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The (Un)true Masculinity: Pedagogical Considerations of Male Identity

In spite of the fact that masculinity continues to be perceived as an obvious and constant category, those in search of a universal and exhaustive definition might be a little disappointed. Although the body of scientific literature on the subject of men is growing year by year, it is difficult to find a precise explanation of the term “masculinity”. However, taking into account the findings from masculinity studies so far, especially those relating to the existence of not one but multiple masculinities, it is reasonable to expect that enclosing this term within a strict definition framework may not only prove difficult but simply impossible. Researchers investigating the topic of the masculine role propose very general, broadly encompassing terms. The same is the case with dictionaries. Masculinity is generally explained as a complex set of traits that are characteristic, typical of men (Szymczak, 1978; p. 148). Both dictionary and scientific definitions of masculinity emphasise the significance of social expectations associated with the masculine role, as these expectations determine the shape of masculinity, and generate the norms and attitudes that should constitute masculinity. Just as these expectations may vary both in time and in space, so can the definition of the masculine role. The same is the case with the colloquial definitions of masculinity, which reflect the observed properties and behaviours related to sex, congruent with the stereotypes functioning in a given culture (Kluczyńska 2008).

The contemporary definitions of masculinity most commonly reflect the traditional understanding of the social role of men. Descriptions of masculinity generally focus around the tasks a man should fulfil. The term “a real man”, which is frequently used in the context of defining masculinity, not only puts pressure on men to fit within the current framework of the masculine role but also to prove and confirm that they deserve to be called men (Badinter 1995; Goldberg 1979; Bourdieu 2001). As Judith Halberstam adds (2002, p. 353), this results in a certain anxiety among men regarding the true status of their masculinity. A study conducted by Jan Mazur, Małgorzata Pietrzak and Aleksandra Kowalczyk (2008, pp. 419–427) has shown that the social image of “a real man” is one of a man who is responsible, protective, resourceful, intelligent, strong and resolute. A slightly more radical image of requirements towards masculinity emerges from the norms of the masculine role developed by researchers investigating the topic of mascu-

linity. The imperatives presented below are not a realistic description of masculine practices, but rather a certain expression of social aspirations, a normative pattern (see: Hyży 2010, p. 72).

Deborah S. David and Robert Brannon (1976, pp. 1–45) list the following four masculine imperatives:

- 1) avoiding behaviours associated with femininity;
- 2) subjugation of others;
- 3) being strong and independent;
- 4) being confident, aggressive, ready to take risks.

Edward H. Thompson Jr. and Joseph H. Pleck (1987, pp. 25–36) described the following norms defining the masculine role:

- 1) status and other's respect – an imperative associated with the desire to gain power;
- 2) toughness – an imperative of physical and emotional strength, independence;
- 3) anti-femininity – avoidance of stereotypically feminine activities and occupations. Table 1 below provides a detailed comparison of the male role norms over the years 1970–2003.

Table 1. A comparison of the male role norms over the years 1970–2003.

1970 (Turner)	1978 (Cicone and Ruble)	1984 (Brannon)	1986 (Pleck)	2003 (Mahalik)
Independent style of achievement	Active	Proscriptive norm against anything feminine	Independent	Violence
Competency	Dominant in relationships	Achieving status	Assertive	Power over women
Incompetency in feminine activities	Achievement oriented	Independence	Strong personality	Disdain for homosexuals
Suppressing emotion	Level headed	Self-confidence	Forceful	Risk-taking
–	Self-contained	Aggressiveness	Has leader abilities	Pursuit of status
–	–	–	Willing to take risks	Emotional control
–	–	–	Willing to take a stand	Dominance
–	–	–	Aggressive	Playboy
–	–	–	–	Self-reliance

1970 (Turner)	1978 (Cicone and Ruble)	1984 (Brannon)	1986 (Pleck)	2003 (Mahalik)
–	–	–	–	Primacy of work
–	–	–	–	Winning

Source: (Golden, 2011).

