the following text:

> Further, maning up is not an outward decision, its elements lie within and are founded on certain principles and values. It cannot be forced or made up and is not a status, it is a lifestyle. The fact that it comes from within implies that it has to be built from inside before it can manifest outside.

If maning up is not an "outward decision", then it can only mean that it is a naturally or biologically occurring phenomenon. From a social constructionist point of view, it is hard to see how this can be the case since our actions and lifestyles are influenced by social experiences. Additionally, if it is a natural thing what would make some men become gentlemen and others not? The writer also seems to contradict himself by claiming that "maning up" is inward yet he goes on to say that it is founded on "certain principles and values". Principles and values are culture specific, thus cannot be from within an individual. Barthes (1986) argues that myth is a situation where the values of a historically and socially specific class are presented as natural. Similarly, the writer of this article tries to persuade the reader that his view (and that of his class) of what constitutes a gentleman is a natural fact. The writer also seeks to persuade the reader through the use of words like "fact" that his argument cannot be contested. Again, he uses negation in the second sentence to emphasize his argument as in 'cannot be forced' and "is not a status".

Men are then advised that "values such as honesty, integrity, concern and empathy, enthusiasm, hard work and respect for others will transform you from just any other man into a gentleman who people will always want to be associated with." Some of these values are stereotypically associated with women, thus, men are being asked to abandon their traditional image of toughness and become as sensitive as women. The writer does not however explain how embracing these values will transform young men into gentlemen. He adopts the tone of authority through the use of expressive modality as in "*will transform* you". The writer also seeks to persuade the reader through the use of the pronoun "you" in order to create a relationship of solidarity. The dependent clause "who people will always want to be associated with" also reveals that the benefit of becoming a gentleman is gaining social approval. This implies all people yet it is difficult to imagine a situation where "people will always" want to be associated with an individual. This argument misleadingly presents male identity as a permanent and fixed attribute. It runs counter to the view of gender as performance which this study aligns

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itself with. Butler (1999) correctly observes that people perform different gender roles at different times.

The writer then continues to advise young men on the need to do the right thing at the right time, an argument that goes against hegemonic masculinity:

> You may crave the pleasures of this world such as alcohol. Girls may also start fascinating you and every now and then you want to partake of the forbidden fruit. Smoking may seem fancy and night outs with the boys the thing. All these things are fun but it is wise to put some thought in them and exercise moderation.

The writer builds a strong argument for moderation by first showing that it is fun to indulge in hedonistic pursuits yet one has to be thoughtful. The conjunction "but" is used as the connecting device to juxtapose the two sides of the argument. He then metaphorically refers to sex as "forbidden fruit" a clear message to single men that they should not have sex before marriage. Within the hegemonic masculinity hypothesis, men use sex as a tool of domination, thus, the writer seems to be presenting a paradigm shift in gender relations. This shift is also seen in young men being cautioned against alcohol and smoking. Use of informal language as in "boys" and "the thing" is aimed at cultivating solidarity with the reader.

4.5 The Feminine Man

The concept of hegemonic masculinities presumes the subordination of non-hegemonic masculinities (Connel and Messerschmidt, 2005), consequently, the feminine man falls within subordinated masculinities.

In the weekly column of *Mantalk*, May 5, 2012 (*Saturday* Magazine), the writer, Jackson Biko has a lot of reservations towards men he perceives as feminine in an article titled *Come on, Now!* This is also an argumentative article. He begins by making the following observation: "A new wave of metrosexuality has pervaded the scene, a new age condition which allows men to do things that would otherwise be considered feminine." To begin with, the noun phrases "a new wave" and "a new age condition" imply that men acting in a feminine way is a contemporary thing. The word "wave" and the verb "pervaded" also create the impression of something that is increasing and spreading. It is also notable that the two words are normally used pejoratively, for example, "wave" collocates with words like "unrest", "crime", "terrorism" and so on. Similarly, the verb "pervade" co- occurs literally with words like "bad smell" and figuratively with words like "hopelessness". Metrosexuality is also described metaphorically as a "condition" which

equates this type of lifestyle with disease. Fairclough (2001) explains that disease metaphors have an ideological significance in that they take dominant interests as the interests of the whole society, and conversely, non-dominant interests are seen as undermining the interests of society. If metrosexuality (men acting in a feminine way) is a condition then it should be eliminated.

The writer also uses an agentless passive in the sentence "…things that would otherwise be considered feminine". As Richardson (2007) observes deletion of agency in a clause removes specificity from a sentence. Fairclough (2001) correctly observes that choosing to background agency in a clause is ideological. By not attributing these claims to femininity to anybody, the writer attempts to persuade the reader that it is a matter of commonsense.

The writer then uses juxtaposition to criticize men he considers feminine in the following text:

> The dog you own is a reflection of what you think of yourself as a guy. Guys who have Rotts think of themselves as debonair and aggressive. It's harder to walk all over guys who own German shepherd or Bulldog. I wonder what a guy who has a sausage Dog thinks of himself. The rule of thumb is: if you can carry your dog in your arms as you walk around like you are some Hollywood celebrity, then you are veering off the path men tread on. Get a dog that does not fit in a purse.

As observed previously, the use of the second person pronoun "you" tends to imply a relationship of solidarity between the writer and the reader. Clearly, in this text the writer tries to cultivate a personal relationship with his readers in order to persuade them to accept his argument. Secondly, the writer makes categorical claims using the present tense (expressive modality) to arrogate authority to himself. They include: "*is* a reflection", "*think* of themselves", "who *own* German shepherd", "you *are* veering off".   The writer therefore seeks to persuade the reader by presenting his opinions as if they were categorical truths. Again, van Dijk raises the issue of "us" versus "them" and argues that "outsiders" (them) of various types will be represented in a negative way while "insiders" will be represented in a positive way (Richardson, 2007).

In this text, the hegemonic masculinities category is represented positively.

This being an argumentative article, positive or negative evaluation is supported with facts. The writer approves men who own dogs such as Rotts and German Shepherd and associates them with hegemonic masculinities' attributes such as aggression. They are also associated with confidence and fashion (debonair). The writer also uses the metaphorical expression "harder to

walk all over guys who own...". Conversely, "feminine men" are constructed in a negative way. A "sausage dog" has a connotation of something edible. Such polarized models help maintain existing ideologies of dominance and subordination. The writer then uses the phrase "rule of thumb" to create the impression of legality in his claims that one is feminine if they can carry their dog in their arms. Such men are metaphorically said to be "veering off the path men tread." The metaphor seems to suggest there is a particular direction that an ideal man follows which the feminine man has deviated from.

The implication is that these men are no longer men. This expression of masculinity or absence of it in the type of a dog a man has resonates with Kabaji's study on bull fighting among the Luhya where bulls are viewed as human male surrogates (Kabaji, 2008). The writer then asserts his authority by commanding the feminine man to "Get a dog that does not fit in a purse." Fairclough (2001) makes the observation that when writers use the imperative mood they are ideally telling their addressees something and expect them to comply. The word "purse" also implies that these men carry purses which presupposes that they are feminine. The negating verb phrase in the imperative "does not" further implies that a man should not display feminine traits. Judith Butler has strongly argued against this kind of view by observing that we cannot assume that people have certain kinds of identity merely because they are "female" or "male", instead, we have a proliferation of identities (Butler, 1999). It is also implicitly suggested in this text that a real man belongs to the middle- class since majority of ordinary men do not own any dog let alone the ones associated here with femininity. As van Dijk argues, this text exemplifies how writers collude with dominance by supporting and legitimating middle-class concerns, maleness and heterosexuality (van Dijk, 1995).

The writer then in the following texts implies that men who go to the salon for facial treatment are not men: "I once saw a man with two sliced cucumbers over his eyes. Or rather, I thought it was a man because they had hairy legs." Gender is socially constructed and therefore beliefs about gender seem to be obvious truths. In this text, the writer believes that only women should go for facial treatment and a man who does so is feminine.

Thus, in this article, feminine masculinities are presented as inferior to hegemonic masculinities which is in keeping with Connell's observation (Connell, 1995). Indeed, the so called feminine men are actually described as not being men.

In the feature article of *Saturday Magazine* October 13, 2012 titled *Do Women Care about Men's Body Size*, it emerges that even women may not be comfortable with men who look feminine. Commenting on the photo of an overweight man, one of the women interviewed, Leah, says:

> I would never date this man. When I look at him I see a fat woman complete with hips and I would be embarrassed to be seen with him in public. I am the one who is supposed to have hips.

From a social constructionist view, norms of masculinity are reproduced and regulated by society (West and Zimmerman, 1987). In this text the speaker believes that it is women who should have hips, thus a man who has hips is feminine. The way people are named in the media influences the way they are viewed. These naming options are called referential strategies and they have psychological, social and political purposes (Richardson, 2007). The man in the picture and by extension overweight men is named "a fat woman" which makes him feminine. The adjective "fat" has a negative connotation since it is derogatory. Her attitude towards men who look feminine is also captured by the adjective "embarrassed" and the phrase "never date this man." Joycelyn has similar comments to make about the same man:

> I would not be happy dating this man because he has no body structure and does not look masculine...if you see us from behind you would have a hard time picking out who the man is.

As argued above, the way people construct gender is socially influenced, thus, Joycelyn views an overweight man as not being masculine. The society thus has certain expectations of how a man should look like and any deviation from the norm invites stigma.

4.6 The Gay Man

It is important at this juncture to turn attention to the gay male identity which is also subordinated with regard to hegemonic masculinity. Within the hegemonic masculinities framework, gay men are subordinate to heterosexual men. Hall (2002) observes that hegemony as a belief system has an emotional angle where strongly held beliefs mixed with emotion make certain actions to be viewed as natural or normal and others as unnatural or abnormal. The feature article titled: *Confessions of a gay, married man* (Saturday Magazine, November 3, 2012) is particularly illuminating. The word "confession" in this article already criminalizes being gay. This relates to Foucault's argument that sex was brought into the public sphere by Christianity in

the 17th century when it was decreed that all desires be brought into the public limelight through confession (Foucault, 1978). He further argues that the obligation to confess is so deeply ingrained in people that they no longer perceive it as a result of a power that constrains them. Significantly, the question of gay men should be discussed in the context of how the practice is viewed in Africa and Kenya in particular. Reacting to calls for gay rights, Zimbabwean president, Robert Mugabe, advised his people to shun homosexuality. He was widely reported to have said that he would never allow gay rights in his country. Mugabe went further to brand homosexuals as being worse than pigs and dogs. In November 2010, the Kenyan Prime minister, Raila Odinga was reported to have called for the arrest of homosexuals. Addressing a rally in Kamukunji, the PM condemned the practice as unnatural. The Kenyan constitution (2010) also outlaws marriages involving homosexuals as article 45 (2) stipulates that "every adult has the right to marry a person of the opposite sex, based on the free consent of the parties."

As can be seen from the following text, homosexuals themselves believe that they are guilty or inferior to heterosexual men. This resonates with Foucault in *The History of Sexuality* where he contends that social constructions of sexuality are internalized by people leading them to see sexuality as the possibly shameful "truth" about themselves. Foucault concludes that this makes it unnecessary for sexuality to be regulated by the state because people are very careful to monitor their own behavior (Foucault, 1978). Nathan, the subject of the story reveals:

> Nathan's story is one fraught with pain and confusion. 'As a young boy, I was shy and felt more comfortable relating with girls. I played kati and preferred to cook or knit instead of playing football. I felt weak around the boys and they usually made fun of me. Once, in primary school, a group of boys surrounded me and pinned me to the ground to check if I was really a boy.'

It is important to note the way the writer of the article quotes verbatim what Nathan has to say. Direct quotations tend to give force and objectivity to claims made by an author. The writer uses the word "pain" to explain Nathan's feelings. People feel pain when they are hurting may be as a result of illness; therefore, homosexuality is constructed as illness in this instance. In the quotation, Nathan seems to suggest that being gay is equivalent to being feminine and therefore weak. He claims to have been "shy" and also enjoying roles which he associates with femininity. He positions himself as weak in relation to other boys; for example, he is an object of bullying. As Fairclough (2001) observes, positioning of people is a social process that happens progressively. His "confession" is also in keeping with the notion that homosexuality lies within

the orbit of subordinate masculinities in relation to hegemonic masculinities. In the following text, the writer seems to question the notion that homosexuality is unnatural:

> After he was circumcised, the community's expectation was that the subsequent "natural" step for the young man would be to show more interest in girls in preparation for courtship and marriage. It did not occur to any one that Nathan, unlike his age-mates, felt no desire to follow this mapped route.

The word "natural" implies that the society regards heterosexuality as the natural practice while homosexuality is unnatural. This is antithetical to Foucault's observation that today's practices may be just one option among many and the way we understand ourselves does not necessarily represent the truth (Foucault, 1978). Foucault has thus given clarity to the argument that the total domination of society by heterosexuality does not arise from nature but from history and convention. Indeed, the quotation marks on the word "natural" seem to suggest that even the writer questions the belief that heterosexuality is the natural practice. Heterosexuality is described indirectly in this article using the metaphor "mapped route". This implies some powerlessness on the side of the individual; that subjects are at the dictates of society and have no agency. Thus, the question of one's sexual orientation has already been predetermined by the society. This resonates with Barthes' notion of myth where socially constructed reality is presented as natural and universal (Barthes, 1986). He adds that myth transforms history into nature. Butler concurs with Barthes by asserting that "if sexuality is culturally constructed within existing power relations, then the postulation of a normative sexuality 'before', 'outside' or 'beyond' power is a cultural impossibility" (Butler, 1999: 30).

The writer then presents the argument that being gay is a problem that requires divine intervention in a sub-heading "Escape to religion":

> Ten years later, Nathan thought he had found an escape route when he became a born again Christian… "I prayed and fasted, but the attraction increased alarmingly. It got to a point where I could not sit next to a man in a matatu without feeling uncomfortable. Then I became a youth leader in my church and the guilt multiplied tenfold."

Richardson (2007) correctly observes that words used in the media are the imprint of society and its value judgements. In this text the lexical items chosen construct homosexuality as a psychological illness that makes Nathan "feel uncomfortable". Similarly, the attraction to other men "increased alarmingly", "the guilt multiplied tenfold". The verb "escape" as used by the writer is also quite revealing. Criminals will, for example, escape from jail or scenes of crime.

People may also try to escape from dangerous or harmful situations. Thus, homosexuality as condemned by president Mugabe is an illegality which should make its practitioners feel guilty and thus want to escape. Again, it may be seen as something harmful to both society and individuals which people must shun.

The writer, once again, through the voice of Nathan implies that homosexuality is an illness. He reveals: "I mistakenly thought I could cure myself if I just did what everyone said I was supposed to do." It is important to note that the remedy is becoming heterosexual, so, once again homosexuality is subordinated to heterosexuality. In fact, while discussing the history of homosexuality in the west, During (2005) informs us that homosexuality was invented in the last decades of the 19th century and it was conceived as a form of social pathology or deviance. Foucault (1978) agrees with this stand arguing that people's understanding of sexuality is not a force of nature but a social construct arising from discourses on sex.

The belief that homosexuality is wrong and should be hidden is also expressed in the following text:

> I also love my children and I can never think of telling them that their father, whom they look up to and love, is gay. If my children were gay, though, I would understand their situation and simply counsel them.

Nathan says that he would "never" tell his children he was gay. "Never" is an emphatic adverb showing how apprehensive Nathan is about his children discovering that he is gay. This conveys the attitude of the society towards homosexual men; that even children are socialized at an early age that it is unnatural. It again amplifies Foucault's observation that the state does not need to control people about their sexuality because they have already undertaken to police themselves in keeping with social expectations (Foucault, 1978). He further says that he would "counsel" his children if they were gay, again, reinforcing the notion that being gay is a mental illness. Indeed, Fairclough (2001) groups counselling under discourses of therapy. This also shows how society entrenches certain beliefs and attitudes. Counselling children because they are gay is a way of socializing them to believe that it is an abnormal or an unnatural condition.

The question of gay men is revisited in the *Saturday Magazine* of May 5, 2012 in the column *Mantalk* titled *Come on Now*. The writer presents his argument in a conversational style which makes it less formal thus cultivating solidarity with the reader:

> I had this unending argument with someone lately: is two straight guys going to the movie theatre on a 'man-date' normal? I said it's not. They said it's not

different from watching the movie at home. I said it's totally different; your elbows never touch when you watch movies at home. Neither do your hands, when you reach inside the popcorn bag at the same time. They said it was a show being comfortable with your own sexuality I laughed and made a mental note to watch him closely.

The writer then uses the slang phrase "straight guys" to refer to heterosexuals. Turning to informal language is a signal once again that the writer wants to be more personal with his audience. Indeed, Leech and Svartvik (1975) point out that the use of slang has the value of showing intimacy and solidarity among members of a group. Thus, by using slang, Biko is trying to seek solidarity with heterosexual men against homosexuals. Butler (1999) insists that gender is performance and therefore there can be no "real" or "authentic" male or female performance as the writer of this article seems to suggest. The writer also claims that it is not normal for two men to go to the movie together. By using the word "straight", he implies that those who go to the theatre together are gay and therefore abnormal. Connell (1995) argues that from the perspective of hegemonic masculinity, a man is really a man to the extent that he isn't gay, gayness being the zero degree of masculinity. This explains why the writer deliberately avoids using the masculine pronoun "he" to refer to this man he was arguing with. He instead uses "they". He suspects that this man could be gay and one can only conclude that he considers gay men to be non-masculine. He says that he will 'watch' this man "closely". The phrase "watch closely" as used in this text suggests that the writer suspects that the man in question is gay and therefore involved in something wrong or illegal. It is used as in the way the police would watch a suspect closely, again equating being gay with illegality or criminality. In *Discipline and Punish*, Foucault (1991) asserts that observation is a key instrument of power and control, for example, disciplinary power may be exemplified when prisoners are closely watched, so this is a case of a heterosexual man trying to express his power against a man he perceives as gay.

4.7 The Style and Image Conscious Man

Butler (1999) recommends that rather than see gender as a fixed attribute in a person, we should see it as a fluid variable which can shift in different contexts and at different times. This may explain why we see a shift in the way men are increasingly being pressurized to partake in consumption in a way that was reserved for women. There is an increased emphasis on fashion and grooming for men (Macnamara, 2008; Magalhaes, 2005; Ostberg, 2005). In a number of the

magazines under study the promotion of consumerism and preoccupation with appearance, stereotypically associated with femininity is evident. Fairclough (2001) has observed that consumerism mirrors modern capitalism which is a shift in ideological focus from economic production to economic consumption.

In the following article from *Lifestyle* Magazine Sunday, September 23, 2012 titled *The shift in male style* by Carol Odero, the writer brings out this new man who is very concerned about his appearance.

The following text exemplifies this new man:

> It is understandable to think of fashion as a female sport. And why not? It pretty much keeps the world afloat. However, according to fashion analysts at this year's New York Fashion Week, male fashion is projected to grow at 14 per cent a year.

The writer tries to persuade us that male fashion is growing through the use of intertexuality. She seeks to legitimize her claims by attributing this disclosure to "fashion analyst". Analysts are conceived as experts, thus, what they say may not be questioned. The writer also seeks to universalize a local event since this "growth" is in New York, yet, she is writing in the Kenyan context. The use of percentages should also be seen as manipulative, thus, ideological. Percentages can be used to hide or exaggerate the real picture. In this case, the claim of 14 percent growth in male fashion is not predicated on any data.

Consumerist objectives are further pursued in the following text: "I mentioned that male fashion would soon become 'low-hanging fruit' ripe for the picking by whoever has the audacity to step in first." Male fashion is described metaphorically as "low-hanging fruit". The idea of a fruit reinforces the consumerist theme. This is aimed at persuading men and business people to indulge in male fashion. She continues to persuade men to take part in consumption in the following text:

> …men are beginning to step up, dressing the part. And there is the rise of not just male fashion bloggers, but of male readers online. These are men who are keen on fashion, who pick up tips and who glory at this access.

The writer attempts to persuade her readers to buy the argument that men's taste in fashion is growing using phrases like "beginning to step up" and "the rise of". This growth is also described as positive using lexical items like "keen on fashion", "pick up tips" and "glory". This seeks to call upon men who are not fashion conscious to feel that something is missing in their lives and must now start indulging in this kind of consumption.

The writer further seeks to persuade the reader about the importance of male fashion through intertexuality:

> One stylish local CEO once told me he shops where he does because he once read about it in a magazine and when he went to shop he liked how they treated him. Not only that, when he was leaving, he signed a book they asked him to so they could keep him updated on new stock.

It is notable that this fashion savvy man is not just anybody but a CEO. As noted earlier, naming and referencing is not done arbitrarily. These referential strategies have psychological, social and political values (Richardson, 2008). By choosing to inform us that this man is a CEO, the writer tries to persuade us to associate male fashion with importance. The male reader is also being asked to be "stylish" like the CEO. Many Kenyans like being associated with high ranking people.

The writer then resorts to the use of expressive modality to give credence to her claims: "Men want style that is tangible, not a mystery that they need to solve or a conundrum that requires interpretation. This is why casual/sporty wear is big with men." As noted before, the use of the present tense as in "men *want*", express categorical truths which can only come from an authority. Again, the noun "man" in the first sentence is used generically to justify the claim that it is all men who "want style that is tangible". As Barthes argues in relation to myth, the opinions and values of a historically and socially specific class are presented as universal truths (Barthes, 1986).

Schroeder and Zwick (2004) argue that there is an increased feminization of masculinities, as men are persuaded to indulge in consumption. The following text attests to this:

> Men's fashion is now borrowing from women's fashion-not in terms of silhouette of course, but in terms of adventure. Colour, patterns and shapes are dynamic. This is the result of a young crowd that is not only brand and image conscious, but also style conscious. These are men who are quite willing to spend on style.

