GEXcel Work in Progress Report Volume VI

Proceedings from GEXcel Theme 2: Deconstructing the Hegemony of Men and Masculinities Conference 27–29 April 2009

Edited by
Alp Biricik and Jeff Hearn

Centre of Gendering Excellence – GEXcel

Towards a European Centre of Excellence in Transnational and Transdisciplinary Studies of

- Changing Gender Relations
- Intersectionalities
- Embodiment

Institute of Thematic Gender Studies:

Department of Gender Studies, Tema Institute,
Faculty of Arts and Sciences, Linköping University

Division of Gender and Medicine,
Faculty of Health Sciences, Linköping University

&

Centre for Feminist Social Studies (CFS), School of Humanities,
Education and Social Sciences (HumES), Örebro University

Gender Studies, School of Humanities,
Education and Social Sciences (HumES), Örebro University

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Institute of Thematic Gender Studies, LiU-ÖU
– an inter-university institute, located at:

Department of Gender Studies, Linköping University
SE 581 83 Linköping, Sweden

Division of Gender and Medicine
Department of Clinical and Experimental Medicine,
Faculty of Health Sciences
SE 58185 Linköping, Sweden

&

Centre for Feminist Social Sciences (CFS)
School of Humanities, Education and Social Sciences (HumES)
Örebro University
SE 70182 Örebro, Sweden

Gender Studies
School of Humanities, Education and Social Sciences (HumES)
Örebro University
SE 70182 Örebro, Sweden

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Centre of Gender Excellence, Gendering Excellence – GEXcel

Towards a European Centre of Excellence in Transnational and Transdisciplinary Studies of

- Changing Gender Relations
- Intersectionalities
- Embodiment

Nina Lykke
Linköping University, Director of GEXcel

In 2006, the Swedish Research Council granted 20 millions SEK to set up a Center of Gender Excellence at the inter-university Institute of Thematic Gender Studies, Linköping University and Örebro University, for the period 2007–2011. Linköping University has added five million SEK as matching funds, while Örebro University has added three million SEK as matching funds.

The following is a short presentation of the excellence centre. For more information contact: Scientific Director of GEXcel, Professor Nina Lykke (ninly@tema.liu.se), Administrator, Berit Starkman (berst@tema.liu.se), or Research Coordinator, Katherine Harrison (katha@tema.liu.se).

Institutional basis of GEXcel

Institute of Thematic Gender Studies, Linköping University and Örebro University
The institute is a collaboration between:
Department of Gender Studies, Linköping University
Centre for Feminist Social Studies, Örebro University
Affiliated with the Institute are:
Division of Gender and Medicine, Linköping University
Centre for Gender Studies, Linköping University

GEXcel board and lead-team

– a transdisciplinary team of Gender Studies professors:

- Professor Nina Lykke, Linköping University (Director) – Gender and Culture; background: Literary Studies
- Professor Anita Göransson, Linköping University – Gender, Organisation and Economic Change; background: Economic History
- Professor Jeff Hearn, Linköping University – Critical Studies of Men and Masculinities; background: Sociology and Organisation Studies
- Guest Professor Liisa Husu, Örebro University – Gender Studies
- Professor Anna G. Jónasdóttir, Örebro University – Gender Studies with a profile of Political Science
- Professor Barbro Wijma, Linköping University – Gender and Medicine

International advisory board

- Professor Karen Barad, University of California, St. Cruz, USA
- Professor Rosi Braidotti, University of Utrecht, The Netherlands
- Professor Raewyn Connell, University of Sydney, Australia
- Professor Emerita Leonore Davidoff, University of Essex, UK
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- Professor Elzbieta Oleksy, University of Lodz, Poland
- Professor Berit Schei, Norwegian University of Technology, Trondheim, Norway
- Professor Birte Siim, University of Aalborg, Denmark

Aims of GEXcel

1) to set up a temporary (5 year) Centre of Gender Excellence (Gendering EXcellence: GEXcel) in order to develop innovative research on changing gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment from transnational and transdisciplinary perspectives.
2) to become a pilot or developmental scheme for a more permanent Sweden-based European Collegium for Advanced Transnational and Transdisciplinary Gender Studies (CATSgender).

A core activity of GEXcel 2007–2011

A core activity will be a visiting scholars programme, organised to attract excellent senior researchers and promising younger scholars from Sweden and abroad and from many disciplinary backgrounds. The visiting scholars are taken in after application and a peer-reviewed evaluation process of the applications; a number of top scholars within the field are also invited to be part of GEXcel's research teams. GEXcel's visiting scholars receive grants from one week up to twelve months to stay at GEXcel to do research together with the permanent staff of the Gender Studies professors and other relevant local staff.

The Visiting Scholars Programme is concentrated on annually shifting thematic foci. We select and construct shifting research groups, consisting of excellent researchers of different academic generations (professors, post-doctoral scholars, doctoral students) to carry out new research on specified research themes within the overall frame of changing gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment.

Brief definition of overall research theme of GEXcel

The overall theme of GEXcel research is defined as *transnational and transdisciplinary studies of changing gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment*. We have chosen a broad and inclusive frame in order to attract a diversity of excellent scholars from different disciplines, countries and academic generations, but specificity and focus are also given high priority and ensured via annually shifting thematic foci.

The overall keywords of the (long!) title are chosen in order to indicate currently pressing theoretical and methodological challenges of gender research to be addressed by GEXcel research:

– By the keyword *"transnational"* we underline that GEXcel research should contribute to a systematic transnationalising of research on gender relations, intersectionalities and embodiment, and, in so doing, develop a reflexive stance vis-à-vis transnational travelling of ideas, theories

and concepts, and consciously try to overcome reductive one-country focused research as well as pseudo-universalising research that unreflectedly takes, for example, "Western" or "Scandinavian" models as the norm.

– By the keyword "changing" we aim at underlining that it, in a world of rapidly changing social, cultural, economic and technical relations, is crucial to be able to theorise change, and that this is of particular importance for critical gender research due to its liberatory aims and inherent focus on macro, meso and micro level transformations.

– By the keyword "gender relations", we aim at underlining that we define gender not as an essence, but as a relational, plural and shifting process, and that it is the aim of GEXcel research to contribute to a further understanding of this process.

– By the keyword "intersectionalities", we stress that a continuous reflection on meanings of intersectionalities in gender research should be integrated in all GEXcel research. In particular, we will emphasise four different aspects: a) intersectionality as intersections of disciplines and main areas (humanities, social sciences and medical and natural sciences); b) intersectionality as intersections between macro, meso and micro level social analyses; c) intersectionality as intersections between social categories and power differentials organised around categories such as gender, ethnicity, race, class, sexuality, age, nationality, profession, dis/ablebodiedness etc); d) intersectionality as intersections between major different branches of feminist theorising (for example, queer feminist theorising, Marxist feminist theorising, postcolonial feminist theorising).

Finally, by the keyword "embodiment", we aim at emphasising yet another kind of intersectionality, which has proved crucial in current gender research – to explore intersections between discourse and materiality and between sex and gender.

Specific research themes for first 2.5 year period of GEXcel

The research at GEXcel will focus on shifting themes. The research themes to be announced for the first 2.5 years are the following:

Theme 1) "Gender, Sexuality and Global Change" (on interactions of gender and sexuality in a global perspective), headed by Anna Jónasdóttir.

Theme 2) "Deconstructing the Hegemony of Men and Masculinities" (on ways to critically analyse constructions of the social category "men"), headed by Jeff Hearn.

Theme 3) "Distinctions and Authorisation" (on meanings of gender, class, and ethnicity in constructions of elites), headed by Anita Göransson.

Theme 4+5) "Sexual Health, Embodiment and Empowerment" (on new synergies between different kinds of feminist researchers' (eg. philosophers' and medical doctors' approaches to the sexed body), headed by Nina Lykke and Barbro Wijma.

The thematically organised research groups will be chaired by GEXcel's core staff of Gender Studies professors, who make up a transdisciplinary team, covering humanities, social sciences and medicine.

Seven more themes are under planning for the second 2.5 year period.

Ambitions and visions

The scholarship programme of GEXcel is created with the central purpose to create transnational and transdisciplinary research teams that will have the opportunity to work together for a certain time – long enough to do joint research, do joint publications, produce joint international research applications and do other joint activities such as organising international conferences.

We will build on our extensive international networks to promote the idea of a permanent European institute for advanced and excellent gender research – and in collaboration with other actors try to make this idea become real, for example, organisations such as AOIFE, the SOCRATES-funded network Athena and WISE, who jointly are preparing for a professional Gender Studies organisation in Europe. We also hope that collaboration within Sweden will sustain the long-term goals of making a difference both in Sweden and abroad.

We consider GEXcel to be *a pilot or developmental scheme* for a more long-term European centre of gender excellence, i.e. for an institute- or collegium- like structure dedicated to advanced, transnational and transdisciplinary gender research, research training and education in advanced Gender Studies (CATSgender).

Leading international institutes for advanced study such as the Centre for the Study of Democracy at the University of California Irvine, and in Sweden The Swedish Collegium for Advanced Studies (SCAS at Uppsala University) have proved to be attractive environments and creative meeting places where top scholars in various fields from all over the world, and from different generations, have found time for reflective work and for meeting and generating new, innovative research. We would like to explore how this kind of academic structures that have proved very productive in terms of advancing excellence and high level, internationally important and recognised research within other areas of

study, can unleash new potentials of gender research and initiate a new level of excellence within the area. The idea is, however not just to take an existing academic form for unfolding of excellence potentials and fill it with excellent gender research. Understood as a developmental/pilot scheme for CATSgender, GEXcel should build on inspirations from the mentioned units for advanced studies, but also further explore and assess what feminist excellence means in terms of both contents and form/structure.

We want to rework the advanced research collegium model on a feminist basis and include thorough reflections on meanings of gender excellence: What does it mean to gender excellence? How can we do it in even more excellent feminist innovative ways?

Editors' Foreword

The contributions to this volume are the result of the activities carried out within the frame of GEXcel's second research theme, *Deconstructing the Hegemony of Men and Masculinities*. The authors were among the presenters at the GEXcel Conference 'Men and Masculinities, Moving On! Embodiments, Virtualities, Transnationalisations' held on 27th–29th April, 2009 (see Appendix). Some of the conference presentations will be published in GEXcel Work-in-Progress Report VII.

This volume is of a work-in-progress character, and thus the texts presented here are to be elaborated further. The reader should also be aware that, as this is a report of working papers, some minor editorial modifications have been made to some papers, but the language of those contributed by non-native speakers of English has not been specifically revised.

We are grateful to all participants and presenters, to the chairs and rapporteurs of the workgroups, and also thank Katherine Harrison and Berit Starkman for all their assistance in the arrangements for Theme 2 and the preparation of the conference from which this volume has been produced.

*

Chapter 1
Deconstructing the Hegemony of Men and Masculinities – Presentation of the Research Theme

Jeff Hearn
Linköping University, Sweden

The GEXcel project was launched in May 2007 with a conference arranged in Linköping (Volume 1 of this Work-in-Progress Report Series). According to the work plan included in the application to VR (The Swedish Research Council), the first half of the first year was intended for preparations and detail planning. Since early February 2007 the Örebro team worked to prepare for the first theme on *Gender, Sexuality and Global Change* as the focus during the academic year 2007–2008 (Volumes 2, 3 and 4). Collaboration has developed between the research themes, for example, with Theme 1 and the Conference on 'The War Question for Feminism', held in Örebro, September 2008. Planning for the second theme, *Deconstructing the Hegemony of Men and Masculinities*, began during the life of the first theme, since GEXcel is primarily a visiting scholars programme, gathering prominent senior as well as junior scholars from different countries to work with scholars based in GEXcel.

What is the research theme *Deconstructing the Hegemony of Men and Masculinities* about?

This theoretical and conceptual background to this research theme has been outlined in previous GEXcel publications (Hearn, 2007, 2009). At this point, suffice it to say that the programme approaches theorising of gender and sexualities through a focus on the concept of hegemony in theorising men. The place of both force and consent of men in patriarchies is illuminated by such a concept that can assist engagement with both material and discursive gender power relations. Recent conceptual and empirical uses of hegemony, as in 'hegemonic masculinity' in the analysis of masculinities, have been subject to qualified critiques for about 15 years. This programme examines the shift from masculinity to men, to focus on 'the hegemony of men'.This programme addresses

the double complexity that men are both a social category formed by the gender system and collective and individual agents, often dominant agents. It examines how the category "men" is used in national and transnational gender systems. These uses are both intersectional and embodied in specific ways.

Dominant uses of the social category of men have often been restricted by, for example, class, ethnicity/racialisation and (hetero)sexuality; these issues have been explored in, for example, postcolonial theory and queer theory. Less examined is the construction of the category of men in terms of assumptions about: age, ageing and (dis)ability; nationality/national context; and bodily presence.

Indeed, despite the explicitness of some of the statements of Connell and colleagues, there have been a number of neglected or missing elements in some recent debates on and applications of hegemony to men and masculinities, including: relations of hegemony to "patriarchy"; relations of hegemony to "bodies"; relations of hegemony to the (changing) "form" of the social, cultural, and indeed the virtual; and relations of hegemony to moves away from notion of fundamental outlook of "society" (Bocock, 1986), nation and the nation-state to the growing importance of the "transnational".

Thus this programme examines how the hegemony of men is being (re) defined in relation to three intersectional, embodied arenas: in terms of problematising hegemony in practice, by way of these neglected arenas: (older) ageing, bodies, (dis)abilities; virtuality; and transnationalisations. In each case these are arenas that can be seen as forms of absent presence, by marginalisation by age/death, disembodiment, and disconnection from nation, respectively. Each presents reinforcements, challenges and contradictions, to hegemonic categorisations of men. These three aspects and 'exclusions' are problematised as the focus of this programme over the five years of GEXcel. In each case these are arenas that can be seen as forms of absent presence (Hearn, 1998), by marginalisation by age/disability/death, disembodiment, and disconnection from nation, respectively. Each of these presents reinforcements, challenges and contradictions, to hegemonic categorisations of men. Moreover, the theme of 'contradictions of absence' refers to these three arenas in which absence of some men (or aspects of some men) may both, and contradictorily, reinforce hegemony of men and potentially at least subvert that hegemony; absence acts as both a source of power and a way of undermining power.

Three sub-themes in the programme

The three sub-themes briefly described below have already evolved a little during the development of GEXcel. The first sub-theme in Theme 2, though centrally based in the interrogation of age, ageing, gender relations and older men, has developed somewhat towards a more general engagement with questions of embodiment, and thus is slightly renamed. This is fitting as this is one GEXcel's central cross-cutting general themes. The second sub-theme below keeps the same title. The third sub-theme below has been renamed to be more precise and clear in its broad attention to transnationalisations and transnational men. The order of the second and third sub-themes has also been reversed, to reflect the logic of moving from embodiment to virtuality to transnationalisation.

(i) Embodiment, Age/ing and Older Men

Debates, dominant constructions and media and other representations and images of men and masculinities are dominated by younger men and men "of middle years", as if men and masculinities "end" pre-old age. When images of older men are presented in the media they are generally very partial, very limited. Age, ageing, men, maleness and masculinities intersect in many different, complex ways. An under-explored area is the frequent exclusion of older men, men with certain disabilities and dying (though not dead) men from the category of "men". (Older) Age is a contradictory source of power and disempowerment for men; the social category of older men is contradictory (Hearn, 1995). In many societies age and ageing has been a 'traditional' source of patriarchal power, and of (some) men's power in relation to women, older women, younger men. This relation of men's age and men's gender power has become more complex and problematic. In many contemporary societies, age and ageing can be a source of some men's lack of power, in relation to loss of power of the body, loss of and changing relations to work, and significant extension of the 'age of weakness'.

Men's generational power in families and communities has been widely overtaken by major national and international institutions, most obviously in the state and business. These latter institutions have their own patterns of domination by particular groupings or segments of men. Contemporary contradictions of men's ageing stem partly from interrelations of sexism and ageism. Put simply, older men benefit through sexism, while, at the same time, older men are disadvantaged by ageism. Older men and older masculinities can be understood as an "absent presence" (Hearn, 1998). Indeed (some) older men may even become a contradictory, another Other-to younger men, even women. On the other hand, age and ageing do not necessarily reduce men's power. Age and

ageing are a source of financial power for some men, so that age also brings greater economic divergence. Men's labour-power may be extended, through information technology and 'cyborg-ageing', pacemakers, disability aids and so on.

(ii) Virtualisation and Virtual Men

Virtualisation processes present sites for contestations of hegemony in terms of bodily presence/absence of men. The focus here is the positive, negative and contradictory effects of certain uses of information and communication technologies (ICTs) upon men's, and women's, sexuality and sexual violences, as men act as producers and consumers of virtuality, represent women in virtual media, and are themselves being represented, even made dispensible (Hearn, 2006). These structural and agentic differentiations, with and without force, suggest multiply differentiated (trans)patriarchies that are stable and changing, fixed and flexible. Charting the particular, changing forms of these rigidities and movements of and around the taken-for-granted social category of men may be a means of interrogating the possibility of the abolition of 'men' as a significant social category of power. The implications of ICTs for the reformulation of social space and public (sexual) domains are examined.

(iii) Transnationalisation and Transnational Men

Transnationalisation takes many forms and has many implications for men and gender relations (Zalewski and Palpart, 1998; Hearn and Parkin, 2001; Hearn and Pringle, 2006). It is perhaps the most acutely contradictory of processes, with multiple forms of absence for both men in power and those dispossessed through, for example, forced migration. Different transnationalisations problematise taken-for-granted national and organisational contexts, and men therein in many ways.

One example of the impact of transnationalisation is the importance of managers in transnational organisations for the formation and reproduction of gender orders in organisations and societies. In light of the globalisation of business life and expansion of transnational organisations, the concept of "transnational business masculinity" describes a new form of masculinity among globally mobile managers. Connell (1998) sees this as marked by "increasing egocentrism, very conditional loyalties (even to the corporation), and a declining sense of responsibility for others (except for purposes of image-making)." (Connell 1998: 16). It differs from "traditional bourgeois masculinity by its increasingly libertarian sexuality, with a growing tendency to commodify relations with women." Studies on senior managers, overwhelmingly men, are

necessary to understand how the hegemony of men is reproduced and changed globally.