Until recently, men were able to easily align with the above requirements and imperatives that define the shape of the masculine role. Nowadays, however, in light of the ongoing emancipation of women that consequently increases women's independence and resourcefulness, it is becoming more and more difficult to manage the task of being "a real man" (see: Olechnicki 1996), as this category is becoming less and less unambiguous and obvious. The disintegration of the monopoly of the traditional masculinity, usually equated with the "real manliness", has undermined the *status quo* in the area of sexual roles. Masculinity has come to be perceived as a sociocultural construct that is plastic and susceptible to external factors. In the process of shaping their own identity, contemporary men no longer have to limit themselves to a single, traditional pattern of the masculine role. The range of the available versions of masculinity is currently much wider and could, as it might seem, promote a liberal creation of one's identity. Paradoxically, however, we increasingly hear about the crisis of masculinity (see: Melosik 2006, pp. 8–9). The contemporary man feels lost when faced with the lack of a point of reference in constructing his identity, and gets confused by the overwhelming amount of information, often conflicting, about his role.

The aim of my paper is to present the most important findings of my phenomenological study – in which I investigated the ways in which the masculine identity is shaped. My study has shown that despite the noticeable changes in the ways of fulfilling the sexual roles of men and women, and despite the existence of multiple alternative versions of masculinity, contemporary young men are looking for the "real manliness", which they most commonly equate with traditional masculinity. I will attempt to explain here how the subjects of my study interpreted masculinity ("the real manliness") and unmasculinity, and where they drew the dividing line between these categories.

Methodological assumptions

The study whose results are presented below was conducted using the phenomenographic approach defined by its creator as "the empirical study of the limited number of qualitatively different ways in which various phenomena in, and aspects of, the world around us are experienced, conceptualised, understood, perceived and apprehended" (Marton 1994, p. 4425). As the main purpose of my study was to re-

construct the meanings assigned by the respondents to masculinity in the context of their individual experiences in their private, family and professional lives, it was necessary to refer to their personal knowledge, to their world of everyday living understood as normality, the common order and the closest space of human experience (Waldenfels 1993). The starting point for my analyses was the assumption about the “intersubjectivity of meanings assigned to specific phenomena” (Kopciwicz 2005, p. 40), defined as a shared understanding of the social world by individuals.

I used the method of the semi-structured phenomenographic interview to conduct my phenomenographic study. An interview guide served as the research tool. The study was conducted on a group of young males consisting of final-year students and graduates of the Faculty of Social Sciences (10 subjects/P), Faculty of Theology (10 subjects/T) and the Faculty of Technical Sciences (10 subjects/I) at the University of Warmia and Mazury in Olsztyn, Poland. This method of selecting the subjects was dictated by the desire to demonstrate a broad spectrum of meanings of masculinity that may vary depending on the individual experiences (e.g. educational experiences) of the subjects.

The main criteria for selecting interviewees for my study were:

- sex (males);
- availability;
- age (24–28 years); optimal on account of the resolution of the identity crisis associated with adolescence and the readiness to take on further developmental tasks congruent with social standards (Mikulska 1996, p. 225).

The fragments of interviews presented below will be labelled as follows: W 1/P to W 10/P – statements by students/graduates of the Faculty of Social Sciences, W 1/I to W 10/I – statements by students/graduates of the Faculty of Technical Sciences, and W 1/T to W 10/T – statements by students/graduates of the Faculty of Theology.

Masculinity *vs* unmasculinity

Interpretation of the research material collected during the study allowed me to establish where the borderline(s) between what is masculine and what is unmanly lie(s). In the course of my analysis I identified the most common designata of what my respondents thought was associated with being masculine (*What makes you feel masculine? What confirms you in your belief that you are masculine?*). I then identified statements about what my respondents considered unmasculine. Interestingly, the subjects were not directly asked about topics related to unmasculinity. On several occasions, when asking probing questions, I made reference to unmasculinity, but it always followed the elaboration of the conversation thread started by the interviewee and the context of the conversation. In most cases, however, it was the subjects that addressed this issue (to complement the topic of being masculine).

Table 2 provides a summary of meanings related to what is masculine and unmasculine identified in the research material. I identified three categories to which I will refer in my analysis below (external appearance, sexual orientation, character traits).

Table 2. Masculine vs unmasculine: a summary of meanings.

Category	Designatum	
	"Masculine"	"Unmasculine"
External appearance	Facial hair, clothing, haircut, muscles	Preoccupation with one's physical appearance, effeminacy, metrosexuality
Sexual orientation	Heterosexual orientation	Homosexual orientation
Character traits	Perseverance, resourcefulness, strength	Being a boy, weakness, a weakling, a milk sop, a loser, a softie

Source: Author's own research.

