

## **Shifting Traditions in Masculinity: Anthropological observations from District Layyah - Pakistan**

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### **Abstract**

*Masculinity, the focus of present research, has different meanings, understandings and definitions in different cultural settings. It is viewed and exercised differently by different people, in different contexts and frameworks. The research results have reflected that terms, conditions and attributes of being masculine are different even in the same group of individuals. A randomly selected group of respondents from a village of District Layyah has helped to highlight different perspectives, attributes and local criterion of masculinity in the area. Field data collected through anthropological research techniques was divided into two broader categories of emic perspectives. Firstly, the old perspective in which attributes like physical power, physical beauty and sexual power are effectively utilized in defining masculinity, secondly, the modern perspective in which attributes like education, economic status, character, political and social relations are considered as basic characteristic of masculinity. This article also explains the causes of shifting old parameters of masculinity into new criterion and its reasons as well.*

**Key words:** Masculinity, tradition, measuring parameters, native, cultural expressions

### **The Background**

Masculinity refers to the socially fashioned but personified ways of being male. That is to say that men gain knowledge of to be men and this learning is expressed both in terms of social structures as well as in the ways in which they present themselves in everyday life. So, for example, the idea of men's work and women's work relates to social structure whereas the ways in which men speak, behave, gesture, and interact with other men and women reflects the personification of masculinity. The dominant perception stands that being culturally less valuable man, it's better to be a valuable woman. These dominant perceptions about gender are produced at specific sites and these might include educational system, customary laws and regulations, the state and its mechanism, the family, religious norms and sanctions, popular culture, and, the media. It is important to remember that in all societies there exist

multiple ways of being a man, however, and that the dominant modals of masculinity are always under challenge from other position. As Srivastava & Roy (2011) noted that masculinity is not a relationship between men and women, but also between men and men. So, there is a particular relationship of heterosexual and homosexual masculinity. Therefore, it is more proper to speak of ‘masculinities’ rather than ‘masculinity’.

Masculinity is one’s gender identity and refers to the degree to which a person sees himself as a masculine. It is closely associated to the prevailing notion regarding what it means to be a man in a society. Masculinity is rooted in the social rather than the biological. Many scholars noted that it is the society which preliminarily determines the value of being a strong man (Spence 1985). It is the members of a society who decide the parameters of being a male or female (e.g., dominant or passive, brave or emotional), and nearly in all societies male’s behavior are generally defined as masculine and females behavior is defined as feminine. These are social definitions prevailing within the spheres of specific culture, however, it is also possible for one to be female and see herself as masculine or male and see himself as feminine.

Beginning at birth, the self-meanings regarding one’s gender are formed in social situations, stemming from on-going interaction with significant others such as parents, peers, and educators. Individuals draw upon the shared cultural conceptions of what it means to be male or female in society. So, femininity and masculinity are not innate but are based upon social and cultural conditions. Margaret Mead (1945) dealt with the issue of differences in temperaments for males and females in three primitive societies. Her study led to the conclusion that there are no necessary differences in traits and temperaments between the sexes. Observed differences in temperament between men and women were not a function of their biological differences. Rather, they resulted from differences in socialization and the cultural expectations held for each sex. One is led to this conclusion because the three societies studied by Mead (1935) showed patterns of temperament which were quite varied from each other. Among the *Arapesh*, both males and females displayed what we would consider a “feminine” temperament (passive, cooperative and expressive). Among the *Mundugamor*, both males and females displayed what we would consider a “masculine” temperament (active, competitive and instrumental). Finally, among the *Tchambuli*, men and women displayed temperaments that were different from each other, but opposite to our own pattern. In that society, men were emotional and expressive while women were active and instrumental (Mead 1935).

Objectives, Methodology & Locale

Following were the main objectives of the study:

1. To understand the cultural construction of masculinity at local level.
2. To identify the local attributes attached with masculinity.
3. To assess changing trends of masculinity.
4. To document cultural practices and rituals required to fulfill criteria of masculinity.