Cross-cutting connections

Importantly, there are key connections between these three sub-themes, and the different men and masculinities thereby implicated: social processes across and between arenas, for example, men's violences; forms of re-engagements with "absent" bodies; diverse links across the economic, the political, and the cultural; possibilities for both extensions and subversions of men's power. In all, the concept of transpatriarchies may be a relevant theme. The persistence, and usefulness, of the concept of patriarchy, despite critiques, remain. Following earlier debates on historical shifts to, first, public patriarchies, analysis of transnational patriarchies or transpatriarchies is needed. These contradictory social processes may also further the possibility of the abolition of the social category of "men, as a category of power", an approach and prospect bringing together materialist theory/politics and queer theory/politics. All three sub-themes raise and contribute to theorising on men, masculinities, gender and gender relations.

Conference organisation

The Conference was attended by citizens/participants from Australia, Austria, Canada, Denmark, Estonia, England, Finland, France, Germany, Hungary, India, Iran, Ireland, New Zealand, Norway, Poland, Scotland, Serbia, Sweden, Turkey, Ukraine, and USA. It was organised with introductions by Nina Lykke and Jeff Hearn, three plenary lectures by Toni Calasanti, Chris Beasley and David Bell, and four workgroups, each with two chairs and two rapporteurs. The first three workgroups paralleled the three sub-themes above; the fourth was on theorising. Thus the four workgroups were on: Ageing and Embodiment; Virtualities, Representations and Technology; Transnationalisations; and Theorising. Discussants were allocated for each paper presentation. Several of the papers (Blagojević, Farahani, Mutluer, Sünbüloğlu) from the Transnationalisations workgroup are included in Work-in-Progress Report VII (Harrison and Hearn, 2009). The conference concluded with feedback from the rapporteurs from each workgroup, and a general discussion on the key conference themes.

The final discussion emphasised the need for critical studies on men and masculinities (CSMM) to be understood as a sub-field of Women's/Gender/Queer Studies. Accordingly, CSMM needs to draw on the full range of feminist and critical gender theorising. In the case of this con-

ference, special engagement took place with ageing, embodiment, intersectionality theory (Workgroup A), science and technology studies, ICT studies and studies of representation (Workgroup B), and globalisation, migration and postcolonial theories (Workgroup C). Workgroup D on Theorising had a broad cross-cutting engagement. The final plenary also highlighted the interplays between deconstructing the hegemony of men and masculinities, care in organising and organisation, and feminist theory and practice.

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Workshop A
Ageing and Embodiment

Rapporteurs' report

This workgroup, chaired by Niels Ulrik Sørensen and Linn Sandberg, spent the three days of the conference in lively, critical discussion about the neglected intersections of age, ageing and embodiment in the masculinity literatures. Provocative group discussion was stimulated by 15 minute presentations by each of the members, followed by remarks by an informed discussant. These discussions, while wide-ranging, tended to focus on problems related to contemporary theorizations of hegemonic masculinities, and how these problems might be addressed. They also drew attention to an inadequate theorisation of older, masculine subjects in previous research, thus limiting our understanding of the internal complexity, variety, and unaddressed potential of their lives.

The group comprised people from seven countries and diverse disciplinary backgrounds. We explored a range of contexts, identities and locations from which to analyze and theorize ageing embodiment and/or old age together with masculinities. Presentations reflected the wide ranging scholarship of the group, and included topics such as ageing fire fighters occupational caring, older men as athletes, grandfathers, men's health promotion, and a critique of evolutionary biology's assumptions about masculinity and hairiness. Methodological issues, such as the use of body diaries and critical autobiography/critical life history work in studies of older men, were also raised. The integration of psychoanalytic theories and methodologies with other perspectives – in order to take into account intra-subjective aspects of embodiment and ageing – arose as a key theme.

Another predominant theme was the related issues of care and vulnerability. Whilst both care and vulnerability are often associated with femininities, men's caring and vulnerability offered other possibilities, including their constitution through and by gendered power relations. In exploring our different perspectives on gender and age relations, a shared concern emerged. We worked on evaluating our approaches to issues of privilege, subordination and equity, in order to assess whether and how these approaches might reify or replicate existing hierarchical gender relations, and how our approaches might challenge these relations.

Questions raised

The group raised a series of questions on themes.

1. Reflexivity in Research: Is it a privileged position to deconstruct privilege? How does the social location of the researcher affect studies of older men? In interview-based and ethnographic research, how is the researchers' body positioned in interaction with older men who participate? How do we consider insider/outsider status in doing research on aging men, ultimately acknowledging that these intersecting locations (aging/being old and masculinity) are only some of the social locations under investigation? How do we conduct this research with credibility?

2. Approaches to Age and Ageing Embodiment: In researching and identifying old age, at what point do bodies matter? Is it when they are breaking down? Is it when they start to look different than a normatively healthy male body? We discussed the effects of the social construction of ageing as decline, which tended to make the body more visible or important in research on older men and carried with it the potential for increased agency and positive change.

3. Privilege, power and hegemony: Finally, and perhaps most importantly, in studying power and hegemony in the context of older men and their embodiment, what are the contradictory and/or negative implications contained within our research and our research assumptions? Are we reformulating masculinities in ways that empower men so that hegemony is reinforced? Are we in fact constructing new forms of hegemony that we will need to deal with in the future? Might it be possible to counter this tendency through developing self-critical, autobiographical work and other forms of research which explicitly problematise male researchers' own contradictory, embodied relationships to patriarchy and power? How does this relate to older women? If we are to consider masculinities as relational, how do we include women, femininities and feminine ageing embodiment?

Final note

The group situation was a fantastic opportunity for people from different social backgrounds and academic disciplines to share their research at varying stages of completion and engage critically with issues of masculinity, age and embodiment in a supportive, thought provoking and enjoyable atmosphere. Whilst many questions were left unanswered, the general consensus of the group was that productive, respectful engagement with others in the field is essential for continuing the work of deconstructing hegemony. Thanks are due to group members for their

commitment and effort, for taking the time to listen to and contribute to the work of others and especially to those who were working in a second language.

Rapporteurs: Anna Boden and Toni Calasanti on behalf of the work-group

Chapter 2
Masculinities and Ageing Bodies: Considerations for Moving On

Toni Calasanti
Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, U.S.A.

In exploring masculinities and bodies, scholars have long considered the impact of gender relations and, more recently, other systems of inequality, such as those based on race, ethnicity, class, sexuality, global position. Scholars acknowledge that most men do not achieve dominant ideals of masculinity; but the fact that manhood is constructed "through and by reference to 'age'" (Hearn, 1995: 97) remains under-explored. The first means to moving forward is to take age relations into account. So, I begin by defining age relations, and then by discussing the importance of bodies to them. I then suggest considerations and directions for research from the standpoint of age studies.

Age relations – the system of inequality that privileges younger adults at the expense of old people (for a longer discussion, see Calasanti, 2003) – operate similarly to other relations of inequality, in that age serves as a social organizing principle such that different age groups gain identities and power in relation to one another. That is, societies organize on the basis of age, proscribing behaviors and obligations based on this master status. Membership in age categories shapes self-concepts and interactions with others; and one or more age groups gain benefits at the expense of another. Those privileged by age relations – those who can be seen as "not old" – escape stigma and face less competition for resources, such as wealth or other sources of status. Thus, for instance, age relations structure the labor market and are enforced by the state by means of its age-graded labor and retirement policies.

In addition, age relations intersect with other inequalities to influence when "old" occurs and what it means. Old age does not just exacerbate inequalities (though it certainly does that); it is a disadvantaged location in its own right. It is not just the cumulative effects of disadvantage, but it results in a loss of power for all those designated as "old" regardless of their advantages in other hierarchies. Even the most privileged men lose power once they are considered "old".

Indeed, old people are so stigmatized and devalued that being old is to be avoided at any cost – hence, the rise of the multi-billion dollar anti-ageing industry (Mehlman, Binstock, Juengst, Ponsaran, and Whitehouse, 2004). Of importance to masculinities and ageing bodies, the equation of old age with physical and mental decline is such that visible signs of ageing serve to justify limitation of the rights and authority of old people. Many people view old age as a "natural" part of life with unavoidable decrements, an ideology that serves to justify ageism. Certainly, negative aspects and depictions can accrue to other age categories, such as the dependence of infants or the immaturity of children. But, as Molly Andrews (1999: 302) astutely notes, "there is not much serious discussion about eliminating infancy, adolescence, or adulthood from the developmental landscape. It is only old age which comes under the scalpel."

In contrast to other systems of inequality, age is fluid, such that group membership must shift over time. People can experience both advantage and disadvantage in terms of age relations, if they live long enough. Among the many implications of this statement for embodied masculinities is the fact that, when advantaged by their age category earlier in life, all people learn to internalize the cultural devaluation of old age. This means that when they themselves become elders, many old men maintain their ageism. As a result, people may accept their chronological age but will avoid identifying themselves as "old" (Minichiello, Browne, and Kendig, 2000; Townsend, Godfrey, and Denby, 2006). This is important for helping us think about how men will experiences their bodies as they grow older.

Age relations shape and are maintained by the ways in which people try to live up to ideals of age and other social categories in their daily lives. Age is something people "do" in daily interaction with others, and through their bodies (Laz, 2003). We express ourselves and our cultural values through our bodies. Bodies serve as markers of age and can thus serves as bases of exclusion, or inclusion. Everything from the clothes we wear and how we wear them (Twigg, 2006), to the way we walk, talk, what and how we eat – these and more are a part of our embodied ageing. At the same time, bodies also serve as markers of gender and other social inequalities; we see not just young or old people, but young or old men. At the same time, there is a material reality to bodies as well (Laz, 2003) – they get sick, become wrinkled, etc. – and this plays a critical role in how we embody age.

Cultural beliefs in the U.S. and many other societies concerning bodies also influence embodied masculinities and ageing. People believe that not only does one express oneself through one's body, but also that one

has the ability to shape it in many different ways; personal responsibility and control are emphasized. In addition, people believe in the ability of science and technology to help us control our bodies. As a result, we look down on people who "look old" because we see them as "letting themselves go. "We think they can and should do something about it. Individuals not only can but should exert control over their ageing; it is a moral issue. That is, "empowerment" is now possible; the implication is that to deny oneself agelessness is immoral, deserving of the label "dependent" that attaches to those who have "given in to growing old." Ageing bodies are sites of discipline. People are thus motivated to try to present their bodies in ways that help them avoid exclusion based on age.

In summary, my brief discussion of ageism and bodies argues that, first, old age is a disadvantaged social location such that it is to be avoided at any cost; and, second, that bodies are sites for manifesting age, to be kept from appearing old. All men, including those who have been otherwise privileged, will fall short of youth-based ideals. Technology and control notwithstanding, bodies grow old.

Moving on: Some considerations

Below, I point to a just a few ways to explore embodied masculinities and ageing, drawing both on literature in age studies and on some preliminary findings from interviews I am conducting with middle-aged men and women concerning their ageing bodies.

One part of this is that we should consider how disability or functional limitations influence men's embodied ageing. As Laz (2003) puts it, bodies can exert their own forces; only so much is within conscious control. At the same time, other scholars (e.g., Katz and Marshall, 2003; Marshall and Katz, 2006) remind us of the importance of "functionality" for "passing" as "not old. "How then does disability impinge upon manhood and experiences of ageing? I will return to this shortly.

Many scholars are interested in what has been termed "Third Agers" – retirees with relatively good health, money to spend, etc. – who are, presumably, re-defining later life through creative pursuits often geared at personal fulfillment (Henretta, 2008). As a result, they tend to focus on middle-class men (and academics often focus on those like themselves). By contrast, working-class men's bodies are often the tools for their work (e.g., men who work in construction and other trades, manual labor, and the like); and so their ageing may differ from non-working-class men's in important ways. Certainly, their bodies are more quickly or easily injured (though professional men's bodies can also be affected by their work, through such injuries as carpel tunnel syndrome),

often permanently, and "wear out" sooner – bringing in concern with disability I noted above.

Preliminary findings from my research on such men is that they view themselves as "old" sooner – or at least, as middle-aged sooner – because of how they experience their bodies. For instance, in trying to secure interviews on my present project, I find working-class men in their 30s identify as middle-aged; or they tell me that I would not be interested in talking to them because their bodies are in such bad shape. This is in marked contrast to professional men, who feel they are able to control their bodies and their ageing, and that they are taken to be younger than they are. The point is that men who use their bodies as tools in their work, worldwide, will experience embodied ageing very different than will professional men, and yet they are not studied as extensively as more privileged men are. As we move forward in this area of research, then, it is critical to focus on working-class men.

As we consider ageing bodies, we should be clear about the political-economic bases of sexual inequality, and not simply treat sex as a matter of identity (see Calasanti, 2009). Such an approach leads us to explore the ways that heterosexual privilege affects men's ageing. For instance, Western constructions of manhood, as well as state policies on insurance, retirements and pensions take heterosexuality for granted. Increasingly, ageing men are told that the heterosexual domination of women is both rooted in biology (testosterone) and is central to maintaining youth (Marshall and Katz, 2006). And researchers could certainly look at the political economic subordination of men's non-heterosexuality as a crucial factor in age relations.

The scant research in ageing on gay men suggests that physical attractiveness and youthful standards are important for gay men in Western societies; and they experience particularly complete exclusion and isolation as a result. For instance, a significant minority of gay men report feeling isolated from community supports (Brotman, et al., 2007; Heaphy, 2007). Those who had been very couple-focused, but whose relationships ended (for whatever reason), especially find it hard to become a part of a community. One-half of older gay men (compared to one third of lesbians) in one study said they felt unwelcome in non-heterosexual places as they aged (Heaphy, Yip, and Thompson, 2004). Gay men are more likely than lesbians to say that they would like to receive care from their communities and said they feel excluded from their communities in some ways (Heaphy, 2007). Ageism is also manifest in the lack of attention that gay communities pay to issues faced by their older members, particularly in contrast to the amount of time and energy that

is spent "responding to the needs of its younger members" (Brotman et al., 2003: 198).

Age relations are a critical reason for this exclusion, and some gay men report that "the visible signs of ageing had marked them as undesirable in gay culture" (Heaphy et al., 2004: 898). Some gay men have remarked on their increasing invisibility in both heterosexual and non-heterosexual communities. That is, many have found that getting older reduced their risks of being identified as non-heterosexual (Heaphy et al., 2004). Because they are old they are seen as asexual; they thus become non-threatening to heterosexuals while becoming more invisible within their communities. Thus, while there are differences in how this invisibility occurs for heterosexual and non-heterosexual men, there are similarities as well based on age relations.

In addition, both scholars and the public often forget that, when people research "later life" or old age, they look across a tremendous span of age. Respondents could be anywhere from, say, 65 (and often younger) to 105. While generalizing across such a 40-year span poses several challenges that I will not discuss (such as cohort differences among such a group), consider what such a large grouping means merely in terms of bodies. One importance instance of heterogeneity in this regard is related to what is sometimes referred to as "deep old age" or the Fourth Age (Henretta, 2008). In contrast to what some see as a post-retirement time of good health and leisure, in which bodily changes are based more on appearance than function, the Fourth Age is a time when, for most people, more significant physical and mental decrements occur, posing greater issues for function, and consequent struggles with disability and dependence. It is likely that during the Fourth Age, men give up the pretense of achieving youth-based hegemonic body ideals and settle into very different routines. What these routines comprise for different groups of men is but one question to consider.

Along these lines, the communities and social circles in which men interact are also crucial. Research in ageing suggests that, as we grow older and into new environments and daily social circles, our comparison groups for self-evaluation may well change (Laz, 2003). For instance, those who live in age-segregated residential settings may gain distance from broader cultural, hegemonic dictates by comparing themselves to those around them rather than to younger men. Demonstration of minimal functionality (and meanings of this also varies) may supplant former goals. For instance, in the U.S., showing that one is able to still care for oneself, so as to avoid placement in assisted living situations or long-term care, may become of primary importance and influence embodied experiences of masculinities quite differently at that time.

Ageing is dynamic, not dichotomous; and old age does not happen all at once or in any one way. There is no linear relationship between bodily changes and social exclusion. For example, my interviews of middle-aged, mostly professional men show that they are mindful of bodily changes and that they cannot control or reverse them all. Still, they look for ways to compensate. Some learn to train differently and report that they even feel stronger than they did in their 40's. Or, they look to success at work, and feel at the peak of their professional lives, objects of admiration by younger men. The point is that ageing bodies do not translate into a linear descent into social exclusion – particularly with the increased technologies at the disposal of some men.

Along these lines, we should consider alternative old masculinities – men who are comfortable with their ageing bodies. Understanding the process by which such contentment emerges (such as the examples I gave concerning comparison groups and communities) could speak to issues of masculinity at all ages, given the reality with which I began these comments – that most men do not live up to hegemonic ideals.

In conclusion, men's bodies grow old in societies bounded by not only gender but also by age. Men's ageing bodies serve as markers for loss of privilege and exclusion, and hence are potential sites of discipline. While the form and content of age relations will vary social location, the reality of ageism is apparent globally (see, for instance, Wilson, 2000) and is critical to understanding embodied masculinity.

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Chapter 3
Geographies of Grandfather Identities: Exploring the Intersections of Masculinity, Old(er) Age and the Body from an Intergenerational Perspective

Anna Boden
Lancaster University, UK

Theoretical and empirical understandings of the roles, relationships and identities of grandfathers remain relatively scant (Mann, 2007) across the social sciences as do approaches to extra-familial relations in human geographies (Vanderbeck, 2007; Valentine, 2008). Here I explore the construction of the grandfather identity in contemporary British society from a spatial perspective, with particular emphasis on the neglected intersections of old(er) age and generation in masculinity literatures. By adopting an intersectional, intergenerational and lifecourse framework to identity, the traditional understanding of the patriarchal role of men might be deconstructed, highlighting how the contradictory power relations of sexism and ageism are negotiated by older men in their everyday lives and relationships. This critically engages with how masculinity and in particular hegemonic masculinity is currently conceptualised. I argue that grandfather identities are inherently spatial, so that grandfathering spaces become intergenerational spaces and the body becomes a site in which gendered and generational power relations become inscribed and performed. In particular I focus on intimacies in grandfather-grandchild relations as a way of exploring how the intersections of grandfather identities are not only embodied, but reproduced and redefined. This is most salient in grandfather practices such as care and play.