Once again, the use of the present tense in phrases like "men's fashion *is"* allow the writer to make claims that sound like categorical truths. Thus, readers should take as given that men are borrowing from "women's fashion". Alexander (2003) has observed that male fashion is rooted in consumer capitalism where corporate profit can be gained by generating insecurity about one's body and one's consumer choices. Men are told in this text that they should be like the "young crowd" that is "brand" and "image"conscious. The word "crowd" implies that it is many

men who are fashion conscious thus creating insecurity in those that are not. The writer also resorts to the use of emotive lexical items like "adventure", "colour", "patterns" and "shapes" to persuade the reader to view male fashion in a positive way. Finally, the writer reveals that her aim is to persuade the male reader to consume through the phrase "spend on style".

The writer continues in the same vein in the following text where she uses a number of adjectives that evoke pleasure to describe male style:

> But the change that is coming is phenomenal and noticeable because it is sensual.
> It is reflected in fabric which is growing more luxurious and pleasurable to wear
> and the multi-textured outfits on the runways. It is in the shades, hues and colours.

The adjective "sensual" evokes physical or sexual pleasure which implies that the style conscious man is likely to be more physically and sexually attractive. The adjectives "luxurious" and "pleasurable" are also aimed at appealing to the readers' emotional side rather than the cognitive one. The writer then seeks to persuade the male reader to indulge in style and fashion by resulting to the use of visual and colourful words like "multi-textured", "shades", "hues" and "colours". In the first sentence of the text the writer presupposes that a change is coming and that this change is "phenomenal". Of course, this change is male style and the adjective "phenomenal" connotes something unusual or even unprecedented.

Finally, the writer tries to convince the male reader that men who are style conscious are more independent:

> Menswear is coming alive with colour that pops and patterns that stand out.
> Again, this owing to the emerging generation of men who dress how they do
> because it pleases them, they want to and they can. They are the men who will
> shop for themselves. The future of male fashion definitely belongs to the man
> with a mind of his own.

The adjectival clause "who dress how they do because it pleases them", and the noun phrase "a mind of his own" are used here to suggest that men who indulge in style think independently. Independence is usually associated with being confident, liberated, self-reliant and so on, thus, men are being exhorted to indulge in fashion to gain all those benefits.

The next article under analysis is drawn from *The Dude*, (The Standard) Wednesday, July 18, 2012. It is titled *Passion for fashion*. The internal rhyme in the title makes it poetic and appealing, thus, drawing the reader to the article. Secondly, the word "passion" suggests strongly and deeply felt emotions as in sexual love. Consequently, the writer tries to appeal to the readers'

emotional sensibilities concerning fashion. This article is in the form of an interview where the writer asks questions to Larry Abuchere, who is a fashion designer and a student. The feminization of masculinities (Schroeder and Zwick, 2004) is again seen in the following text where Larry reveals how he learnt skills that would usually be associated with femininity.

> I learnt crocheting by simply watching my mother do it, and I loved it! I developed an interest in drawing and beadwork, so after high school, I naturally began to fashion sketch. In 2009, I started making garments and a year later a fully fletched side business.

When asked by the writer how his family reacted when he decided to go into the fashion industry, his answer suggests that the society has still not embraced the idea of a man being too much in matters of fashion:

> It was not easy to convince them. You know fashion is conventionally perceived as 'girl stuff' and my family wanted me to pursue something 'more serious' like accounts or pharmacy. However, my hard work and achievements has convinced them that this is my path.

In this article, the interviewee seems to suggest that a man must break away from societal gender norms in order to embrace fashion. From a social constructivist perspective gender is viewed as the performance and embodiment of acceptable acts (Thompson, 2008). According to Larry, fashion is viewed as "girl stuff" while accounts or pharmacy are viewed as "more serious" with respect to a man. This is in keeping with the argument that "doing gender means creating differences between girls and boys, women and men, differences that are not natural, essential or biological (West and Zimmerman, 1987). As in the previous article, the writer suggests that it is independent minded men who are likely to embrace fashion since eventually, Larry breaks away from social constraints and conventions to embrace fashion. This is also illustrated in his counsel to the youth: "Don't aspire to be like someone else, be different and have your own style". Additionally, he succeeded to convince his family that fashion is good for men as a career. By resorting to an interview, the writer seeks to be more persuasive as it is the man himself who speaks in his own voice through the first person pronoun "I".

Larry also suggests that most men are yet to succumb to consumerist appeals. He cites one of his challenges as: "Men, too, are yet to fully embrace fashion and most of them hesitate when it comes to spending a lot of money on clothes".

In another article, titled *I love Braiding Hair* from *The Dude* Magazine (The Standard Wednesday June 6, 2012), the notion that fashion has previously gone with femininity is revisited. Once again, the article is presented in the form of an interview between the writer and Joe Muthui, a hair stylist. The writer begins by introducing Joe in the following manner: "Joe Muthui, 26, a hair stylist, encroached into what was once a woman's forte. He has made inroads into the exclusive club with impressive results." Men going into hair styling as a profession is presented using the phrasal verb "encroached into" which suggests gradually trying to control or get something that is not rightfully yours. The phrase "once a woman's forte", however, suggests that men are also getting into the field. The phrase "inroads into the exclusive club" also suggests that Joe is going against gender norms as constructed by the society. The issue of style, then, through the phrase "made inroads" is presented as something that is emerging with respect to men.

Joe then reveals that: "I love braids because to me, it is an art, which I am passionate about." He talks about hair styling in a rather emotional way using words like "love", "art" and "passionate". This again is a way of convincing the reader that men are beginning to embrace fashion just like women.

The male body has also become an object of increased attention in pullouts magazines in Kenya. In Australia Macnamara (2008) observes that traditional masculine appearance is increasingly criticized in favour of David Beckham (English footballer) type images of hairless, coiffured, gymnasium sculpted male bodies. Gauntlet (2002) asserts that in post modernity the body has become malleable just like the self. He explains that the body has become the outer expression of our identity to be improved and worked upon. This supports the argument by Alexander (2003) that a gender ideal is socially constructed historically and socially and that it changes over time. Alexander argues that new post-modern masculine ideals are emerging and the male body is a key site for the development of these ideals.

The article under analysis is the main feature story of *Saturday* Magazine October 13, 2012. The title of the article is in form of a question: *Do women care about men's body sizes?* Four women are presented with photos of men that are labelled slim, overweight, toned and average and asked to make comments about them. One of the things that stands out is the way the male body has been objectified. This is what Dorothy says of the "toned" man:

I would date him because he is extremely fit and athletic just like I am so we would have something in common. A guy with this body type is likely to be energetic and adventurous because with such a body you can do just about anything.

An analysis of discourse includes focusing on what is omitted (Fairclough, 2001; Richardson, 2008). In this text, Dorothy does not mention anything concerning the man's character that would make her want to date him. Instead, she engages in the sexual objectification of the man using words that Fairclough (2001) describes as mechanistic. She describes the man's body using lexical items that one would use to describe a machine, for example, "body type", "energetic" and "with such a body". They all connote the notion of performance as with cars. The reasons she gives for admiring this man include the fact that he is "extremely fit", "athletic" and "adventurous". The choice of these lexical items suggest that she views him as a sexual object not a human being with feelings and a capacity to think. This sexual objectification is again depicted by Florence who argues that she wouldn't trust this man but she would only "date him for fun". The word "fun" as used here is a euphemism for sexual intercourse. The male body is therefore being presented as an object for female pleasure. Similarly, Leah has some unkind words to say about this man: "he looks like an attention-seeking show-off" but she would still date him because "he looks masculine and strong." This sexual objectification of men is also brought out by Dorothy when she comments about the slim man. She says she has dated a "skinny" man before and found out that they are "full of surprises" because they may "look weak and limp but they are very energetic and active." First, words like "skinny" and "limp" make the reader feel that Dorothy is not talking about a human being, but perhaps an animal. Secondly, "energetic" and "active" are thinly veiled euphemisms for sexual activity.

Men, in these kind of articles, are being made to feel insecure about their bodies. The male body is presented as a project that requires constant monitoring and management (Alexander, 2003). Men are being socialized to view masculinity as an object to be consumed that rests on one's outward appearance rather than the traditional male role of production. As Alexander (2003) argues, the emergence of men who are conscious of how they look like is a contestation of hegemonic masculinity. Masculinity is beginning to be defined by the number of styles that men can consume.

4.8 The Weak and Gullible Man

In some of the magazines men are constructed as weak and always seeking attention, and in others they are depicted as gullible. Let us start with the article titled *'Fatherhood jealousy creeps in'* written by Peter Max in *Woman Instinct* (The Standard, Saturday December 1, 2012). The article is written using the first person pronoun which tends to give a story more credence due to its immediacy. The story is told in narrative form and as Richardson (2007) observes, narratives help us create order on the flow of experience so that we can make sense of events and actions in our lives. They also present cultural assumptions as constructed by society. However, these cultural assumptions and political explanations of cause/effect can be contested (Richardson, 2007). The writer of this narrative tries to present the view that it as an incontestable fact that men become jealous of newborns:

> Before Junior's arrival, I was at the centre of Myra's universe; the apple of her eye. Then the tables were turned. Junior came calling and all of a sudden I seem like a stranger in my own house. Although the doctor had predicted such a scenario, I was trying to block it from my mind.

In this article, men are portrayed as weak, dependent and requiring attention from women. They are actually constructed as babies as exemplified by the metaphors 'centre of Myra's universe' and 'the apple of her eye'. He says he seems like a 'stranger' which emphasizes his jealousy towards the baby. It is important to note that it is normally older babies who suffer from jealousy once a newborn arrives. The writer then results to intertexuality by making reference to the doctor. The reference to an expert (the doctor) who had predicted this jealousy seeks to reinforce the writers view. Since doctors are perceived to hold a lot of power due to their discursive knowledge, the writer seeks to persuade readers that all men behave this way. This article is written in a humorous style and as Coffey (2009) has observed humour can be a powerful tool for reinforcing gender stereotypes.

He again uses humour to amplify his jealousy in the following text:

> I am an African male on top of the food chain, at least in my house. Junior, on the other hand, should be at the bottom of it. This dear friends is the chain that the tiny fellow has broken. The doctor calls it normal. I call it high treason.

Again, a father bringing himself to the level of a child by trying to compete with him is humorous. He goes to the extent of calling the attention the baby is getting 'treason'. This creates the impression that men view themselves as rulers in their own homes, and now the baby is

trying to 'overthrow' the man as the ruler. The stereotype that women are there to serve men as if they were babies is given a lot of force through humour in this text. It is another example of infantization of men. The writer also seeks to persuade the reader to buy his argument by addressing the readers directly as 'dear friends'. Use of informal words like 'Junior' is also aimed at heightening solidarity with the reader.

More humour is evident in the following text as the narrator continues to express his jealousy toward the baby:

> Those of you who have read the holy books do know of the line 'what God has yoked together, no man shall put apart'. Junior has crossed the line. He has and continues to take more than his fair share of Myra. I need an egg, but baby must be fed first. I need some warm water for a bath, but Junior needs to bath. I need some rest but baby needs to...

Intertexuality is again used with the writer resulting to Biblical allusion to justify his jealousy. Reference is made of 'holy books' and a direct quotation from the Bible. Again, men are constructed as weak and dependent on women on everything just like babies. This is achieved through the recursive clause structure 'I need…' similarly, the baby image of men is stressed in clauses like 'Junior has crossed the line' and 'takes more than his fair share of Myra.'

In the next article titled *'Men and their bar purchase'* from *Lifestyle* magazine (Sunday Nation August 19, 2012), the writer, Caroline Njung'e, seeks to prove that men are gullible. Since the noun 'men' in the title is not defined either with a determiner or an adjective, it implies that all men make bar purchases. This article tries to satirize men's alleged gullibility through the use of humour:

> You see, every time Lucy's husband passes by the local pub which is either every Friday or Saturday he has to take something home. More often than not, that something is rotten, faulty, or four sizes too big.

The phrases 'every time' 'every Friday or Saturday' and 'more often than not' are used to emphasize that Lucy's husband is cheated by unscrupulous traders often. All these phrases are near synonyms which bring the idea of what Fairclough (2001) calls overwording, and as earlier pointed out it is an ideological tool. In this case the writer wants to paint men as gullible.

The writer then gives a particular example of how Lucy's husband bought a movie narrated in Kikuyu language yet neither he nor his wife is a Kikuyu:

> I couldn't help laughing out loud…this means that they were stuck with a pirated movie that they couldn't even watch. 'Well at least your movie collection is

growing'. I commented, trying in vain to stifle my laughter, even though Lucy was far from amused.

Men are presented as gullible only fit for ridicule. The writer emphasizes on how she laughed using repetition. Obviously, this laughter is directed at Lucy's husband who she deems foolish. Humour is again achieved through the use of sarcasm where she tells Lucy that her 'movie collection is growing.'

The writer then claims that it 'turns out that he's not the only one'. She tries to legitimize her claims by giving the example of a colleague who bought a sweater for 800 shillings only to realize it had 'a generous hole on one of the elbows.' The cases of two men are being generalized as the norm. Juxtaposition is then made between men and women where women are depicted as cautious and wise while men are just gullible.

> Another observation that has always puzzled me is why those who hawk in bars only approach men, not women. Well the woman in me would never buy anything in a pub, intoxicated or not and certainly not clothes. To begin with, the lighting is poor, so chances are that what you see isn't what you get.

First, the writer makes the claim that hawkers target only men in bars though she does not bother to substantiate this claim. This takes us back to Van Dijks's 'ideological square' which predicts that 'outsiders' of various types will be represented in a negative way while 'insiders' will be represented in a positive way (Richardson, 2007). In this text, women are insiders who never buy things in bars, thus wise, while men are outsiders who do so, thus gullible. Men are constructed as being so foolish, as compared to women, that they cannot even notice that 'the lighting is poor' in bars. The phrase 'the woman in me' suggests that women are naturally wise and, conversely, men are naturally foolish. Thus, this article exemplifies how the media attempts to naturalize the opinions of an individual or a specific group until they become common sense. Fairclough (2001) has warned that what becomes common sense is to a great extent determined by who exercises power and domination. The media has immense power and therefore the construction of men as being gullible can easily be internalized.

4.9 The violent and insensitive man

Articles in this category depict men as being physically violent or insensitively causing psychological violence to others.

A case in point is *'Lights out for Ben'* an article that appeared on the *Casanovadiaries*, a weekly serial column *Saturday Nation*, November 3, 2012 (Saturday Magazine). As the title of the column suggests the hero of the column is a man named Mark who glories in sleeping with many women. The story is narrated in the first person by Mark and it is fictional by genre. In keeping with fictional narratives, the story progressively gives the reader more information about the participants and the unfolding action. A story has a far reaching potential to influence readers as "our appetite for a story is a reflection of the profound human need to grasp the patterns of living … within a very personal, emotional experience" (Gauntlet, 2002). Thus, narratives of the self are likely to be influenced by the assertive manner of the hero in a story.

In this story, modal verbs are avoided and, instead, sentences are presented in a categorical manner which is a feature of narratives, for example, 'I *woke* up', 'I *left*', I *arrived*', etc. This style gives narrators authority and also suggests authenticity of the information that they give the readers. In the article under analysis, Mark finds his ex-fiancé and her boyfriend sleeping in the house he had bought her and his son. What follows is an unapologetic graphic description of violence and physical domination:

> As I was about to bring my fist crashing into the side of Benjamin's face, he stepped back and began moving his face to the side. My punch still connected, about with about half the force I had intended. We both stumbled and fell into the hallway, with Benjamin trying to wiggle out of the way before I fell on him. Too late! I landed on top of him and began scrambling to regain some balance so I could a few more shots in. I was just about to start unleashing hell when I felt something hard connect with my chin once and then again. He was fighting back! I had not expected the smaller man to put much of a fight… eyes shut tight and nose stinging, I went into frenzy, throwing punches on Benjamin's face. He tried as much as possible to block the mallets landing on him, but it was clear I had regained the upper hand. He then began letting out short yelps pleading with me to stop.

In this text, Mark portrays himself as strong, courageous and domineering while at the same time portraying Benjamin as weak and cowardly. When he attacks Benjamin for the first time, Benjamin 'stepped back' and 'began moving his face to the side'. These phrases show cowardice and weakness. He then, 'landed on top of him', which symbolizes domination. In this story, hegemonic masculinity literally dominates the other type of masculinity which can only be described as feminine. Indeed, there are many lexical items that suggest that Benjamin is feminine. 'Fell on him' and 'landed on him' mimic sexual activity where a man is on top of a woman. He then says he was surprised to realize the 'smaller man' was 'fighting back'. It baffles the reader that Mark would actually expect another man not to fight back when attacked. Benjamin then let out 'short yelps pleading with me to stop'.

In this text, the narrator seeks to persuade the reader that violence is a legitimate and socially acceptable way for men to resolve disputes. Violence is glorified using lexical terms such as 'crashing', 'punch still connected' 'went into a frenzy'. Additionally, the metaphors 'unleashing hell' and 'the mallets landing on him' are aimed at glorifying violence. 'Unleash' for example, evokes images of war, a socially repugnant thing that is now being constructed as positive. By likening his punches to 'mallets' the narrator tries to convince the reader that he is tough and hardy.

The ultimate act of dominating a man is when you humiliate him in the presence of his woman. This happens to Benjamin when Jenny, Marks ex-fiancé, comes pleading with Mark to stop beating her boyfriend. She pleads 'why? Why? Why? She screamed as she tried to push me away from her new love… she then pulled away after a while and bent over to care for her badly beaten lover.' The feminization of Benjamin is complete as it takes his own girlfriend to come to his rescue. The phrase 'badly beaten' lover depicts the contempt Mark has for Benjamin, the vanquished enemy.

Thus, through violence non-hegemonic masculinities are subordinated while hegemonic masculinities are elevated. As in action movies, Benjamin is constructed as a villain who must suffer for his intrusion, thus, the narrator presents the violence visited upon him as deserved. To paraphrase (Lippe, 2006), the act of causing bodily harm to another man is presented as a legitimate consequence of exercising righteous force against an unfair villain.

4.10 Summary

The analysis reveals that pullout magazines in Kenya construct men in various ways. Sometimes they are constructed as wielders of power in society, irresponsible, feminine and gay, violent and insensitive, gullible as well as being conscious of style. This is in keeping with a postmodern view of multiple masculinities that are fluid and unstable. Gauntlet (2002) has indeed observed that media messages are "diverse, diffuse and contradictory". Another significant finding is that these male identities are either constructed positively or negatively depending on the position of the writer. Some male writers, for example, present sexual irresponsibility as a positive thing that is natural to all men. Conversely, many female writers, though arguing that sexual irresponsibility is natural to men, do condemn it.

The analysis has also uncovered various strategies that are used by writers of these magazines to justify or rationalize these constructions. These strategies reveal that the writers attempt to position the readers in different ways in order to buy their arguments. Articles written from male perspectives generally try to justify men's dominant position in society by presenting highly contentious opinions as common sense. The analysis has, for example, shown how various linguistic features and rhetorical tropes (eg. Metaphors) are used to justify men's sexual irresponsibility. Conversely, female writers use generic devices to present men largely in negative ways. A particularly pervasive strategy used by both male and female writers is presenting men as diametrically opposed to women, followed by the 'us' versus 'them' approach. The attendant linguistic features are chosen carefully to either lionize or demonize men to reflect the position of the writer.

This analysis also reveals that the social roles and positions of writers are essential in persuading readers about what they write. To begin with, the fact that the writers are journalists gives them access to media discourses. As Van Dijk (1993) has correctly observed, communicators such as journalists may have more access to certain discourses than their passive audiences. Journalists have legitimacy in producing knowledge based on their perceived professional expertise. Thus, people who control certain discourse genres tend to wield a lot of power. Apart from that, the analysis has also shown that writers' persuasive power will also come from their roles as men or women as well as their social classes and race.

It is also manifest from the analysis that different articles belong to different genres. These different discourse types are unique and are also strategic in seeking to persuade readers to subscribe to the writers' arguments. A fictional narrative, for example, with its adoption of expressive modality tends to give writers authenticity and authority. Similarly, argumentative articles have been shown to be quite persuasive in that writers tend to present their opinions about men as scientific facts backed at times with skewed evidence. In dialogic advice articles, men are ostensibly given a voice while advice is given by 'experts' to give credence to writers' positions.

Another interesting finding from the analysis is the way socially constructed reality is presented by most of the writers in a largely biological and essentialist manner through claims to universality, normativity and naturalness. This is an important strategy in trying to persuade the magazine audiences, since what is biological is permanent and unchangeable.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINE IDENTITIES BY READERS OF PULLOUT MAGAZINES

5.1 Introduction

This chapter presents a discussion on the masculine identities constructed by readers of pullout magazines in Kenyan newspapers. This discussion is based on the responses recorded from four focus groups. The first two groups comprised students from Kagumo Teachers' college and the other two were from Kimathi University. Male and female respondents were separated in both institutions to allow for more open and honest responses.

Key in this discussion is an examination of how language is used by the respondents to construct masculine identities. As in chapter four, Critical discourse Analysis (CDA) as espoused by Fairclough (1995, 2001) was used to make this analysis. Insights from social theorists such as Barthes and Gramsci have also been considered. Again, as in chapter four, the social constructionist framework is also called upon to explain the gender dimension of the study. The categories of analysis were derived from readers' responses.