In order to meet requirements of objectives, a carefully selected methodology was applied. Different data collection methods were used but major bulk of the information was produced through participant observation, focused group discussions and in-depth interviews. The concept of triangulation was the

main driver to verify the empirical and academic information. A sample of forty (40) people was drawn from different age, ethnic, cast and economic groups by following the convenient sampling technique. For the purpose of current anthropological research, *Basti Pakka Awan Wala* in the *Thal* area of *Kot Sultan* District Layyah of the Punjab province was selected. It was assumed that the male dominated society of Layyah will be more conducive to conduct this research as the area inhabits people from diverse cultural and ethnic backgrounds *Saraiki, Baloch, Sindhi, Punjabi, Mohajr* and *Patahan*. The very existence of different cultural and ethnic groups enabled the researches to collect diverse and in-depth information about the concept of masculinity, as perceived and practiced by the natives.

### Masculinity in Local Perspective

It is undoubtedly true that masculinity is a locally constructed concept and its roots have been found on the cultural level. The epistemological conceptualization of ‘masculinity’ is different in different parts of the world, somewhere it encompass the elements of physical power whereas in other parts of the world, sexually stronger are considered more ‘masculine’. In research locale, different synonyms are acceptably used to define the word ‘masculinity’ such as the “*Wadda Jawan* (big man), *Asal Mard* (real man) and *Gahbro* (elegant and good looking)”. In the area of research, the concept of masculinity was different in the past but now it has been interpreted in different connotation. According to the respondents, in past the definition of masculinity was related to physical strength and power. The proprietor of these traits was called a real man or big man. A great majority of the respondents have characterized masculinity with physical power, beauty and bravery. One of the key informants said that in past people used to get inspired from the bravery, physical power and high build of a man.

**Table 1: Manifestations of masculinity in the past**

Sr. No	Perception	Percentage
1	Physical powers	41%
2	Physical beauty	28%
3	Sexual power	31%
<b>Total</b>		<b>100%</b>

Table 1 describes that 41% respondents from the selected sample were of the view that around three decades ago, the measure of masculinity amongst the locals was physical power. During those days, a man was believed to be a real masculine (*wadda jawan, gabhroo*) that contained strong and powerful body. According to 28% of respondents, physical beauty was another attribute of masculinity measures in past. Key informant told that their *Basti* (village) was famous for *daisi kuhsti* (local wrestling) and to become a wrestler was one of the norms of the Basti. To see ones son as a famous wrestler, parents were focused on the diet and well built of their male offspring from the childhood. To be a well built young man, the boys were supposed to eat *daisi* meals like milk, egg, ghee, etc. Another major attribute of being a real man in past was sexually powerful; and 31% respondents supported that perspective. A respondent from *Awan* family explained that now a day the criterion of being a real man or original man has changed. He said that “now those men are believed to be real men who contains not only bravery, power and muscular body; but must hold many other qualities, like intelligence, awareness,

education, wealth, political influence, religious knowledge, family back ground, etc”. He also stressed that a man is also perceived to be a real man who can sexually arouse a women. Adding to the attributes, he claimed that if a man has a big stamina during sex and can perform for long duration, is also called a real ‘masculine’.

**Table 2: Contemporary attributes of masculinity**

Sr. No	Modern Measures	Percentage
1	Education	89%
2	Economic status	81%
3	Political influence	64%
4	Social relations	69%
5	Sexual powers	91%
6	Character	87%
7	Religious knowledge	64%
8	Attitude	76%
9	Family status	68%

Above cited table shows views of the respondents regarding their priority for modern attributes of masculinity. About 89% of the respondent favored education as the primary characteristic to be a ‘real/big man’. The respondents were of the view that education is the basic measure of masculinity as it enhances awareness among the individuals. Education makes a man perfect and enables him to cope and deal with all kinds of problems. Education was equated with wisdom and, in turn, it was believed an essential component of masculinity. Economic status has been identified by 81% of the respondents as key to measure the masculinity. That man is believed to be real man who bears sound economic footings and if a man is physically strong but do not have wealth is not a real man. A respondent from *Dullo* family said that it is a materialistic world and a ‘big man’ is a person who possesses wealth (“*ay paisay da dour hay tay wadda jawan oh hay jainday kol paisa hay*”).