Grandfathers

By definition 'grandfather' is descriptively direct; it is gendered and implies generation and relationality: a grandfather is only a grandfather in relation to his grandchild. Analytically however, as Davidson et al.

(2005) demonstrate, being a grandfather is also experienced by many men in later life in complex, often contradictory ways:

> "An important and potentially paradoxical new role for older men is that of grandfather. It is paradoxical because, on the one hand, men may be exhibiting a 'gentler', more nurturing relationship with a grandchild than they had with their own children, but on the other hand, may still be viewed and view themselves, as having the traditional patriarchal role as 'sage' or 'wise man'" (178–179).

Despite this, they remain significantly under researched so that there is little or no understanding of how older men construct their grandfather identities, how they are influenced by intergenerational relations with their grandchildren, or what implications the intersections of masculinity and age might have in shaping these identities. This is despite the fact that in contemporary societies, men have increasingly significant roles in family life and adopt multiple lifestyles (Hockey, 2008).

Research framework – Intergenerationality, intersectionality and lifecourse

The framework I adopt for exploring these identities is one that human geographers have usefully applied to studies of childhood and youth and draws upon the conceptualisations of three key concepts; intergenerationality, intersectionality and lifecourse. Identity, it is argued is more usefully understood relationally so that they are constructed not in isolation, but in networks and groups of people such as family, peers and other social groups and institutions (Hopkins and Pain, 2007).

Intergenerationality is a key concept for understanding how different generational groups construct their identities either in sameness and difference or through identifications and or disidentifications (e.g. Rawlins, 2006; Skeggs, 1998) with each other. It is based on the assumption that who we are (our identities and the self) is based on recognising the people we are like and who we are not like (Jenkins, 2004). This is potentially very exciting for exploring how gendered identities, not only affect being a man in later life but also how they might be transmitted in one form or another, to another generation. Relations with others are also strongly *intersected* by axes of social difference. One way in which these identity similarities and differences can be explored is in the context of active intergenerational relations, which might be described as intergen-

erational contacts, such as caring or playing[1]. Grandfathers, I suggest (and also grandmothers), are increasingly significant social actors in the lives of young people, yet little is understood about how they construct and reconstruct their own gender identities as grandfathers as they age in certain contexts and spaces.

The lifecourse perspective is also useful for studying older age identities. The lifecourse is increasingly recognised as a variable and fluid process that is multiply experienced and negotiated. As people age, their identities are redefined by life events and they experience important transitions. In this sense people are forced to restructure their lives and their sense of themselves. This I argue is something that grandparents do as they adapt and respond to new responsibilities to both their children and grandchildren.

Intimacy and grandfather identities

For the remainder of the paper, I reflect on initial analyses of qualitative interview data collected for my doctoral work. To date, 24 semi-structured interviews have been carried out over a 10 month period with grandfathers living in the Lancaster District in the UK. Each has been audio recorded and transcribed. The ages of the participants range from 51 to 88 so not all are considered to be old age (constructed as 65 in the UK; National Statistics 2009). However, each participant is ageing and therefore could reflect on old age and the processes of ageing that were important to them at the time of interview. Of particular interest from the narratives, was the emergence of intimacy talk in discussions of grandfather-grandchild relations. This demonstrates how intergenerational relations between the men and their grandchildren are embodied and gendered, acting to redefine masculine positions in older age. This embodiment is related most strongly to the 'space closest in' (Longhurst 2004), the body space. Theoretical work on the embodiment of masculinity 'has uncovered the complexities and contradictions that often exist in the relationship between men and their bodies' (Robertson, 2006: 434). Intimacies often feature in the men's narratives in the context of specific activities such as play and care as the men perform grandfathering in their intergenerational relations. Intimacy as a concept I suggest is a useful way of beginning to deconstruct the intersection of hegemonic

1 Whilst contact is an important aspect of grandfathering it is now increasingly evident in my data that intimacies are not always facilitated on a one-to-one basis but also through the use of technologies such as telephone and e-mails, whereby 'living together apart' is made possible (Holmes, 2004).

masculinity and old age for men in the later stages of their lives as it challenges dominant constructions and expectations of men's roles.

The grandfathers discussed a range of intimacies between themselves and their grandchildren. Ted[2], a 72 year old grandfather with one grandson and 3 granddaughters revealed how touch and affection, particularly between himself and his grandson made him question his own sense of masculinity in later life through bodily interaction:

> I, on the whole tend not to have too much physical contact with boys, and I've never noticed that problem with girls, because the girls, they all rush up and cuddle me when I come you know... [grandson] does it in a way, he puts his arms round me and I kiss him, but I kiss him on the top of the head because I think it would be to embarrassing if I were to kiss him on the cheek.

Here Ted's understandings of his own masculinity are brought into stark context through his interaction with his grandson so much so that the intimacy towards his male grandson causes him embarrassment and discomfort. Being intimate is a feminised practice and he relates this strongly to his intergenerational relationship with his own father which he found to be too '*lovey dovey*'. Ted's intergenerational relations with his grandson therefore are a negotiation of the more complex intersections of masculinity, older age, life course occurrences and intergenerational relations.

A second intimacy that emerged dealt with parenting tasks that very few grandfathers revealed they might typically carry out, even in later life. Here the ambivalent nature of the grandfather role and identity was revealed whereby the grandfathers suggested they maintained distance from their grandchildren but on occasion would also be involved in more intimate and embodied interactions typical of parent-child relations. This was especially the case when the grandfather acted as a child minder or carer. For Barry, a 62 year old grandfather to 6 month old granddaughter Chloe, intimacy emerged in his caring practices, revealing his renegotiation and redefinition of his masculinity in old age. His caring practices involved changing her nappies, (an intimacy only 3 of the 24 men interviewed discussed). This adoption of a more caring, nurturing identity reveals the transition he made as a grandfather whereby his traditional relationship to the work place and to being productive (McDowell and Sharp, 1999) is overtaken by involvement in the home. The unpaid nature of this 'work' and 'care', are more strongly feminised

2 A pseudonym to protect his identity. Hereafter all participants' names have been changed.

in this context but also undermined by ageism; the grandfather's availability is social capital for their children.

Playing is something that many of the men interviewed considered an important aspect of their identity as a grandfather. The concept of play is interesting because not only is it an intimate, bodily practice but it suggests that the men maintain a link to youthful masculinities through play. Here youth is the hegemonic position (and in particular masculine youth) that they maintain through physical activities such as football and swimming for example. For Colin, that is what being a grandfather is; someone who plays. This play is of course either undermined or facilitated by men's bodily abilities as they age. Barry explains; trying to keep his granddaughter out of mischief has negative health implications, particularly for his back:

> She's started to crawl and not far from walking either, so it's good fun er, er trying to keep her out of mischief, well it's not good fun actually it's bad for the back.

Strength and bodily fitness are strongly associated with masculinity, particularly in sports and leisure studies, so grandfathering represents a time when this bodily decline, in relation to a much younger grandchild can undermine the grandfathers' patriarchal role in the family.

In Doug's case, the type of play is also strongly gendered, so that he will happily be rough with his grandson but not with his granddaughters. This highlights that these embodied intergenerational relations can re-enforce gendered structures in society. Many of the men, including Murray, age 86 discuss that they are often more gentle with their granddaughters as opposed to their grandsons, highlighting not only the gendered nature of intergenerational relations but also suggesting that they can maintain their relations to hegemony through making choices about the intimacies occurring.

Conclusion

Through engagement with men's narratives, it is clear that grandfather identities are valuable for revealing the complex intersections of masculinity, older age, intergenerational relations and (body) space. These intersections are extremely influential in the construction of identities in later life for these men in contemporary society. A focus on the body space and intimacies between the generations in particular reveals the paradoxical nature of grandfather identities as they negotiate gender and old age in intergenerational interaction, particularly in relation to youthfulness, play and care. It is evident that in some respects there is a

negotiation around understandings of hegemony. On the one hand playing maintains a degree of relation to youthful, hegemonic masculinities particularly when in the home space, whilst intimacies and touch relating to the body can cause embarrassment and discomfort resulting from redefined masculine performances in later life that might be considered more feminine, such as kissing and nappy changing. In order to "move on" the neglected intersections of masculinity and old age, grandfather identities represent a useful and fruitful social group of study that reveal the multiple ways of being a man in later life and begin to challenge and critique ideas of hegemony.

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Chapter 4
Older Men's Embodied Selves: Rethinking Older Men's Relationships with Their Changing Bodies

Vic Blake and David Jackson
Nottingham, UK

Introduction

Previous research on men and masculinities – and the field of ageing studies generally have largely ignored older men, as well as their subjectivities. By way of response, this paper draws on data from a three year-study in the Nottingham area that utilises a life history approach to explore older men's lived and changing psychosocially embodied experiences. An analysis of the life stories of the eight older men from the study revealed three discourses of ageing in action. We draw upon three of these life stories here and each of these discourses will be examined and critiqued in relation to the ways in which they help shape the subjectivities of these older men as well as our social policies and practices towards older men generally.

Important to this project is the fact that the authors are themselves two older and chronically disabled men and as such they have become personally very aware of the limitations and restrictions that this places upon them, not just as older and impaired men but also as would-be researchers and theorists *studying other older and impaired men*.

In order to deal with these issues we found the need to develop alternative/ complementary ways of working together and knowledge-making which took proper account of our own struggling and ageing subjectivities. This has had important and positive implications for our understandings of research methodology generally. Using and developing what we refer to as a critically reflexive methodology we set out to illustrate how the complex processes associated with ageing and bodily change in men's later lives are not always or necessarily negative, and can actually bring about potential changes in their understandings of what their lives, their masculinity and their gendered personal relationships mean.

The research process

The aim of this research was to investigate how each of the older men studied relate to and negotiate the dominant conceptions of, and various subject positions associated with ageing, conceptions which themselves exist within a heavily gendered and structured contextual framework. In a series of progressively loosely-structured interviews they talked of their experiences over the life course, of their relationships with their changing bodies and with wives and partners, and of their ongoing subjective struggles, in the face of significant change, with their often problematically masculinised selves. In so doing they helped to reveal the complex processes involved in their struggles to preserve or otherwise redefine their sense of an 'acceptably' masculinised older self, i.e. one which is not to be catastrophically undermined by the processes of decline usually associated with ageing, and/or changing social attitudes towards them. The result is that older men's embodied selves are shown to be highly contradictory and contested sites, where multiple meanings and understandings may struggle to coexist or come into dynamic conflict with each other.

Our approach can broadly be described as psychosocial in that we attempt to explore the complex, dynamic and interdependent relationships that exist between external social/cultural forces on the one hand and those of the individual psyche on the other, and to do so in such a way that each is treated as inseparable from the other, while neither becomes reducible *to* the other. Central to this psychosocial perspective is the premise that the subjects of research are understood as defended subjects (Hollway and Jefferson, 2000; Gough, 2004) with the implications that: a) their individual masculinities and their responses to the researcher will have a defensive component to them; b) that this defensiveness, however expressed, defends *against* something, and, c) That whatever it is that is defended against has fearful implications for the subject (see, for example the case of Brian below).

In addition to this, however, we have been determined from the start to enter ourselves into this research as *defended researchers* in our own right, with similar implications to the above (as touched upon by Gough, 2004), and with the additional important caveat that the research process itself is always potentially compromised by the buried personal agendas of those undertaking it (in this case two older and disabled men).

In order to try to address these issues this project was undertaken on the basis of an intensive and weekly programme of intimate and psychoanalytically-informed 'peer-work', during which our personal investments in the research process (and potential conclusions) were kept at the surface, constantly scrutinised and reviewed and, where necessary,

challenged. The subsequent analysis of research data was conducted in this same critically reflexive analytical environment, as is the continuing writing up of the project.

Findings and conclusions

Because the project as a whole is still being written up our findings and conclusions are still developing. In general terms certain things have already become clear:

1. Issues to do with masculinity remain very important to older men but they sometimes become modified as it becomes progressively difficult to sustain 'earlier' forms of masculinity which are dependent upon factors such as: a younger, fitter, healthier body; work and career factors; the social networks connected with these, and ongoing sexual potency.
2. In addition, older males are likely to have a greater consciousness than younger males of the imminent approach of their decline and death[3], as well as a greater likelihood of being either in the position of primary carer to an infirm wife or partner, or the reverse.
3. To the extent that these factors have a negative impact upon their lives, older men often tend to feel the need to defend themselves against associated (sometimes profound) feelings of loss, pain and fear.
4. These defences are often, *but not always*, acted out in ways which are culturally and/or subjectively understood to be typically 'masculine'.

Generally speaking our popular discourses on ageing men tend to equate advancing age with inevitable decline and this in turn attaches a deficit to ageing masculinities in accordance with a perceived reduction or loss of function. Such discourses are often wildly inaccurate and prejudicial towards actual older men, and actually tell us little. Against this ever-present backdrop we identify three discourses of ageing masculinity at work among the subjects studied:

First, a 'Biomedical Discourse', in which ageing masculinities become (directly or indirectly) the subject of, and defined by, the *medical gaze*. Here, bodily and mental changes are observed and 'understood' by medical/welfare professions, on which basis various meanings are widely applied. These can have a totalising impact upon older men's lives, equat-

3 After five years of working under oppressive conditions Ray (age 70) finally retired at 63 because of ill-health recognising that, *"in another five years I wouldn't be alive to enjoy my retirement"*.

ing old age with inevitable decline and decay and thus rendering them increasingly 'passive' and 'value-less'.

Second, a 'Positive Ageing Discourse', in which various commercial and health organisations encourage older people to remain 'active' and self reliant. This discourse accords with a wider *neo-liberal* framework of self-reliance which encourages older people to become less 'burdensome' upon the state, but at the same time fostering denial and fear of the realities of ageing through the promotion of an unsustainable myth of agelessness. This discourse is limited by its heavy reliance upon: a) a certain level of continuing disposable income in order to take advantage of the kinds of activities on offer; b) a functioning level of health and general activity, and, c) sufficient ability to partake in the kinds of activities on offer.

While, therefore, encouraging continuing activity this discourse has a number of significant drawbacks: for example, it does not extend so readily to poorer and disadvantaged sectors of the community, or to those who are less healthy or less able; also, because its ideological base defines and targets older men as a *specific consumer group with specific needs*, it therefore encourages older men to collude in their own marginalisation from the rest of the population. In addition, it relies heavily upon a *denial* of the important realities of ageing which may make adjustment difficult while reducing the possibilities for constructive and fulfilling adaptation.

Thirdly, we identify a 'Discourse of Creative Discontinuities and Disruptions', in which older men are able realistically to face up to and address the various changes (bodily, personal, mental and social) which affect them and to respond creatively in ways that: a) do not diminish them; b) help them to remain an integral part of the wider community, and, c) help them to keep their minds and bodies 'alive' and active.

This is likely to mean a critical re-assessment of gendered meanings and expectations in the face of the realities of ageing. It may involve certain adjustments to older men's sense of who and what they are as men, which may run counter to 'younger', more 'robust' forms of masculinity. It is in the act of not being diminished by such changes but responding creatively that older men become more able to feel 'better adjusted', better included, more comfortable with their masculinity, and more productive.

No absolute fit was found between any of these discourses and any individual respondent; in fact their lives were more typically negotiated within an uneasy, often contradictory balance of two, or even all three, in one degree or another, as we shall now see.

Ray (age 70), for example, had always been rather frail ('delicate') and suffered from serious asthma, so that his entire life course had been lived out under, and largely defined by, *the biomedical gaze*. Thus his life becomes framed in terms of a discourse of 'diminished' or 'failed' masculinity. As a child he is forced literally to observe (in games for example) more traditional hegemonically-powerful forms from the sidelines. As an adult he does the same; he becomes an electrician working at the surface of a coal mine (where 'real' men go below) and, later, after being made redundant, he works for a security firm, where, for a pittance, he counts others' money (power) in a windowless and locked room where he had to ask permission from his 'superiors' to go to the toilet. Having always suffered from claustrophobia – and in the way that we are all 'drawn towards our demons', it is interesting that both of these environments have deeply claustrophobic significance.

It is ironic, then, that as he becomes older, the differences between himself and those other males, against whose power and stature his life thus far has been measured, begin to diminish as they themselves grow older and become increasingly defined by the biomedical gaze[4]. They begin to exert less of an overarching and defining influence upon his life so that, while still aware of *"his limitations"* and his increasing *"aches and pains"*, he starts to develop a more nuanced and constructive acknowledgement of the physical realities both of the ageing process and a more self-caring sense of his own masculinity and worth:

> If you've got something to lift and you know you can't do it then you get someone to help you rather than try it by yourself. I do sometimes think, 'Shall I do it or shall I not?' And I think, 'No, don't be silly. Ask for help'.

Now he talks of being able to *"walk for miles"* and, at the age of seventy, of living through, *"one of the healthiest times of my life"*.

During his apprenticeship he had already made attempts to compensate for his sense of being 'sidelined' by joining a theatre group, which could easily be interpreted as a way of getting closer to the 'centre stage' and of 'finding one's voice' (though always someone else's *words)*. Now though, seven years retired (through ill health) and free at last from the heavily masculinised influence of the workplace, he builds upon this, becoming involved in social activism and in groups where there is a great deal of social interaction and where his opinions are valued and encour-

4 It needs to be understood here how the biomedical gaze both plays its part in selection of older and/or less capable candidates for redundancy as well as their deselection for further employment.

aged. He now takes an active part in the local Pensioners' action group and the Elders' Forum and is on the committee of his local allotment group.