5.2 Man the Head

Across the four focus group discussions, a dominant view among the respondents was that man is the head of the family. Even readers who are uncomfortable with men's domination seem to acknowledge that men are the heads of families. Male respondents were especially emphatic about this. This is exemplified in the following text:

Text 5.1

But men ought to be very responsible caring and understanding because the society has dictated that or said that man is the head of the family and therefore men ought to lead. Now, if the man becomes a failure it means that that family fails including may be the sons, those who are looking up to the man. It is like the society has put men up there, having put men up there, then, the man ought to be somebody who is responsible somebody who is careful and making decisions. And then, a man ought to speak because when you look at men when they speak is when people hear like if a man --look at many families when a child makes a mistake the wife tells the child "your father is coming I will tell your father" and the child leaves the mistake so it is like men ought to be rectifying mistakes.. (Group 1, respondent B: p.6-7, line 102-110).

The male respondent in text 5.1 attempts to justify men's position as heads of families arguing that the Society has "dictated". The verb "dictate" carries with it the connotation of law or decree meaning that this is a reality that cannot be questioned. This dictation is attributed to a generalized, an all encompassing and impenetrable entity called "society". Thus, what could be the respondents' own opinion is legitimized by being given the force of the whole society. The respondent also alleges that it is the society that has put men "up there". This is in keeping with the argument that hegemonic masculinity relies on cultural consent (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). The speaker further uses the phrase that "men ought to lead". The use of the modal auxiliary "ought to" implies that this is an obligation. The fate of the whole family is then centred on the man. The respondent argues that the failure of a man is synonymous with the failure of the whole family. This implies that the rest of the family members starting with the wife have no role to play in the well-being of the family. This is achieved through the use of expressive modality as in the use of the present tense in phrases like "it means", "family fails". He further claims that it is only men who have a voice through the claim "when they speak is when people hear". The statement implies that women and children have no voice or agency. Indeed he revisits obligation by saying men "ought to speak". Thus, according to this respondent, children can only obey men for fear of physical punishment. Men are therefore symbols of authority since they are the ones who have the power to discipline. To achieve this, the respondent resorts to intertexuality through quoting what mothers tell their kids: "your father is coming, I'll tell your father"! From a social constructionist view of gender, we see as in this instance, roles and norms of masculinity being reproduced and regulated by society. The respondent again says that it is the role of men to 'rectify mistakes' and thus "shouldn't let things go". Man being head is therefore synonymous with control which equates the family with restrictive institutions such as prison.

The male respondent in text 5.2 boldly embraces traditional values in his argument that men should be heads of families:

Text 5.2

> *With me, I would say in my perception of a man I would be conservative and say the man should retain his position as the head of the family. This position cannot be neglected, in as much as the man wants to be head of family, as they have said; a man needs to be very responsible for the family he needs to be very creative. A*

man also needs to be very liberal --must be very accommodative, listen to other people and then most importantly a man must be what we call punctilious in the sense that he should be able to come up with very sound judgements should be very clever in making the judgements of a family this is the only thing that will make this man retain his position in the family as the head. (Group 1, respondent A: p.7, line 116-121).

In text 5.2, the respondent, who is male, begins by acknowledging that he is "conservative" and that "the man should retain his position as the head of the family". Additionally, the respondent insists that a man should be creative and responsible in order to retain his position as the head of the family. This is in keeping with hegemonic masculinity. Noteworthy, a woman does not need to have these qualities described here by the respondent presumably because women are there to be led by men. Similarly, the respondent in text 5.3 (female) declares that she has "been indoctrinated" and affirms that a man is head as seen below:

Text 5 .3

Me I have been indoctrinated. According to how I have grown up, the man should be the head. The head means you are tops in everything, good mannerisms, like if I was to take you and your brothers leave alone your friends, I'll just be able to choose you because looks ziko juu, manners, behaviour, you should be head in everything.(Group 2, respondent Cp.15-16, lines 249-252)

It is instructive that the term "indoctrinate" carries considerable negative connotations in a modern world. Being unable to embrace change or question traditional beliefs and practices is associated with backwardness and lack of dynamism. Yet, this respondent proudly proclaims her traditional views. This may be explained by the fact that "gender seems natural, and beliefs about gender seem to be obvious truth (Eckert and McConnell-Ginet 2003).

In text 5.4, the male respondent uses intertexuality to justify that man should be the head:

Text 5.4

I think in the whole summary of a man, am not preaching, but if you read the book of Genesis it says that God created all the animals and the environment but created a man in his own image, so a real man is God fearing. And a woman came later so that's why men are always heads so let us be God fearing and be men. (Group 3, respondent F: p.21, lines 331-333).

The respondent intertextually alludes to the Bible to make his point. It should be noted that God among Christians is a source of discursive authority and what is written in the Bible is seen as the voice of God. The Bible prescribes what is right or wrong, moral or immoral, acceptable or unacceptable, good or evil etc. The respondent says that in the book of Genesis man was created in God's "own image" and the "woman came later" thus men are "always head". Within this kind of discourse men are given dominant subject positions while women are subordinated. It is normative for men to be heads of families but deviant for women to occupy such a position. Subject positions are accepted due to the knowledge, power and authority of those that are associated with that kind of discourse. From a Christian point of view God is all knowing and infinitely powerful and cannot be questioned. Thus, the respondent justifies his argument that men should be heads through making reference to God and the Bible.

In all the five texts under analysis the term "head" is used pervasively both in its noun and verb form. This kind of repetition leads to naturalization of the idea that men are symbols of authority at the family level. Fairclough (1995) observes that repetition of certain lexical structures naturalizes ideologies so that they are seen to be commonsensical and based in the nature of things rather than in the interest of classes or groups. Fairclough further argues that repetition of lexical structures allows the terms to pass undefined and their meanings to escape interrogation. Consequently, repetition of the term "head" condenses and decontextualizes it from the broader patriarchal structure of inequality.

5.3 Man as a Symbol of Power and Authority

In the following texts the respondents present men as wielding power in all aspects of life. The respondents have a traditional view of gender where men's supposed superiority allows them to exercise power in areas such as the family, economics, morality, sex, social-literally in all spheres of life.

In text 5.5 the respondent claims that men should be authoritative:

Text 5.5

> *I also want to add that a man should be all round that is not only portraying positive sides may be like providing and being responsible but also somebody who is authoritative in order to enforce law and order over others (Group 1, respondent C: p.5-6, lines 85-86).*

In text 5.5, the male respondent asserts that "a man should be all round". This clause implies that women and children do not necessarily need to be versatile. Thus, consistent with hegemonic masculinity, men are presented as superior to women and children. Additionally, the respondent argues that men should be "authoritative" in order to enforce law and order". The adjective "authoritative" connotes power. It implies that men should be obeyed, listened to and respected. The clause "to enforce law and order" equates men with forces such as police. The verb "enforce" further implies that men have the privilege to make people obey them through the use of coercion. Similarly, the phrase "law and order" tends to collocate with words such as "police" and "soldiers". Kenyans associate policemen and soldiers with physical power which is rarely questioned, hence, men's raw physical power is incontestable.

In text 5.6 the dominance of men is emphasized once again:

Text 5.6

> *The African man-- the modern African man-- I think he is dominant he is strong, he is authoritative and although he may not be close to the traditional man, he has a way of trying to crawl back to the image that the society has on the man. The women may not see it, they think we may be weaker I don't but they are just biased you say that the traditional man could handle three four wives and then you complain your man cannot handle you, cannot satisfy you, could be sexually, financially, you never know he could be having several concubines out there so you are actually sharing your man with some others the problem could be yours (Group 1, respondent D: p.6, lines 87-92).*

The male respondent in text 5.6 specifically makes reference to "the modern African man" who he describes as "dominant", 'strong" and "authoritative". This is a case of overwording which involves many words that are near synonyms being used together. The ideological underpinnings of this should not be lost. The speaker is preoccupied with the feeling that men should wield power and authority which he presents as natural or a matter of commonsense. However, the speaker also betrays his unease that men may have already lost their supposed power to women. According to him, the modern African man may not be "close to the traditional man" but has a way "to crawl back" to the image of the traditional man. This view of male identity conflicts with Giddens argument that in a post-traditional society the self is made rather than inherited (Gauntlet 2002).

With a sense of nostalgia, the respondent makes reference to a historical period when men had unlimited power. We may therefore conclude that men no longer have overwhelming power

in society. The word "crawl" suggests that men are having difficulties trying to reclaim their powerful positions of the past. As Nowosentz (2007) found out, the discourse of patriarchy may just be an illusion, a reality inside of the discourse only, since men no longer have the kind of dominance they used to have. Indeed, the respondent tries to counter women's complaints that men no longer have the kind of financial, moral and sexual power the traditional man used to have. He does this by making the claim that the modern man has several "concubines' which diminishes his sexual power at home. This argument resonates with a social constructionist view of gender where African society celebrates men who have multiple sexual partners. To the respondent, this is an expression of power and dominance. By so doing, he positions his listeners to sanction a practice that may be culturally viewed as injurious to the institution of the family. In text 5.7 below, the respondent believes that men have the ability to do things that women cannot do:

Text 5.7

I think to be a real man you are able to do extraordinary things-- things people like women are not expected to do --during wars we don't expect any woman to be involved it is not that they are not capable but the society expects men to fight instead of women. (Group 2, respondent D: p.15, lines 247-248).

The respondent in text 5.7 is female, yet she believes that a "real" man does "extraordinary things" and furthers claims "things people like women are not expected to do". The word "extraordinary" places men on a very high pedestal of power. Again, it is debatable whether going to war is an extraordinary or even a positive thing. Her statement implies that traits associated with masculinity, for example, aggression are more powerful or influential than those associated with femininity. This kind of discourse seeks to legitimize male violence and aggression while also stigmatizing non-violent men. Ironically, in modern times, conflict resolution tends to revolve around round -table discussions rather than physical war. Moreover, the phrase "people like women" seems to downgrade women. Revealingly, she explains that women have the ability to go to war but the society does not expect them to do so. This confirms the hegemonic masculinity hypothesis where men are viewed as being superior to women. Hegemony works through naturalization of socially constructed reality. Contrary to this kind of thinking, in April 2013 Rachel Omamo, was nominated as Kenya's minister for defence.

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The respondent in text 5.8 believes that men should have money to entertain women:

Text 5.8

> *A man-- when I hear of a man --you should be proud you should have the money be able to keep a girl to your standards that is being manly. According to the people I have interacted with, you are able to party, it is all about power. Men should be above women a man should also be accountable to his family a man should also be able to take up challenges (Group 4, respondent A: p.29, lines 445-447).*

In text 5.8, another female respondent claims that being manly is synonymous with having "the money" and keeping "a girl to your standards". This is also a traditional way of constructing male identity. It is taken for granted that men should have economic power which in turn gives them the ability to take care of women and also entertain them. The noun phrase "your standards' implies that women should beg to reach the standards of men but never the other way round. Thus, the respondent reproduces and perpetuates hegemonic masculinity.

Respondents in text 5.9 to 5.11 emphasize the notion of a man's power and authority by arguing that major decisions should be made by men. In text 5.9, the respondent says:

Text 5.9

> *I'll go for that man who is a decision maker can assist me in decision making you know for us women we are poor in decision making we like somebody to assist and here you have a man who cannot assist you therefore I will always be burdened because everything is upon me (Group 2, respondent E: p.16, lines 266-268).*

The female respondent in text 5.9 argues that she would choose a man who is a "decision maker" because "we women are poor in decision making". To her, it should be taken for granted that men are superior to women. The notion that men are better decision makers than women is socially constructed. In Kenya, for example, all girls' schools are headed by women and some of them even perform better than boys' schools which are headed by men. Additionally, many women parliamentarians in Kenya have been consummate debaters and lawmakers.

The views of the respondent in 5.10 are not any different:

Text 5.10

...not just with the bills but should also guide you. we usually get married to men who are older than us so we should respect them because they are our elders so they should guide us not men who are jealous when we prosper more than them(Group 4, respondent B: p.27, lines 414-416).

In text 5.10, another female respondent says that it is the role of men to guide women since many women marry men who are older than them. Once again she openly embraces a traditional view of gender where men are seen to be superior to women. This respondent also says that women get married to men who are older than them, thus, they are their elders. As argued before, gender is socially constructed yet this respondent speaks as if this reality is unchangeable. Again, describing a husband as a "guide" or "elder" conversely demeans the role of a woman in marriage.

The respondent in text 5.11 sees a man's decision as the final one:

Text 5.11

A man should be a decision maker, he is relied upon by his family, his children-- that the decision he makes are final. Even if a woman makes a decision the man's decision is the final one (Group 3, respondent D: p.21, lines 323-324).

Instructively, this argument is not predicated on empirical data but it is supposed to be taken as commonsense knowledge. As a matter of fact, there are many families in Kenya that are led by women. There are also many single women who ably lead their families. The arguments by these respondents are a clear demonstration of how hegemonic power convinces individuals to subscribe to the social values and norms of the dominant group without using coercion.

5.4 The Responsible Man

The discourse of the responsible male further entrenches the notion of hegemonic masculinity. A common strand in this discourse is the centrality of the male figure in matters of the family and the whole society. Respondents seem to be saying that men need to be responsible so that they can justify their dominant position in society. It is noteworthy that women voices are completely muted in these discourses as can be seen in the following texts:

Text 5.12

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For me a real man is a person who is intelligent, a go getter and is able to take care of himself physically, mentally all aspects and can also take care of his family and those around him and plus his integrity is not questionable (Group 2, respondent B: p.15, lines 246-247).

In the above text, it is clear that the respondent believes that men should be responsible so that they can take care of their women and the family in general. Once again, the notion that men are superior to women is amplified. Men are generalized as goal getters and intelligent yet from a social constructionist view of gender, individual roles are unique, fluid and dynamic.

In text 5.13, the female respondent juxtaposes the roles of men and women:

Text 5.13

I'll go for the man who is faithful, I think to be faithful is everything that matters in a relationship because I won't go for a man who when you ask him: who was that? He says it is just a friend; you even become tired of asking. So I would also like somebody who is responsible of his duties. If the roof is leaking, you should not tell him that the roof is leaking, he should tell himself, then, there are other duties nowadays women are taking over, that were supposed to be for men you see a fence that is falling and you see a woman with a hammer and the man is just there, you see the person is irresponsible (Group 2, respondent D: p.17, lines 273-277).

To this female respondent, fixing a roof that "is leaking", a fence "that is falling" is the duty of a man. She is critical of women taking over duties "that were supposed to be for men". She concludes that any man who leaves his wife to do such duties is irresponsible.

The male respondent in text 5.14 makes an allusion about himself claiming that he is responsible:

Text 5.14

for me a man is a man in his own ways this means responsibility let us take the case of myself --me I believe I am man because am so responsible in such a way that now I am in my career and after this I will marry even if I marry a very learned girl or a rich one I know I must provide for you to be a man and to be recognized by the society and other people you ought to be very responsible if you have 3 children you know this is how I'll take them to school this is how I will take care of my wife and also the society you can help where you can so a man can be a very broad definition but responsible is the key thing in a man not just family wise but also how you deal with others (Group 3, respondent F: p.20, lines 315-320).

He says that even if he marries "a very learned girl or a rich one" he will still provide for her. This implies that the ability of a woman notwithstanding, she still needs to be taken care of by a man. He reveals that a man needs to provide in order to be "recognized by the society" which underlines the role of culture and society in constructing gender identities. Ideally, he tries to give a futuristic narrative of himself. This narrative articulates what is considered ordinary by culture. He also tries to create solidarity with his audience by repeatedly using the pronoun "you". These texts exemplify once again male superiority and dominance as a natural thing. To paraphrase Barthes, if we fail to correctly read history we may mistake history for nature and end up supporting the norm of patriarchy (MacNeil, 1996). This could be the case when we see even women supporting what would ordinarily be seen to demean and subordinate them. As Connell (1995) has argued we see subordinated groups such as women eventually working in complicity with hegemonic masculinity through the process of naturalization of history.

5.5 The Sensitive and Open Man

The following texts show a shift from the traditional construction of male identity in terms of toughness and aggression towards a more sensitive male. Respondents bring out a more caring form of masculinity- men who are ready to acknowledge their emotions. It is, however, important to note that all these respondents are women which may suggest that men are still not ready to acknowledge showing sensitivity is part of being masculine.

Text 5.15

> *I will go for somebody who is responsible, somebody who can take care of the family, somebody who is sincere, somebody who will tell me what is happening: "I have debts here and there, I have problems here and there, this is how we can solve them" (Group 2, respondent A: p.16, lines 258-259).*

For the respondent in text 5.15, openness is of cardinal importance in her definition of a man. Her views run counter to the traditional or hegemonic conception of a man. This is a break from the traditional conception of a man where a real man is supposed to wrestle with his problems silently.

In text 5.16, the female respondent praises men who help their women when "they are feeding the baby":

Text 5.16

> *I need a man who is supportive not in terms of the traditional sense where men were the bread winners. Today, even women are bread winners, you just need some emotional and some physical support from the man. It doesn't mean that the man is just there to provide you also need emotional support, when you have problems somebody you can open up to you can talk to him especially when you talk to him and you find that person understands you or just listens to you it counts. You also need someone who is honest; trustworthy a man should also trust you because it reduces insecurity. There are men who help their women when they are may be feeding the baby I also expect as a man to consult your wife when you are making key decisions (Group 4, respondent B: p.29, lines 451-456).*

In text 5.16, the respondent observes that these days men must go beyond their traditional roles of being breadwinners because even women are providing for their families. To her, what will make a man relevant to a woman is his ability to provide emotional support. Specifically, she prefers a man she can "open up to" and one who can listen. She repeatedly use the pronoun "you" which in this case refers to women. By so doing, she emphasizes her solidarity with other women and seems to imply that all women would prefer this new man to the traditional one.

The next respondent who is female criticizes men who have no time for their kids and are also feared by their kids:

Text 5.17

> *I would also prefer a man who has time for his children. You find that there is this perspective a child will grow fearing the dad unapata ka hajagrow up with the dad. The dad does not have time for the kid so you find that the child fears the dad you can't share anything with your dad so I prefer a man who can play with the kid, go shopping with the kid, share stories as you grow up. The bond between a child and mother is natural but the dad will have to work for it (Group 4, respondent A: p.27, lines 421-423).*

She prefers a man who "can play with the kid, go shopping with the kid, share stories". She uses repetition in order to emphasize her point that men are changing and abandoning their traditional way of looking at things. The use of Sheng as in "*unapata hajagrow up with the dad"* is a case of diglossia which places the respondent within her cultural background, specifically, a modern Kenyan youth. This may explain why she easily embraces a non-traditional way of thinking about gender identities. These respondents seem to be subverting gender through displacing

those naturalized constructions of gender that support masculine hegemony. Their views are consistent with the argument that gender is fluid and changes in different contexts (Butler, 1999). Thus, in keeping with Butler's argument, a man can perform the role of a bread winner in some contexts, but also take care of the baby in another context. This view fundamentally deconstructs the hegemonic masculinity hypothesis which places men above women.

5.6 The Attractive Man

Most of the men in the focus group discussions had very little to say about physical appearance preferring instead to downplay the whole issue with comments like "looks do not matter" what is important is "one's character". Conversely, the female respondents had a lot to say about the appearance of men and insisted it was a key variable in male identity. They went as far as linking physical appearance to a man's character.

In text 5.18, the respondent singles out the eyes as a source of attraction in a man:

Text 5.18

Then I look at the eyes, there is a way in which eyes appeal to me. For me beauty is how the eyes actually talk they are kind of attractive for me I swear it's true. (Group 2, respondent A: p.16, lines 253-254).

The respondent in 5.18 uses words like "eyes", "beauty", "attractive" to refer to an ideal man. She metaphorically declares that "eyes actually talk". These are terms that would traditionally be associated with femininity. This kind of discourse seems consistent with a new image of masculinity which puts emphasis on body appearance.

In text 5.19, how a man dresses is of utmost concern to the respondent:

Text 5.19

...and I do have a passion for men who dress official. I just like them, whenever I see somebody who is dressed official, I feel they are reasoning-- ok that is my own opinion but I have a problem with this man who comes in jeans then they want to sag kind of (Group 2, respondent F: p.16, lines 260-261).

In this text, the respondent observes that she likes men who dress "official". Officialism or formality is associated with power and authority thus the respondent emphasizes this view of men being dominant. On the other hand the use of the noun phrase "this man" in this text reveals

the respondent's disdain for men who dress informally. Concerns of dressing are also expressed by the following respondent in text 5.20:

Text 5.20

> *I would also like a man who is very decent I cannot walk with a person who is sagging as in the trouser can nearly fall when you are walking with him tena amefungua shati nusu (again he opens the shirt half-way) (derisive laughter) ameweka kofia zingine. (he has put on a funny cap) I don't know how they look like as in for me I like a decent man coz in the way you are decent it also portrays who you are the way you think the way you do your job (Group 4, respondent B: p.27, lines 424-427).*

In this text, the pronoun "you" is used to achieve cohesion and also to emphasize the respondents'' view of male image. The respondent observes that "the way you are decent it also portrays who you are the way you think the way you do your job". "You" is a generic reference to men and the respondent uses it repetitively to achieve cohesion in the sentence as well as to underline the notion that there is link between the way one dresses and one's productivity. The contempt for informal dressing is also captured at the sentence level in text 5.20 and expressed in Kiswahili: *tena amefungua shati nusu* (again he opens the shirt half-way) (derisive laughter) *ameweka kofia zingine.* (he has put on a funny cap). While the increased interest in men's physical appearance mirrors a shift in the construction of male identity, the emphasis on big men and formal dressing suggests that male hegemony still has strong grip. These findings are consistent with a post-modern view of identities as multiple, fluid and at times contradictory (Butler, 1992, Gauntlet, 2002). The respondent in text 5.21 is attracted to men who are tall:

Text 5.21

> *I think the looks matter because the first appearance is what gives you an impression of the man even the dressing, how he looks the first time you see the person that impression stays for long I like a guy that is taller than me (Group 4, respondent C: p.28, lines 429-430).*

The word "taller" suggests a preoccupation with the traditional view of a man as being superior to a woman, for example, the respondent in 5.21 says that she prefers a man who is "taller than me". Thus, this insistence on men who are big or tall is symbolic of a traditional conception of gender identities. It reveals that despite the respondents' apparent embrace of shifting images of

masculinity there is a part of them that is still stuck in the notion that men are supposed to be superior to women. The respondent in text 5.22 is also concerned about size:

Text 5.22

> *First the appearance of a man is very important. Even before you check the personality of that man you first look at the appearance for me lazima awe amejenga, must be a big- bodied man. My man has to dress in a manly way, an official dress is ok, I don't like men who dress in skinny jeans it makes them look like secondary school kids. It is secondary school kids who dress in such tight things (Group 4, respondent B: p.30, line 458-460).*

In text 5.22, there is repetition of clauses which also displays code switching, for example, the respondent says in Kiswahili: "*lazima awe amejenga*" then repeats the sentence in English "must be a big-bodied man". This repetition achieved through the use of two languages underscores the speaker's attitude towards the big-bodied men and by implication her contempt for small bodied men. Additionally, the modality marker "must" signals that, to her, this is an obligation and cannot be debated.