Political influence (64%) and social relation (69%) were also included in the attributes of a real man or masculine a great majority of respondents admitted that political influence makes man strong in the area and if a man contains more social relations, he is believed to be more powerful. Sexual powers and sex duration was considered by the natives as a basic attribute of a real, big and *wadda jawn*, and 91% respondents favored it. A respondent from Jam caste group said that without sexual powers a man is nothing and a real man is who makes his women happy (“*asal mard ohay hondn jinan kol zalin khush hovain*”). The sexual satisfaction of the women is directly linked to the dominators of masculinity. As evidence on this aspect, majority of the respondents referred a resident of the Basti who had three wives and all of them were living happily with him. It was reported that he had a good stamina in sex which was considered as the main factor for his success in matrimonial life. Good character was also regarded as main pillar of masculinity and 87% respondents stressed on good character as a measure of masculinity. They supported that real man consists of sound character and he must pay respect to

everyone. Attitude (76%) of man and family status (68%) were also included in the measures of masculinity.

### Comparing attributes of masculinity

According to the popular local perception, the advocacy of masculinity or a real man (*wadda jawan* and *gahbro*) started from the childhood. Even in the early years of childhood, male children were advised as well as guided to play boyish games and there is a negativity associated to play with girls. A respondent from *Awan* family noted that it was the culture of the area which promotes masculinity through different normative regulatory patterns. He gave his example that when he was a boy his father and grandfather always motivated and compelled him to do every kind of work as he was a boy. Similarly young boys were advised to prove them in every walk of life as they were men and nothing is impossible for real men (*wadda jawan*).

Following table shows a changing trend in attributes of masculinity with a plausible list of influencing factors. The list of attributes and impacting factors might not be inclusive and exhaustive, but corresponds to the information collected from the respondents.

**Table 3: Comparison of old and new attributes of masculinity**

Old attributes	Impacting factors	Modern attributes
Physical power Physical beauty Sexual power	Migration Adaptation Media Education	Physical power, beauty, Sexual powers Political and social relations Good Character Bossy and assertive Religiosity Economic status

It is important to mention that impacting factors functioned as bridge between old and new measures of masculinity. People of the locale reported it time and again that media and education had a long lasting impact in rephrasing many of the cultural concepts and related practices. According to the respondents, around thirty years before, the measures of masculinity were mainly confined to physical power, beauty and bravery. These attributes changed, slowly and gradually, as the community got in link with other cultures through improved means of communication; in and out migration for trade, education, employment, etc.; and influx of media, both print and electronic.

Describing the contemporary measures of masculinity, the respondents were of the view that the present criteria uphold main traits of the past with a quality addition of upcoming social realities like education, political and social relation, sexual power, economic status and good character. According to the respondents, migration appeared to be the most impacting and changing factor towards the concept of masculinity. A respondent explained that migrants are sharing their ideas, concepts and perceptions about various social phenomena and there is likelihood in accepting novelty. Mobility, in and out, has caused a significant awareness amongst the natives and has helped to expand their traditional concepts. Similarly media and education had played an important role in bringing changes in concepts and practices, and the understanding of masculinity is equally affected.

### Masculinity and Local Politics

The research findings revealed that there is a direct relationship between the concept of masculinity and politics of the area. One of the key informants described that a real man is constructed through political influence and social networking in the area, instead of physical power. He explained that if a man is physically strong, beautiful but did not have political knowledge and social relationships then he does not qualify to be a real/big man. Another respondent from *Awan* family expressed his views as: “though good personality and physical appearance is an attraction of masculinity, but a real man is one who can solve problems of the individuals and community”. Another elderly respondent added that politics means a man’s political relations and influence upon the people of the area and as well as his relation with government officials of the area like In-charge of the local police station, influential lawyers and *patwarie*<sup>1</sup> of the area. In simple words, a socially dynamic person qualifies more for real/big man than only having physical strength. The social and political reservoir is highly desirable as a means to solve problems of the local people. Talking about politics of the area, a respondent from *Jam* family explained that being a remote and relatively isolated area, there are many problems in the area. If a person holds good social networking then people will pay respect to him and will come to see him for the solution of their problems. So, for people of the area, a man who can solve their problems is not only the real man but also a kind of ‘blessing’ from God.

### Personal Character and Masculinity

Character has the same importance as physical power and bravery are attached with the concept of masculinity. The relation between masculinity and character is broad based and deep rooted. In order to measure the good character, some attributes are generally perceived universal like a man with good character must have religious knowledge, should be honest and respectful towards elders as well as to the traditions, norms and values of the society. The respondents believed that a person of good character must have positive thinking and refrain from all evils, particularly drugs and intoxicants. On a further inquiry about a special mention of drugs, majority of the interviewees claimed that a drug (like alcohol, heroine) is the “mother of all evils”.