Brian, age 70, has lived his life in stark contrast to Ray. A marathon runner, he is a highly driven, self-disciplined and deeply competitive *"fitness fanatic"* - powerfully hegemonic, physically and in outlook, and an exemplar of the positive ageing discourse. We see Brian as a clear example of how hegemonic forms of masculinity serve to defend against unresolved anxieties and fears through investments in control. Indeed the very power that Brian projects may be taken as an inverse measure of the subjective fear that it denies and represses.

His early childhood and education is one of *"turmoil"*, being disrupted by the terrors of the Second World War and by his parents' subsequent divorce. He goes off to boarding school (much talk of fighting, brutality and kicking the shit" out of other boys) and straight from there into the Army, where he is involved in the Suez invasion. His obsessive and life-long concern with the fitness of his body/mind takes hold here within the cultural context of a powerfully imperialist vision of disciplined masculinity. In 1988 he retires and becomes involved as a carer for his wife whose health was deteriorating from a Multiple Sclerosis related condition. There is some indication that this exacerbates his fear of his own vulnerability: *"Inability as well as disability, I think, are the two things that concern me with regards to advancing old age"*. Thus he strenuously expresses not only his *reluctance* to become old but also his *denial* of ageing: *"there is no connection between what your age is and how you are"*. His intense physical regime helps him to consolidate this defence. The fact that this *is* defensive becomes clearer when he talks of the insecurities of his early life:

> From being a young child-six or seven-my life was in turmoil so having to come to terms with relying on myself I then almost became dismissive of other people's assistance because I thought that I could do it anyway so why bother to let other people do it.

Brian's particular use of a discourse of positive ageing helps him to convert his masculinity into a fortress. He has no particular friends, and instead attempts to conquer his pain and his fear alone, through construction of a heroic, performance-embodied self.

Dennis is a 72 year-old, Afro-Caribbean, working class man. After arriving in Britain from Jamaica in 1959 he worked in various construction industry jobs as a mason and labourer. Since 1966 he has been caring for his wife who has mental health problems (and more recently for

his son, who is similarly affected). He was forced into early retirement at the age of 62.

When he was younger Dennis was proud of his young man's body. He speaks of life in Jamaica and of a joyful, physical exuberance and pleasure of just moving around in his body. In Britain he would become proud of his labouring competence: *"I was strong and I was able to shovel and concrete and there would be no problem"*. When stomach cancer was diagnosed in 2004, therefore, it was a radical disruption of this joyous sense of a physically robust and healthy body and of his illusions of bodily stability, solidity and coherence. The protective integrity of his embodied masculine self suddenly disappears and, undefended now, his inner fears and anxieties flood back into his life. In addition, he would be forced to face up to the excessive pain and hurt, and the sheer vulnerability of his operated-on body: *"The pain was atrocious. It came from the operation to remove all of the bowels. There is still pain until now"*.

Afterwards he struggles to make sense of and to relate to this 'new and unfamiliar body'. Gradually he begins to view himself in a different way and start to accept the fragmentariness and fluidity of his existence as an older, physically impaired man; it becomes time to: *"stop fooling our self and face up to the inevitable"*. For Dennis, learning to tolerate and embrace his newly-revealed vulnerable embodied self was an integral part of learning, to live life in a different way.

But, being a highly-sexualised man, the sexual impotence which resulted from his treatment was a far more contradictory matter as he vacillates between stoic acceptance (defensive denial), *"I don't let [my life] revolve around sex any more"*, and confusion and doubt as he also tries to preserve and reassure himself with his erstwhile *"top boy"* sexual reputation and his stories of heroic sexual conquest. This he now displaces into a pedantic corrective of others' use of the English language. He felt particularly insecure about revealing his impotence to a woman friend in Jamaica and, when questioned, he replies: *"But I don't have the courage to tell her that I'm not like I used to be"*. On the other hand he speaks of: *"listening and caring for people in a different way; listening to people's needs instead of being self-centred about sex"*.

Summary

We can see a clear and lengthy struggle between Ray's positioning within a biomedical discourse of ill health, ageing and inevitable decline, and his attempts to find some way of asserting himself against this. Still it remains difficult but, as he moves into retirement and old age, he finds himself more able at last to define *himself*. Finally he finds a creative

purchase on a different way of being. The discontinuities associated with ageing, far from diminishing him, have clearly helped Ray to become a happier and more fulfilled man, even in the face of his continuing health problems and his ageing. He has been able to use the discontinuities concomitant with ageing in a realistic and constructive way which enhances his social embeddedness and improves his wellbeing.

Brian, on the other hand, clings on desperately to a lifelong discourse of hegemonically embodied masculinity. In his outright defiance of the biomedical gaze he is driven on by his own unresolved fears and insecurities so that his take on a positive ageing discourse presents a very different picture from Ray's more adaptive approach. We see a clear example here of the central role of defensiveness and denial implicit in the positive ageing discourse.

Dennis presents a more contradictory example of a transitional position between a highly (hetero) sexualised, hegemonically embodied masculinity, a movement into ageing under the biomedical gaze, and a potential, if tentative further movement in the direction of a discourse of creative discontinuity. Physically more frail, and in pain, he is accepting of this and yet still unable entirely to let go of his sexualised past. He is nonetheless able to see various ways in which his 'de-sexualisation' has created opportunities for him to relate to others in more fulfilling ways.

Many older men are stuck within a binary, either/or construction of old age. Ray's and Brian's case histories, for example, even though contradictory, have revealed some of the ways that older men become sandwiched between the cultural ideals of staying young and fit within the 'positive ageing' discourse, and the bleak equation of old age with bodily/mental decline in the 'biomedical' discourse. What is now urgently needed is more sustained, investigative research which looks for possible, alternative discourses which are capable of breaking out of these binary traps, or, as Tulle (2004) advocates, we need ways of imagining old age that are not premised on bodily denial and disappearance.

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Chapter 5
Developing a Theory of Masculinized Care Embodying Gender and Care Relations in Firefighting

Susan Braedley
York University, Toronto, Canada

Care work is a relation of bodies in contact with other bodies, through touch, observation, listening, smelling and empathetic, intersubjective response. Here, I present a tentative theorization of what I call masculinized care: care work that is performed in a context where the structures and social relations are saturated with normative understandings of what it is to be "male", no matter the designated sex of those providing care. This theorization has emerged from my ethnographic study of Canadian professional firefighters' rapidly increasing role as emergency medical care providers, completed in 2008. This research, encompassing interviews with 60 Toronto firefighters, 182 hours of work observation and archival research, revealed a double aspect to care relations within fire services. I witnessed firefighters' care for those people to whom they responded professionally and daily enactments of a homosocial culture of care among firefighters.

Fire services work processes and culture are situated within a hyper-masculinized occupational and institutional realm, and promote a hyper-masculine embodiment that encompasses strong emotional attachments and submission to an ideal of moral worth. This realm of public safety services – a world composed almost entirely of white men – has been affected by neoliberal governance in Canada in ways that have shaped a transformation of work. Neoliberal policy has not only limited and privatized health care and social services, but has, perversely, created situations in which people called for emergency support much more often. Most Canadian firefighters are not paramedics, but have basic first responder-type medical training, yet they have ended up taking on more and more health care responsibility. Between 1998 and 2007, Toronto Fire Services experienced a 42% increase in emergency medical calls, accounting for over half of their total calls in the last year. This is typical of urban fire services across Canada.

In addition to these conditions, I discovered that Toronto firefighters, like many labour forces in North America, were an ageing lot, with an average age of 47 years. Further, in collecting data on 90 emergency calls, I discovered that firefighters were responding primarily to other men, and mostly older men, who were suffering from chronic conditions such as diabetes, addictions, disabilities and mental illness. Firefighters themselves have a relatively high rate of occupationally related disease, and the often traumatic nature of emergency work has left its traces on many firefighters. This case study proved to be a complex and interesting one from which to pursue a research agenda that explores the relationship between masculinities and care work in order to pursue possibilities toward dismantling racialized gendered inequities.

Theorizing embodiment, gender and care

My struggle to capture the embodied nature of gendered care relations took me in two theoretical directions. First, as a feminist political economist and sociologist, I mined the considerable literature on work, gender and care that has emanated from these fields. My concept of embodiment is drawn from Marx, who focused on the bodies of working class men to argue that workers' bodies were a source of economic relations slowly destroyed through capitalist relations (Marx, 1975 [1844]). Like Marx, I view bodies as a source for the creation of social life; as generative, interactive, creative and not wholly available to consciousness. But, again following Marx, bodies are also acted upon, shaped and influenced by social relations. Society "sediments itself in the bodies of its members by encouraging appearances, habits and actions that can 'belie or override our conscious decisions and formal resolutions' and classifies as valid certain bodies while labeling others deviant (Connerton 1989:52)" (Shilling, 2005). These processes are contingent upon history and location. While based in biological species-being, human embodiment is dynamic, social and relational. It encompasses genes, blood, bones, emotions, consciousness and non-consciousness, dreams, experiences and desires, all of which are engaged in a continual process of becoming. Therefore, embodiment includes psychic structures and processes.

Sociological work on gender and embodiment (Shilling, 2003, 2005) and gendered organizations (Acker, 1990) assisted me to analyze the ways in which firefighting shaped racialized gendered embodiment through training, labour process, vehicles, tools, gear and building arrangements, as well as through cultural norms. These factors shaped firefighters to have significant upper body strength, to handle high degrees of physical discomfort, and to develop aerobic capacity and extreme emotional control.

Feminist political economists have developed a nuanced understanding of care work as feminized labour: work that is de-valued and materially and discursively associated with women's bodies (Armstrong and Kits, 2003; Armstrong and Armstrong, 2004). They have situated this labour into the broader global inequitable divisions of labour and demonstrated capitalism's reliance on these arrangements (Fox, 1980; Luxton, 1980; Jenson, 1986; Stasiulus and Bakan, 1998; Luxton, 2006). When applied to my case where a highly masculinized occupation had become increasingly involved in emergency medical care provision as an unanticipated outcome of policy change, feminist political economy provided a lens that revealed firefighters' links to political and economic interests, their position as privileged public sector workers, and the dynamics that led to this transformation of work.

Sociological work on greedy organizations (Coser, 1974) helped me understand the intense masculinization of firefighting in terms of its offering of a morally worthy masculinity in exchange for first call on firefighters' time and loyalty. Together with theories of homosociality (Britton, 1990; Bird, 1996), these perspectives assisted me to analyze the ways in which the structures, processes and practices of firefighting shaped firefighters in ways that produced a particular masculinized, "whitened" and honourable embodiment. But how did care work affect these relations? Were firefighters actually doing care?

Most research on intersections of masculinity and care has taken place in the realm of what I would consider to be feminized care: early childhood education, nursing, social work and full-time parenting (Williams, 1993; Gerstel and Gallagher, 2001; Brandth and Kvande, 2002; Sargent, 2005; Doucet, 2006). These studies tend to blur distinctions between men and masculinities. My interest was to examine care work in a masculinized – and therefore a likely *masculinizing* – context.

I was also interested in accounting for the psychic structures of gender processes. Gender is not only practiced and embedded in social structures, but is practiced and embedded in aspects of human being not usually available to consciousness. Feminist theorists who take up "care" tend to either ignore psychic aspects of gender and care relations, or rely upon object relations theories. The best known of these theories are those developed by Gilligan (1993 [1982]) and Chodorow (1978), who discuss the co-constitution of gender and care in the psychic structures of subjective life. In brief, these theorizations indicate that gendered subjectivity and orientations to caring are co-constituted in early childhood. The mother/child dyad of the heterosexual nuclear family is perceived as the relational grounding for this development, where the mothers' care and bonding with her infant, together with her sex, serve to gender her

children. Masculinity, then, emerges from a sense of being "unlike mother", which encompasses both femininity and care, and is experienced in many ways as a loss. This loss has been suggested as the psychic trigger for patriarchy, which re-covers the maternal through possession.

This theory was inadequate to the relations that I observed within fire services. First, I was seeing masculinized workers who had very little experience in care work do their jobs quite well, considering their minimal training. I saw them respond empathetically and with genuine connection in their brief time with those in need. I saw them develop relationships with their "regulars": people who called often for assistance. I turned to Jessica Benjamin (1988, 1995) for more insight.

Benjamin argues that gender development is at least partially shaped by culture. She states that the symbolic systems of culture and their institutionalization are important in the development of the forms in which gender relations come to take. Like others, such as Freud and those of the Frankfurt School, Benjamin makes a powerful move here to connect psychoanalytical accounts of psychic development not only to sex and gender but to culture and politics, thus making her work consistent, in critical world view, with feminist political economy.

Benjamin's account of gendering processes in child development provided helpful insight into masculinities and their relation to care and dependency. Benjamin (1988) maintains that central to gender formation is a process in which the young pre-Oedipal child – of any sex - idealizes an "other", outside of the mother/child dyad, as part of the development of a notion of oneself as separate from mother/child attachment. This recognition of an ideal other is deployed to resolve a conflict that arises in the child as the child realizes her/his own helplessness. The child identifies with this "other", who appears to embody a power "to do real things in the real world" (101), to be a subject with desires and agency. This "other" is likely to be the father in heterosexual family arrangements, in that "at present … the division between the exciting outside father and the holding, inside mother is still embedded in our culture" (103). This identification is necessary to the development of intersubjectivity, which includes both autonomy and mutual recognition (Benjamin, 1995: 22). Benjamin (1988) asserts that "this identificatory impulse is not merely a defensive attempt to defeat the mother – it is also the basis for a *new kind of love*" (106). Benjamin calls this "identificatory love". This love, in boys, is the way in which they develop masculine identity and maintain a sense of power in the face of their own helplessness. It is a love based on the nurturance and recognition of similarity, but which also includes self-sacrifice to an ideal (144). This love "functions as a denial of dependency" (171), but, in fact, develops out of secure attachment to

someone to become a recognition of someone or something that is more separate *from the child* than the mother.

I speculate that this identificatory love is an alternative basis for care relations, different in quality and kind from those based in mother/child dyadic attachment. It is a love based not upon dependency, but on recognition. It is not concerned with emotional attunement, but with cultivating a sense of similarity. It allows for the maintenance of a sense of power in the face of helplessness, thus denying dependency. It is a capacity that both boys and girls develop in the preoedipal stages. In girls, however, it is often tied differently to gender development. It is the "psychological foundation of the idealization of male power and autonomous individuality" (107) for both boys and girls. Benjamin notes that little girls look for recognition of autonomy from their fathers just as boys do, but due to established patterns of gender development in which fathers have generally had to dis-identify with their own mothers, this recognition of a daughter is difficult. Fathers are more likely to see their daughters as sweet innocents or potential sex objects, rather than as similar subjects. When recognition is withheld, daughters are pushed to re-identify with their mothers, and "grow up to idealize the man who has what they can never possess – power and desire" (109). In gaining recognition as like subjects, boys are more able to assume that power and desire consistent with a strong sense of individuality, but they are not free to separate from the ideal with which they have identified. Indeed, the desire to approximate the ideal through similarity is, in my view, central to this depiction of firefighting masculinity and masculinized care. It should also be stated that some women are recognized by their "other", just as some boys are able to maintain identifications with their mothers, and certainly similar dynamics can occur within non-hetero-normative child rearing arrangements. Changing familial and childrearing arrangements will no doubt continue to shape a range of possibilities. But, the issues of biology, cultural symbolic systems and sex/gender divisions of labour (and related practices) outweigh individual arrangements, in my view, writing existing patterns of gender onto psyches in new ways. These patterns are not easily altered.

A tentative theory of masculinized care

> Credo
> Courage to move forward, Compassion in everything we do,
> Service without boundaries. (Toronto Fire Service 2007: 4)

> We all like helping people. That's why we're on the job. (interview excerpt)

In contemporary fire services, a particular kind of care relation is realized and perpetuated through the formation of masculinized structures and institutions of homosociality. It requires cultivation of similarity to an "ideal" or preferred model of "manliness". In the case of firefighters, this ideal includes physical and emotional strength, courage, compassion and service to others. My investigation of firefighting work revealed that firefighters attached individually and corporately to these ideals, embodying them corporally.

> You know for me firefighting is not a job. I mean that's my life. I walk in here and spend my twenty four hours here and work but when I walk out of here and there's an accident around the corner, I'm the guy there. If there's one on the 4015 I'm the one there. Where ever it happens, I'm the one there….. We all do the same thing and we do it regardless of any – I mean its kind of ridiculous though. Sometimes I'll stop at a car accident and I'll be crawling into the bottom of car while my whole family's sitting in a car outside there. But that's what I do. (interview excerpt)

Attachment and approximation of an ideal is insufficient to producing the capacity to care, according to Benjamin. There is the need for recognition as a "like" subject. In firefighting, this recognition is provided by the tight relations of the fire hall, and of the wider brotherhood of firefighter homosociality. Further, these relations are indeed caring ones. They do not depend on any kind of interpersonal closeness, although this was apparent among many firefighters. Rather, they were based upon membership in the occupation. It seemed to me that this culture of care provided a psychic basis for the caring I saw in emergency medical response. But the quantity of emergency medical care that firefighters were performing seemed to strain this ideal, in that it impinged on other notions of masculinity also in operation. There were quite often defenses against "accusations" of compassionate care. As one firefighter – a woman – indicated to me,

> Don't think we're prissy because we do medicals. "You have to be tough to do this job." (interview excerpt)

5 The "401"refers to one of Toronto's major highways.

A more extensive excerpt from my field notes illustrates the tension between caring and daring masculinities, and how this tension tends to be resolved through caring peer relations.