5.7 The Feminine Man

Through a variety of strategies the respondents expressed very strong attitudes against men perceived to be feminine. These men are described as immature, pretentious and of course abnormal. This is consistent with the traditional construction of gender. The following female respondent exemplifies this aversion:

Text 5.23

> *I just don't like them I think they are not mature kind of you find a man who has decided they want to have this look of a lady. Personally I wouldn't go for that kind of a man because I will baby very many people: I will baby the man who wants to go to the salon, I'll baby my young ones, no! (Group 2, respondent A: p.16, line 262-263).*

Overwording is the use of many words that are near synonyms together, for example, in text 5.23; the respondent shows her disdain for men who look feminine using "personally" and "I" together. The respondent also condemns men who present themselves like ladies by repeating the construction "I will baby…" three times. This repetition seeks to demean such men by

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likening them to babies. Additionally, the word "baby" is conventionally and formally used as a noun but it is here used as a verb in order to give it more force. A number of speakers use demonstrative pronouns to express distance and disdain towards feminine-looking men, for example, in text 5.23 the respondent refers to "this look of a lady" and "that kind of a man". Again, the respondent uses the metaphor "baby" to refer to men who are overly concerned about their looks. It associates such men with helplessness and dependency. She, for example says that she will be forced to "baby" this man who wants to go to the salon. This metaphor seems to entrench the view that men are supposed to be dominant and tough. The same usage also exhibits an element of hyperbole since the fact that a man goes to the salon does not necessarily mean that he is helpless or dependent. The respondent is therefore trying to exaggerate that this kind of a man is useless. Hyperboles are highly selective and sensationalist. One wonders why the respondent does not simply call such a man "different" rather than label him "baby". In text 5.24, the respondets believes it is women who should wear chains:

Text 5.24

> Oh my God! Then amefaa studs zingine (Wearing some studs), I don't think I can go to a man like that, coz kama umevaa chains zinahang (if you are wearing hanging chains), oh my God! Who is supposed to wear? me or you? And the way the African society-- this is an African society. We ain't in the western culture even the man you take to your mother he must be decent. (Group 4, respondent D: p.28, lines 432-434).

The respondent in text 5.24 says that "this is an African society" followed by "we ain't in the Western culture". The first statement that "this is an African society" would have been enough; thus, the rewording seeks to persuade the reader that wearing studs and chains is a horrible thing within the African context. The respondent also declares that "an ideal man can never be a woman". The overwording in this statement is obvious and it carries the connotation that men could be superior to women and that for a man to be feminine is deplorable. Again, the repetition of the noun phrase "African society" is an emotional way of seeking to mobilize solidarity with the audience. It is a case of positive self-presentation and negative other-presentation, where 'African' is insider and her culture is pure as opposed to a polluted Western culture where men can freely act like women. The same respondent expresses her horror at men who wear chains through the repetition of the exclamation "Oh my God!"

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The next female respondent also invokes African culture in condemning feminine men:

Text 5.25

> *I would like to add to what she has said that hiyo kuvaa mabrings (that wearing of chains), and those studs, me I perceive it as craving for attention for people to note you, but one thing I have known, according to African society that is a girlish thing, so it shows how girlish you are I prefer a decent man. (Group 4, respondent A: p.28, lines 435-436)*

In text 5.25, the respondent says "me I…" Undoubtedly, this kind of usage is a form of emphasis which paints the respondents strong attitudes against feminine men. At the lexical level we see the repetition of "girlish" in reference to men who wear chains. The pronouns "that" and "this" also emphasize the respondents' attitude and underlie her adherence to traditional notions of masculinity.

In the following text the respondent describes her contempt for shy men:

Text 5.26

> *The physical appearance means a lot. Is his self esteem high? You may meet somebody who is shy unapata mtu hata hataki kuongea, (somebody does not want even to talk), yet he wants something na hata hataki kuongea (and he does not even want to talk) haha! but yet he wants something na hata hataki kuongea hata unashangaa (and he does not even want to talk, you even wonder) who should be into this? Unajua (you know), we don't expect a man to shy off ah! Ah!ah! (no no) it is not a man character. He should express himself well what he wants what he likes. (Group 4, respondent A: p.28, lines 440-443)*

The clause *mtu hata hataki kuongea,* (somebody does not want even to talk) has been repeated three times. Noteworthy also, is the way the respondent laughs derisively as she utters this statement repeatedly. This shows how entrenched gender stereotypes are and how social conventions become naturalized to a point of being seen as common sense. Euphemism has also been used in text 5.26 where the respondent describes a shy man who does not talk "but yet he wants something". This is an indirect reference to sex which suggests that it is men who are supposed to initiate sex. Again, it is a reflection of traditional notions of conceptualizing gender relations.

This discussion exposes a society that views gender through the lenses of duality. To most of the respondents, men are supposed to dress and act in certain ways that are different from the way women do. They see gender as denoting fixed and immutable attributes. However, as Butler (1999) argues we should not assume that people have certain kinds of identities simply because they are either male or female. She sees gender as a fluid variable that can change in different contexts. Butler challenges the notion of normative gender where one is a man or a woman if they embrace the dominant heterosexual frame. These naturalized notions of gender as seen in the above texts entrench male hegemony.

5.8 Summary

Although respondents constructed various male identities in this chapter, the traditional view of men as dominant and superior to women permeates in almost all cases. Even when modern kinds of identities are discussed, the notion of men as superior is still manifest. As was the case in the previous chapter, socially constructed reality is presented as a biological or a natural fact.

The analysis also reveals that the gender of respondents influences what they consider key in the construction of male identity. This is well illustrated by the fact that while the female respondents in both institutions were passionate about the discussion on men's physical appearance and the questions of gay men, male respondents hardly touched on these two issues. The explanation for this reluctance could be that matters pertaining to physical appearance are traditionally perceived to occupy women and not men.

To begin with, respondents argued that man is the head of the family. It was argued that repetition of the term "head" leads to the naturalization of the idea that men are symbols of authority at the family level.

Some respondents argued that a man is a symbol of power and authority. Under this category respondents presented men as being superior to women and children which is consistent with hegemonic masculinity. Men were said to be decision makers and law givers.

All the respondents who said that men should be responsible argued that this should be the case so that they can take care of women and children. Men are expected to provide and fix things that are not working thus male superiority and dominance are taken to be natural.

A shift from the traditional construction of male identity was clear in respondents who said that men should be sensitive and open. Respondents brought out a more caring form of

masculinity. However, all the respondents in this category were women which may suggest that men are still not ready to acknowledge that showing sensitivity is part of being masculine.

Similarly, men had little to say about physical appearance preferring instead to downplay the whole issue with the claim that looks do not matter. Female respondents on the other hand had a lot to say about appearance going to the extent of linking physical appearance to character.

On the issue of language, respondents used various devices to construct these identities. Most of these devices are used to create a world where men and women are different.

CHAPTER SIX

CONSTRUCTION OF READERS' CONFORMITY, NEGOTIATION AND RESISTANCE TO MASCULINE IDENTITIES IN PULLOUT MAGAZINES.

6.1 Introduction

This chapter seeks to examine how readers respond to the discursive construction of masculine identities by pullout magazines in Kenya. Hall's encoding/decoding model which posits that readers can conform, negotiate or resist media meanings was used to analyze the data (Hall, 1980). As in the previous two chapters, CDA, social theory, and the social constructionist framework were also used to explain language use and social reality. The categories of analysis were once again generated from readers' responses.

6.2 How Readers Conform to Pullout Magazines' Construction of Masculine Identities

Some readers tended to concur with the way pullout magazines construct male identities which is consistent with Stuart Hall's argument that some readers conform or agree with what they read (Hall, 1980). These are the readers who seem to accept and internalize the texts preferred meaning or the meaning the dominant hegemony (magazine producers) wants to pass across. The following is an example of how one of the readers conforms to the magazines' message:

6.2.1. Pullout Magazines Have a Right to Market and Entertain

In the following text, the reader seems to think pullout magazines are merely out to entertain people and market themselves. The interesting thing is that unlike other readers who tended to oppose this kind of motive she appears to be happy with it.

Text 6.1

> *Personally I will say am enticed by what they write I like it because they write what I want to read. On being in the writer's shoes the writer knows that you are not targeting children to read the papers because a child you can control. What they think you can easily change, a child what they are thinking, but they don't expect to change me. If it is something with an exaggeration they expect me to know: "am exaggerating about these men" that is the way it is supposed to be. What am I trying to say? That a writer's intention is basically not to change somebody's mind it is not to change that you want but to market. It is a marketing thing; their idea is not you look for the bad boy or the prince charming. The idea is to market. They do so much showing the bad thing because the good can market itself. Why not market the bad? (Group 2, respondent F: p.14, line 223-227).*

The respondent seems to believe that pullout magazines do not have the intention to pass any ideology to their readers. To her, their first goal is to entertain and she also seems to accept the fact that they help her escape from reality. This can be seen from the sentence "they write what I want to read". Thus, what they write is based on fantasy; in other words it is fiction. In the clause "on being in the writers shoes", the respondent attempts to put herself in the position of the writer, and concludes that the writer does not expect to change anybody because readers are not "children". This position was highly contested by the other participants as in the case of this respondent who wonders: "why would you write something in a magazine if you don't want to

change someone?" She further contends that "there is a percentage who will believe that am really telling the truth".

The respondent in text 6.1 also seems to align herself with dominant forces in society by trying to rationalize the idea of magazines being in circulation to make profit. She supports the idea that it is good for the magazines to use the "bad boy" and "prince charming" images in order to make profits. This, however, seems to contradict her position that magazines carry no ideology since what she describes is capitalism which is an ideology. She is actually a victim of this ideology because by buying the magazines so that she can be entertained, she ends up helping the owners of the newspaper make profit. The capitalist ideology that is at work here is consumption which mainly serves bourgeois interests rather than those of the consumer.

6.2.2 Linguistic Analysis of Conformity to Construction of Masculine Identities

The following are some of the linguistic strategies used by the respondent to conform to magazines construction of masculinities:

(a) Conformity through Repetition

The respondent pervasively uses repetition which underlines her desire to emphasize what she is saying. At the lexical level, the word "child" and its variant "children" are used three times. This emphasizes the respondent's argument that the magazines do not intend to change readers because they have a capacity to question what they read. The repetition of the word "change" and "the phrase "not to change", which is done four times, also directly serves the same purpose. The verb "market" and its progressive form "marketing" are used five times which emphasizes the respondent's faith in hegemonic forces. Overwording, which is also a form of repetition, is used in the first sentence where the writer simultaneously says "Personally I…" This also emphasizes her strong support for the magazines way of reporting. At the level of sentence, the construction "the idea is…" is used twice in subsequent sentences. Besides creating a poetic effect, which aims to evoke emotions in the other participants, it also sums up her argument that profit making is a noble idea that should be pursued by magazines.

(b) Direct Speech as a Tool of Conformity

Through quoting them directly, the respondent assumes the position of the pullout magazine writers to illustrate her position that they do not intend to purvey any ideology. She says: "If it is something with an exaggeration they expect me to know: 'am exaggerating about these men'". She appropriates the voice of the dominant group in her attempt to justify their social practices.

(c) Contrast as a Means to Conformity

Through the use of the word "child", the respondent contrasts adults and children in terms of their ability to critique text. The word "child" as used in this context connotes naiveté thus the thrust here is that readers are mature and therefore critical. This kind of generalization should itself be subjected to scrutiny since not all adult readers approach a text with a critical eye. Contrast is also achieved through use of negation, for example, "you are not targeting children". In another instance the respondent says "it is not to change that you want". Through this contrast, the speaker tries to persuade her listeners that the magazines are bereft of any ideological content.

(c) Silences

It is noteworthy that this respondent not only chooses to openly support the magazines and their producers' pursuit for profit, but she also maintains eloquent silence on the negative consequences of capitalism. To paraphrase Richardson, one wonders: Why doesn't the respondent question the irrationality of a few media owners making profits at the expense of the majority? What is the justification of a wealthy minority controlling vast resources rather than the poor and the vulnerable? (Richardson, 2007). Journalism, through circulation of ideas and representations of social reality, propagates the ideology of dominant groups (Murdock, 2000, in Richardson, 2007). Thus the silence manifested by the respondent may prove how ideology naturalizes the oppression and dispossession of capitalist societies.

(d)Using Rhetorical Questions to Conform

As argued earlier rhetorical questions have various functions. In this text, the respondent uses rhetorical questions as in "what am I trying to say?" it creates cohesion and also emphasizes her argument that the intention of the magazines is not to change people but to market. In the next example, the respondent says: "They do so much showing the bad thing because the good can market itself. Why not market the bad?" Using this rhetorical question, she implies that the

magazine producers are justified to engage in any practice in order to make profit. This resonates with the observation of Andrew Marr, once an editor with *The Guardian,*that " booze, films, cheap sex, violence…and so on" sell (Independent, 15 November 1997, in Richardson, 2007). But as Richardson (2007) argues, this idea of the audience as a market or a commodity undermines the value of journalism with respect to telling the truth. What, for example, would be the value of reading a portrayal of all men as 'bad boys' when it is simply a fantasy generated by magazines?

6.2.3 Why Reader Conforms to Pullout Magazines Constructions of Men

The respondent sees the pullout magazines' construction of masculine identities as mere entertainment which is principally aimed at marketing the newspapers. Her inability to conceptualize masculinities in her own terms other than that of the newspapers denies her agency. Her agency is further eroded, by her incapacity to see any wrong in the newspapers' pursuit of profit without reflection on the well-being of their audience. Significantly, by openly taking sides with the interests of capitalism she demonstrates the power of the ideology of consumerism in modern societies. The respondent fails to engage with the argument about the exploitative and oppressive nature of consumerist tendencies encouraged by newspapers through what she calls "entertainment"; instead she rationalizes this bourgeois capitalist ideology with the claim that they have a right to make profit. Indeed, Giddens sees consumerism as a corruption and a threat to self-identity and declares that it should be questioned by self-reflexive individuals (Gauntlet, 2002). Her argument also validates the observation that ideological practices justify the "contradictions and exploitation of capitalist societies" (Richardson, 2007: 134). She seems trapped in the thinking of the dominant group; the magazines and their producers, that profit is the overriding objective. This acknowledgement of powerlessness entrenches the status quo of hegemony and dominance and can be viewed as a major obstacle to positive change in society.

6.3 How Readers Negotiate Pullout Magazines' Construction of Masculine Identities

In Stuart Hall's encoding /decoding model, readers can 'negotiate' the meaning of a text, that is, accept some elements of the 'preferred meaning' but resist other aspects. (Hall, 1980). In this analysis, a number of respondents exemplified this theorization

6.3.1. Representation of Men too Negative

In text 6.2, respondent A (Group 1) who is male, resists the idea of presenting men in a largely negative way. He specifically targets female writers arguing that these writers try to depict men badly so that they can usurp men's privileged position:

Text 6.2

> *With me I'll also say that to a very great measure, I will not really agree with the way men are portrayed in these magazines. You know, what am trying to see as an individual is just like kind of ladies giving themselves an avenue or highway of talking ill about men. You'll find that from the point of view of --of the ladies its always like they are fighting men it's not an issue they think that it is now a war between women who can do something and men who have always been patronizing or condescending or feeling that they are superior, so women are coming and saying: no, even the ladies can do, it is not only men who can do this so this picture being painted by ladies about men is a tainted. (Group 1, respondent A: p.4-5, line 69-77)*

The discourse is reduced to a struggle for dominance between men and women. This is clearly illustrated by his claim that "they think that it is now a war between women who can do something and men who have always been patronizing or condescending or feeling that they are superior". The argument becomes sharply cast in the 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy. In keeping with these kind of discourses, the respondent constructs the dominant group (men) as victims while the marginalized (women) are presented as culprits. As will be shown in the next sub-section, he is a believer in male dominance and this may explain why he views the female writers' presentations of men as "tainted".

6.3.2 Pullout Magazines Portrayal of Men as Dominant is Biblical

Respondent A (Group 1) conversely conforms to the discourse of male dominance and superiority as presented by the pullout magazines and tries give force to his assertions by making reference to the Bible:

Text 6.3

> *The only thing, may be, I will agree with them of men positively is the feeling of mutual understanding that men will have to retain their position because that one is also biblical, that the man was formed for the woman and the lady has to be*

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submissive to the husband so when you find some ladies… (Group 1, respondent A: p.4-5, line 69-77).

As earlier mentioned, the Bible is a source of discursive authority. The respondent justifies his views by citing a Bible verse that says that women should be "submissive" to men. This gives credence to the view that readers' views of the male identities constructed by the media are influenced by many factors including gender and religion (Macnamara, 2006). Hence, the views of this respondent should be interpreted within the understanding that he is male and a christian.

6.3.3. The "Bad Boy" Identity as a Timely Warning to Young Women

In text 6.4, respondent C (Group2) admits that the way the pullout magazines construct the "bad boy" identity is somehow exaggerated but she still likes it because it "shows the real men in the world":

Text 6.4

> *I have two sides of one coin, there is this man who is a very bad guy, the female writer will portray this man very badly, the male writer will say that a man cannot have just one girlfriend at least should have chips funga ile unaenda nayo nyumbani , (Wrapped up chips, the ones you take home) so I like the way they are portrayed. The bad side of the man I like it, at least it raises my standards for men. Nitajua wewe kama kila Friday (if every Friday) you must go for one for the road I know your lifestyle although there are exaggeration it shows the real men in the world. It gives me a guideline, you are not careless yeyote akija unaingia box (When anyone comes you enter into his trap). (Group 2, respondent C: p.13, line 208-221).*

She notes that the female writer will tend to condemn this kind of a man while the male writer will glorify him, either way; she feels that this is a timely warning to her as a woman that she should keep off such men. She for example alludes to sexual objectification of women by pullout magazines' male writers through the use of vulgar references like *Chips Funga* (wrapped up chips). While this discourse of women as sexual objects is demeaning, she gains enlightenment from it which gives her the power to reject such men. Thus, objectification of women in magazines empowers her to make independent decisions.

6.3.4 Pullout Magazines Construct Men who do not Exist in the Real World

In text 6.5, respondent C (Group 2) adopts an oppositional stance towards magazines' construction of a man who is perfect:

Text 6.5

> *There is the other side of the coin; they give this kind of man, the ideal man, the eligible bachelor the man who has-- of course I wouldn't get married to a poor man I wouldn't want to start life from scratch I would like to marry that man who has a good house in Kileleshwa, an apartment, so they tell you that there is this man with that kind of money: he has a good house, he has a good job, he has a good car, you know they bring that man into the picture. May be you are in a relationship, your man may be having some money, but there is something that he lacks, so kwa akili yako (in your mind), you try to visualize that kind of man you read in a magazine, this eligible man who does not exist and a wise man once said faith comes from hearing, when you hear something you begin to believe it exists so you start having problems in a relationship. (Group 2, respondent C: p.13, line 208-221).*

She says that this kind of discourse in the magazines arises from their recognition that many women would wish to marry men that are affluent and influential. She argues that constructing masculine identity in this manner may mislead unsuspecting women that the men close to them ranging from lovers to fathers are inadequate. While some readers like her may have the ability to see the fantasy in these magazines' representations "many audiences have difficulty determining real life and events from mediated representations" (Macnamara, 2006).

6.3.5 Pullout Magazines Promote Male Chauvinism

In text 6.6, respondent B (Group 3) strongly rejects the way pullout magazines present their content from the perspective of men:

Text 6.6

> *For me men are mostly portrayed as liars, cheaters and for me these magazines tend to take the bad experiences women have faced from men; that is they tend to generalize so much on the emotional side of the women, how much they feel hurt, how much the men have hurt them, and on the same part they try to guide on how you could change that man, how you could keep that man, how you could make that man happy, but I think they focus too much time on men how to make a man happy, everything to make a man feel he is accepted or something: why not get how to make a woman feel loved? How to take care for a pregnant woman or something? Coz everything is about men, how to please men. May be in this*

society there is a lot of chauvinism they tend to think that men have an upper hand in the society, everything you do as a woman is how to make a man happy. (Group 3, respondent B: p.22-23, lines 347-353).