**Table 4: Measures of good character**

Sr. No	Measures of good character	Percentage
1	Religious	91%
2	Honest	89%
3	Respectful to others	98%
4	Adherence to norms & values	92%
5	Positive thinking	87%
6	Anti narcotics	71%

Table indicates that 91% respondents favored the religious knowledge and activities as a part of good character. A respondent from *baloch* group said that “one cannot be a good man and human without

<sup>1</sup> A local level low ranked but administratively very powerful official of the revenue department

religion (“*mazhb day siva asan changay mard tay insan nisay ban sangday*”). He gave the example of Holy Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) that his personality was exemplary because he followed a particular religious doctrine in his whole life. Another respondent said that “if a man acts upon teachings of the religion, then all requisite qualities of being a good man will come automatically (“*ager koi bunda din day mtabiq zindgi gzaray tan onday which hr hik khobi apnay ap aa vasi*”). The respondents having more inclination towards Islam, argued that strictly acting upon the doctrine of religion is primary key to be a real man.

Honesty in all affairs of life was favored by 89% respondents as an attribute of good character. An elderly respondent claimed that honesty saves a man from all kinds of sins and a real man will never tell lies because it is kind of dishonesty. Stressing on his opinion he added that an honest man never disrespects norms of the society. As honesty is culturally and religiously accepted norm, therefore, there is a great probability for a dishonest person to indulge in all kinds of sins. So there was a general consensus that honesty is an essential ingredient of a good character; and good character is key to being a real man.

Another important attribute of the good character identified during the research was ‘giving respect to others’. When a man gives respect to the people who do not belong to his caste or ethnic group, this is regarded as a symbol of good character. This notion was supported by 98% respondents. They all believed that a real man pays respect to everyone. A female respondent who was Traditional Birth Attendant (TBA) stated that a real man always pays respect to the wives and daughters of all other and treat them like his own. Other attributes of good character were paying respect to the norms and values of local culture and positive thinking towards all. These attributes were supported by 92% and 87% of the respondents, respectively.

It was interesting to find out that some of the new attributes of masculinity have out rated the pre-existing classical attributes. It was out rightly supported by the respondents that if a physically strong man does not pay proper respect to the people and pre-existing norms and values; he is not a real/big man. A key informant explained that if a man does not qualify the parameters of a good character, he is called a *lofer* (vagabond). It was also stated that if a man does not respect elders, female and do not adhere to the existing norms and values of the area, he believed to be a man of low esteem and *lofer*.

During the field work, it was observed that people of the area are very particular about character of a person. The main focus of socialization was to attend company of nobles. Parents advise their children not to indulge in bad habits and refrain from all kinds of social evils. One effective measure adopted by majority of the parents was to engage their children in religious education and rituals. They are compelled to be part of religious rituals and ceremonies. It was believed that normative base of every individual should be on teachings of Islam. An old age respondent from *Awan* family told that basic concept of masculinity is the beauty of character and a man with huge, powerful body size but without a good character should not be considered a big man or *gahbro jawn*. A young respondent stressed that we believe that character is the basic calculate of masculinity. He narrated example of a very famous local wrestler (*pehlwan*) who was considered best wrestler in the district with a huge muscular body, but people did not consider him a real man as he was characterless and *lofer*.

### Sex and Masculinity

The research was conducted in a patriarchal society where sexual power of men is a point of consideration. In majority of the responses, the duration of sex (longevity) was regarded as one of the important measures of masculinity. The local concept of the masculinity revolves around the physical power as well as the sexual strength. An old respondent told that in his youth, it was common amongst young fellows to talk and discuss about sexual matters. Now-a-days, these matters are not discussed openly due to cultural taboos and youth feel ashamed to discuss it openly. He explained that a man, who takes more time during sex with his mate, is believed to be a real man. Further he told that in the past, a man with more children was considered more masculine. Another elderly respondent stated that “in our times, a real man had the capacity to pregnant his wife every year”. A key informant also told that even today people called those men a real masculine that have more children. If a man is sexually satisfying his wife that man is believed a real man (*wadda jawan or asal mard*). Another factor was also realized during the research that if a man has more sexual relations with boys or girls, he was considered to be a real man.