Below are descriptions reflecting the meanings of masculinity (being masculine) and unmasculinity (being unmasculine) presented in Table 2. Their analysis allows to locate the boundary between masculinity and unmasculinity.

External appearance

External appearance is an important component of feeling masculine by the study subjects, as evidenced by the statements made by my interviewees. Within this category, the men referred to clothing, haircut, body build or self-care (the so-called hygiene). In their statements, they very often indicated facial hair and body hair as the typical male attributes.

Well, my clothes, right? Yes, on many occasions, it does contribute to me feeling masculine. Sometimes, the stubble, as they say, the three-day stubble look... (W 1/P)

[...] men also, in a way, try to emphasise the... you know, positive aspects of their appearance, right? I like to dress up too, you know, once in a while, because a suit is not something I wear every day. So... So it also kind of makes me masculine in a way. But, let me get this straight, this is not something, like, super important to me... (W 1/P)

[...] Or this, for example, a recent thing. There was this T-shirt in a shop window that I saw, I knew, I looked good in it. It was a big deal too. I just knew that I had to get that T-shirt for when I go out with someone. So I got it and I just knew I looked cool in it. No-one had to convince me that I did, I just felt good wearing it. Or this: I know that when I... I know that, you know, when I go out or something and I get a cool haircut, I know that I feel good having that haircut and that I look good in it, so that gives me an advantage, right? When I go out, for example, whether dressed up or..., or just to show my face somewhere, I also know then that I feel good with it, that it gives me a good feeling about myself, the feeling that I look cool. And whether someone else likes it? Well... (W 19/T)

So, like, when we have classes with students and... for example, with my colleagues, right? We agree that, for example, on Tuesday we have class, right? So, I'm doing a seminar [...] a lecture, and then, for example, someone comes wearing some sort of a T-shirt or something or some jumper, and I, for example, come dressed in a suit. And, I feel more masculine then. (W 26/1)

I don't know. Body hair too. The fact that I have facial hair makes me masculine. My strong voice. That also makes me masculine. (W 2/P)

External appearance determines feeling good about oneself. It also gives a certain advantage over other men. It is an important element of the masculinity: the right look confirms one in the belief of being a man, being part of this group, it strengthens the male ego. As regards taking care of one's external appearance in a masculine way, there is a certain limit my respondents mentioned on multiple occasions:

Because, on the other hand, the man should not, in my opinion, well, at least that's what I think, excessively take care of the way he looks. He should do what he's expected to do; I don't know, shave, wear clean clothes, look smart, smell nice, that's for sure, but at the same time he should not go overboard with it, right? So that he ends up looking like a perfumed sissy, right? You know, overdoing it... Like, now, for example, when you hear that men, I don't know, go to beauty parlours, shape their eyebrows. That's just madness, right? Me personally? I feel a bit uncomfortable with the idea. I'm more of a supporter of... Perhaps I'm a little bit conservative in this respect, but I'm a supporter of normalcy among men. For men to just look smart, be clean, smell nice, be shaved, as they say. To represent a certain level, right? After all, this is a certain indicator of masculinity. (W 1/P)

[...] better hygiene, personal hygiene, so to speak, some hair removal or some such... [silence]. In my opinion, that's just something a man doesn't generally need, but if a particular man feels all right with it, then, of course, why not? As far as masculinity is concerned, then it is because of things like that, guys lose a bit of their masculinity. (W 18/T)

Well... I'm not that old-fashioned to believe that a man should smell of whisky and a horse, but on the other hand I don't go to the extremes of metrosexuality either, right? I mean... I don't know, using some fancy cosmetics or what have you. Something kind of in between, so a man that takes care of his appearance, well-groomed, so to say... Oh, and this: the more fit, the more masculine. (W 25/1)

According to the above-quoted fragments of the interviews, any excess in taking care of one's physical appearance carries the risk of distorting the truly masculine image. The scope of a man's activities in taking care of his appearance should, according to the study subjects, be limited to the necessary minimum. Anything that goes beyond the known and familiarised canons of the masculine appearance meets with disapproval on the part of my interviewees. Preoccupation with one's appearance, both in terms of clothing and body care, a trait traditionally attributed

to women, distorts the learned image of the “real masculinity” and, as one of my respondents put it, the image of “normalcy among men” (W 1/P). While the subjects were clearly aware of canons of male beauty other than the traditional ones (for instance, metrosexuality, which they mention very often), they proved very conservative, as exemplified below, despite the self-declared tolerance towards those “non-standard” ways of fulfilling the masculine role in terms of the masculine look.