This female respondent acknowledges that these magazines present men in a largely negative way, but wonders why everything henceforth must revolve around men. Noteworthy, she is unhappy with what she sees as the magazines' attempt to subordinate women by emphasizing on how women can make men happy or change them to become better people. She tellingly poses: "I think they focus too much time on men how to make a man happy, everything to make a man feel he is accepted or something: why not get how to make a woman feel loved?" she concludes by contending that there is a lot of male "chauvinism" in the society where men must have an "upper hand". Her sentiments constitute a direct challenge to the hegemonic forces represented by the media and the naturalized sense of male superiority espoused by hegemonic masculinity.

A number of scholars have pointed out that the hidden power of media discourse is predicated on systematic tendencies in the way people and events are cast (Fairclough, 2001; Richardson, 2007). In other words, the influence of the media is cumulative achieving its force through repeated ways of constructing reality. This respondent is definitely able to see this and that is why she rejects this male centred discourse in pullout magazines.

6.3.6 Pullout Magazines right to talk about irresponsible Men

In text 6.7, respondent B (Group 3) though in very few words seems to conform to the magazines view that some men have "neglected their responsibilities". She, however, thinks there are "few" good men who should be covered by the magazines as seen below:

Text 6.7

True some of the men have neglected their responsibilities, so on that side I agree with the magazines, but on the other hand the magazines should talk about the men who treat their women right. There are few men who stand by you when you are in problems, let the magazines bring an equal view; there are the good and the bad men. (Group 3, respondent B: p.24, lines 376-378).

It is instructive that both her conformity and resistance to magazines representations of men are in keeping with a general opposition to the idea of male superiority and female subordination.

6.3.7 Linguistic Analysis of Readers' Negotiation on Pullout Magazines' Construction of Masculine Identities

The following are some of the linguistic features and strategies used to negotiate magazines' construction of men:

(a) Intensifiers as a Means of Amplifying Disagreement

In text 6.2, the respondent uses the intensifiers "very" and "really" to amplify her disagreement with the way men are represented by pullout magazines. He, for example, asserts: "to a very great measure, I will not really agree with the way men are portrayed…". Intensifiers are used to strengthen adjectives. In English, intensifiers are not usually used with strong adjectives like "great", because the emotional force is already conveyed by the adjectives, yet this respondent still describes his disagreement in terms of "to a very great measure". As if this is not enough, he proceeds to use the phrase "not really agree" in the next sentence. This may sound repetitive but it powerfully conveys his resistance to what he sees as the magazines' female writers' biased presentation of men. Respondent B in text 6.6 similarly expresses her displeasure at what she sees as male chauvinism in the magazines using the intensifier "too": "they focus too much time on men". The modifier "much" already expresses her strong sentiments, so, the addition of "too" in the noun phrase puts her resistance towards male chauvinism to the highest degree possible.

(b)Use of Metaphor

In text 6.2, the respondent uses the metaphor of "war" to describe what he describes as female writers' bias on men. Additionally, he uses the metaphor "fighting men" which is also related to war to describe the same. "War" has a plethora of negative connotations including violence, blood, inhumanity, and so on. Thus, in adopting such a metaphorical framework, the respondent seeks to legitimize his resistance towards female writers' representation of men in pullout magazines. Metaphor is also used in text 6.4 to justify the respondent's support for the "bad boy" construction. Within the speech community of Kenyan youth who speak Sheng the word "box" as in *kuingia box* (enter the box) means being trapped. Therefore, "box" as a metaphor is suggestive of naiveté and stupidity. By portraying young women as naïve, the magazine writers

unwittingly empower critical readers like this respondent to reject abusive men. To such readers, stereotyping women in magazines is a kind of consciousness raising and should be supported. This argument can however be contested since there are many women who do not have the intellectual resources to decipher such stereotyping and objectifying.

(c) Intertexuality as a Means of Legitimization

As earlier noted, intertexuality demands that we approach discourses and texts within their social and historical contexts which means reference to other texts must be examined. In text 6.2, the respondent alludes to the Bible to justify his argument that men are superior to women. The Bible is a source of discursive authority, and by borrowing from it he seeks to legitimize and enrich his own texts. Christianity and many other religions tend to consign women to subordinate positions emphasizing as in the case of this respondent that women must always be submissive. The calculation here is that no one can question what the Bible says since it is holy and represents the voice of God. When such beliefs are internalized, male dominance begins to be viewed as just, normal and in the best interest of society. Intertexuality is therefore a tool for justifying male domination and entrenching the ideology perpetuated by hegemonic masculinity that women are inferior to men. Reference to Biblical texts is therefore a strategy for rationalizing and strengthening the respondent's conformity with magazines portrayal of men as superior to women.

(d) Opposing Male Dominance through Repetition

In text 6.6 the respondent uses the "how" construction eight times to resist what she sees as the pullout magazines' attempt to naturalize men's superiority over women. This can be seen in the following utterance: "how you could keep that man, how you could make that man happy…" By repeatedly enumerating "how" women are supposed to make men comfortable from the viewpoint of the magazines, the respondent seeks to underline her disgust and opposition. Thus, the monotony engendered by this kind of repetition should not be seen as unnecessary but a useful tool for resisting what she terms male "chauvinism" in society. The slant that a story is given has far reaching implications, therefore, centering gender on masculinity can be seen as part of a larger process of socializing women into occupying subordinate subject positions. Consequently, the respondent challenges this perception that male and female subject positions

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in pullout magazines are commonsensically given rather than socially constructed. She therefore correctly reveals how the ideology of patriarchy is expressed and sustained in the media and rejects it using the instrument of repetition.

(e) Use of Personal Narrative

In text 6.5, the respondent gives an almost intimate personal narrative about the kind of man she would like to marry as exemplified by this quotation: "I would like to marry that man who has a good house in Kileleshwa, an apartment…". She uses this personal narrative to illustrate how desperate young women are to marry wealthy men. It is this desperation that magazines pounce on to create masculine identities that are pure fantasy. Her narrative therefore seeks to justify her opposition to a representation of men who are infinitely wealthy and perfect. To her, such men do not exist and creating such an illusion may make women put men under unnecessary pressure. Such a personal narrative is a demonstration that users of language can go to great lengths in order to illustrate their concerns.

(f) Objectification through Slang

Use of slang is particular to certain groups of people and may involve new and rude words. The slang used in text 6.4 is expressed using the Sheng language commonly spoken informally by Kenyan youths. The respondent, for example, shows how slang is used to objectify women. She explains that male writers try to justify the "bad boy" identity by dismissing women who have casual sex with bachelors as "*chips funga ile unaenda nayo nyumbani* , (Wrapped up chips, the ones you take home)" The use of this kind of slang serves to expose the extent some men can go to demean women. It should be noted that in many Kenyan urban centres, people take chips home when they have no time to cook or no money to buy a more wholesome meal. It follows, then, that describing women in these terms implies that they are just objects for quick and temporary male gratification. The idea of "wrapped up" also suggests powerlessness of women, that they have no agency, that they have no voice-in sum, they cannot say 'no'. Hence, the respondent dares to mention it in its crudest form to rationalize her view that women should read this in order to be cautious. Rather than oppose these kinds of discourses she points at their deterrent value. Similarly, the slang usage of "*yeyote akija unaingia box* (When anyone comes you enter into his trap)" is aimed at heightening consciousness that women should not be naïve.

(g) Opposing Male Chauvinism through Rhetorical Questions

In text 6.6, the respondent also uses rhetorical questions to express her opposition to male chauvinism. She asks: "why not get how to make a woman feel loved? How to take care for a pregnant woman or something?" through these questions, she calls upon her audience to be critical and start questioning the ideology of hegemonic masculinity which she feels is pervasive in pullout magazines. By using rhetorical questions, she symbolically implies that the current gender order which elevates men above women is not fixed and immutable. She thus chooses rhetorical questions in order to literally question gender relations and provide alternatives to what seems natural and normal. She also appears to be saying that gender identities and roles are neither biological nor just; they are socially constructed. Her position is that the centre must shift from men and the society must start to embrace the concerns of women in an equal and equitable manner.

(h) Negotiating through Idioms

Text 6.4 opens with the respondent declaring that she has "two sides of one coin" this is in reference to her negotiated position on the way pullout magazines construct masculine identities. In the subsequent explication of her argument, it emerges that she both conforms to the "bad boy" image of men since it acts as a warning to her as a young woman and also resists the construction of some men as perfect. Thus, this idiom underscores the view that readers have the ability to engage with texts actively. It also gives credence to the view that a large part of the meaning of a text is created by the reader. This idiom also creates cohesion in the text since after delineating the ideas in support of her first position; she revisits the idiom in order to bring in her resistance. This is achieved through the sentence "there is the other side of the coin…", which ushers in her opposition to the magazine construction of men.

She then uses the idiom "faith comes from hearing" whose source she erroneously attributes to a "wise man". Although, the origin of this idiom is the Bible (Romans 10:17), her declaration that it is from a wise man is still significant because reference to knowledge or wisdom is an attempt to seek discursive authority. Her listeners are expected to show respect for the knowledge and wisdom of the "wise man" by not questioning his ideas. Notice also that it is not a "wise woman" which is ironical considering that the respondent is a woman. This may be

explained by the fact that, traditionally wisdom is almost always associated with men. Her argument that young women believe the magazines' claim that there are wealthy and perfect men is thus given force by this reference to a wise man. This in turn justifies her resistance to that kind of construction of masculine identities.

6.3.8 Why Readers Negotiate on Pullout Magazines' Construction of Masculine Identities

Reasons for negotiating pullout magazines' construction of male identity tended to mirror the respondents views concerning gender relations. In particular, the issue of balance of power between men and women was clearly manifested exposing the underlying ideologies.

6.3.8.1 Men Must Maintain their Dominance

Respondent A in text 6.2 opposes what he sees as the female writers' attempt to prove that women are capable of doing what men can do. The obvious implication is that, to him, women are inferior to men and do not have the ability to achieve what men can. Similarly, his reasons for conforming to what the magazines write are predicated on the same argument. He says that he supports writers who depict men as dominant in the following terms: "The only thing, may be, I will agree with them of men positively is the feeling of mutual understanding that men will have to retain their position because that one is also biblical". Thus his conformity and resistance complete the same reality; men are superior to women. The respondent describes male domination in terms of "mutual understanding" and "Biblical". This is consistent with the argument that ideology works by representing socially constructed reality as common sense in order to sustain unequal power relations (Fairclough, 2001). In this text, the respondent reference to a "mutual understanding" implies a consensus by members of society that gender relations should be in favour of men.

The respondent's negotiation of the pullout magazines' portrayal of men, therefore, seeks to entrench the ideology of patriarchy. Simiyu (2007) has argued that in Kenya, patriarchy is resistant to the changing role of women and therefore uses a number of strategies to maintain power. In text 6.2, we see the respondent using some of these strategies to sustain this ideology. The strategy of legitimation is, for example, in play when we see him claiming that male domination is "Biblical". As argued previously, alluding to the Bible is a means of ensuring that claims to male superiority and female subordination cannot be questioned. Another strategy that

is evident here is fragmentation where groups that agitate for women rights are demonized. In text 6.2, the respondent describes female pullout magazines' writers as being at war with men for insisting that women can do what men can do. By using such negative references, he dilutes the core argument which revolves around women agitating for their rights.

6.3.8.2 Opposing Male Superiority

In text 6.6, the respondent opposes the way pullout magazines' articles place men at the centre of everything while placing women in subordinate subject positions. On the other hand, she agrees with the magazines depiction of most men as careless and irresponsible in text 6.7. Both views seem to be resistant to the ideology of patriarchy and hegemonic masculinity. Her views mirror the observation that despite the attempt of those who wield power to impose an ideological common sense, ideological uniformity is never attained since there will always be struggle and conflict (Fairclough 2001). Her conformity and resistance of pullout magazines, construction of men is thus an attempt to challenge the dominant gender discourse which revolves around hegemonic masculinity.

Like feminist movements, she is determined to raise awareness about current unequal gender relations which she vociferously opposes and feels should be overturned. By attacking long held assumptions about male superiority and female subordination that are produced and reproduced by the media, she asserts her independence. We therefore see, through her, readers of pullout magazines exercising agency.

We may therefore conclude that her negotiation of magazines' construction of male identity is an exercise in expressing her own female identity and a struggle for the liberation of Kenyan women against patriarchy. To her, male-centred discourses should be resisted because they oppress women. Indeed there is no one person or group that holds power permanently, those that are in power at a particular moment must keep on reasserting it, while those who are outside power will always try to seek it (Fairclough, 2001).

6.3.8.3 A conflict of Ideology

In text 6.4 the respondent conforms with the "bad boy" image of men presented by pullout magazines, arguing that it is an awakening to her that bad men exist in society. Conversely, she resists the magazines' portrayal of some men as affluent and perfect in text 6.5. She argues that

this may mislead women (including herself) that such men exist which would in turn create strife between men and women. It is therefore apparent that her conformity is in line with a rejection of mistreatment of women by men so called "bad boys". She is particularly unhappy with the way these men describe women as sexual objects. By challenging the sexual objectifying of women, she aligns herself with an anti-hegemonic masculinity discourse which constitutes a stub at the ideology of patriarchy.

However, contradiction in her ideological standpoint seems to set in when we critically examine the reasons behind her resistance of pullout magazines' representation of male identity. In her argument that a rich, perfect man as presented by the magazines does not exist, she ends up supporting the notion that women are powerless and should be taken care of by men. This is clear in the following utterance: "I wouldn't want to start life from scratch I would like to marry that man who has a good house in Kileleshwa, an apartment…". This argument resonates with the ideology of patriarchy where economic power is wielded by men. In this kind of set up, women are restricted to domestic chores. She thus presents herself and women as weak and powerless, thereby, entrenching the status quo where men are seen as superior.

The obvious contradiction seen in her negotiation of magazines' construction of men may be explained by the view that contradictions represent the sense of uncertainty inherent in modern masculinity (Jackson, et al, 2000, as cited by Horsley, 2005).

6.4 Resistance to Pullout Magazines' Construction of Masculine Identities

Social theorists and critical linguists correctly argue that power or hegemony can be resisted. Sometimes it can even be dethroned. As Foucault (1991) argues where there is power there is resistance and people have the ability to question socialized norms. Similarly, readers have their own perspectives and agendas as well as their background knowledge that may be in stark contrast to what is in the text (Richardson, 2007). This resonates with Hall's encoding/ decoding model which posits that a decoder of a text may read subversively in opposition to the dominant meanings (Hall, 1980). In the texts under analysis in this study, a number of readers questioned the way pullout magazines present men and wholly rejected the identities constructed as shown in the following discussion:

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6.4.1 They Give a Generalized Construction of Men

Several readers expressed opposition to what they perceived as the magazines' generalized view of men as seen in the following text:

Text 6.8

> As for me, I would say that these magazine tend to generalize that all men are the same of which if you do some research, you will notice that all men are not the same coz when they talk about the man they tend to treat the man in general like you are the same as I am, so I believe at times they should not generalize the man. (Group 3, Respondent B, Lines 279-281, p. 17)

The respondents in texts 6.8 and 6.9 are both men and they seem to feel that what is presented about men in the magazines supposedly covers all men. However, they both assert that as men they have different identities from those the magazines' present as universal. In text 6.8, for example, the respondent protests that "they tend to treat the man in general like you are the same as I". In text 6.9, the respondent specifically argues that the magazines portray men as irresponsible yet "that is not the kind of man that I am or some of the men I have known are":

Text 6.9

> These magazines portray men as betrayers, and also men who are irresponsible, for example, we see a man paying forty thousand hires a room in order to sleep with a woman. The general message is that men are irresponsible but when I look at myself as a man I tend to disagree because that is not the kind of man that I am or some of the men I have known are, so it is not good to generalize. (Group 3, Respondent F, Lines 287-291, p18)

In text 6.10, the respondent speaks from the position of a woman arguing that women should not judge men on the basis of the generalized magazines' representations:

Text 6.10

> Men are too generalized, you know, a man is according to that man you are living with; not those portrayed in magazines, may be you may read about other women experiences but that should not affect you mostly they portray men as liars, heartbreakers, but if you live with a man who is serious about his obligations that should not affect you since you have read it you should not assume even your man is that way, people are different the few people shown in newspapers don't depict the whole population. We are supposed to accept diversity, we should understand

people according to how they present themselves, not what the magazines tell us because people have grown in different places, have different upbringings, there are people who believe in different things and not everybody is a liar. (Group 4, Respondent B, Lines 382-387, p. 24-25)

Like the male respondents, she contends that "people have grown in different places, have different upbringings, there are people who believe in different things and not everybody is a liar".

Here, we see the respondents making reference to themselves and the men they know giving credence to the argument that the interpretation of media texts is dependent on readers' social contexts and history. They consequently see a mismatch between their social reality and what the magazines present which forms the basis of their resistance.

6.4.2 They Only Want to Market to Gain Profit

The following respondents felt there was nothing real about the masculine identities constructed by pullout magazines. To them, most of it is fiction used as marketing gimmick:

Text 6.11

According to me, these magazines are the editor's view trying to market the newspaper, so what they write is exaggerated. They need more readers-- exaggerated by trying to generalize the men, this is what men do, this is what men don't do, it is good to agree that they normally pick a case and try to get a general idea about men so they try to give a clue of who a man is.

In text 6.11, the respondent claims that what we read in pullout magazines is "the editor's view trying to market the newspaper". To him, the editors exaggerate male identities as a tool for marketing the newspapers. As Richardson (2007) has argued, the relationship between a magazine and its audience is based on the fulfillment of audience expectations. Exaggeration may therefore be used by pullout magazines' writers to meet the expectations of the readers. This in turn improves the profitability of the magazines. The respondent in 6.12 traces the source of what the pullout magazines write about men to celebrities:

Text 6.12

the magazines are too general about how men behave I read one about what men want, how they look for wife material, and so on I don't know if they do research or they just pick some celebrities and ask them their questions or they even go to the majority of the people the common people and ask for their views or they just go for a few dominant people and ask them such questions most of the magazines you see these celebs and their views I wonder if they talk to other people you know the celebs are the ones selling if somebody is a celeb through their views may be the magazines get a lot of sales because people want to read about somebody and the celebs are so dominant in magazines may be they want to market their products or something. (Group 4, Respondent D, Lines 388-394, p. 25)

To this female respondent, the magazines do not conduct any research from the majority of the people; their construction of men only reflects the identities of the celebrities: "the magazines get a lot of sales because people want to read about somebody and the celebs are so dominant in magazines". The views of this respondent are given force by the observations of Macnamara (2006) who argues that media content is contributed by a small number of people, for example, politicians and other prominent people. Thus, this narrow selection of sources may not reflect widespread social attitudes, but particular viewpoints and attitudes. In 6.13, the respondent suggests that magazines base their construction of male identity on popular thinking in a certain historical period:

Text 6.13

A writer --before a writer writes there is something that triggered that idea, for example, there was a period in Kenya when men were killing chicks, I mean women, so if the writer is writing during that period, she will portray a guy as a beast, as a serial killer, as a cheater, so when reading that kind of magazine and you see the kind of thing that is happening, you also get that fear so I will say depending on what is happening that is how men will be portrayed and the writer wants to sell. (Group 2, Respondent B, Lines 162-166, p. 10).

This female respondent, for example, argues that "depending on what is happening that is how men will be portrayed and the writer wants to sell". She emphasizes that if there are reports of men killing women, then the magazines will depict men as murderers.

The twin concerns of pullout magazines articulating the views of the editor and those of celebrities are well documented by a number of scholars Macnamara (2006), for example, argues that reporters and editors are selective in the people they quote and that other potentially relevant sources and comments are ignored. Even more revealing is the observation that editors further edit what these celebrities write which supports the argument that what people read in pullout

magazines may be the product of magazines and celebrities. Similarly, Fairclough (2001) asserts that the people and groups chosen as sources of information in the media do not represent the whole population equally. He concludes that it is significant to interrogate who, for example, gets interviewed and whose point of view is adopted. These arguments seem to give credence to the respondents' view that representations of men in the media reflect a narrow viewpoint.

Their view that the main concern of pullout magazines and their parent newspaper is to make profit also seems to have the support of many commentators. Citing a number of researchers, Richardson (2008), for instance, notes that making reference to celebrities sells. He further argues that in a capitalist society where profit is the motive, advertizing forces the media to favour light entertainment rather than serious stories based on thorough investigation. Thus, the resistance of the above respondents seems to emerge from an awareness of how modern capitalism works; that capitalism no longer relies on tangible goods but on encouraging consumerism. Within this mode of thinking, audiences become consumers or commodities to be sold to advertisers.

6.4.3 Negative Portrayal of Men Discourages Young Women

It has been argued that readers not only have background knowledge, but they also have agenda (Hall, 1980; Richardson 2008). This is amply demonstrated by the following respondents who resist pullout magazines' construction of men because these magazines' negativity jeopardizes their chances of getting married:

Text 6.14

> *So as for me I would say am not very happy with the way these magazines portray men as much as they have a right to critique the way men behave. But you see the main readers of these magazines are youth or young people, so the kind of impression they are trying to create about men is very negative so, for example, young girls in most cases they do read these papers so what they get about men is all negative, --so that's why you find young girls most of them talking they better stay not married because when they get married this guy will start playing me and they will not find that true love that they are looking for. So I am simply saying that am not happy with the way they are portraying men because they are so much into the negative as much as they have the right of critique. (Group 1, Respondent D, Lines 53-68, p. 4)*

In text 6.14, the male respondent seems to feel that portraying men as dishonest, promiscuous and irresponsible will make it impossible for young girls to view marriage positively. The respondent seems unconcerned about the truthfulness of what the magazines say, yet, that is the central issue. This means he is out to defend the institution of marriage at whatever cost. In text 6.15 the female respondent makes references to herself in rejecting the magazines' construction:

Text 6.15

> *I don't like the way they are portrayed because they are largely portrayed in a negative way. So this one discourages the youth who are looking for men to marry, for example, somebody like me who is in the field looking for someone to marry, but now I hear of men who are barbaric, so I wonder: if all of them are like that where am I going to get somebody who is right? There must be a few good men, they should be a little bit neutral, so that I can see there is still hope you see, I read one article, another one with the same information; I'll be influenced to believe they are all bad. (Group 2, Respondent D, Lines 190-194, p. 12)*

The respondent in text 6.15 says "like me who is in the field looking for someone to marry, but now I hear of men who are barbaric". This is a case of respondents' resistance being informed by their social backgrounds and culture. They argue from the perspective of a traditional socialization that views marriage as compulsory, thus, any argument that appears to dent their hopes of getting a good partner is resisted.