**Table 5: Measures of sexual Power**

Sr. No	Indicators of sexual power	Percentage
1	Intercourse timings	93%
2	Number of children	59%
3	Number of wives	41%
4	Number of affairs with females	29%
5	Number of affairs with males	14%

The above table illustrates a variety of respondents' views in measuring sexual power of a man. Intercourse timings were a big attribute to measure the sexual power of a man and 93% respondents gave their consent in this favor. A respondent expressed his view as: “the real man is one who keeps his wife sexually satisfied and makes her happy by fulfilling her sexual needs”. An elderly person was quoted by many respondents as a well-known figure in the area that was famous in the area for his sexual timings. It was also reported that he had illicit relations with several women of the area.

Another measure of sexual power was attached with the number of children. 59% respondents believed that if a man had larger number of offspring, he is sexually powerful and strong. An old respondent told that it is a reality that real men have large number of children and greater number of children is a symbol of sexual power and masculinity. Key informants also stated that in the locale those men are respected most that have more children. The high rate of reproductive fertility is considered as sign of masculinity.

### Bossy attitude and masculinity

Another famous concept of the masculinity in the area was explained with the help of bossy and rude attitude of the males. During the interviews, it was highlighted time and again that if a man contains rude and strict behavior, he was considered to be a big man (*wadda jawan*). Key informant explained that if a man keeps good and strong powerful body but his attitude and behavior is not bossy and rude;

there exists a general understanding that he cannot control his own family. It was a desired perspective that a huge body should have an aggressive attitude. Aggression was believed to be the part of masculinity and there existed lot of examples of such sort of masculinity. According to the respondents, it is the aggressive attitude which compels others to keep a distance and a reflection of fear and revenge is considered a part of masculinity. Aggressive behavior facilitates in maintaining control over the family members which in turn is utilized to extend this control to adjacent social circles. No doubt, the targets of such aggressive expressions are mostly women and children; the weaker segment of the society.

It was a generally accepted expression that if a man has a strict and controlling behavior towards his family, in general, and the spouse, in particular, is considered a strong man. Being a patriarchal society, it was believed that male has right to do all what he wants to do. In case a man is not aggressive and rude to his wife, he is labeled as *ran mureed* (subservient of the wife) which is very humiliating and insulting idiom. Only 9% of the respondents were of the view that if someone did not show bossy attitude and behaves gently, his authority is extremely vulnerable and can be challenged at any time. The tenderness, gentleness and humility are considered anti traits of masculinity. Just to act according to the norms of society and to qualify for masculinity, many of the educated and sensible men were observed to 'adopt' these traits of aggression and rudeness.

### **Masculinity and Religion**

According to the respondents, masculinity and its attributes have a close link with Islamic teachings. One of the respondents explained this perspective by declaring that a real man has the best knowledge of Islamic teachings and also is abiding all basic principles of Islam. He must offer prayers regularly, observe fasting and spends his life according to the teachings of Prophet (PBUH). It was very interesting to know the native understanding about a relationship between masculinity and gender of prophets. While pleading for masculinity, a very interesting argument was drifted by a sizable number of respondents that if men are not superior, why all prophets were men?

A respondent quoted a famous religious-cum-cultural phrase "that if God would have allowed to bow (Sajda) in front of anyone else, it would be the husband of a wife. Further he said that it is the religion that makes you a perfect and real man and a man who have huge and powerful body but do not had the religious knowledge was considered a body without soul. Islamic masculinity is based upon the perfect way of life. Islamic masculinity is correct and perfect, in system and in reality. He further said that ultimate source of what masculinity means to Muslims, has to be the Prophet Muhammad (PBUH) himself. As his life is transmitted to us through the *Hadith*, which was written after the Prophet's death, constructions of his masculinity are deeply entrenched in Arab. Another respondent said that as Muslim men, we want freedom of expression and liberty for our women, but both might end where the honor of our families and the integrity of our faith begin. There is obviously no single definition of masculinity in Islam, due to the diversity of cultures and contexts in which the religion is practiced and interpreted. It remains nebulous which precise aspects of the Muslim world's image of masculinity come from Islam and rooted in culture. Masculinity, as femininity, is a social construct, a gender category. As such, it is a role ascribed with a set of values in a given social and cultural context. Which particular values we

attribute to this category may vary, not only from society to society, but also from person to person. It is not sufficient to define oneself as a man, if others don't recognize this manhood. This presupposes that there is a shared concept of what it means to be a 'man', and 'woman' for that matter, between the individual and group.