That it's like... I don't know... Well, okay, so I'm going to say something insulting about those homosexuals but to me those [cannons of male beauty] are so... poofy, delicately speaking. It's just... a man who has more cosmetics than a woman, a man who, I don't know, overdoes it with taking care of his appearance... it doesn't make sense in my opinion. Okay, I understand, some guys sweat more, others sweat less. And that's a fact. But, come on! You don't go to extremes to avoid it, right? Because it's just unrealistic. I can't imagine, I don't know, going on a sun bed for twenty minutes a day, or... however long you go on a sun bed for. I don't know, I've never been. I just don't feel the need to. I don't feel the need to be tanned in the winter. Yeah, that's what I mean. To me, it's just not manly. Yeah. Like this. (W 5/P)

When I see how men dress, well, it's a bit embarrassing to me. When I find it difficult to tell if it's a bloke or a woman. I don't know. I find it kind of irritating. I mean, obviously, these are other orientations. Me, I'm tolerant, I don't mind, I know a few people who are bisexual. A man who acts a bit effeminate, well, that's slightly irritating. (W 13/T)

To me, some blokes, metrosexual, so pedantic about the way they look, well, to me, they're just ridiculous. I get it, it's absolutely fine to be taking care of yourself, but you don't want to go overboard with it, do you? If a bloke spends three hours in the bathroom, in front of the mirror, it's... to me, it's just, you know... To me, it's just not manly, so to speak. To me, it's not manly because generally... I get it, taking care of yourself, but... there are certain limits, aren't there? I couldn't stand it. For example, there are five of us sharing the flat and you just don't spend two hours a day in the bathroom doing your hair, right? Cause he just won't leave the bathroom? I cannot imagine anything like that. To me, it's... This is the change and it is increasingly noticed. I don't know, the sun bed and so on, it's a bit... a bit fake, yeah, that's it, fake. (W 5/P)

When I watch TV, that stupid TV... the only thing I see is a bunch of faggots running around television. “Have challenges, be sexy, be clever!” And [those] men wear T-shirts, oh... that's the real man: a T-shirt down to here [the respondent is pointing to his navel], wearing, preferably a nice perfume, white Puma shoes, instead of black cargo trousers... Well, for me, he's not a man. (W 2/P)

In the context of the above statements, metrosexuality and homosexuality, both equated with an excessive attention to external appearance and with effeminacy, are in contradiction with a model of masculinity learned and accepted by many of my respondents. An excessive number of cosmetics, using a sun bed, spending several hours in front of the mirror a day, wearing “not very masculine” clothes – all this builds resistance among the respondents as being artificial and abnormal, but most of all unmanly.

Sexual orientation

Sexual orientation or, to be more precise, heterosexual orientation is another essential indicator of masculinity and of what is masculine.

What confirms me in the belief...? Uhm... the fact that I fancy women. If I was a man and I fancied other men, then it would mean that there's something wrong with me. I believe this is the way our world works. I took biology in my final exams at secondary school, so I can safely say that the fact that I fancy women, that I might ogle them occasionally, also points to my masculinity. (W 2/P)

According to the respondents, heterosexuality is a manifestation of a man's health and normality, and the best proof is the interest in the opposite sex and the opposite sex's interest in them, and a good sex life.

I feel masculine when I see that I attract interest in women. That is definitely an indicator of masculinity. (W 4/P)

[What confirms you in your belief that you are masculine?] [...] apart from the fact that I am aware of that, it's my girlfriend. The relationship I have with her kind of makes me aware that I am a man. Great sex with a woman as well. (W 15/T)

[What makes you feel masculine?] I would once again, first of all, mention sex. That's one thing for sure, that's what I'm certain of. (W 15/T)

T 20: [What confirms you in your belief that you are masculine?] [...] Satisfying my girlfriend...

A: This is what confirms you in your belief, am I correct?