> I watched two firefighters gently transfer a very ill and very disabled young man from his bed in an extended care facility to an ambulance gurney. Every move brought a cry of pain from the patient. One firefighter, Ray, was maintaining eye contact with the patient, and verbally preparing, reassuring and praising the young man, while both firefighters moved in skillful concert. A third firefighter, Will, held high an IV bag attached to the patient, and moved with the others carefully, while the paramedics looked on. When we returned to the truck, I complimented Ray on his caring manner. He quickly responded, his voice dripping with sarcasm "That's my problem. I feel too much!" Then he said, more loudly, addressing the other firefighters, "If I ever get like that, I couldn't live in a place like that. I think if I knew I had to live like that, I'd just get me a big block of some crack cocaine and a couple of beautiful women, and after I'd had a real good time, I'd get someone to take me up in a plane and I'd push out over the house of someone I had it in for, and splatter all over the place". The other firefighters immediately entered the conversation, with lively and vivid discussion of how they would end their lives if they were confined to wheelchairs and had no alternative but to live in as depressing a surrounding as the facility we had just left. Women as objects, drugs, alcohol and life-defying stunts figured largely in these tales. (field note excerpt)

This example illustrates the ways in which certain forms of masculine identifications operate within the context of firefighting. To be similar – one of the brotherhood – is to deny dependency and vulnerability. Benjamin notes that this denial is a requisite part of the development of identificatory love and a repudiation, or renunciation of reliance upon maternal care. A component of empathy, however, is to identify with the feelings of helplessness experienced by those to whom one cares. This empathetic response, evident to me in the firefighters' work recorded above, had to be shaken off for this firefighter to maintain a sense of difference from vulnerability. Here, fellow firefighters emotionally cared for their colleague by chiming in to confirm their mutual similarity to their masculine ideal, in a hearty hetero-masculine manner.

Like the psychic relation of maternal care, (which in its ideal form provides the "oceanic" feeling of oneness and connectedness has its darker, engulfing and subsuming side that emerges in failures to recognize difference and in its use of nurturance as power) these masculinized care relations have a dialectical nature. They encompass the extension of recognition and support, located in structures of homosociality that are themselves based on identification with a "good father". But they also have an aspect of domination which entails not only a sense of being outside of, and removed from, dependency, but of being superior to, and separate from, those who are dependent, while at the same time requiring submission to an ideal. Therefore, an inter-subjective tension between recognitions of similarity and difference operates within masculinized care, which is distinct from the inter-subjective tension within feminized care, as posited by theorists such as Hollway (2006). If recognition of difference supercedes that of similarity in this relation, care is compromised, leaving only domination. Perhaps this danger is one reason why masculinized care is not always recognized as care at all.

These tensions operate on firefighters in ways that make their own embodied vulnerabilities difficult to acknowledge. Thus, the ideal of masculinized care, which extends to "the brotherhood" and to the public whom they serve, depends upon firefighters' personal sense of invulnerability. Yet, firefighters' responses were quite overwhelmingly to older men: people with whom they shared many traits. To feel empathy toward these patients involved not only sharing in their vulnerability, but feeling their own vulnerability through their similarities with those they assisted. I observed continual efforts, as above, to establish difference from those whom firefighters served.

When firefighters experience difficulties that impinge on work performance, they reported that they had difficulty seeking out help for themselves or asking for accommodation in formal ways. They told me that they rely upon their "brothers" to cover and obscure their vulnerabilities. I observed this kind of "cover" repeatedly. Obese and out-of-shape firefighters were continually aided by their peers and given jobs that they could handle. Firefighters who were reportedly suffering from stress or other psychological problems were also "handled" by their co-workers, including covering over conditions such as hangovers, or tolerating a certain amount of substance use on the job. Despite high levels of vicarious and other trauma on the job, and that firefighters had NO training to deal with it, firefighters seldom used the free counseling available to them, were notorious for not using medical supports, and many did not maintain physical fitness, despite the rigours of their work. While this is

not "news", in terms of men's health, I think it is significant to consider how this denial of vulnerability can be constitutive of care to others.

The recent intensification of firefighters' work in health care has had effects on firefighters' embodiment. They have drawn upon their occupational culture of care, formed around ideals of heroic selfless public service, to provide what firefighters term "care and comfort". But this work also appeared to threaten to their perception of themselves as daring invulnerable workers. Firefighters' psyches are being affected by this transformation of work in ways that challenge their relation to the hyper-masculinity of firefighting.

The understanding of masculinity and care that I have developed from this case suggests that in order for masculinized people to achieve an orientation to care, they must develop the inter-subjective capacity to love. This capacity is developed through surrender to an ideal "other" beyond the maternal dyad, a denial of dependency and a being recognized as a "like subject" by this "other". It seems to me that the homosocial and greedy organization of firefighting, with its high ideals, honour and dedication to public service, provides a psychological ground for care provision. At the same time, the exclusivity of this order is, of course, highly problematic for any kind of employment equity, and goes some way to explain firefighters' resistance to equity initiatives. Yet, at the same time, this case is one empirical examination in what is an only partially explored terrain of what may prove to be masculinized care relations; a terrain that some might argue is a mythical land. I suggest, instead, that it is a land of possibilities.

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Chapter 6
The Stubborn Resistance of Hegemonic Masculinities within Discourses of Men's Health and Embodiment

Brendan Gough
Nottingham Trent University, England

Men are today confronted with mediated messages which invite them, as never before, to take an interest in historically feminised ideals and practices which centre on consumption, health and embodiment (see Harrison, 2008; Gill, Henwood and McLean, 2005). In the media at least men are increasingly interpellated as consumers of healthcare and beauty products – and also as objects of desire in various stylised semi-naked body shots adorning billboards and magazine covers. These media and market driven developments may, in theory, put pressure on conventionally masculinised projects, perhaps facilitating a deconstruction of hegemonic masculinities (which of course pertains to the conference theme). For example, men's health promotion messages could encourage men to acknowledge and confront areas of vulnerability, anxiety and difficulty concerning physical and psychological wounds. However, drawing on research largely in the area of men's health, I wish to argue that mass market media presentations which invoke men as consuming subjects (and as objectivised body parts) actually work to reinforce hegemonic masculinities (e.g. Gough, 2006). In addition, when men themselves talk about health and lifestyle practices, even when those practices ostensibly undermine hegemonic masculinities, there is recourse to other masculinised concepts, such as self-control, self-reliance and sporting competitiveness (e.g. Sloan, Gough and Conner, 2009). In short, hegemonic masculinities are not deconstructed in men's health contexts but reproduced, reworked and repackaged for a health-conscious, consumer-driven and self- reflexive culture.

Crisis talk

Over the past 10–15 years within many Western countries the notion of a crisis in men's health has taken hold, and statistics depicting sometimes stark sex differences in mortality and morbidity abound, for example:

- Average life expectancy for men in the UK is approximately four years less that it is for women (Office for National Statistics, 2006)
- Men's deaths exceed women's across a number of serious diseases; for example, men are twice as likely than women to develop and die from the ten most common cancers affecting both sexes (Men's Health Forum, 2004)
- Men in the UK are less likely than women to consume the recommended five daily portions of fruit and vegetables, and are more likely to have a higher than recommended salt intake (Office for National Statistics, 2006)
- Men in the UK are more likely than women to drink above recommended amounts, to binge drink, and to take illicit drugs (Office for National Statistics, 2006)

This 'crisis' in men's health, factualised with an array of such statistics, can be contextualized with respect to the wider crisis in masculinity whereby all manner of problems, from antisocial and criminal behaviour to academic underachievement, are attributed to masculinities. Moreover, there are arguments that 'femininity' has become the mark of rationality and success within a culture of 'emotional intelligence' whereas 'masculinity' has become problematised, even pathologised, as a constraint on healthy self-development (as in Harrison's [1978] classic thesis that 'masculinity is bad for men's health'; also Courtenay, 2000). I think these contentions mask the continued power and influence of hegemonic masculinities for men (and indeed women).

The crisis in men's health can also be located within a culture of moral panic surrounding public health and individual lifestyles, such as the obesity 'epidemic' and the 'scourge' of binge drinking, to name but two examples. The extent to which citizens adhere to state-sponsored health advice is perhaps limited, however, as competing constructs of pleasure, self-determination and identity issues (e.g. concerning masculinity) are cited in defence of potentially 'unhealthy' practices (e.g. Monaghan, 2005; Gough and Conner, 2006). In what follows then, I will use some data from different men's health studies to interrogate mediated men's health discourse as well as the health talk of male research participants.

Men's health in the media

While media coverage of health issues has traditionally been the preserve of female-targeted magazines, the last 15 years or so has witnessed a surge in health-related features across a range of popular media outlets, from newspapers and dedicated television programmes to websites and online discussion forums, making such material relevant for analysis. This burgeoning media coverage of health topics has included explicit men's health items, originally mainly directed at women (see Lyons & Willott, 1999) but now increasingly directed at men themselves (Gough, 2006), and here we must also note the emergence of dedicated men's health websites (e.g. men's health forum) and magazines (e.g. *Men's Health* – although the extent to which health issues are covered here is debatable – see Stibbe, 2004). Typically, media articles, supplements and manuals which focus on men's health begin by connecting the particular health concern (e.g. male mortality, alcohol consumption, obesity…) with 'masculinity' (e.g. 'the male brain'; 'male views and attitudes'; 'male culture'- Gough, 2006). There seems to be something of a media consensus as to 'knowing what men are like' i.e. naïve and irresponsible when it comes to self-care (see also Seymour-Smith, 2002). Moreover, the nature of masculinity is implicitly fixed, as indexed by the biological term 'male', which means that the men's health crisis will not be solved by men themselves, but by 'society' developing 'male-friendly' health initiatives:

> Perhaps we spend too long chastising men over their attitude towards health rather than wagging the finger at the delivery of services, education, workplace practices and society's expectations (cited in Gough, 2006).

Indeed, not only are men absolved from changing their health-defeating ways, but their 'masculinity' is reinforced across a range of health promotion materials. As an example, we can consider a men's health 'manual' produced in the UK which aims to target obesity (Banks, 2005). This manual adopts the format of a recognizable car manual and as such depicts men's (obese) bodies as machine-like, requiring a full service in order to check 'parts' and fix what is broken. I suggest that this format, where the overweight man is imagined as a 'heavy goods vehicle', is a curious choice since the hard, resistant surface of the car is surely at odds with the soft, pliable tissue of the larger male. Indeed, when one scrutinises the manual further, it becomes apparent that it is the male *mind* which is foregrounded; in other words, (overweight) men are called upon as rational thinkers with the mental strength to make (modest) changes to their lifestyle and so lose weight:

> Remember the most powerful person in your life is you and you can achieve your goals in 1st or 5th gear depending on the speed that you decide to go (Banks, 2005, cited in Gough, 2009).

In this way the masculine logical self is preserved. Other aspects of masculinity are also reinforced:

> When you're walking, do your pelvic floor exercises. This will not only help relieve boredom, but also boosts circulation to the prostate (important to help prevent cancer), and because it increases blood-flow to that area, can significantly improve erectile function! (Banks, 2005, cited in Gough, 2009).

So, in a text designed to reduce obesity in men, there is frequent recourse to masculinised notions of rationality, self-reliance and sexual potency couched within a mechanistic metaphor which (ironically) renders the overweight male body as hard and impenetrable. Here, there is no talk of vulnerability, emotions or body image as the issue of tackling obesity is reduced to the individual application of mental fortitude upon machine-like bodies, thereby preserving valued aspects of masculinity.

Healthy men?

This media preference for and support of hegemonic masculinities is also to be found in articles which, on the surface at least, present men as engaging in healthy lifestyles. In my analysis of UK newspaper coverage of men and diet, for example, a minority of articles could be seen to orient to notions of healthy eating and cooking (Gough, 2007). However, on close inspection such activities were framed in masculinised terms, as if contact with the feminised domains of food preparation and health would elicit charges of effeminacy:

> But what's really remarkable is that in each case it's the man of the house who's up to his elbows in flour. Suddenly men who've never shown the slightest interest in matters culinary are talking Italian flour and sourdough starters. "I've become a baking widow," laments one friend, as another batch of breadsticks are proudly produced from the oven. "Why can't he take up golf like any normal husband?" Chef Richard Bertinet puts the appeal down to the hunter-gatherer thing. "It's like natural foraging. You transform a few base elements into something that will provide for your family. Seeing your child eat your own bread is very Satisfying. I think it's also that most men are natural show-

> offs in the kitchen. We may not like the day-to-day stuff, but we love to cook to impress." (*The Times*, Loafing about – Foodie at large, 15/10/05)

So, breadmaking, referenced as unusual for men ('remarkable'; not 'normal'), is somehow transmuted into breadwinning and attributed to an evolutionary hunter-gathering instinct. Another article on men flirting with a Glycaemic Index focused diet laments the demise of the 'hearty male diet' ('bacon and two pieces of bread') in the face of greater nutrition consciousness and weight watching. Beyond media depictions, however, how do ostensibly healthy men account for their health-conscious (and therefore potentially feminising) lifestyles? In a recent interview study with 10 men classified (and self-identifying) as 'healthy' along four lifestyle dimensions (diet, exercise, alcohol consumption and smoking), we were interested to see how masculinity was constructed in this context (Sloan, Gough and Conner, 2009). Curiously, these interviewees distanced themselves from actively thinking about or pursuing a healthy lifestyle (e.g. 'It's not something which I spend a lot of time thinking about'). And when the men were asked about health-related practices, they tended to deploy masculinised repertoires, such as sport:

> Paul: erm kind of when I started to take the basketball seriously. That's when I started to look at my health and kind of how my body reacts and stuff. And trying to learn and understand more about food and what it does to my body.
>
> Int.: Did you not think about it before then?
>
> Paul: No I never gave it a thought; I just lived and ate whatever.
>
> Int.: There is nothing that you can think of that made you change it?
>
> Paul: Well yeah I kind a used to smoke, not much, but playing basketball made me not want to smoke. Cos I knew that it was kinda abusing my body. I need my lungs to be at the full capacity rather than clogged and stuff. So I stopped smoking.

Here, Paul accounts for his transition to a healthier lifestyle in terms of enhancing his sporting performance – health is subordinated to a more valued sporting context, where the talk is functional and technical, treating his body as an instrument to be worked upon and refined. Other participants invoked notions of self-reliance and self-control:

Int.: Okay, what about alcohol consumption and smoking just generally?

John: erm... I rarely drink, I will occasionally, but certainly not to excess. Typically I will drink nothing during the week. It's not as though I have a drink every night, not even a glass of wine. It does not really bother me. In fact I find erm after a couple of glasses or a couple of pints of something like that, I am starting to feel the effects and I don't like being out of control. I am quite a control freak, that's part of my personality, so I like to be in control of things and know what is going on. So I will have a drink now and again in social situations to relax or unwind, or keep company with someone. But I don't carry on, and smoking, no I don't take part in smoking because it's damaging to health.

Drinking (a lot of) alcohol of course is traditionally associated with 'masculinity' (see Gough and Edwards, 1998; DeVisser and Smith, 2007) so that consuming little or abstaining is something that may need to be accounted for by men. In this case, John positions himself as special and self-disciplined – he likes being in control and, despite the pathological ramifications of his phrase 'control freak', he presents himself as rational and balanced in consuming occasionally for social reasons. So, a potential threat to his masculine identity (distaste for drinking alcohol) is averted by positioning himself as masculine on other counts i.e. rationality, control, autonomy (Wetherell and Edley, 1999).

Conclusion

In sum, while an increasingly health-obsessed culture calls forth men to be healthy, the manner in which health messages are presented in the media and taken up by men themselves suggests a reiteration of hegemonic masculinities, sometimes overtly (mediated features) and sometimes more subtly (men's accounts). This analysis therefore suggests that those ideals and practices conventionally linked to hegemonic masculinity (e.g. rationality, independence, strength, competitiveness, sexual prowess etc.) continue to be promoted within the domain of men's health promotion. These various and complex deployments of hegemonic masculinities underline the power of traditionally valued signifiers in the twenty-first century and highlight how hegemonic masculinities can be flexibly and creatively brought to bear on situations where there is a potential to undermine masculine identities. So, while men begin to engage with tradi-

tionally feminised fields such as health (and also beauty, childcare, cooking etc.), the fields themselves are reimagined and redefined in hegemonic masculine terms – as are the limits of male participation (for example, work pressure can be cited for not fully engaging with healthy lifestyles or domestic obligations). The hegemony of men, then, relies much on the continued but creative invocation of multifarious attributes and institutionalised norms associated with hegemonic masculinities.

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Chapter 7
The Lives of Older Athletes – With a Focus on Masculinity and Embodiment

Josefin Eman
Umeå University, Sweden

The body as well as the bodily act of sports has been described as intimately connected to the construction of masculinity (Connell, 1995; Messner, 1995; Drummond, 2003). However, not all physically active bodies are considered masculine. Performance, athletic strength and masculinity are strongly associated with youth whereas older bodies are often considered to be weak and less able (Dionigi and O`Flynn, 2007). Hence a young male athlete might enjoy a powerful position in the world of masculinity, but what happens when the athlete ages and grows old? This paper aims to, with a focus on masculinity and embodiment; create an understanding of the lives of older former athletes. By employing a grounded theory inspired method and a life course perspective I have interviewed five men from the ages of 70–90, all former athletes whom in some manner are still involved in the world of sports.

As Rylee Dionigi (2006) notes, older athletes increasing in numbers, at least in many Western countries, and in recent years older athletes have been recognized in a couple of studies. Emanuelle Tulle (2008) incorporates embodiment in studies concerning ageing and sports, especially focusing on running and its potential to invoke social change. Murray Drummond (2003) focuses on masculinity, ageing and physical activity. However, my study differs from previous research as I aim to create knowledge of older former athletes' lives, not only their athletic activities, and doing so in a Swedish context.

The men

Up to date I have conducted five interviews with older athletes located in the northern part of Sweden. Since this is a limited group they are given alias and only some facts will be mediated about them. The men indirectly presented themselves as heterosexual since they talked about their marriages and some of them also introduced me to their wives. Most men have had middle class professions although almost everyone

was brought up in low-scale farming families. Some of them were elite athletes during their youth, whilst the others have not celebrated any major athletic triumphs – but all of them have been engaged in sports the main part of their lives. The men all exercise regularly but only one is still involved with athletic competitions. I came in touch with these men through two of my colleagues whom functioned somewhat as gatekeepers. The interviews, which were taped, were done in the homes of the informants, and lasted between one and two hours. I wanted the interviews to be open and let the informants do the narrating, but the informants needed some guidance from my part and therefore I used the themes *body, sport career and aging* as a helping frame. In accordance with the life course perspective the men were encouraged to talk about their whole life, not only their present situation. In relation to these interviews several of the men extended the contact by showing me around their homes, photographs and/or prizes.