6.4.4 Traditional Man under Siege

The following respondents oppose the way pullout magazines construct masculine identities claiming that the traditional African man who was all dominant is under assault.

Text 6.16

> *I think the traditional role of a man is being diminished by these writers, because the kind of man that is portrayed is not the traditional man, who was in full control, who could order things around that is not the kind of man we get in the magazines, the kind of man we get in the magazines is a man who is irresponsible, ya, if you look at some of the female writers, they come up with somebody who is not ready to take care of their family, who may impregnate somebody and then run away, unlike the traditional man who was always there for the family, so they*

don't bring out the traditional man, they bring out the modern man which I don't agree with. (Group 1, Respondent A, Lines 137-142, p. 9)

This respondent is at variance with a modern way of constructing men as exemplified by text 6.16 where the respondent protests that "they don't bring out the traditional man, they bring out the modern man which I don't agree with". From the perspective of text 6.16, the idea of an African man is one "who was in full control, who could order things around, that is not the kind of man we get in the magazines…". This is an invocation of hegemonic masculinity where the true, normal or correct masculinity is perceived to be in terms of domination and control. Reference to the past shows that this is an old discourse when men had a lot of power and no restrictions. In text 6.17, the respondent specifically opposes what she sees as a foreign way of presenting male identities:

Text 6.17

> *According to my idea, the way they talk about men, I don't think they try to bring out the African culture, they talk about westernizing things like the staff they talk about are western culture and technologies, so they don't try to bring out the African styles and culture, so that we can at least see our tradition and culture is growing and continuing they are just making us adopt the western culture than boost our traditional culture. (Group 4, Respondent A, Lines 337-340, p. 22).*

This female respondent complains that "I don't think they try to bring out the African culture, they talk about westernizing things". Labelling the magazines' "foreign" may be a way of legitimizing a traditional outlook of masculinity. As mentioned previously, Simiyu (2007) has shown that one strategy of entrenching patriarchy is fragmentation, where negative expressions and associations are used to describe groups and entities that seek to challenge male domination. Thus, while the claim that magazines present an alienated westernized man may be true, the construction of the traditional man as ideal points to possible manipulation. It needs to be stated here that since readers (decoders) have their own agenda, they can manipulate or distort reality the same way the media (encoders) manipulate and distort.

6.4.5 The illusion of a Perfect Man

In the following texts, the respondents oppose the image of a man who is perfect arguing that this is a kind of fantasy since such men do not exist. They dismiss such constructions as potentially misleading:

Text 6.18

> *In contrast with what she has said there is also this element of Prince charming, this guy who doesn't exist, the extremely good guy, the one who doesn't do anything wrong, the perfect one who is what, so when a lady reads this and in her relationship things are not going on well, so she will tend to wonder that I know there is somebody like this who exists, so why can't you be like so and so I read in the newspaper? Why can't you be doing this and this? Magazines write to captivate their readers and so in that process readers get carried away, so they try to bring it in real life something that does not exist. (Group 2, Respondent B, Lines 195-201, p. 12).*

In text 6.18, the female respondent opposes the tendency of magazines to present some men as perfect whom she sarcastically describes as "prince charming". This may be seen as a way of resisting hegemonic masculinity where some men are seen as perfect.Text 6.19 argues against the presentation of the ideal man as rich. This, to the respondent, creates a mirage for women where they may keep chasing a man that they may never encounter:

Text 6.19

> *I tend to disagree with that point of men being rich I think a man is a person who is responsible a man who can take care of his family and his obligations that is what really defines a man it is not a matter of being rich or handsome I don't think these magazines portray us as what we should be according to me men should be taken on their responsibility. (Group 3, Respondent A, Lines 306-308, p. 19).*

This resistance is predicated on reality since the majority of Kenyan men come from rural peasant families that must struggle for daily sustenance. The World Bank (2013), for example, categorizes Kenya among low income countries. Similarly, a report by IFAD (2013) says that nearly half of Kenya's forty million people are poor and unable to meet their daily nutritional needs. These figures would appear to justify these respondents' view that the generalized presentation of men who are rich is premised on fantasy. Again, the observation that readers' responses and interpretations to media texts are based on their own experiences and backgrounds

is seen at play here since these respondents seem to see a disconnect between the men presented by pullout magazines and the men they daily live with.

Readers used various linguistic and rhetorical strategies to express their opposition to the way pullout magazines construct masculine identities. Some of these strategies are discussed below:

6.4.6 Linguistic Analysis of Readers' Resistance to Pullout Magazines Construction of Masculine Identities

The following are some of the linguistic strategies used to resist magazines' construction of masculinities:

(a) Pronoun Use

In text 6.8, the respondent opposes what he sees as generalization of male identity in pullout magazines. He consequently uses the singular second person pronoun "you" and the singular first person "I" to emphasize his argument that men are unique and thus identities should not be generalized. This can clearly be seen in the way the respondent tries to contrast masculine identities in the following utterance: "they tend to treat the man in general like you are the same as I am". We see a similar tendency in text 6.9 where the respondent uses the personal singular personal pronoun "I" and the singular reflexive pronoun "myself" to contrast his identity to the identities of other men as in the following example: "I look at myself as a man I tend to disagree because that is not the kind of man that I am". Thus, singularization of pronouns can be seen as a strategy of asserting unique male identity and resisting generalized identities.

(b) Resisting Generalization through Noun Phrases

Generalization of male identities is similarly opposed through the use of singular noun phrases. In text 6.10, the respondent uses the singular noun phrases "a man" and "that man" as in the sentence "you know, a man is according to that man you are living with" to affirm individuality in constructing male identity. In this utterance, the respondent is contrasting the specific man a woman lives with and the generalized images of the men in magazines.

(c) Use of Emphatic Adverbs as a Tool of Resistance

In text 6.12 the respondent repeatedly uses emphatic adverbs like "just" and "even" to strengthen her opposition to pullout magazines' construction of male identity. In the utterance "just pick some celebrities and ask them their questions", for example, the respondent emphasizes her view that what we get in magazines is a representation of only a few people's views'. She also wonders if "they even go to the majority". Here, "even" serves the opposite purpose of strengthening the argument that the views of the majority concerning how they feel about male identity are ignored. These emphatic adverbs therefore serve the purpose of strengthening the respondent's opposition to the way pullout magazines construct men.

(d) Resistance through Negation

Varied negating strategies were used by the respondents to oppose the construction of men by pullout magazines. Instructively, the frequency of these negating devices also emphasizes the respondents' degree of resistance. The most common method of negating in these texts is the use "not" as in text 6.16 where the respondent says "not the traditional man, who was in full control". In this text, the respondent uses "not" four times to emphasize his opposition to what he sees as construction of modern male identities in pullout magazines rather than traditional ones. In the same text, he uses negative verbs to negate as in "the role of a man is being diminished". The verb "diminished" is also used to emphasize this opposition. We additionally see the negative adverb "unlike" being used to serve the same purpose. In 6.12 the respondent negates indirectly as in the following sentence: "I wonder if they talk to other people you know the celebs…". Since she has already indicated that magazines do not do research but only talk to celebrities it is clear that this sentence is a toned down version of "they don't talk to other people except celebs". This kind of negation introduces a form of sneering at the magazines' writers for the respondent is trying to be deceptively mild.

(e) Resistance through Rhetorical Questions

In text 6.15, the respondent uses a rhetorical question to express her view that when pullout magazines present men in a negative way they discourage young women from getting married. She pauses: "if all of them are like that, where am I going to get somebody who is right?" In this question, she also implies that all men cannot be as bad as the magazines suggest, thus the need to oppose that kind of representation. Similarly, in text 6.18, the respondent argues that when

magazines depict men who are perfect they create strife in relationships as women wonder why their men cannot be like that. She says: "I know there is somebody like this who exists, so why can't you be like so and so I read in the newspaper? Why can't you be doing this and this?". Using these rhetorical questions, she puts herself in the position of such women in order to emphasize that these kinds of scenarios are a reality. This justifies her opposition to that kind of construction of male identity.

(f) Repetition as a Tool of Resistance

In text 6.10, the respondent uses the word "different" four times to oppose what she describes as the generalization of male identities. This is exemplified in the following sentence: "people have grown in different places, have different upbringings, there are people who believe in different things…". The constant repetition of the word "difference" serves to highlight the discourse of diversity rather than uniformity. We also see repetition in text 6.11 where the respondent repeats the word "exaggerate" to underscore her view that pullout magazines look for ways of making profit rather than present real male identities she observes "…so what they write is exaggerated. They need more readers, exaggerated by trying to generalize the men, this is what men do, and this is what men don't do…" The subsequent repetition of the clause "this is what men…" also seeks to stress her concern that what magazines write about men is generalized and exaggerated for the sole reason of making a profit. Similarly, in texts 6.17 and 6.18, the respondents repeat the contrasting terms "traditional" and "western". Their argument is that the men presented by magazines are alienated and are not consistent with the image of a traditional African man. The repetitive contrasting of the two seeks to highlight the merit of a traditional man as opposed to a westernized one. Thus, this repetition justifies their resistance as the male identities that the magazines present are cast as foreign thus inappropriate.

(g) Prince Charming as a Metaphor

In text 6.18, the respondent rejects the notion that there is a perfect man as presented by pullout magazines. She derisively calls this kind of a man "prince charming". The character of a "prince charming" is to be found in fairy tales, this romantic handsome man who comes to the rescue of young women who are in trouble. Hence, it is easy to see that this kind of reference is suggestive of fantasy other than reality since fairy tales are themselves a creature of our

imaginations. The metaphor, thus, reinforces resistance to this kind of construction by dismissing it as fantasy. Secondly, this metaphor also draws attention to the idea that women are constructed by magazines being weak and dependent on men. This provides further grounds for the resistance of magazines presentation of some men as perfect.

(h) Contrasting Self with Magazines' Representations

Some respondents use contrast to illuminate their opposition to the way pullout magazines construct male identity. In text 6.9, for example, the respondent contrasts what the magazines say about male identity and his own identity to show that what they write is false. He says: "The general message is that men are irresponsible but when I look at myself as a man I tend to disagree because that is not the kind of man that I am". The respondent then gives a personal narrative of himself as a responsible man as opposed to the pullout magazines' representation of men as irresponsible.

(i) Opposing through Sarcasm

In text 6.18, the respondent uses sarcasm to deride and ridicule pullout magazines for presenting men who are perfect. Thus, this sarcasm is a tool for protesting that such men do not exist as seen in the following quotation: "the extremely good guy, the one who doesn't do anything wrong, the perfect one". In this sentence, she deceptively uses three positive noun phrases in succession in order to intensify her sarcasm. Sarcasm often exposes speakers' emotions and this particular instance is no exception; the respondent's bitterness at the way pullout magazines construct male identities is palpable.

6.4.7 Why Respondents Resist Pullout Magazines' Construction of Masculine Identities

The reasons behind resistance uncovered various ideologies as can be seen from the following:

6.4.7.1 Masculine Identities are Unique

One of the most scathing criticisms of pullout magazines is that their construction of masculine identities is generalized. Respondents, for example, made reference to themselves to

prove that what the magazines wrote about men in general was at variance with their own identities. This view is in accordance with a post-modern conceptualization of multiple identities even within an individual. Giddens, for example, sees identity formation as a reflexive project where we create, maintain and revise a biographical narrative of who we are (Gauntlet, 2002). Barker (1999) argues in similar terms saying that identity is not a fixed thing but a socially constructed project that is always shifting. Speaking about women in *Gender Trouble*, Judith Butler criticized feminism for constructing women as if they were a single entity oppressed by another unitary group called 'men' (Butler, 1999). She argued that constructing gender as stable is not only sexist but also contributes in the marginalization of women. This is aptly mirrored by the respondents in this study who protest that magazines generalize men through giving them labels like "irresponsible" and "unfaithful". Indeed, Butler rejects the notion of giving people certain identities merely because they are male or female. One of the respondents captures this by pointing out that people come from "different places, have different upbringings, there are people who believe in different things". Resistance to this generalized construction thus seems to come from the recognition that the notion of gender is not universal but a performance of specific roles in specific contexts. We see reader agency in this resistance as the respondents seem to align themselves with a post-modern view of identities as multiple and socially constructed. The underlying ideology revolves around the primacy of the individual and opposition to essentialist depictions of gender

6.4.7.2 Resistance to Market-oriented Journalism

A substantial number of respondents dismissed pullout magazines' construction of male identity as a marketing gimmick. Their argument was that the magazines present men in a way that will make them sell and thus make profit. Indeed, in capitalist societies like Kenya, the primary motive for production is profit. The respondents, for example, argued that celebrities and bad news sell, justifying their argument that the magazines take the perspective of celebrities and generally present men negatively. It is true that media research tends to prove this view that celebrities, sex, bad news and entertainment sell. Like the respondents, Richardson (2007), for instance, argues that the market motive has a detrimental effect on journalism as it undermines the constitutive value of the profession such as truth telling. Thus, the respondents resist the pullout magazines' construction of men because it is a fabrication whose goal is profit- making.

The respondents reject the magazines' conceptualization of their audience as commodities to be sold to advertisers. In sum, these respondents are resisting the new face of capitalism which is aided by the ideology of consumerism.

6.4.7.3 Resistance in Furtherance of Personal Agenda

It has been argued that readers have their own agenda and may therefore not conform to mainstream and dominant messages. This is clearly manifested by some readers who resist the magazines' construction of men not because this construction is necessarily wrong, but because it conflicts with their personal goals. Some male respondents, for example, felt that when magazines present men as "unfaithful" it diminishes their chances of getting marriage partners. The female respondents corroborated this unease by arguing that negative presentations of men in the media dent their trust in men and consequently their chances of getting married. What is interesting here is that the respondents are not so much concerned about the truth but how the construction affects their personal interest. They seem to think within a traditional framework that perceives marriage as compulsory and divine, thus, any presentation that may potentially jeopardize this institution is resisted regardless of its merit. Thus, we see an alignment with a traditional ideology.

6.4.7.4 In Defence of African Culture

There are respondents who based their resistance of pullout magazines' construction of men on the argument that these constructions reflect a western conception of male identity. They specifically argue for a construction that gives emphasis to the traditional African man who was in full control of things. This kind of resistance seems to uphold the ideology of patriarchy, thus anything that challenges it is opposed. From the perspective of hegemonic masculinity, an ideal man should be dominant and superior to women. Thus, a critical look at what they call African culture is actually a common way of conceptualizing masculinity in parts of the world where patriarchy aided by hegemonic masculinity is the dominant ideology. Hence, their rejection of what they call the "westernized" or "modern" man is an affirmation of not just African culture but also hegemonic masculinity.

6.5 Summary

In this chapter, responses under analysis reveal that readers of pullout magazines fit within Hall's encoding/decoding model of audience research. We encounter readers who wholly conform to the male identities constructed by pullout magazines. Secondly, some readers take a negotiated position where they support some identities constructed by magazines and reject others. The final category of readers out rightly opposes the construction of male identity by pullout magazines.

The findings also paint a complex picture of identity construction among readers. Contradictions abound at various levels of analysis, for example, conformity to magazines' construction of male identity may mirror resistance to patriarchy. The converse is also true as we see readers who resist the magazines content because it seems to challenge the superiority of men.

The positions taken by the readers also seem to expose competing gender and economic ideologies. We, for instance witness readers take certain positions to support patriarchy or oppose it. The positions readers take also show conformity or resistance to consumerism and capitalism. Additionally, there are readers who exhibit conflicting gender ideologies in their negotiation of magazines' message.

Moreover, the chapter confirms that language is an important tool for production and reproduction of social reality. The language respondents use is consistent with the positions that they have taken. Linguistic and rhetorical strategies that seek to emphasize their positions are especially common. Intensifiers, repetition, contrast and negation to name but a few were strategically used by readers to further this goal.

Finally, this chapter also appears to have given conclusive evidence that readers do not passively internalize media messages since they have unique social backgrounds and histories. Even when they conform to magazines' construction of male identity, it is not necessarily out of being manipulated, but a result of conscious decisions to support what agrees with their sensibilities. We may therefore conclude that readers largely exercise agency in their response to the way pullout magazines construct masculine identities in Kenya.

CHAPTER SEVEN
SUMMARY, CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 Introduction

This chapter gives a summary of the findings of the research project and also seeks to discuss if the research questions were answered. Conclusions and recommendations are also offered as well as suggestions for further studies.

7.2 Summary of Findings

This study sought to answer the following research questions: What type of masculine identities are constructed by pullout magazines in Kenyan newspapers? How do pullout

magazines justify or legitimize construction of masculine identities? What type of masculine identities are constructed by readers of Kenyan pullout magazines and what type of language do they use to construct these identities? How do readers of Kenyan newspapers' pullout magazines conform to, negotiate or resist the magazines' construction of masculine identities and why do readers conform to, negotiate or resist these masculine identities as constructed in pullout magazines? This section is an attempt to summarize how those questions were answered within the studies theoretical framework.

7.2.1 Construction and Legitimization of Masculine identities in Pullout Magazines

The pullout magazines under analysis construct men as wielders of power, irresponsible, responsible, violent and insensitive. Some magazines also present some as being image conscious while others present them as weak and gullible. Additionally, some men are presented as feminine and gay.

It is possible to view these masculine constructions as representing two opposing ideologies. Some of the constructions tend to entrench the traditional belief that men are superior to women while the others seem to challenge this notion of male superiority. In presenting men as wielders of power, for example, the reader is persuaded that this is natural and cannot therefore be questioned.

On the other hand, irresponsible men are approached in two ways: some writers, especially the female ones, condemn men who act irresponsibly while their male counterparts tend to praise such men. Writers like Njoki Kaigai in *Playing with fire? Expect a Burn***,** position the readers to view such men in a negative way. She describes such men as promiscuous and also likens them to children who have no sense of responsibility. In Chris Harts *Why Bad Boys get all the Action*, the writer seems to use his discursive authority as a scientist to legitimize the notion that promiscuity is a good thing. Interestingly, even the articles that cast men as irresponsible end up creating the notion that men are superior since their point seems to be merely giving their opinion on how men behave rather than how they can be changed to create gender equality. Thus, the main discourse in these articles seeks to present hegemonic masculinity as correct or acceptable type of masculinity. Additionally, this kind of construction lacks a transformative agenda for it simply reproduces the status quo.

Contradiction is apparent within the articles that seek to portray the ideal man as one who is responsible. Men are for example advised to "man up" if they want to remain "top" which connotes that their superiority and dominance is natural and normal and cannot be questioned. This is of course consistent with discourses that seek to legitimize hegemonic masculinity and patriarchy as an ideology. In this article, the ideal man is also constructed as one who is not only sensitive and moderate but also one who shuns promiscuity. This seems to be an explicit opposition to the expectations of hegemonic masculinity. Contradictions like this may point to the complexity of male identity in a post-modern world.

The study also found that male identities constructed as gay and feminine are depicted as weak, abnormal, unnatural and inferior. Gay identities are additionally presented as a condition or diseases. The study further discussed gay identities in the context of how negatively the practice is viewed in Africa and Kenya in particular. Thus, the pullout magazines seem to be uncritically reproducing social reality.

The magazines also construct a man who is style and image conscious. Through this identity construction, the writers seem to be pursuing consumerist objectives. This discourse constructs the ideal man as one who is fashion savvy. High ranking people in society are, for example, presented as being at the fore front of indulging in this glamorous lifestyle of fashion. In short, this discourse constructs fashion conscious men as successful which implies that such a lifestyle is a condition for a happy and successful life. Feminization of masculinities in this way seems to be a critique on the traditional construction of masculinity which gives force to the argument that in a post-modern world identities keep shifting.

Lastly, the analysis also revealed the construction of a man who is weak and gullible. This type of a man is presented as dependent and in constant need for attention. This discourse, for instance, relies on infantization; the presentation of men with the qualities of children. We see men who compete for attention with their children and also men who throw tantrums when their wishes and desires are not met. By depicting men as fallible and dispensable, this discourse greatly erodes the ideology of patriarchy. It does this by demystifying the notion that men are naturally superior. As Fairclough notes, ideological uniformity is never achieved as there is conflict and struggle (Fairclough, 2001).

7.2.2 Legitimization of Construction of Masculine Identities in Pullout Magazines

It was found out that the magazines use various strategies to legitimize their construction. At the broad discursive level, we see argumentation, narration and dialogue being used pervasively. Moreover, linguistic and rhetorical devices are used to justify these constructions. They include pronouns, the present tense as a marker of expressive modality, generic noun phrases, agentless clauses, direct quotations, overwording, intertexuality, presupposition, metaphor, humour, and slang.