T 20: Yes. I mean, it's like, if she left me or cheated on me and then came back to me, that would mean that I'd been better than the other guy. And if she didn't come back to me, then, well, ha ha. So, that could also be an indicator of me being a masculine guy. I mean, that's exactly what it boils down to, that there are many factors that make up masculinity. But the thought that you satisfy the other person, including physically, is something you can be proud of, ha ha. (W 20/T)

[What confirms you in your belief that you are masculine?] My woman! (W 21/1)

As Zbyszko Melosik has pointed out in one of his books (2006, p. 26), "on the subjective level, a man feels like a man first of all through the angle of his sexuality and sexual potency, and then through the angle of other attributes of masculinity", and the statements above go to prove this. According to the respondents, sexual performance and the ability to satisfy the female partner's sexual needs are extremely essential factors that contribute to feeling masculine.

Identifying what, according to the respondents, was masculine and what was unmasculine with respect to sexual orientation, was not an easy task, as the respond-

ents made a very clear distinction between heterosexuality, i.e. what is masculine, and homosexuality, i.e. what is unmasculine. In their statements, one can notice their aversion to those who represent a sexual orientation they consider unmasculine.

I'm averted to homosexuals. Don't know why, though. I find them repulsive. I don't care what they get up to in private, I just can't stand the sight of them. I can't imagine a situation where they would walk around in the open, hand in hand, and I would have to look at it. To me, in my opinion, it's an illness, isn't it? (W 5/P)

The aversion to homosexual men is most likely caused by an imperative/obligation to be heterosexual, most likely internalised during the socialisation process. This imposed and learned heteronormativity causes anything that deviates from this principle to be perceived as an abnormality, or even an illness. Gays are thus perceived as inadequate, weak men.

Character traits

Within this category, the subjects mainly indicated those predispositions and character traits of men which point to their strength. The traits most commonly mentioned by the respondents included: perseverance, resourcefulness, independence, and the ability to help those weaker than oneself – traits which are not (at least not stereotypically) attributed to women.

To me, a masculine guy is a guy who knows how to take care of himself, not a loser who shouts loudly, won't shave his beard, drinks vodka and when he gets home, he doesn't even know how to wash his own socks. (W 3/P)

[What makes you feel masculine?] First of all, when I'm persistent in what I do, and I know that I really try my best and pursue a goal I've set myself. (W 11/T)

[What confirms you in your belief that you are masculine?] The fact that I know how to knock a nail into the wall. (W 30/1)
I feel masculine when I find myself able to cope in difficult situations. [...] That is definitely an indicator of masculinity. (W 4/P)

[...] well, you need masculinity so you're not all thumbs, right? You know, being helpful, being able to do things around the house, right? Tighten a screw, fix something, hang up a painting, right? Because of that... you have a higher value, right? (W 26/1)

Readiness to help others is one of the principal elements of "being masculine". The respondents, however, emphasised that also in this case (as was the case with taking care of one's external appearance, for instance) there is a certain boundary you should not cross, as excessive submissiveness and the inability to say "no" are no attributes of masculinity.

T 20: I wish I was... more assertive more often; yeah, that's it!

A 1: Okay, and do you believe that's what a man needs? To be assertive?

T 20: Yes, sometimes. Not to make yourself look like a weakling or a milk sop. But this is normal that when someone asks you for help, you want to be helpful, right? Although sometimes you should refuse. (W 20/T)

[A man] cannot be a walking disaster, that's for sure. He has to have an opinion in male-female relations. (W 28/1)

Being masculine also means some sort of dominance, both in male-female relations and male-male relations. According to the respondents, the feelings of being better than others, being stronger, more resourceful than others, are also indicators of masculinity. Exaggerated masculinity (the so-called hypermasculinity, which manifests itself in an excessive (or even artificial) display of manly strength, both physical and mental, is, however, rejected by the respondents.

[...] some guys want to be macho; they simply pretend to be someone they're not; they do stupid things to impress their mates, which seems so shallow, more childish than manly. (W 23/1)

What counts the most in being masculine is remaining natural, and any distortion attempts are quickly exposed by the respondents.

Conclusion

The concepts presented above along with the respondents' statements are focused around three main categories: external appearance, sexual orientation, and character traits. My aim was to find the dividing line between masculinity and unmasculinity, and to identify factors that determine the way in which the meanings associated with what is masculine and what is unmasculine are classified. The main dividing line in the case of all the categories discussed here turned out to be the extent to which a given conception agreed with the socially recognised standards of masculinity. The respondents considered to be masculine all things learned, tried and tested, and traditional. Everything that was beyond the framework of fulfilling the masculine role internalised in the process of upbringing was considered completely unmasculine or not very masculine.