Grounded theory

There is a need for theoretical knowledge concerning older men in general and older male athletes in particular. Thus I have employed grounded theory, which often is seen as a suitable method when one wishes to explore a comparatively uncharted area of research and/or generate new theoretical concepts (Hartman, 2001). I have chosen to adopt grounded theory as "flexible strategies, not rigid prescriptions" (Charmaz, 2003: 256) in my work since I believe it is hard not to be influenced by prior theoretical knowledge. After transcription I used Open Code to code my material and to write memos based upon the codes. The memo-making facilitated the next step – organizing the codes into categories. Patterns were distinguished amongst the codes which formed a line of categories. After having categorized all the material I made an overview of the categories and worked with mind maps trying to sort out the core category. When I found one category that the others all seemed to be linked to in some manner I started looking for subcategories in order to organize and understand my material.

Life long success

The core category I found in my material was *life long success*. The men I interviewed have to varying degrees tried to describe each phase of their lives as an integrated part of a life long success story. This was for instance expressed by Per, when reflecting on his previous life phases: "I am proud that I have done so well in life. Not just athletically but also when it comes to work and economy – I am more than satisfied." When

the men had been unsuccessful in some manner, their stories also included explanations to the absence of success or redefinitions of the success. Let's take Levi for example; he has been an active athlete the majority of his life, but never won a medal, he therefore tried in many ways to show why he still could be considered a successful man. This is for example notable in his answer when asked how a good sportsman should be.

> [A good sportsman] should be…upright and stand for what he does and what he says. […] It's given that one should try to be honest in what one is doing and not try to get an advantage. I know sometimes, I can regret it to this day, I know two times actually (laughs). Once I should have won the X [a local championship] if I had not been so honest. – Levi

Levi here explained the absence of athletic success by saying he was too honest. But in the same time he defines a good sportsman as an honest and upright man. In this way Levi manages to present himself as a successful sportsman although he, in the traditional sense of the word, is not.

Life phase strategies

Connected to the core category I distinguished two main categories: life phase strategies and life long masculine dilemmas. This paper will concentrate on the former. The reason I call these subcategories for life phase strategies is that in each phase of the men's lives they employed different strategies in order to reach life long success. The life phases roughly consist of childhood, youth, middle age, old age and future death. The strategies are somewhat specific to the life phases, but they also accumulate with age.

Childhood	**Youth**	**Middle-age**	**Old age**	**Future Death**
Being special	Being special	Being special	Being special	Remembered
	Good in sports/ well-liked	Good in sports/ well-liked	Good in sports/ well-liked	
		Career	Career	
			Sage	

Table 1: Scheme of life phase strategies

In this paper I limit my presentation of the life phases to the last two - old age and future death. The strategies the older men used were: *Being special, Good in sports/ well-liked, Career* and *Sage*. As can be seen in the table above the strategies are presented in a certain order, however, this is not necessarily an order of precedence. But some of the strategies were more usable than the others and some had to be adjusted to remain successful. The men often described themselves as set apart from others, for example by making constant comparisons. I interpreted this comparison process as a way of ensuring their status of *being special*. During the life phase "old age" the strategy *being special* was also used as a way of presenting themselves as *not being old*. For example Roland proudly presents himself as different from his peer group: "I have to keep in shape because now since I am going out skating with my grandchildren. There are not a lot of 73 year olds at the hockey field (laughs)." However, not all comparisons were favourable to them and when they made unfavourable comparisons they often laughed or smiled, which I interpreted as a way for them to show that it wasn't such a big deal for them.

The strategy being special is somewhat linked to another strategy: being well-liked. Both focuses on connections between the self and the outer world, but being well-liked is more centred around the social relationships, whereas being special was concentrated on the comparison of ones self against others. When the men talked about the importance of being *well-liked* three dimensions of this concept was evident: comradeship, closeness to family and being a celebrity. Being liked by and having an active relationship with ones grandchildren was especially important. The reason why I've linked *good at sports* to *well-liked* is that they seemed to be oppositional; either you were a lone hero or a teamplayer. The men who did not celebrate major athletic successes often emphasized the importance of comradeship in sports in a way the more athletically successful men did not. The men in former group often presented different athletic situations in which they prioritized friendship over performance. In the following example Owe deliberately slowed down his skiing in order to follow his dog-tired friend: "We skied next to each other, talked and just took it easy. […] So, I mean, I could have skied a lot of minutes faster but I don't care about that. It was more important to follow him to the goal line and he was ever so grateful". More over there seemed to be a strong age norm concerning the competitive element in sports. Although being a healthy and physically active older man definitely seemed worth striving for, it appeared almost embarrassing still being a competitive athlete. Oscar described his decision to stop competing in 2001 in the following manner: "Of course one could have continued ever further, but I guess many thought that…[…] Perhaps they

thought that one was a bit childish or so to continue in that manner". The decision to stop competing was also linked to bodily decay. Even if some of the men wanted to, they could not employ the strategy good at sports in the same manner as before. One of the men who had been an elite athlete in his youth, Per, said he was now physically prevented from competing but that he had the memories of his previous achievements to be comforted by.

The last two strategies *career* and *sage* were frequently used by the men with successful results. Concerning the strategy *career* the men partly talked about the careers they led before retirement but mostly they focused upon the different activities and tasks they handled after retirement. These tasks could consist of writing a book, taking care of their weekend cottages or participating in committees. The reason I have chosen the term career to describe these activities is partly because they organized them in a manner similar to a career and partly due to the fact that the men actually referred to the tasks as work or job. Some of them even employed sort of an indirect athletic career watching sports on TV. Per talks about the World Championship in the following manner: "Yes, we [my wife and I] are both retired, so we put on some coffee and then we sit and follow each and every race on TV. "I think that one will win", "No" my wife might say, "I think he will be the one to win". So it's kind of a tough job." Notice how Per continues to compete athletically, here betting on different winners against his wife – who also were an elite athlete in her youth. Regardless of their present occupation, the most important aspect for them was to present themselves a busy senior.

Being a *sage* was basically being an experienced leader for the youth, some became leaders by guiding their grandchildren and/or by training kids and teenagers in sports. On the one hand the men still could be involved in the world of sports and on the other the youths also made the older men feel younger. This is notable in Pers statement: "No, I don't [feel old]. […] I like to help the youths with their ski waxing and joke around with them. […] I know that the ones whom are competing now like it when I say hello and talk with them. They think it's nice. I know it helps them to ski a little faster too, no doubt about it."

The next phase is not really a phase, but an end to all life phases: the future death. The men spoke about their future with insecurity, but also with a will to be remembered. When talking about the legacy he would be leaving to the world Per said: " I don't think I should be considered boastful if I say that I really want the news and TV and so on to remind that I did good." This statement also reflects the ambivalence some of the men seemed to experience. I got the impression that they wanted to be regarded as successful but not boastful. In order to avoid the later they

preferred to talk about what others thought of them rather than what they thought about themselves.

Discussion

The older men described themselves as successful in each phase of their lives; however the older they got the more strategies they employed to achieve this success and some of the strategies used in previous life phases needed adjustment to still be useful in the old age phase. In which manner they employed the strategies in their current situation were also dependent of what they had achieved in their preceding life phases. These results could surely be understood in a number of ways; however I have interpreted these findings as strategies of power preservation or construction related to concepts of masculinity. More specifically I believe that the men employed the strategies *Being special, Good in sports/ well-liked, Career* and *Sage* in order to preserve or construct their identities as successful men for themselves as well as for their surroundings.

Whether or not these power preservation strategies succeed is debatable. Meadow and Davidson (2006) studied if relatively privileged older men were able to maintain manliness through various strategies and found that "even the most privileged men lose power as they age" (2006: 309). It is likely that the men I interviewed experienced this *change* in power as well but despite or perhaps due to this fact a key concept in their stories was *continuity*. For instance the men emphasized that although they had retired they still had jobs to attend to. The manner in which the men talked about their current tasks, they described them as fun but foremost as time-consuming obligations, indicated continuity in career, rather than disruption.

Some of the men made a similar presentation of their bodies and athletic achievements; the fact that they themselves no longer competed athletically didn't mean they had withdrawn from athletic competition all together. Per, who chatted with and encouraged young rising athletes were convinced that his effort improved their results. The men who trained youths in sports were offered an extension of themselves; one might say that they could perform through the bodies of others.

This paper will hopefully contribute to the understanding of how older athletes review, live and present their lives. In some ways the men in my study embodied the masculine ideal in their youth; they were strong athletes, some of them were very successful. Ageing might have meant a loss of status but through various strategies the men have tried and to some extent succeeded with their preservation of power.

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Chapter 8
Hairy Men in a Naked Species: What is the Paradox all about?

Priscille Touraille
Muséum National d'Histoire Naturelle, Paris, France

The origin for the issue of sexual dimorphism of hairiness (which, in biology, defines the gap between the average male body hair and the average female body hair) can be traced back to Darwin's book *The Descent of Man*, first published in 1871. But theorizations of Darwin on the sexual dimorphism of hairiness remained without descent … a scientific silence surrounds Darwin's hypothesis (and this issue in general). It is this silence I try to challenge here.

Darwin started by the numerous observations that you find no hairy men in many human populations. He then noticed that populations where men are hairy tend to be associated with a passion for masculine hair, while, on the other hand, populations that don't display hair at all just cannot stand "one hair on their body" for anyone. Darwin hypothesised that aesthetic ideologies could have acted as a selective pressure for the presence or absence of a sexual dimorphism of body hair (Darwin, 1871). My hypothesis here is that the contemporary silence on this very acute questioning of Darwin serves to protect and widen some gender and race ideologies specific to European societies.

Human species: officially "naked"

Humanity is the only species in the order of primates that doesn't possess a fur. Everybody knows the famous formula of Desmond Morris that "Man is a naked ape" (Morris, 1967). The hypothesis that you can find today to explain this phenomenon are all hypotheses of natural selection. A naked skin would be an advantage in the hot savannah, or for the resistance it gives against parasites; another hypothesis is that because the hominid line that gave birth to the human species developed in a semi-aquatic environment having no fur could be also an advantage (Morgan, 1997). All these speculations are controversial and none can be definitely said to be more plausible than the others.

What is worth being noted for our issue? A natural selection model (whatever the hypothesis) implies a higher reproductive success for *all* individuals lacking body hair. If a naked skin has been selected by the means of natural selection, there is no reason for a sexual dimorphism of body hair to appear. Why? *Simply because there is no reason why body hairlessness should have been more advantageous to women than to men.* Darwin – who himself theorized the conditions required to create a sexual dimorphism – conceptualized the problem fairly well. First, he wrote that a naked skin hardly represented a survival advantage for our species. Then, he suggested that the only hypothesis to be made was to imagine that the individuals that first had the biological (and heritable) mutation for a naked skin must have been the target of a strong selection by partner preference (through the mechanism he described as "sexual selection"). But, at that point, Darwin's thinking started to be a little confused. First, he said that if men selected women with the more hairless skin as partners – men being the "choosers" – that may explain how a sexual dimorphism of body hair could appear, men being less rigorously selected on this character. For Darwin, this model explains at the same time *why* the human species have a naked skin, and *why* women are more "naked" than men.

But what do we do with the observations that sexual dimorphism of body and facial hair does not characterize all human populations? Here arises the problem. It is at this point that Darwin offers a "second order" hypothesis that gives the issue an unexpected turn: if *both* men and women chose partners with a naked skin and rejected all hairy individuals as desirable partners, no sexual dimorphism of body hair could have evolved. *This point constitutes the major silence in contemporary biological literature.*

Naked men: theoretical ghosts in the species?

In a classical encyclopedia on human evolution one can read that "Humans are sexually dimorphic for a certain numbers of characters, including the distribution of body hair" (Jones, Martin and Pilbeam, 1992). In another well known book (that popularizes evolutionary theories), one learns that "men have a face and body hair more important than women" (Diamond, 2006). On the popular Internet encyclopedia Wikipedia we find this kind of affirmation:

> "Androgenic hair, colloquially Body hair, is the terminal hair on the human body developed during and after puberty. It is differentiated from the head hair and less visible vellus hair. Androgenic denotes [that] its growth is related to the level of an-

> drogens (male hormones) in the individual. Due to a normally higher level of androgens, men tend to have more androgenic hair than women."[6]

What is the result of this way of presenting things? It leads to thinking that *all men* in the human species present face and body hair: in other words that body hair is a universal signal of masculinity, bound to the production of androgens.

As Darwin noticed, and as numerous photographic documents (and others) now testify, Native Americans actually have no body hair, and it is the same for a lot of Asian populations (including most Japanese), and for a lot of African populations, (most western and middle east women appear as hirsute in comparison!). A lot of men in all those populations have few or no facial hair at all. Darwin's model leads to this inescapable remark: if all human males are not hairy, why do we always depict "prehistoric" humans as hairy fellows?

Here we deal with one of the strongest mythology regarding prehistoric times. The prehistoric male seems not to may have been other than hairy if you observe the imagery of textbooks. The popular explanation to justify this visual representation is that it helped to protect the hunters (supposed to be males) from the cold. Darwin thought this hypothesis was weak. And, in effect, if *Homo sapiens* groups colonized Europe it was because they had clothes and fire (not to talk about *Homo erectus* …). Eskimos are an example: they don't have any body hair nor beards, while they survived in the coldest areas of the planet!

The problem with the "hairy prehistoric fellow" is that the conception it engages misses an important point. The idea that *Homo sapiens* is born in Africa is well popularized now. We all know our species emerged in an equatorial zone where it was not cold at all. When we rely on the idea that prehistoric people were hairier than ourselves because of cold, we seem to forget that our first human ancestries had nothing to do with cold climates!

Darwin's most interesting point is, in fact, this one: the first human populations had already lost their body hair, and they were similar to the human populations that display today body hairlessness, as do children in all human populations, which is also an important cue to say that *Homo sapiens* originally lacked body hair. In European, Middle-East, Aïnous (North Japan), Melanesian, Australian aborigines and some African (Bantou) populations, body hair would not be the remnant of our primate ascendance; it would be *the return* (and the transmission: due to migrations, colonization, etc.) of a character primarily lost by *Homo*

6 http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Body_hair

sapiens (or even before). Maybe Darwin was not at ease with the idea that some primitive characters could have been maintained in Europeans while they have been lost in populations whose reputation was to be closer to the simian ascendance! But even is this is true of Darwin's considerations, this does not invalidate his idea, even if it is not the one that fits easily with our present way of thinking. In scientific thinking – as well than in popular thinking – we are stuck on the idea that body hair is a primitive leftover that traces back to our animal (primate) ascendance.

Hairiness's oxymorous ideologies

Darwin's idea is a kind of interesting one, regarding gender. Darwin suggested that the valorization of the biological variation of hair only on men could have created the dimorphism we found today in all hairy populations. I will argue here that the ideology of body hair is a very ambiguous one in our cultures, and displays something we could even qualify as "unhealthy". As a naked skin distinguishes human from animals the signification of hirsute figures are generally used to depict "primitive", basic instincts. On the contrary, a hairless body represent the most perfect human ideal and is a sign of transcendence (angels, elves: all those imaginary beings of our mythologies are beardless and without body hair). This being the case, it is not that bearded European man that we should find (again and again) as the ambassador of the human species in our human evolutionary textbooks (Wiber, 1997), but a San woman or a Mentawaï man for example! But such a revolution in iconography cannot emerge, in reality.

Such a new vision enters into conflict with another register of body hair constructed by our Western gender ideologies. Body hair has long been associated with the "sanguine temperament" in the **humoral conceptions** (one of the central principles in Western medicine from antiquity through to the 19th century). This temperament was seen, as the same time, "perfect" and "ideally masculine" (Dorlin, 2006), body hair being then the positive signal of virility, here being synonymous of sexual potency. It seems that we are still dealing with such an ideology today, even if the concept of temperament has been long ago abandoned.

In the centuries before the conquest of the Americas, when no representation of the Native American was yet available, Native Americans were depicted as hairy as apes. When it became clear that those men had even no beard, it started to be claimed that Native American and African men were just like European women, lacking sexual ardour, this idea being used to argue they did not have the potency to regenerate their "race" (which then logically dedicated them to disappear of the surface of the Earth). The interpretive colonialist model has used the idea of

indiscriminate sexual characters as a proof of the inferiority of other human populations (Dorlin, 2006). Hairlessness justified that some men had not to be considered "men" and this biological feature participated in the construction of a racial superiority of Europeans. A gendered ideology helped create a racial ideology says the French philosopher Elsa Dorlin.

The present medical idea that body hair grows under the influence of androgens ("androgenic hair") resonates strangely with the old ideologies. If some men don't grow body hair and beard, it leads automatically to think it is because they lack androgens. If some men are supposed not to have the major biological character that "makes a man", then it seems logical to think that they are like women, as the 18th century pretended.

Practically nothing is known about the mechanism of body hair variation in genetics (Molnar, 2005). But some rare investigations in biological anthropology have proven that populations that rarely grow body hair and beard (Chinese, or San of Kalahari) don't lack androgens; it is just that their androgenic receptors are not legated to hair activation in the areas where western men grow hair (Lookingbill et al., 1991; Winkler and Christiansen, 1993). The absence of mentioning in textbooks that masculine hairiness *is not* universal suggests a result quite equivalent to the explicit "feminization" of Native American and Africans some centuries ago: a planetary masculine hegemony that tends to make "the hairy men" the only model of "man": the genetic pool in which the "non hairy" will come to dissolve gradually. This biological hegemony is, of course, a gendered one. It imposes silence on the possible causes of the variability that were at the centre of Darwin's preoccupations.

Naked women *and* men: the androgynous' threat?

Reinterpreting Darwin's observations, we could say today that gender ideology – in which the main obsession is to differentiate men from women – could well have been the major selective force for the evolution of sexual dimorphism of body and facial hair. In cold climates, where people wear clothing all the time, it could well be that the beard was a salient feature for "making the difference" and hence rendering the sex of individuals visible in any event. It is still prevalent today where men – and especially young men – make some "beard effects" in order to appear older than they are in their search of social competition between "peers" or to seduce women, or simply to avoid totally the risk of being called "miss" in the public arena. In the banal functioning of our gender regimes, the worst thing for a man is less, finally, to be compared to an animal than to be taken for a woman.