Argumentation is a strategy that was, for instance, widely used in the articles. To strengthen their arguments, writers use biblical allusions, the 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy, metaphors etc. Additionally, they position themselves as experts or authorities, for instance, some of them use science as a source of discursive authority. Argumentation in these pullout magazines also tends to position the readers as seekers of knowledge about men, thus, identities are constructed as factual. In so doing, the magazines seek to maintain their dominance over the reader. Narration is also common especially in fictional articles. In these narrations, writers arrogate authority to themselves by adopting the use of expressive modality. Narration is also used in dialogic help articles where people tell it in their own voices. This is obviously a strategy for legitimizing the identities constructed as authentic as the media do not necessarily mirror reality as every form of representation involves selection, exclusion and inclusion.

Pullout magazines' writers also attempt to maintain their dominant position by adopting linguistic devices and rhetorical tropes that seek to persuade the reader. The use of markers of expressive modality such as verbs in their present tense is extensively used to make categorical statements. This is a strategy for putting readers in a powerless subject position so that they do not question what the magazines claim. Generic noun phrases like "every modern man" are also used to create the impression that the identities the magazines construct apply to all men. The pronoun "you" is also pervasively used to create solidarity between the writers and the readers. Such solidarity is calculated to make the readers tolerate or accept the identities constructed by the magazines. Rhetorical devices such as metaphors and humour are also used as tools of persuasion, for example, in an attempt to woo men into consumerist lifestyles; male fashion is metaphorically described as a "low-hanging fruit". As Coffey (2009) observes, the power of humour to reinforce gender stereotypes lies in its deceptive harmlessness.

7.2.3 Construction of Masculine Identities by Readers of Pullout Magazines

Many of the identities constructed by the pullout magazines were also evident from the responses of the readers. We see men constructed by the readers as heads of the family, symbols of power and authority, sensitive and open. The identities of feminine and gay men were also discussed. Perhaps, what the readers gave little attention to was the idea of male fashion.

Most of the readers were categorical that man is the head of the family. There seemed to be a consensus that it is the society that has given men the position of dominance in the family. These respondents seem to believe that everything in the family revolves around the man and his failure is the failure of the family. This kind of argument is neatly linked to the theoretical position that hegemonic masculinity relies on cultural consent.

The respondents also view men as symbols of power and authority in all spheres of life. Respondents, for example, felt that to be a man means being able to do "extra-ordinary things" and being "all-round". Men were also constructed as law givers and sources of authority.

Unlike in the pullout magazines where the identity of the responsible man is closely related to opposition of hegemonic masculinity, here, respondents insist that men should be responsible to justify their dominant positions in society. A uniting assumption in the construction of this identity is that men should be responsible so that they can take care of women and children. Once again, we see the maintenance and perpetuation of social inequalities through naturalization.

Most of the respondents who talked about men's physical appearance were women and their ideas of an attractive man seemed to resonate with traditional notions of masculinity. Most of them appeared to favour men who are "tall", "big" and "official". All these traits are related to dominance, superiority and authority. The standard for an attractive man seems to be one who is taller or bigger than his female partner which of course positions women as subordinate to men.

Some respondents are also of the opinion that men should be more open and sensitive. This is a departure from the traditional conceptualization of a man. These respondents felt that these days women are also bread winners so men should also show their emotional side by, for example, playing with the baby. This is another manifestation of a challenge to dominant discourses concerning male identity. Unsurprisingly, the views of the respondents concerning feminine and gay men were not different from those expressed in the pullout magazines.

Linguistic devices consistent with spoken language were evident. Devices that seek to emphasize were especially common, for example, repetition, demonstrative pronouns, rhetorical

questions and non-standard dialects were used. The need to emphasize perhaps arises from the fact that members of the focus group discussions were all students in the same institutions. It can therefore be argued that there were no participants that were more powerful than the others. In such interactions no participant controls and constraints the contributions of the others. The participants must therefore look for other ways to persuade the other participants to buy their point of view. Emphatic strategies are therefore key in persuading others. Code mixing should be understood in the same way. In many instances the respondents switched to Sheng or Kiswahili to make the same point they had made in English.

Rhetorical devices were also used for strategic reasons. Some of the respondents used euphemisms as in the case of the respondent who said that a shy man "wants something" yet he does not talk. It might be easy to make direct reference to sex in writing but because this is spoken discourse the respondent results to euphemism to refer to sex. Respondents also used hyperboles in order to emphasize and strengthen their views on men.

7.2.4 Construction of Readers' Conformity, Negotiation or Resistance in Pullout Magazines

All these three positions were evident from the findings of the study which was not surprising. The analysis of the construction of masculine identities in pullout magazines revealed as it had been theorized that male identities are multiple rather than singular. Additionally, in keeping with the theoretical position, masculine identities as presented by pullout magazines were contradictory.

The respondent who conformed to the way magazines present men felt that the magazines have a right to present men the way they do since they have their own interests. The respondent, for example, argued that it was noble for the magazines to be motivated by profit. To achieve this goal the magazines have a responsibility to entertain their readers even if their constructions did not mirror the real men in society. This kind of conformity seems to rest in the false comfort that magazines' content does not habour any ideology since it is mere entertainment. In this particular situation, conformity seems to miss the overall ideology of consumer capitalism.

Negotiated positions with regard to pullout magazines' construction of masculine identity showed an attempt by the readers to bring the magazines' message closer to their understanding of reality. We therefore see readers reject, alter and accept some of the magazines presentations, for example, there are readers who oppose what they see as the magazines' encouragement of

male chauvinism, but support the way some magazines' articles condemn male irresponsibility. Similarly, we encounter a respondent who supports the "bad boy" identity as constructed by magazines arguing that it will serve as a warning to women, but the same respondent rejects the practice of presenting some men as perfect and eligible.

Resistance to the magazines' construction of male identity involved outright rejection of the identities constructed and also the manner in which the identities are constructed. Resistance also seemed to reflect the personal agenda of the respondents. It was apparent that most of the respondents read pullout magazines selectively and based their opposition on those topics that they usually read. Some of the respondents dismissed the male identities constructed by the magazines as generalized. The male respondents tended to contrast what the magazines said about men with their own identities. Apart from making reference to themselves, other respondents, including women, argued that the men they knew were different from the generalized portrayals of the magazines. There were respondents who also believed that what the magazines write is purely motivated by pursuit of profit thus unacceptable. Some felt that magazines hardly do any research and what they write is based on the views of a few celebrities because celebrities sell. Additionally, opposition was based on the perception that the identities constructed by magazines are foreign and do not resonate with African culture.

Linguistic and rhetorical devices used seemed to suit the respondents agenda of conforming, negotiating or resisting. Repetition, direct speech and silence were for example, used to aid conformity. In using direct speech, for instance, a respondent assumed the voice of the magazine. Silence was used to avoid articulating issues that would otherwise question the magazines.

Similarly, respondents chose carefully the language of their negotiated position. We, for example, see idioms like "two sides of the coin" being used to reflect a respondent's middle position with regard to the way magazines construct male identity.

The language of resistance appears to be even more explicit. Singular pronouns and noun phrase are, for example, used to underscore the argument that masculine identity is individual rather than general as the magazines present it. We see "I", "you", "a man" and "that man" employed to state this particularity of male identity. Similarly, the frequency of negating markers like "not" and "unlike" is eye-catching in this discourse of resistance. Contrast and sarcasm are also evident as strategies of resistance. Respondents, for example, contrast their own identities to

those constructed by the magazines. Sarcasm on its part is strategically used to ridicule magazines' presentation of men.

7.2.5 Reasons for Readers' Conformity, Negotiation or resistance to masculine Identities as Constructed in Pullout Magazines

This question sought to uncover the ideologies behind the respondents' positions. In addition, it attempted to reveal the implications of these positions in terms of agency. The multiplicity, instability and contradictory nature of modern male identities constructed by pullout magazines' readers points to a similar multiplicity and contradiction in the ideologies that underlie these identities.

It was revealed that conformity in this analysis is fed by an underlying ideology of consumerism. The respondent who wholly supported the magazines' content argued that magazines had a right to represent male identity in whichever way they wanted since they needed to make profit. She, additionally argued that readers benefited by getting entertainment from the illusionary manner in which men were portrayed. The analysis exposed her alignment with the ideology of consumerism engendered by capitalism. It was argued that the respondent chose to keep silent about the effects of this profit driven journalism.

Two opposing ideologies were evident in readers' negotiated positions. Negotiation, on the one hand, exposed support for the ideology of patriarchy. This group of readers supported magazines' depiction of men as superior to women but vehemently opposed articles that emphasized female empowerment or suggested any challenge to male hegemony. The other ideological position expressed opposition to magazines tendency to create a male centered world, which is an obvious rejection to patriarchy. Conversely, these respondents supported a representation of men that challenged their dominance. These findings validate the post-modern notion that meaning does not wholly reside in the text but it is the product of the interaction between the reader and the text.These readers espouse positions that reconcile with the ideologies that shape their world views. They also prove that readers are active rather than passive and have their own agenda which may entrench social inequalities or transform society. Interestingly, there were respondents who seemed to manifest an ideological conflict in their

negotiation. One respondent, for instance, rejected the sexual objectification of women but seemed to support the patriarchal view that men should wield economic power in order to take care of women. This was seen to resonate with the feeling that there is a sense of uncertainty in modern masculinities. Additionally, readers themselves have shifting interests which also shift their responses (Guillard, 2011).

The readers who resisted the way magazines constructed masculine identities similarly exposed varying ideologies. Support for patriarchy was, for example, revealed in readers who opposed pullout magazines' constructions because they did not give emphasis to the traditional man who had control of everything. In them, we see a preoccupation with the status quo and a rejection of transformation of society alongside equal relations of gender. Some respondents also opposed the consumer ideology entrenched by pullout magazines. They saw profit as the primary motive behind the male identities constructed. To them, these men presented in magazines were at best unrepresentative and at worst fictional and only used as a bait to make profit by the newspapers. The underlying implication is that these readers have taken sides with the vast majority that are exploited by modern capitalism which underlies their agency and need for transformative social change. Similarly, we see support for an ideology that stresses on individual agency and centrality when some respondents rejected the generalized and essentialist depiction of men in magazines. In the resistance of these respondents we see actualization of the argument that in any form of dominance there will always be resistance and accordingly ideological uniformity is a mirage.

7.3 Conclusion

This study sought to find out if there is a disconnect between the way pullout magazines in Kenyan newspapers construct masculine identities and the way readers of these magazines construct them. This analysis was based on the assumption that pullout magazines are the dominant group while readers are subordinate. As a reminder, journalism is an exclusive profession and consequently it is perhaps only journalists who have the privilege of producing journalistic discourse. Indeed, as Fairclough (2001) has warned the notion of free speech is a myth since in the context of journalism even letters to magazines from readers are edited to suit the ideology of the publication. Many others are altogether excluded for various reasons. Thus,

the constitution of focus group discussions was an attempt to provide the readers of these magazines with a voice.

The findings of the study painted a rather complex picture. To begin with, the analysis of the construction of masculine identities by the magazines not only revealed multiple identities but also contradictory ones at times. The same tendency was manifested by the readers' construction of male identities. These findings are consistent with a post-modern view of gender identities as espoused by scholars like Giddens and Gauntlet (see, Gauntlet, 2002). It was therefore not surprising to see the readers adopt the three positions of reader response theorized by Hall (1993), namely conformity, negotiation and resistance. Like the editors, it emerged that the readers also select what they read thus their responses are directed at the content they usually read.

7.4 Recommendations

The finding that masculine identities are multiple reinforces the argument that there is no normal or abnormal masculinity. It gives credence to Giddens argument that self identity is a continuous reflexive project (Giddens, 2002). This understanding will help the Kenyan society to be more tolerant to men who exhibit identities that are not in consonance with hegemonic masculinity. As has been revealed, Kenyans-including their leaders-have hostile and contemptuous attitudes towards feminine and homosexual men. These identities are regarded as abnormal and unacceptable. Indeed, the study has shown that such men have also been conditioned to view themselves as being unnatural. Thus, Kenyan institutions such as the family, the school, legal departments, and civil society need to come up with policies that cater and protect men who manifest identities that do not resonate with hegemonic masculinity.

This brings us to the concern that the boy child in Kenya has been neglected and too much attention is being given to girls and women. Much of this concern seems to end at the argument that boys and men are no longer what they were in the traditional society. While some of these concerns are justified, this study has revealed that in post-modern societies like Kenya multiplicity and contradiction in male identity are the norm rather than exception. The recommendation here is that more studies need to be done in order to understand the changing roles of men while at the same time appreciating that contradictions in male identities are normal in a post-modern society.

Many respondents were also opposed to the way in which magazines generalized men. In fact, in the analysis of magazines and readers' responses, the theoretical position that gender is socially constructed has been confirmed. This is a timely reminder to media practitioners that a generic and essentialist presentation of men is not only sexist but also fallacious. These kinds of presentations not only misrepresent men but also serve as an obstacle to the emancipation of women. If women are going to achieve equality, then they need to be aware that men are unique and stereotyping them will only halt women's liberation. Thus, the media should cease generalizing in order to achieve gender equality.

The resistance to the ideology of consumerism espoused by magazines shows that magazines should balance their profit-making pursuits with truthful and well researched representations of male identity. This is aptly captured by Richardson (2007) who warns that trivializing issues for purely profit reasons undermines the constitutive value of journalism which is truth telling. Media practitioners must wake up to the realization that journalism should not become a mere commodity devoid of ethics and objectivity.

The study also revealed that many female magazines' writers tended to present men negatively. This not only denigrates men but potentially entrenches those bad practices for it creates the impression that it is normal for men to behave badly. As some respondents pointed out, all men cannot be bad, thus there is need for female writers to give more attention to men who are progressive and believe in gender equality. Indeed, Coffey (2009) has warned that derogatory treatment of men validates gender discrimination. This is inimical to women's own liberation.

The study has also shown that pullout magazines are a fruitful site for studying masculine identities in Kenya. Additionally, the power of the readership to negotiate their own interpretations and resist some representations has been demonstrated. It is therefore clear that it is valuable for readers of pullout magazines to read them critically as what they write is not mere entertainment.

7.5 Suggestions for Further Research

The current study confined itself to how masculine identities are constructed by newspapers' pullout magazines. This is just a small area of the media as modern media has many faces. Research on how men are presented in the electronic media and its implications on gender

relations needs to be done. It would be, for example, interesting to find out how men are represented in prime time news. Television has a wide reach and such research would have far reaching implications on the Kenyan society. At the moment, for example, the issue of insecurity has become daunting and the media is awash with reports of terrorist and gang attacks at both regional and national levels. A study of how men are represented by the media in relation to this insecurity would go a long way in not only understanding men but also resolving these conflicts.

Additionally, more audience research needs to be done. As many scholars have pointed out recently, a lot of media research tends to focus on the encoding of the message by the media rather than how that message is decoded by the audience. The current research made such an attempt but more needs to be done especially at a time when global trends filter everyday into the Kenyan society. How, for example, does European football affect young men in Kenya? How does it influence the way they view themselves? What discursive strategies are used by foreign football commentators to construct players and managers, and how does it contribute to the construction of identity among Kenyan men? How do popular footballers shape the identity of young men in Kenya? These are just a few concerns that could be interrogated.

The current study did not raise much concerning how men are constructed with regard to Kenyan politics. Sunday newspapers in Kenya are full of political commentaries and it is also a fact that much political activity in the country revolves around men. It would be interesting to interrogate into the discursive construction of men in this respect. Additionally, it would be illuminating to unearth how these commentaries affect both men and women in terms of their aspirations to leadership. Moreover, how these commentaries shape Kenyans attitudes towards male politicians would be interesting to uncover.

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APPENDIX A

Background Information

Instructions: Please provide the following details as honestly as possible. Your responses will be used purely for research purposes and will be treated with utmost confidentiality. Please do not write your name.

Date of Birth------------------------

Place of Birth----------------------------

Sex--

Home County-----------------------------------

Year of Study-----------------------

APPENDIX B

BIO-DATA OF RESPONDENTS

Group 1Respondent A

Date of Birth-1992

Place of Birth-Kakamega

Sex-Male

Name of University-Kagumo College

Year of Study-First

Group 1Respondent B

Date of Birth-1992

Place of Birth-Nyeri

Sex-Male

Name of University-Kagumo College

Year of Study-Second year

Group 1Respondent C

Date of Birth-1991

Place of Birth-Migori

Sex-Male

Name of University-Kagumo College

Year of Study-Third year

Group 1Respondent D

Date of Birth-1992

Place of Birth-Nairobi

Sex-Male

Name of University-Kagumo College

Year of Study-First

Group 1Respondent E

Date of Birth-1991

Place of Birth-Thika

Sex-Male

Name of University-Kagumo College

Year of Study-Second

Group 1Respondent F

Date of Birth-1993

Place of Birth-Siaya

Sex-Male

Name of University-Kagumo College

Year of Study-First

Group 2 Respondent A

Date of Birth-1990

Place of Birth-Migori

Sex-Female

Name of University-Kagumo College

Year of Study-Third

Group 2 Respondent B

Date of Birth-1991

Place of Birth-Murang'a

Sex-Female

Name of University-Kagumo College

Year of Study-Second year

Group 2 Respondent C

Date of Birth-1989

Place of Birth-Kisii

Sex-Female

Name of University-Kagumo College

Year of Study-Third year

Group 2 Respondent D

Date of Birth-1992

Place of Birth-Meru

Sex-Female

Name of University-Kagumo College

Year of Study-Second

Group 2 Respondent E

Date of Birth-1991

Place of Birth-Machakos

Sex-Female

Name of University-Kagumo College

Year of Study-Second

Group 2 Respondent F

Date of Birth-1994

Place of Birth-Nakuru

Sex-Female

Name of University-Kagumo College

Year of Study-First

Group 3 Respondent A

Date of Birth-1991

Place of Birth-Bungoma

Sex-Male

Name of University-Kimathi University

Year of Study-First

Group 3 Respondent B

Date of Birth-1990

Place of Birth-Nyeri

Sex-Male

Name of University-Kimathi University

Year of Study-Second

Group 3 Respondent C

Date of Birth-1991

Place of Birth-Kisumu

Sex-Male

Name of University-Kimathi University

Year of Study-Third year

Group 3Respondent D

Date of Birth-1993

Place of Birth-Nairobi

Sex-Male

Name of University-Kimathi University

Year of Study-First

Group 3Respondent E

Date of Birth-1991

Place of Birth-Eldoret
Sex-Male

Name of University-Kimathi University

Year of Study-Second

Group 3Respondent F

Date of Birth-1994

Place of Birth-Subukia

Sex-Male

Name of University-Kimathi University

Year of Study-First

Group 4 Respondent A

Date of Birth-1989

Place of Birth-Kikuyu

Sex-Female

Name of University-Kimathi University

Year of Study-Third

Group 4Respondent B

Date of Birth-1990

Place of Birth-Embu

Sex-Female

Name of University-Kimathi University

Year of Study-Fourth

Group 4 Respondent C

Date of Birth-1989

Place of Birth-Kirinyaga

Sex-Female

Name of University-Kimathi University

Year of Study-Fourth

Group 4Respondent D

Date of Birth-1992

Place of Birth-Kericho

Sex-Female

Name of University-Kimathi University

Year of Study-Second

Group 4 Respondent E

Date of Birth-1989

Place of Birth-Kitui

Sex-Female

Name of University-Kimathi University

Year of Study-Fourth

Group 4Respondent F

Date of Birth-1994

Place of Birth-Eldoret

Sex-Male

Name of University-Kimathi University

Year of Study-First

APPENDIX C

Focus Group Discussion Questions

Instructions: Please answer the following questions as honestly as possible. Your responses will be used purely for research purposes and will be treated with utmost confidentiality.

1. What type of men do you think are portrayed in these magazines?
2. How do you think men are portrayed in pullout magazines in Kenya?
3. What do you like or don't like about the way men are portrayed in pullout magazines and why?
4. For you, what does it mean to be a man and why?

PULLOUT MAGAZINES' ARTICLES ANALYZED TO IDENTIFY AND DESCRIBE MASCULINE IDENTITIES

A: Men as Wielders of Power

Name of Author	Title of Article	Pullout Magazine	Newspaper
Jackson Biko	A skill-set for every modern Man	Saturday	Saturday Nation, Nov 7, 2012

B: The Irresponsible Man

Name of Author	Title of Article	Pullout Magazine	Newspaper
Letter from a reader	I Impregnated My Fiancées sister	The Dude	The Standard, Nov 14, 2012
Letter from a reader	I Bore Him Girls: He's Now Leaving Us	Woman Instinct	The Saturday Standard, Nov 24, 2012

Chris Hart	Why Bad Guys Get all the Action	Lifestyle	Sunday Nation, August 26, 2012
Jack	How Does a Man Become a Bad Boy?	Woman Instinct	The Saturday Standard, Dec 8, 2012
Tony Mochama	Stay Clear of Come We Stay	Woman Instinct	The Saturday Standard, Nov 17, 2012
Carlos Mureithi and Eugene Mbugua	Why Fun-loving Urban Socialites are Flocking to the Car Salons	Lifestyle	Sunday Nation, Jan 27 2013

C: The Responsible Man

Name of Author	Title of Article	Pullout Magazine	Newspaper
Simon	Want to Be a Gentleman? Stay on Top	The Dude	The Standard, July 11, 2012

D: The Feminine and Gay Man

Name of Author	Title of Article	Pullout Magazine	Newspaper
Jackson Biko	Come on, Now!	Saturday	Saturday Nation, May 5, 2012
Interviews with Women	Do Women Care About Men's	Saturday	Saturday Nation, Oct 13, 2012
Unnamed	Confessions of a Gay Married Man	Saturday	Saturday Nation, Nov 3, 2012

E: The Style and Image Conscious Man

Name of Author	Title of Article	Pullout Magazine	Newspaper
Carlo Odero	The Shift in Male Style	Lifestyle	Sunday Nation, Sept 23, 2012
Larry Abuchere (Interview)	Passion for Fashion	The Dude	The Standard, July 18 2012
Joe Muthui (Interview)	I Love Braiding Hair	The Dude	The Standard, June 6 2012
Unnamed	Do Women Care about Men's Body Size?	Saturday	Saturday Nation, Oct 13, 2012

F: The Weak and Gullible Man

Name of Author	Title of Article	Pullout Magazine	Newspaper

Peter Max	Fatherhood Jealousy Creeps in	Woman Instinct	The Saturday Standard, Dec 1 2012
Caroline Njung'e	Men and their Bar Purchases	Lifestyle	Sunday nation, Aug 19, 2012

G:The Violent and Insensitive Man

Name of Author	Title of Article	Pullout Magazine	Newspaper
Unnamed	Lights out for Ben	Saturday	Saturday Nation, Nov 3, 2012

APPENDIX E

SAMPLE OF TRANSCRIPTIONS OF MASCULINE IDENTITIES CONSTRUCTED BY READERS OF PULLOUT MAGAZINES

A: Man the Head

Text 5.1

But men ought to be very responsible caring and understanding because the society has dictated that or said that man is the head of the family and therefore men ought to lead. Now, if the man becomes a failure it means that that family fails including may be the sons, those who are looking up to the man. It is like the society has put men up there, having put men up there, then, the man ought to be somebody who is responsible somebody who is careful and making decisions. And then, a man ought to speak because when you look at men when they speak is when people hear like if a man --look at many families when a child makes a mistake the wife tells the child "your father is coming I will tell your father" and the child leaves the mistake so it is like men ought to be rectifying mistakes. They shouldn't let things go, men also should be good managers if a man fails to manage, that family disintegrates and this is because men have been put to lead the families but you should not forget my point, that men are human beings they should be tolerated when they are weak and be given credit when they are strong. (Group 1, respondent B: p.6-7, line 102-110).