Most of the statements quoted above reflect the masculine imperatives described by Elisabeth Badinter (1995) ("don't be a homosexual", "don't be a woman", "don't be a child"). In the conceptions of masculinity and unmasculinity I have discussed above, the first two imperatives distinctly come to the fore. The men dissociate themselves from any behaviours socially associated with women (e.g. preoccupation with external appearance, effeminacy). In their statements, they also manifest their heterosexual orientation, which – in their opinion – certifies "the real masculinity". Behaviours manifesting helplessness or weakness ("don't be a child") were also considered unmasculine by the respondents.

Most of the statements about what is masculine and what is unmasculine reflect the traditional paradigm of masculinity. The articulated meanings very closely correspond with the model of masculinity based on the strong and purposefully emphasised difference between men and women. According to the respondents, "masculine" first of all means "not feminine". The dissociation from behaviours or traits considered feminine by the society stems from the socialisation of the individual. In our society, from the earliest age, men are inundated with messages that carry an imperative to make themselves different from women and to build their identities in opposition to them. It is therefore unsurprising that in their adult life, men understand masculinity as the opposite of femininity. The respondents, obviously, at various stages of their development, modify certain elements of the role imposed upon them. According to their statements, they are aware of the various ways in which masculinity is realised and are open to these new patterns (e.g. metrosexuality). However, in many cases, this apparent openness to changes turned out to be just empty words. The respondents do not understand these changes and are merely passive observers. What is more, they are very often uncomfortable with these changes (which some of them expressly state), as they shatter the established order as regards the fulfilling of social roles related to sex.

The emphasis on the biological attributes of masculinity (facial hair, hard voice, physical strength) was an interesting element of the respondents' statements. In the face of dynamic sociocultural changes, which result in the blurring of the borderline between men and women, these factors are most likely the last bastion of masculinity, the thing that is impossible to unify.

Analysis of the respondents' statements in the context of the search for what is masculine and what is unmasculine has demonstrated once again the attachment to the traditional image of a man. Many of the concepts discussed here were based on stereotypes learned during the socialisation process and constructed on the basis of the differences between men and women. According to the respondents, the new patterns of the realisation of masculinity promoted, for instance, by the media have not revolutionised the existing (traditional) classification into what is masculine and what is unmasculine. The respondents, however, do recognise the new potential ways to fulfil the male role.

As Melosik points out (2006, p. 188), the contemporary man has got caught up in a form of a socialisation trap. On the one hand, he is being inundated by traditional messages about his sex role, while on the other, he is faced with expectations that do not really align with the learned standards of masculinity. Every choice carries some risk: the sense of inadequately meeting the social expectations, exclusion from the circle of real men, failure to find one's place in the family and partner relations. It seems that contemporary men are forced to assess the balance of potential profits and losses associated with selecting a specific way of realising their masculinity. Most of the respondents chose the traditional masculinity pathway, although many of them attempt to find a compromise between the learned and the novel patterns of the masculine role. It should, however, be borne in mind that changes in the understanding of the social sex roles do not follow a revolutionary pattern. Rather, the process of redefining masculinity and femininity is evolution-

ary. As Zbyszko Melosik and Tomasz Szkudlarek state (1998, p. 29), you cannot cut across the socialisation process and “cut off” the values in which the grandparents and parents of the young generation of men grew up. What should be done, however, in order to stimulate the evolution in the understanding of sex roles? Can pedagogy help to change the status quo in the field of masculinity and femininity? According to Ewa Majewska and Ewa Rutkowska (2008, p. 119), the contemporary system of education is often described by theoreticians as repressive and one that consolidates the asymmetrical social order, as confirmed by many studies in the field of sexual socialisation at school. Despite the quite pessimistic diagnosis, the education sector should, however, be considered a potential starting point for fighting the stereotypes that consolidate the inequality of the sexes in society.

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Summary

The (Un)true Masculinity: Pedagogical Considerations of Male Identity

The essence of this article is an attempt to define (un)true masculinities as an outcome of the phenomenographic approach. The author reveals the regulative role that "fake" masculinity plays in the construction of dominant versions of masculinities in Poland.

Keywords

masculinity, socialisation, identity, change

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