Keeping this very uncertain idea that the European and Middle-East populations have maintained a feature from our first human ancestry (the hairy prehistoric fellow) is a way to obscure the fact that the sexual dimorphism of body hair doesn't obligatorily trace back to our primate ascendance and that prehistoric European and Middle-East population (and others, African, Indian, Melanesian, Australian Aborigines that could belong to the same "genetic stock" due to still unknown migrations and miscegenation …) may well have retained a biological variation long ago counter-selected by other populations on the planet. I thus hypothesise that the lack of explicative models of body hair variation in the field of evolutionary anthropology today would be a means (largely unconscious we may say) to keep at a distance the positive (transcendental) conception of hairlessness which is, as the same time, a threat – I call it the androgynous threat – for our gender order that, we all know, heavily relies on biological cues.

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Workshop B
Virtualities, Representations and Technology

Rapporteurs' report

The theme of this workgroup, chaired by Dag Balkmar and Katarzyna Kosmala, enabled a rich diversity of topics and perspectives. Over the workgroup sessions, we heard a fascinating range of different presentations exploring one or more of these topics in relation to the overall conference theme. Jutta Weber discussed the increasing technologization of warfare, specifically the use of remote-controlled robots. This new 'war at a distance' raises important questions about the reformulation of "military masculinity", ushering in a new figure, the "armchair soldier" that in some senses resembles the computer gameplayer. There is a clear geopolitics at work here. Her presentation opened up a discussion that continued through many papers: the troubled equation of masculinity and technology. At one level, technological mastery might be seen as a formation of hegemonic masculinity; but from a different perspective, over-reliance on technology is potentially emasculating, in shifting emphasis from muscles to machine skill.

A number of the presentations explored the use of Internet and Web 2.0 technologies. Dag Balkmar used websites displaying the efforts of Swedish car customizers to explore how different techniques and styles of car modification are talked about online. His presentation focussed on "shit talk", showing how modifiers police their own practices by abusing those seen to transgress group norms. Dag also explored the tension between "plastic" or "cosmetic" modifications to cars, and modification to engine performance; the latter is considered more skilful and more "masculine", again picking up the theme of masculinity and machine skill – here a distinction between the male skills of "tinkering" versus more feminized practices such as consumption (buying ready-made add-ons) and an obsession with "looks". Matthew Hall also used online discussions as a source, in his paper on metrosexuality. By paying close attention to the content of discussion threads, Matthew identified key ways in which self-identified metrosexuals defined and defended their own sense of identity and difference. And Alp Biricik discussed chatrooms as one site that he is focusing on in his work on gay men's identity-spaces. His work explores the interplay of three spaces – the bedroom, the darkroom and the chatroom – with a view to understanding how identity work is

enabled and constrained by space. Alp discussed gay men's use of online forums which deploy webcam self-portraiture. Here, both the setting and the technology have a bearing on an emerging aesthetic that produces new forms of self-presentation.

Other papers in the workgroup ranged across different media. John Hughson explored the ways in which UK print media has recently handled the issue of homophobia in football, showing how the UK tabloid press in particular discussed a number of "allegations" about the sexuality of prominent players. Through these stories, as well as the *Kick it Out* campaign to fight prejudice in football, John raised the issue of sport's relation to hegemonic masculinity as well as the issue of tabloid news values. Elvira Scheich's chosen media was photography, in particular the representation of physics and physicists in an important postwar photography exhibit, 'The Family of Man'. She discussed three fascinating images from this exhibit, asking what they reveal (and also what they omit), and locating them within a broader story of the repositioning of physics in the postwar period. One photograph showed a group of male theoretical physicists at work, in discussion, grouped around the iconic figure of Robert Oppenheimer. A second photograph depicted the no less iconic Albert Einstein in his chaotically untidy office. The third showed a young boy at a school blackboard, completing a mathematical problem. These images work intertextually to tell a story about the "value" of physics, but also work to consolidate the issue of who can be a physicist. As Elvira showed, other physicists are erased from this representation, just as they were sidelined in the postwar development of the profession – and one group notably absent here is women.

Katarzyna Kosmala's presentation looked at artworks that highlight issues of identity construction in professional creative careers. Her examples included an installation concerning the diaries of the anthropologist Bronislaw Malinowski, a reinterpretation of socialist-realist sculpture, and the film of *The Diving-bell and the Butterfly*. Through her analysis, Katarzyna explored issues of transnational career paths, professional identities, and hegemonic masculinity. Also exploring issues of representation, Tiina Mantymaki used the film *Breakfast on Pluto* to talk about different modes of masculinity. The film, which follows the life of a "gender rebel" in Troubles-era Northern Ireland, explores the transgression of boundaries and issues of identity and belonging. Tiina homed in on the way a single word, "serious", is a recurring trope throughout the film – serious is equated with certain ways of doing masculinity, but these are undermined and ironized by the ambiguous performances of the protagonist, Kitten. The word "serious" functioned as a device with which to revisit common themes across the presentations

in a final discussion session. The workgroup spotted both commonalities and interesting differences in the ways in which the topics discussed related to each other and to the conference themes. We pondered that the issue of "virtualities" had not been foregrounded as clearly as might have been expected, but then went on to re-use the term to discuss the notion of "virtual hegemonic masculinity" – not to use "virtual" to refer only to Internet or other "new" technologies, but more to consider "virtualization" as a process of abstraction. Throughout the workgroup sessions, there was a lively, challenging but always collegiate discussion, and all participants felt that they benefited from the range of perspectives that were brought together.

Rapporteurs: David Bell and Alp Biricik on behalf of the workgroup

Chapter 9
Online/offline with Virtual Garages

Dag Balkmar
Linköping University, Sweden

In my ongoing thesis project, I investigate car styling culture in Sweden and car customizer lifestyle. In doing this, I engage in an investigation of situated subjects and their worlds – in which they act and are acted upon – including web forums. Following the booming interest in car styling, since the beginning of the 21st century more accessible ways of doing styling, as well as the emergence of web based motor communities, made knowledge about car styling accessible to wider audiences. The notion 'car styling', is taken to imply reshaping of *contemporary* car models preferable from the 1990s and onwards, the rebuilding to their own unique designs, making up an aesthetically and technologically modified car, often imitating the aesthetics of speedy race cars. My informants often describe car styling as aspiring to produce a 'head turner effect' through 'individualizing' cars, aiming for special attention through the modified car. Such a discourse ascribes car modders the power to transform cars as a way of coming into one's own, "becoming one's Self", tightly interlinked with discourses of individualism, do-it-yourself culture, and the need to stand out from a group or collective.

In this vein, my aim is to raise some preliminary notes on the implications and contradictions virtual forums seem to have on car styling culture and for the lives of (male) car modders. I interrogate the discursive production and shifting meanings between 'seen and scene' as here related practices of looking that configure bodies/car bodies and masculinity. Doing this, I consider three gendered discourses of importance constituting car styling as a (masculine) cultural domain: car styling as individualism; car styling as 'do-it-yourself' culture (DIY, the ability to figure things out and inventing 'own' solutions); car styling and usability ('show and go'). From this point of view, the web forums and its online communities do not supersede 'physical space', rather, the forums bring attention to a 'hybrid space' (Ward 1999) emerging through the online/offline realms constituting contemporary car styling culture.

Modders and web forums

My ethnographic approach followed the routes of specific clusters of car-communities, ranging from 'beginners' to rather well-established modders (i.e. successful in terms of winning prices, attracting sponsors, gaining a reputation through their cars). Out of my informants, 15 are female and 49 male, all except one can be characterised as white and of Swedish ethnicity, most of them are between 20–35 years old, imaginably heterosexual (the lack of a 'gay car modder identity' is striking), all of them living in the middle or southern parts of Sweden. To assume the implications of class with the ways masculinity, cars and modding are configured in the context of Sweden, car modding culture is most often taken to represent working class masculinity.

There are numerous virtual motor related forums using Swedish as their main language of interaction; these are either specialised in specific brands, models or non-brand specific. My informants usually interact through *Garaget.org*, alleged to be the largest car-related community in Scandinavia (100,000 members), or *gatbilar.se* (21,000 members). These virtual spaces allow all members a personal web site to free of charge publish ongoing car projects, pictures and videoclips, as well as the ability of interacting in the forum.

As (imagined) communities, (virtual) car communities exist both on- and off line and are geographically and temporally dispersed. The car-related web forums and their online communities holds several significant aspects of shaping contemporary car styling culture: they afford 'creative commons', sources of inspiration and knowledge production, spaces offering a sense of community, the possibility of establishing social bonds among geographically dispersed modders. The point of web communities may be conceived of as offering its users the opportunity to share not only knowledge, but values, viewpoints and experiences (Sveningsson, Lövheim, and Bergquist, 2003). To share skills in forums may, as Kendall (2002: 96) points out in her study of masculinities and relations online, enhance social status to someone proving technically competent as able to fit social norms of dominant notions of what constitute masculinity. In this vein, forums make up an important space for reflexive self-presentations of ongoing projects, thus simultaneously making the styling process into a more or less collective process of interaction with fellow forum participants. Following this, in order to 'individualize' the car, indeed somewhat paradoxically, you also need to take into consideration the various opinions on style raised in the forums. A male editor of a Swedish motoring magazine explains this dilemma.

> Internet is so incredibly huge for those who are into car styling, it really affects the ways you build your car. That's where you will see what kinds of cars people like, and learn how to build the car in order to make others like your car. Only a few dare to go against the grain, there are a few that do so, but they really get to bear a lot of shit because of it.

To the average modder, the web forums function as mirrors to reflect one's project in the eyes of others. Through posting project updates, the forum community may respond to the modder by grading the car and by posting feedbacks in threads accessible to anyone in the forum. In this vein, web forums asserts both opportunities to learn about car styling trends as well as how to perform such modifications, perhaps even more importantly is – how not to. Web forums, as collective virtual networks, do simultaneously enable and assert social restraints on styling as projects of accentuated individuality. To conclude, cars are not simply modes of transport, they are, within the cultural setting of the car modders, sources of immense pleasure and value; they are the material signs of the car builder's self-identified subculture.

Sponsored modders and web forums

Along the lines of more specialised firms selling services and parts for car styling, sponsoring successful car modders has evolved as a way of marketing all sorts of 'after market' car products. To attract sponsors to finance or in other ways contribute to a car project is indeed what many modders strive for; however, such a position also entails diversion from an average member of the (imagined) community, allegedly investing own time and money into their projects. On the one hand, sponsorship is ascribed respectability by the community; on the other, such respectability may well be questioned if not complying with the do-it-yourself cultural norm. Through the rest of this paper I focus on an interview with Niclas, a 30 year old, rather successful – sponsored – modder. Whether he actually built his famous show cars himself, or left them with his sponsors to build, has for some time become a collective concern in the forums.

> I think it is hilarious the stuff people write about me, they know absolutely nothing about what they are talking about! Although lately, people tend to defend me more and more as they see film clips and pictures showing how we build [the cars]. Over the last three years I think I have become more respected compared to when I started out modding. It's really a drag, I do not want

> to assert myself; I really do not want to do that. But, if they do not believe me, what more is there I can do? I keep pictures as proof, I even keep apprentices!

This excerpt may be interpreted as an example of how online communities, and its rather anonymous way of interacting compared to face-to-face interaction, offers ways of undermining a successful modder through implying he is not complying with central norms of the community. As a strategy, Niclas extensively documents his work throughout the whole progress, subsequently posting photos onto his personal web site or in forums. Photos may 'prove' to the car community *who* has done the modifications, and *what* has been made to the car. Over time Niclas's strategy seems to have borne fruit, by using technologies such as (video) cameras, web pages and forums, he claims to have shifted the ways he is perceived by the community. In order to counter rumours emerging out of web forum interactions, the process of car-builder-building-car is thus being visually shown and 'proved'. Through such practices, his position may shift from being dismissed as a 'fake' success story, to people defending him as respectable car modder. This leads me to conclude, not only does the virtual (as scene to be seen) make up important sites of questioning modding/modders through the DIY discourse, 'talk/fake' may also be transformed into 'real/respectable' moddings/modder through practices of seeing and showing.

Show and go

Car styling culture is not only constituted through DIY discourse, achieving respectability as heterosexual modder also relies on discourses related to specific materials used for modding as well as ways of using such cars. Current styling trends are, according to several informants, orienting towards symmetry between 'show and go' rather than 'show and no go' – a fast looking car should be able to match the way it looks. Not complying with such trends may make styling without tuning problematic. The male editor says the following about presenting cars without tuning to motor related web forums.

> If you present your car on the web without having tuned it, only styling, then people will pick on you for sure. This car doesn't perform as much as it looks! Its nothing but eye candy and plastics!

Niclas does not take interest in tuning engines, he is known for successfully reshaping cars into 'show cars'. Moreover, his works of art are being crafted by using various forms of plastics. In the forums I have been

following, he has been referred to as 'the king of plastics', a reputation that extends the mere virtual.

> You gain as much friends as enemies [from the way you build cars], there are people out there that really seem to hate me, I have even received death threats.

This excerpt points to how virtual forums not only play a vital part in configuring cars and styles, modders' lives may be deeply affected by such forums. In the case of Niclas, he claims to have received threats 'offline' as well as over the phone, he also claims having had pictures of him posted on internet 'gay sites'. What ties these (violent) acts together is, I would say, the reference to the ways he style cars, especially in the ways hegemonic notions of heterosexual masculinity and ways of being a male modder are being challenged. His cars are 'show' alright, but not necessarily 'go'. Thus, one way of analyzing the show car and the violence it seem to provoke among men, online as well as offline, is in the ways it challenges hegemonic gendered understandings of what a car 'is' and how it ideally are to be used.

Current styling trends orient away from simply emphasising car-body surface – associated with Niclas way of styling – towards car performance and tuning. This change may be interpreted as a negotiation of sporty looking cars as masculine technology deeply intertwined with Western dichotomies of subject/object, mobility/immobility and straight/gay. Read through this frame, the show car represents an 'extreme' *object* – not necessarily associated with cars as affording mobility and subjectivity. In line with this, the show car is symbolically restricted to spaces such as the car show, an arena where polished cars are on display to the crowds of enthusiasts. Following this, within a male dominated masculine car modding culture, one shaped by a rather homophobic version of what Adrienne Rich (1994) labelled "compulsory heterosexuality", such cars constantly face the risk of being reduced to nothing but "eye candy", or feminised "plastic rockets", i.e. as less 'real' cars. At the core of such femininization lies its unclear mobility function as cars, a passive woman, "to-be-looked-at-ness" as Laura Mulvey (1975) in her classic visual culture essay wrote, and man active-functioning. The styled *and* tuned car ('show and go'), on the other hand, is associated with a combination of cool looks and performance, thus reaching beyond the car show into the public realm – affording the possibility of competing and dominating other car drivers – forcefully allocating such cars into a masculine domain. Such associations relies on cultural stereotypes in which lies a strong focus on heterosexuality and virility in men and masculinity.

Interestingly, the show car seems to represent a soft spot for car modding culture as masculine domain. The alleged act of posting Niclas's picture on gay sites thus needs to be related to the abundance of insults alluding to non-heterosexuality, as opposed to heterosexual desire and its associations with hardness, activity and independence (Connell 1995). Nevertheless, Niclas is simultaneously considered respectable modder by large parts of the community, tightly linked with the ability to 'prove' he is subscribing to the DIY cultural ideal. In this vein, "becoming one's Self" implies for modding subjects the possibility to navigate shifting meanings between 'seen and scene' through online/offline hybrid space. Such a space is constituted by DIY discourses as well as the emphasis on 'show and go', thus rendering specific practices of modding and car use as respectable and other as problematic.

Conclusion

Car styling is ascribed by the modding community as being an individual project; nevertheless, web forums make up important scenes in the collective configurations of cars, status and styling trends. Because of the specific character of car modders as geographically dispersed, the forums offers ways to negotiate styles as well as modder respectability, especially linked to the practice of showing and looking at images. Following the suggested analysis above, web forums seem to function as a scene where online communities may negotiate styles as well as how such styles are sexualised and gendered. In conclusion, such negotiations seems to be orienting towards a strengthening of traditional accounts of men and masculinity as technologically amplified, a move from show to function, emphasising the ability to dominate rather than mere looks.

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Chapter 10
Geek Myths: Technomasculinities in Cybercultures

David Bell
University of Leeds, UK

> So you think of yourself as a geek, eh? The first step is to admit to yourself your geekiness. No matter what anyone says, geeks are people too, geeks have rights. So take a deep breath and announce to the world that you are a geek. Your courage will give you strength that will last you forever. (Code of the Geeks, quoted in Star 1995, 11)

This paper marks the beginning of a larger project, tracing the cultural history of the geek as a formation of "technomasculinity" (see Poster, 2008). This bigger work fits in to two of my longstanding interests, in cultural studies of technologies and in "marginalized masculinities". In terms of the former, I am interested in the ways that particular orientations towards technologies are bundled together with cultural repertoires, or "ways of doing technologies" (see, for example, Bell, 2006). Hence the geeks I discuss here are primarily computer geeks, and the setting is cybercultures (though I shall also say some things that have broader resonance with "geek culture"). In terms of framing the geek as a form of marginalized masculinity, I am interested in the ways in which certain masculine performances and practices are valued and others devalued, and in the fine grain of the cultural work that different masculinities do, especially in reasserting and/or resisting dominant or hegemonic masculinities. There is therefore some common ground with my earlier discussions of the figure of the hillbilly, and in particular in the staging of contact between hillbillies and city men in movies. Here, rural men are figured as primitive and uncivilized, atavistic even, but also as more "authentic", while urban men are figured as effete and as "out of touch" with their true, raw manhood. Urban men's contact with raw nature and natural men reveals their lack of masculinity (see Bell 2008). In the current study, I want to explore how the figure of the geek is marginalized by his very geekiness, but how that simultaneously reaffirms some key characteristics of hegemonic masculinity. I want to argue that studying geeks and manifestations of geek culture is an important exercise, for helping us to understand how cultural understandings of

masculinities and technologies (and their commingling) play out. In this sense, my work adds to the now longstanding heritage of research into gender and technology, and the more specific areas of masculinities and cybercultures (or virtualities).