Text 5.2

With me, I would say in my perception of a man I would be conservative and say the man should retain his position as the head of the family. This position cannot be neglected, in as much as the man wants to be head of family, as they have said; a man needs to be very responsible for the family he needs to be very creative. A man also needs to be very liberal --must be very accommodative, listen to other people and then most importantly a man must be what we call punctilious in the sense that he should be able to come up with very sound judgements should be very clever in making the judgements of a family this is the only thing that will make this man retain his position in the family as the head. (Group 1, respondent A: p.7, line 116-121).

Text 5 .3

Me I have been indoctrinated. According to how I have grown up, the man should be the head. The head means you are tops in everything, good mannerisms, like if I was to take you and your brothers leave alone your friends, I'll just be able to choose you because looks *ziko juu*, manners, behavior, you should be head in everything. (Group 2, respondent C: p.15-16, lines 249-252).

Text 5.4

I think in the whole summary of a man, am not preaching, but if you read the book of Genesis it says that God created all the animals and the environment but created a man in his own image, so a real man is God fearing. And a woman came later so that's why men are always heads so let us be God fearing and be men. (Group 3, respondent F: p.21, lines 331-333).

B: Man as a symbol of power and authority
Text 5.5
 I also want to add that a man should be all round that is not only portraying positive sides may be like providing and being responsible but also somebody who is authoritative in order to enforce law and order over others (Group 1, respondent C: p.5-6, lines 85-86).
Text 5.6
The African man-- the modern African man-- I think he is dominant he is strong, he is authoritative and although he may not be close to the traditional man, he has a way of trying to crawl back to the image that the society has on the man. The women may not see it, they think we may be weaker I don't but they are just biased you say that the traditional man could handle three four wives and then you complain your man cannot handle you, cannot satisfy you, could be sexually, financially, you never know he could be having several concubines out there so you are actually sharing your man with some others the problem could be yours (Group 1, respondent D: p.6, lines 87-92).
Text 5.7
I think to be a real man you are able to do extraordinary things-- things people like women are not expected to do --during wars we don't expect any woman to be involved it is not that they are not capable but the society expects men to fight instead of women. (Group 2, respondent D: p.15, lines 247-248).
Text 5.8

A man-- when I hear of a man-- you should be proud you should have the money be able to keep a girl to your standards that is being manly. According to the people I have interacted with, you are able to party, it is all about power. Men should be above women a man should also be accountable to his family a man should also be able to take up challenges (Group 4, respondent A: p.29, lines 445-447).

Text 5.9

I'll go for that man who is a decision maker can assist me in decision making you know for us women we are poor in decision making we like somebody to assist and here you have a man who cannot assist you therefore I will always be burdened because everything is upon me (Group 2, respondent E: p.16, lines 266-268).

Text 5.10

…not just with the bills but should also guide you. we usually get married to men who are older than us so we should respect them because they are our elders so they should guide us not men who are jealous when we prosper more than them(Group 4, respondent B: p.27, lines 414-416).

Text 5.11

A man should be a decision maker, he is relied upon by his family, his children --that the decision he makes are final. Even if a woman makes a decision the man's decision is the final one (Group 3, respondent D: p.21, lines 323-324).

C: The responsible man

Text 5.12

For me a real man is a person who is intelligent, a goal getter and is able to take care of himself physically, mentally all aspects and can also take care of his family and those around him and plus his integrity is not questionable (Group 2, respondent B: p.15, lines 246-247).

Text 5.13

I'll go for the man who is faithful, I think to be faithful is everything that matters in a relationship because I won't go for a man who when you ask him: who was that? He says it is just a friend; you even become tired of asking. So I would also like somebody who is responsible of his duties. If the roof is leaking, you should not tell him that the roof is leaking, he should tell himself, then, there are other duties nowadays women are taking over, that were supposed to be for men you see a fence that is falling and you see a woman with a hammer and the man is just there, you see the person is irresponsible (Group 2, respondent D: p.17, lines 273-277).

Text 5.14

for me a man is a man in his own ways this means responsibility let us take the case of myself --me I belief I am man because am so responsible in such a way that now I am in my career and after this I will marry even if I marry a very learned girl or a rich one I know I must provide for you to be a man and to be recognized by the society and other people you ought to be very responsible if you have 3 children you know this is how I'll take them to school this is how I will take care of my wife and also the society you can help where you can so a man can be a very broad definition but responsible is the key thing in a man not just family wise but also how you deal with others (Group 3, respondent F: p.20, lines 315-320).

D: The sensitive and open Man

Text 5.15

I will go for somebody who is responsible, somebody who can take care of the family, somebody who is sincere, somebody who will tell me what is happening: "I have debts here and there, I have problems here and there, this is how we can solve them" (Group 2, respondent A: p.16, lines 258-259).

Text 5.16

I need a man who is supportive not in terms of the traditional sense where men were the bread winners. Today, even women are bread winners, you just need some emotional and some physical support from the man. It doesn't mean that the man is just there to provide you also need emotional support, when you have problems somebody you can open up to you can talk to him especially when you talk to him and you find that person understands you or jus listens to you it counts. You also need someone who is honest; trustworthy a man should also trust you because it reduces insecurity. There are men who help their women when they are may be feeding the baby I also expect as a man to consult your wife when you are making key decisions (Group 4, respondent B: p.29, lines 451-456).

Text 5.17

I would also prefer a man who has time for his children. You find that there is this perspective a child will grow fearing the dad *unapataka hajagrow* up with the dad. The dad does not have time for the kid so you find that the child fears the dad you can't share anything with your dad so I prefer a man who can play with the kid, go shopping with the kid, share stories as you grow up. The bond between a child and mother is natural but the dad will have to work for it (Group 4, respondent A: p.27, lines 421-423).

E: The Attractive Man

Text 5.18

Then I look at the eyes, there is a way in which eyes appeal to me. For me beauty is how the eyes actually talk they are kind of attractive for me (Group 2, respondent A: p.16, lines 253-254).

Text 5.19

…and I do have a passion for men who dress official. I just like them, whenever I see somebody who is dressed official, I feel they are reasoning--ok that is my own opinion but I have a problem with this man who comes in jeans then they want to sag kind of (Group 2, respondent F: p.16, lines 260-261).

Text 5.20

I would also like a man who is very decent I cannot walk with a person who is sagging as in the trouser can nearly fall when you are walking with him *tena amefungua shati nusu (* again he opens the shirt half-way) (derisive laughter) *ameweka kofia zingine.* (he has put on a funny cap) I don't know how they look like as in for me I like a decent man coz in the way you are decent it also portrays who you are the way you think the way you do your job (Group 4, respondent B: p.27, lines 424-427).

Text 5.21

I think the looks matter because the first appearance is what gives you an impression of the man even the dressing, how he looks the first time you see the person that impression stays for long I like a guy that is taller than me (Group 4, respondent C: p.28, lines 429-430).

Text 5.22

First the appearance of a man is very important. Even before you check the personality of that man you first look at the appearance for me *lazima awe amejenga*, must be a big-

bodied man. My man has to dress in a manly way, an official dress is ok, I don't like men who dress in skinny jeans it makes them look like secondary school kids. It is secondary school kids who dress in such tight things (Group 4, respondent B: p.30, line 458-460).

F: The Feminine and Gay Man

Text 5.23

I just don't like them I think they are not mature kind of you find a man who has decided they want to have this look of a lady. Personally I wouldn't go for that kind of a man because I will baby very many people: I will baby the man who wants to go to the salon, I'll baby my young ones, no! (Group 2, respondent A: p.16, line 262-263).

Text 5.24

Oh my God! Then *amefaa studs zingine* (Wearing some studs), I don't think I can go to a man like that, coz *kama umevaa chains zinahang* (if you are wearing hanging chains), oh my God! Who is supposed to wear? me or you? And the way the African society-- this is an African society. We ain't in the western culture even the man you take to your mother he must be decent. (Group 4, respondent D: p.28, lines 432-434).

Text 5.25

An ideal man is literally that man in a trouser who knows his strengths and weaknesses and knows how to deal with them and knows how to work his opportunities but looking at it deeply an ideal man can never be a woman (Group 2 , respondent F : p.16, lines 256-257)

Text 5.26

I would like to add to what she has said that *hiyo kuvaa mabrings* (that wearing of chains), and those studs, me I perceive it as craving for attention for people to note you, but one thing I have known, according to African society that is a girlish thing, so it shows how girlish you are I prefer a decent man. (Group 4, respondent A: p.28, lines 435-436)

Text 5.27

The physical appearance means a lot. Is his self esteem high? You may meet somebody who is shy unapata *mtu hata hataki kuongea,* (somebody does not want even to talk), yet he wants something *na hata hataki kuongea* (and he does not even want to talk) (loud derisive laughter) but yet he wants something *na hata hataki kuongea hata unashangaa* (and he does not even want to talk, you even wonder) who should be into this? *Unajua* (you know), we don't expect a man to shy off ah! Ah!ah! (no no) it is not a man character. He should express himself well what he wants what he likes. (Group 4, respondent A: p.28, lines 440-443)

Text 5.28

I love light skinned men but somebody who wears a shirt full of yellow, flowers, red orange with a yellow trouser, blue sandals we cannot belong in the same group. I'll see you looking funny it is embarrassing and you tend to think that people who wear like ladies people tend to think they are gay because they are dressing like women. Some men behave like ladies, for example, there is a man I saw near Maathai, behaving like a lady, dressed like a lady, receiving the phone like a lady, his nails are so long, honestly, it was so funny. You tend to even wonder: who is the girl? Who is the woman? He was accompanied by a lady, but they were dressed the same way, wearing a pencil trouser sagging almost halfway exposing almost everything behind. You tend to wonder: what kind of behavior is that? It is embarrassing. I cannot date a gay man, the things you hear

about gay people, when you think of that man dating you it will be trouble (Group 4, respondent B: p.30-31, lines 469-475)

Text 5.29

For a man being a gay, it tells you that there is that part of him that does not appreciate the fact that he is a man and wants to play that he is a chick of which I think it is not good. It shows *uko na kasoro* (you have an abnormality) as in even as a friend I wouldn't want to be associated with such a person. It shows they have something below their dignity, ya! (Group 4, respondent E: p.31, lines 476-477)

TRANSCRIPTIONS OF READERS' CONFORMITY, NEGOTIATION AND RESISTANCE TO MSACULINE IDENTITIES CONSTRUCTED BY KENYA'S NEWSPAPERS' PULLOUT MAGAZINES

A: Conformity

Text 6.1

Personally I will say am enticed by what they write I like it because they write what I want to read. On being in the writer's shoes the writer knows that you are not targeting children to read the papers because a child you can control. What they think you can easily change, a child what they are thinking, but they don't expect to change me. If it is something with an exaggeration they expect me to know: "am exaggerating about these men" that is the way it is supposed to be. What am I trying to say? That a writer's intention is basically not to change somebody's mind it is not to change that you want but to market. It is a marketing thing; their idea is not you look for the bad boy or the prince charming. The idea is to market. They do so much showing the bad thing because the good can market itself. Why not market the bad? (Group 2, respondent F: p.14, line 223-227).

B: Negotiating Construction of Masculine Identities by Pullout Magazines

Text 6.2

With me I'll also say that to a very great measure, I will not really agree with the way men are portrayed in these magazines. You know, what am trying to see as an individual is just like kind of ladies giving themselves an avenue or highway of talking ill about men. You'll find that from the point of view of --of the ladies its always like they are fighting men it's not an issue they think that it is now a war between women who can do something and men who have always been patronizing or condescending or feeling that they are superior, so women are coming and saying: no, even the ladies can do, it is not only men who can do this so this picture being painted by ladies about men is a tainted.

Text 6.3

The only thing, may be, I will agree with them of men positively is the feeling of mutual understanding that men will have to retain their position because that one is also biblical, that the man was formed for the woman and the lady has to be submissive to the husband so when you find some ladies… (Group 1, respondent A: p.4-5, line 69-77).

Text 6.4

I have two sides of one coin, there is this man who is a very bad guy, the female writer will portray this man very badly, the male writer will say that a man cannot have just one girlfriend at least should have *chips funga ile unaenda nayo nyumbani* , (Wrapped up chips, the ones you take home) so I like the way they are portrayed. The bad side of the man I like it, at least it raises my standards for men. *Nitajua wewe kama kila Friday* (if

every Friday) you must go for one for the road I know your lifestyle although there are exaggeration it shows the real men in the world. It gives me a guideline, you are not careless *yeyote akija unaingia box* (When anyone comes you enter into his trap).

Text 6.5

There is the other side of the coin; they give this kind of man, the ideal man, the eligible bachelor the man who has-- of course I wouldn't get married to a poor man I wouldn't want to start life from scratch I would like to marry that man who has a good house in Kileleshwa, an apartment, so they tell you that there is this man with that kind of money: he has a good house, he has a good job, he has a good car, you know they bring that man into the picture. May be you are in a relationship, your man may be having some money, but there is something that he lacks, so *kwa akili yako* (in your mind), you try to visualize that kind of man you read in a magazine, this eligible man who does not exist and a wise man once said faith comes from hearing, when you hear something you begin to believe it exists so you start having problems in a relationship. You see your dad not doing this and you want him to be that dad you read in a magazine you want him to be giving you that kind of money *ulisikia kwa magazine* (you heard about in the magazine) or my boyfriend does this and this for me that eligible person. (Group 2, respondent C: p.13, line 208-221).

Text 6.6

For me men are mostly portrayed as liars, cheaters and for me these magazines tend to take the bad experiences women have faced from men; that is they tend to generalize so much on the emotional side of the women, how much they feel hurt, how much the men have hurt them, and on the same part they try to guide on how you could change that man, how you could keep that man, how you could make that man happy, but I think they focus too much time on men how to make a man happy, everything to make a man feel he is accepted or something: why not get how to make a woman feel loved? How to take care for a pregnant woman or something? Coz everything is about men, how to please men. May be in this society there is a lot of chauvinism they tend to think that men have an upper hand in the society, everything you do as a woman is how to make a man happy. (Group 3, respondent B: p.22-23, lines 347-353).

Text 6.7

True some of the men have neglected their responsibilities, so on that side I agree with the magazines, but on the other hand the magazines should talk about the men who treat their women right. There are few men who stand by you when you are in problems, let the magazines bring an equal view; there are the good and the bad men. (Group 3, respondent B: p.24, lines 376-378).

C: **RESISTANCE**

Text 6.8

 As for me, I would say that these magazine tend to generalize that all men are the same of which if you do some research, you will notice that all men are not the same coz when they talk about the man they tend to treat the man in general like you are the same as I am, so I believe at times they should not generalize the man. (Group 3, Respondent B, Lines 279-281, p. 17)

Text 6.9

These magazines portray men as betrayers, and also men who are irresponsible, for example, we see a man paying forty thousand hires a room in order to sleep with a woman. The general message is that men are irresponsible but when I look at myself as a man I tend to disagree because that is not the kind of man that I am or some of the men I have known are, so it is not good to generalize. (Group 3, Respondent F, Lines 287-291, p18)

Text 6.10

Men are too generalized, you know, a man is according to that man you are living with; not those portrayed in magazines, may be you may read about other women experiences but that should not affect you mostly they portray men as liars, heartbreakers, but if you live with a man who is serious about his obligations that should not affect you since you have read it you should not assume even your man is that way, people are different the few people shown in newspapers don't depict the whole population. We are supposed to accept diversity, we should understand people according to how they present themselves, not what the magazines tell us because people have grown in different places, have different upbringings, there are people who believe in different things and not everybody is a liar. (Group 4, Respondent B, Lines 382-387, p. 24-25)

Text 6.11

According to me, these magazines are the editor's view trying to market the newspaper, so what they write is exaggerated. They need more readers, exaggerated by trying to generalize the men, this is what men do, this is what men don't do, it is good to agree that they normally pick a case and try to get a general idea about men so they try to give a clue of who a man is.

Text 6.12

the magazines are too general about how men behave I read one about what men want, how they look for wife material, and so on I don't know if they do research or they just pick some celebrities and ask them their questions or they even go to the majority of the people the common people and ask for their views or they just go for a few dominant people and ask them such questions most of the magazines you see these celebs and their views I wonder if they talk to other people you know the celebs are the ones selling if somebody is a celeb through their views may be the magazines get a lot of sales because people want to read about somebody and the celebs are so dominant in magazines may be they want to market their products or something. (Group 4, Respondent D, Lines 388-394, p. 25)

Text 6.13

A writer --before a writer writes there is something that triggered that idea, for example, there was a period in Kenya when men were killing *chicks,* I mean women, so if the writer is writing during that period, she will portray a guy as a beast, as a serial killer, as a cheater, so when reading that kind of magazine and you see the kind of thing that is happening, you also get that fear so I will say depending on what is happening that is how men will be portrayed and the writer wants to sell. (Group 2, Respondent B, Lines 162-166, p. 10)

Text 6.14

So as for me I would say am not very happy with the way these magazines portray men as much as they have a right to critique the way men behave. But you see the main

readers of these magazines are youth or young people, so the kind of impression they are trying to create about men is very negative so, for example, young girls in most cases they do read these papers so what they get about men is all negative, so I would say if they have to continue writing them, then at least they give men credit for what they are good at, and try to create solutions, but then you see what they are trying to do in most cases only painting the negative about men, for example, they try to write men they have lost that sense of love, men are just running after women just for lust and for pleasure, being selfish, so that sense of love, that true love is not there, they are no longer family men so that's why you find young girls most of them talking they better stay not married because when they get married this guy will start playing me and they will not find that true love that they are looking for. So I am simply saying that am not happy with the way they are portraying men because they are so much into the negative as much as they have the right of critique. (Group 1, Respondent D, Lines 53-68, p. 4)

Text 6.15

I don't like the way they are portrayed because they are largely portrayed in a negative way. So this one discourages the youth who are looking for men to marry, for example, somebody like me who is in the field looking for someone to marry, but now I hear of men who are barbaric, so I wonder: if all of them are like that where am I going to get somebody who is right? There must be a few good men, they should be a little bit neutral, so that I can see there is still hope you see, I read one article, another one with the same information; I'll be influenced to believe they are all bad. (Group 2, Respondent D, Lines 190-194, p. 12)

Text 6.16

I think the traditional role of a man is being diminished by these writers, because the kind of man that is portrayed is not the traditional man, who was in full control, who could order things around that is not the kind of man we get in the magazines… the kind of man we get in the magazines is a man who is irresponsible, ya if you look at some of the female writers, they come up with somebody who is not ready to take care of their family, who may impregnate somebody and then run away, unlike the traditional man who was always there for the family, so they don't bring out the traditional man, they bring out the modern man which I don't agree with. (Group 1, Respondent A, Lines 137-142, p. 9)

Text 6.17

According to my idea, the way they talk about men, I don't think they try to bring out the African culture, they talk about westernizing things like the staff they talk about are western culture and technologies, so they don't try to bring out the African styles and culture, so that we can at least see our tradition and culture is growing and continuing they are just making us adopt the western culture than boost our traditional culture. (Group 4, Respondent A, Lines 337-340, p. 22).

Text 6.18

In contrast with what she has said there is also this element of Prince charming, this guy who doesn't exist, the extremely good guy, the one who doesn't do anything wrong, the perfect one who is what, so when a lady reads this and in her relationship things are not going on well, so she will tend to wonder that I know there is somebody like this who

exists, so why can't you be like so and so I read in the newspaper? Why can't you be doing this and this? Magazines write to captivate their readers and so in that process readers get carried away, so they try to bring it in real life something that does not exist. (Group 2, Respondent B, Lines 195-201, p. 12).

Text 6.19

I tend to disagree with that point of men being rich I think a man is a person who is responsible a man who can take care of his family and his obligations that is what really defines a man it is not a matter of being rich or handsome I don't think these magazines portray us as what we should be according to me men should be taken on their responsibility. (Group 3, Respondent A, Lines 306-308, p. 19).