### **Economic Status and Masculinity**

Another major attribute of masculinity was hidden in the economic status of a person. There existed an agreement on the point that those people are perceived more masculine that have better economic status. Now-a-days, the caste or ethnicity of a person does not matter a lot; what matters is the economic stability of a person. Physical power does not match with economic power as money can buy the muscles. "In this material world it is large landownership, big house, car and luxuries of life, which have got more worth than any other characteristic", were the views of a young smart respondent. He added that it is not a time of muscle but economic power. So, the material culture has affected the basics of the concept of masculinity in the research locale.

**Table 6: Basic measures of economic power**

<b>Sr. No</b>	<b>Economic power measures</b>	<b>Percentage</b>
1	Agricultural land	97%
2	Livestock	93%
3	Business	85%
4	Luxuries	81%

In research area, the economic power is locally constructed and has several traits. Being an agricultural society, more value is given to the land and livestock. A good combination of attributes mentioned in the table was considered an ideal situation, which seldom exist in the area. 97% of the respondents were of the view that it is agricultural land which adds into economic status. Land being a relatively stable component of economy is rated above all other sources. Number of animals was also known as representation of the economic status and 93% of respondents supported this fact. Business (85%) and luxuries (81%) of life were considered, but not rated as high as land and livestock.

Key informant told that people had an impression that if a person is richer then he is more masculine. They said that, though physical powers are the part of masculinity but with money a person can get anything, so the symbolic importance of wealth has surpassed the older version of physical power. Due to financial powers the economically stable persons can do whatever they want to. The respondents also discussed the fact that if a man belonging to poor family fulfills required rudiments of a real man like physical & sexual power, good character, religious knowledge etc., he would not be able to compete a rich man because of his wealth. So according the respondents, it was a great reality of the day that masculinity is defined on the basis of financial power.

Instead of all these above mentioned attributes, there were many other social aspects and facts that were associated with the concept of masculinity. People of the area admitted the fact that it was the past when there used to exist real/big men (*wadday jawan* or *ghbro jwan*). The current complexity of social networks is not conducive for the existence and nurturing of a real man. The normative parameters and

materialistic perspective appear to be in an antagonistic relationship causing multi linearity in society that it has really become difficult to adopt any standardization. As a result, the concept of masculinity appears to be multifaceted and contextual; any definition one may opt, will fit in one situation but equally awkward in the other.

### **Conclusion**

As we know that masculinity is a cultural concept than biological. And it varies from area to area and culture to culture. In every culture the measures, protocols and aspects of masculinity found to be different. In some cultures there are proper rituals and after performing those rituals a boy can become a masculine. In some cultures good hunters are believed to be masculine though that hunter is physically strong or not. So there are different definitions of masculinity in the different part of the world as well as in different cultures. But the basic measures of masculinity common in all cultures are huge and powerful body structure, rude behavior and bravery as well. All these are believed to be the attributes of a real man or masculine.

The conceptual understanding surrounding masculinity in the area under research was unique as they were including the huge and powerful body as an attribute of being masculine. The earlier definition revolved around hard and powerful body but now with the passage of time some other attributes like education, economic status, honesty and religiosity have got more value. Another attribute of masculinity was sexual power in terms of frequency and duration, which is still considered valid. A very considerable addition in attributes of masculinity is related to economic status which in the past was almost nonexistent. There is no denial to the fact that financial strength of a man is the most valuable characteristic in the current list of a real/big man. It is interesting to mention that a physically weak and lean man with lot of wealth qualifies more than a physically strong but poor person. Over the period of time, religiosity has also been considered a qualification for masculinity. At present, a real/big man is expected to admire the norms and values of the area, respect elders and female, helps everyone without any social, economic, political and religious discrimination. Politically viability and socially well connectedness is an addition in attributes of masculinity. The real/big man is also expected to be influential at local level, so must have to maintain good relations with local level government officials. Such a social and political reservoir is effectively utilized to solve the problems of people at the local level.

At the end, one can summarize that the concept and functions of masculinity have changed overtime. Along with retaining older parameters, new attributes have been added in the definition of masculinity. The new attributes are more related to the changing material and social world around the respondents. Some infra-structural changes have also played an important role in redefining and reallocating the meanings and practices. In nutshell, the traditions of masculinity in District Layyah of Pakistan's Punjab have undergone considerable changes and this process is still going on.

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