Geek histories

Most discussions of the geek begin with origins and meanings, and trace aspects of the etymology of the geek. The origins of the word are slightly uncertain, but dictionaries always mention early usage to refer to a circus performer who specialized in "unusual" acts, with a more recent take-up of the term to mean someone unusually interested (obsessed, even) in particular kinds of knowledge and expertise, often connected to technologies such as radio, computers and the Internet, and with selected areas of popular culture, such as science fiction or fantasy roleplay. The term shares common ground with others, such as nerd, though some commentators stress subtle differences of meaning. I'm less interested in the question of origins, and keener to explore how the geek is currently talked and written about, and how geekiness is conferred on particular people and particular practices – and with asking what's going on when a person is labelled a geek or chooses to label themselves as a geek, and in thinking about how the geek is used to say things about ways of being oriented towards technologies and ways of doing masculinities.

Which brings me to the issue of gender. Notwithstanding the rise of "geek girls" (see Westman, 2007), my interest is in the geek as a way of doing masculinity that at once resists, reaffirms *and* ironizes hegemonic masculinity. In the burgeoning "popular geek culture" that I have been looking at, geekiness is taken to symbolize particular (often devalued) masculine characteristics. Work on geek girls addresses this equation, in fact, exploring ways in which femininities might be alignable with geekiness, but also how geekiness might put up barriers that limit women's and girls' entry into geek culture and geek jobs. As Karin Westman (2007) argues, it's only with the IT boom since the 1980s that geekdom has been coded so heavily male, though she sees this changing with the rewiring of IT by geek girls today. Nevertheless, Westman (2007: 25–26) concludes that "in the cultural imagination, "geek" still suggests, first and foremost, a reclusive and socially awkward male immersed in the minutiae of computing".

There's a small and interesting literature of "geek studies" which has its own take on the geek and his ways (e.g. Dunbar-Hester, 2008; Eglash, 2002; Kelty, 2005; Kendall, 2000; Turkle, 1984/2005). Academic geekology isn't my only resource, however; I'm equally interested in popular representations of geeks, and particularly an emerging popular literature

which jokily models itself variously on self-help books, spotters' guides and even (of course) computer manuals. Books like *The Little Book of Geeks, The Geek Handbook, Are You a Geek?, A Girl's Guide to Dating a Geek* and *I ♡♡ Geeks* all do their own kinds of cultural work, which is just as interesting and important as academic research. In addition, it is perhaps unsurprising that the Internet is buzzing with geek resources, or "geek-generated content". The Internet is routinely figured in academic and popular accounts as one of the key habitats of the geek, and the rise of Web 2.0 has made ever more opportunities for geek culture to be made and circulated. The Internet might fruitfully be thought of as not only being built by geeks, but also as building geeks – as Lars Konzack (2006, 6) puts it, "the internet participant has every possibility to delve into a field of interest, thereby becoming a geek". This comment raises an issue I will return to, about the ambivalent popularization of the geek.

Looking at geeks

First, a composite sketch of the male computer geek drawn from and repeated in the emerging geek studies mentioned earlier. Computer geeks are depicted as mainly white, middle-class heterosexual (but desexualized) males, lacking in social and interpersonal skills and obsessed with arcane and specialist knowledges and skills. They value the devalued – forms of fringe and "low-brow" culture – and reject those things given high status by the rest of society. Yet increasingly, they are being brought back in from the margins, their skillsets and knowledges being given new value in the creative economy, their presence being taken as a sign of the tolerant and edgy "buzz" of certain neighbourhoods, and their (anti-) style being copied in "geek chic" (Feineman, 2005; Florida, 2002). Geeks therefore currently occupy an interestingly ambivalent cultural location on a shifting social landscape. While it's true that not long ago they might have been characterized as, in Neil Feineman's (2005: 10) words, "a pale group of distracted, unstylish, unathletic, uninvolved wallflowers who taped their thick, horn rimmed glasses with duct tape, [and] wore pocket protectors filled with mechanical pencils and ball point pens in nondescript polyester shirts", that characterization is changing (though many of the stereotypes persist, or are even heightened). What does this relocation mean for thinking about geeks in the context of hegemonic masculinities?

In her study of masculinities in pre-Web 2.0, text-based online environments, Lori Kendall (2000, 2002) scrutinizes the "hegemonic-ness" of geek identity explicitly, asking whether the playful, ironic articulation of masculinity she finds in multi-user domains (MUDs) disqualifies male participants from subscription to hegemonic masculinity. For

example, she shows how her geeks read each others' apparently overtly misogynistic and sexualized banter as an ironic expression of their *lack* of sexual prowess and sexual attractiveness (though she is herself ambivalent about this tactic, as it maintains the denigration and exclusion of women). She concludes that her participants enact a form of masculinity that both diverges from and converges with hegemonic masculinity, and ends up calling it "not-quite hegemonic" – a formulation that could be read to reveal nothing more than a shifting in the meaning and working of "hegemonic-ness".

Christina Dunbar-Hester (2008) tracks something similar in her ethnography of radio activists. She contrasts an egalitarian geek politics with a gendered division of skills, expertise and labour wherein the archetypal geek pastime, tinkering, remains a male domain. While technical tinkering might be framed as unmasculine when compared with more rugged, athletic or manly pursuits – a key component of the devaluing of the geek – Dunbar-Hester persuasively argues that the technology itself was here being used to reinterpret or reframe masculinity, to do masculinity differently, but not necessarily less hegemonically. The men in the radio ham group defined their own sense of masculinity that they saw as oppositional to the mainstream (and as pro-gender equality), but which worked in practice to perpetuate women's exclusion from its core activity, hardware tinkering. This conclusion raises important implications for the current rise of the geeks: if, as Feineman (2005: 17) concludes, "the future ultimately belongs to the geeks", what will that future look like?

This question is one reason why it's an interesting time to be practicing geekology: to watch what happens now, and next. As Dan, the main character of Douglas Coupland's geek novel *Microserfs* says, "we really *do* inhabit an odd little nook of time and space here" (63). Clearly one reason for the oddness of this nook is the revaluing of geekdom in light of the so-called rise of the creative economy, and the parallel and related rise of "geek chic" as an appropriation of certain aesthetic signifiers of geekdom. Ben Nugent (2008) comments critically on the latter trend, noting how the nerd aesthetic is a kind of anti-aesthetic which has subsequently been taken up by what he calls the "fake nerd". Nugent spots fake nerds among media and creative types, in fact, spying their uniforms of "bulky glasses, floppy hair, sweaters, low-top canvas sneakers useless for athletic activity" (123). He also notes that it has become commonplace to assume the epithet, to say "I'm *such* a nerd". These observations lead Nugent to ponder the "countercultural-ness" of fake nerds, to ask what's gone on to make the nerd identity suddenly so hip. *Microserfs* had already supplied part of the answer, in highlighting the new economic standing of IT geeks, and their recasting as saviours of the

postindustrial network society. (Florida, 2002, does much the same thing in his discussions of the creative class). Yet there is an ambivalence hanging over the rush to appropriate geek chic: at once, it signals a familiar process of "mainstream" colonization of a "subculture", yet the specific ways in which geekiness does masculinity might, according to some critics, enable a broader rethinking of masculinity. Given the current high (economic and cultural) value accredited to geeks (as IT workers), geeks are certainly rewiring various hegemonies (Poster, 2008). As Eglash (2002: 49) concludes, geekness is "mediating personal identities in ways that both maintain normative boundaries of power and offer sites for intervention". The popular culture of geekdom occupies an interesting position in relation to this issue, since it jokingly demystifies "the geek in your life" (even if that's you) while also reinstating the geekness of the geek, his outsiderhood.

Geekonomics

The popular literature on geekdom often highlights the new attractiveness of being a geek or dating a geek in terms of earning potential. But, according to *The Geek Handbook* (Halpin, 2000), this also makes your geek particularly susceptible to "geeksploitation", to target marketing that aims to extract cash from the geek in your life, who is easily seduced by the admen, and more than a little financially naïve. This naivety is often construed as part of a broader symptom, described in *Microserfs* as "protracted adolescence" (see Thompson, 2004). Here, the character Abe writes an email to Dan about how the new economy itself engages in geeksploitation via adolescent protraction:

> The tech system feeds on bright, asocial kids from divorced backgrounds who had pro-education parents. We ARE in a new industry: there aren't really many older people in it. We are on the vanguard of adolescence protraction. … Just think about the way high tech cultures purposefully protract out the adolescence of their employees well into their late 20s, if not their early 30s,. I mean all those NERF TOUYS and FREE BEVERAGES! And the way tech firms won't even call work "The office:, but instead, "the campus." (Coupland, 1995: 311)

Much has been written about the new economy's geeksploitation tactics, in fact – the ways work is dressed up as play, workplaces as cool hangouts, long hours remade as flexitime, free labour turned into fun (Ross, 2006; Terranova, 2006). Web 2.0 further messes with the structure of work, and the split between work and play, while tech jobs are promoted

as offering the chance to play all day and get paid for it. While geeks may choose to reflexively engage with their own geeksploitation, referring to themselves variously as NetSlaves or Netscapegoats (Kelty, 2005), there's also another sense here of the capturing and repurposing of geek chic, to turn geeks into prized workers and economic miracle workers. Nevertheless, suddenly being prized certainly gives geeks a new social standing; as Susan says in *Microserfs*: "geeks were usually losers in high school who didn't have a life, and then not having a life became a status symbol. … all the stuff that made people want to kick your butt at fifteen becomes fashionable when fused with cash" (Coupland, 1995: 173).

So these are indeed interesting times to be looking at geeks (and to be a geek). Suddenly valued but by the same token exploitable, whether in terms of work, consumption or as an aesthetic resource, geeks certainly do inhabit an odd little nook of time and space. And as a way of thinking about masculinities and technologies, this repositioning potentially opens up geekdom to radical reconfiguration, but also threatens a closing down. To repeat Eglash's prognosis, geek identity today has the potential to "both maintain normative boundaries of power and [to] offer sites for intervention"; as he adds, this identity is "a potential paradox that *might* allow greater amounts of gender … diversity into the potent locations of technoscience, if only we could better understand it" (Eglash, 2002: 50; my emphasis). The current project is my attempt to contribute to that understanding.

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Chapter 11
'12 Men Out(ed)': Reportage on Homophobia and Football in the British Tabloid Press

John Hughson
University of Central Lancashire, England

This paper examines the current contradictory discourses on homosexuality and football within the British tabloid press. While support is ostensibly given in newspaper reports to the eradication of homophobia in relation to football, the continuing promotion of traditional masculine football stereotypes, such as the 'hard man', imagines an ongoing heterosexual normativity. Furthermore, media fascination with professional football players 'coming out', although expressed in supportive terms, may be decoded as an attempt to publicly reveal the deviant other. Such representation applies to campaigns such as *Kick it Out*; extended from racism to homophobia. News releases from the campaign have been reinterpreted within media representation to fuel a perceived public interest in wanting to know which Premier League players are gay. Accordingly, the paper considers football and its related media as a site of hegemonic contestation in which the dominant discourse of male heterosexuality is at once undergoing challenge and reinforcement.

In October 2008, former professional football player Paul Elliott declared that he could name twelve gay players in the English Premier League. Elliott was speaking at a forum organised by the 'Kick it Out' campaign on the subject of homophobia in relation to football. Elliott, a long-time campaigner against racism in football, is an advisor to the Equality and Human Rights Commission. He has emerged as a staunch anti-homophobia advocate and his comment was clearly intended to expose the myth – explicitly promulgated by the Managing Director of Juventus, Luciano Moggi – "there are no gays in professional football" (http://www.pinknews.co.uk/news/articles/2005-9327.html).

Elliott's comment was faithfully reported in tabloid newspapers to the extent that the content of articles gave indication of his anti-homophobia message. However, the headline and opening to the news report text may be read to deliver an alternative message. The headline in *The Sun* (18 October 2008) declared: '12 gay footie stars claims ace'.

The lead-in line of the article continued: 'Ex-Chelsea ace Paul Elliott has said he knows 12 football stars who are gay'. This headline and lead-line, although heading an article that goes on to report the anti-homophobe intent of Elliot's message, connect with a pre-established interest exhibited in the British tabloid press to out footballers suspected as being gay. A prominent case occurred in 2006 when *The Daily Star* ran a story on 'gay orgies' involving high profile football players. Subsequent stories – also taken up by the *News of the World* – were clearly concerned with identifying the participants in the implicitly deviantized activity. This resulted in considerable speculation about the sexuality of the then Arsenal player Ashley Cole. Although Cole was not directly named in stories about the alleged orgy, other stories questioning his heterosexual-masculinity and supposed denial of being a homosexual – the comment, "I'm no rear gunner was attributed to him" – were taken up in blogs and web discussions to suggest that Cole was a participant in the increasingly media-magnified 'gay orgy'. Cole eventually pursued *The Daily Star* in court and an official apology was ordered. In a subsequent statement, Cole's legal representative declared, "the newspapers knew there was no basis to name Ashley but arranged the articles and pictures in such a way that readers could identify him … there is no truth whatever to these allegation. Ashley Cole will not tolerate this kind of cowardly journalism or let in go unchallenged." (http://www.pinknews.co.uk/news/articles/2005-809.html).

Whether or not Cole was specifically refuting the allegation regarding the orgy or the more general suggestion of gayness is unclear, but the more important point at this stage of discussion is the prurient wont of the tabloid media to generate homophobia by exposing possibly gay men within the assumedly heterosexual bastion of professional football. As already indicated, the reportage is particularly insidious when a story masked in support of anti-homophobia generates or refuels gay 'witch hunts' in football related discussion. A prominent example is that concerning the former England player Sol Campbell. Campbell's departure from Tottenham Hotspur to play with north London rival club Arsenal in 2001 led to considerable upset for Tottenham fans. The animosity from some Tottenham fans has carried on over the years pursuing Campbell to his more recent club Portsmouth. In a match between Tottenham and Portsmouth in 2008 a section of the Tottenham crowd directed a series of chants containing extreme homophobic abuse towards Campbell. This incident received considerable media attention and was a key point of discussion during the 'Kick it Out' anti-homophobia forum in October 2008. The media response across the board was one of support

for Campbell and of opposition to homophobic vilification (http://www.kickitout.org/698.php).

However, to state that this support was ostensible in the case of some tabloid outlets, would be making the point mildly. The case of the reportage in *The Daily Star* 1 October 2008 is a glaring case of contradictory messages. The article reported on the defence of Campbell forthcoming from the Gay Football Supporters' Network. In regard to the chants from Tottenham fans a spokesperson was quoted, "Such treatment of footballers is completely unacceptable and is one of the reasons why there are no out gay professional footballers". The reportage was ostensibly critical of the chanters referring to them as 'terrace thugs' and to the chant as a 'sick song'. However, the headlining of the article – 'Gay Footie Fans Right Behind Sol' – is more telling, and can be read in complete contradiction to an anti-homophobic message. Jokes about homosexual men approaching heterosexual men from behind are a staple of English pub and Working Men's club humour. The message of don't bend over or defend your anus is always involved in such humour. In regard to the headline in question the reading may be done in two ways. Firstly, the article goes on to suggest that Campbell is not a homosexual evidenced by the 'fact' that he is known to have had a 'string of girlfriends'. If sincerity can be read into this disclaimer the headline might be read as an indictment of the gay men who are creeping up behind Campbell. From this reading their support will do little to help him in the heterosexual world of football. Secondly – and this is my 'preferred reading' of the text – the article is intended to heighten speculation about Campbell being gay. From this reading Campbell is seen in concert with other gay men. He is one of them and so they get behind him, metaphorically and literally, as is crudely implied.

Textual analysis of the article content can also reveal double entendre. A key example is the aforementioned term 'sick song'. While the literal meaning is that the song is sadistic and therefore unacceptable, a contemporary colloquial meaning cannot be ruled out. In contemporary youth culture 'sick!' has been used as a term of exclamatory approval – a 'sick' move on a skateboard or such like. Therefore, reference to the homophobic chant at Campbell as 'sick', may actually be sub-textually read as a message of approval, a reading that would have particular appeal to young people.

Mixed messages given to young people about gay identity and related issues of homophobia in sport are not new. A particularly, interesting example occurred in Australia in the mid-1990s when the prominent rugby league player Ian Roberts came out at the height of success in his playing career. Roberts was given ostensible support by media commen-

tators and importantly so from former players who had found their way into television commentary. Prominent on this mediascape was/is the program *The Footy Show*, a chat show featuring former players discussing various issues pertaining to rugby league and these same individuals engaging in comedy routines. After coming out, Roberts appeared on the show and was given the full support of the presenters on this programme, one of whom had played in the same rugby league team as Roberts, although declaring that at that time he had no idea of Robert's sexual identity. The publicity surrounding Robert's coming out led to the administrators of the Australian Rugby League adopting an anti-homophobia policy (The governing body of the sport in the UK, the Rugby Football League effected an anti-homophobia policy in November 2008 and simultaneously became the first national level sport organisation in the UK to sign up to the Stonewall Campaign). The presenters from *The Footy Show* were fore-grounded in the campaign, their pictures appearing in posters that appeared in public, including on the side of Sydney commuter buses. However, despite giving this apparent support to a significant anti-homophobia initiative, when left to their own devices on *The Footy Show* these presenters would revert to homophobic humour, on one occasion making a jocular remark about the passing of a member of the Village People with HIV – the innuendo being that he contracted the disease that lead to his passing because of his gay lifestyle.

The point of outlining this episode is that it gives a stark example of the mixed messages about homosexuality that emerge within media contexts. In this case prominent media identities associated with the sport of rugby league (indeed, former high profile players) gave lip-service in support of a player who had come out, then were identified in support of the sport's official anti-homophobia campaign, only to then to be seen engaging in homophobic humour on subsequent television programs. It seems only reasonable to suggest that the latter homophobic conforming message undoes the former anti-homophobic message as it complies with and reaffirms the sexuality prejudices of many men. The tabloid press reportage in regard to English soccer, discussed above may be similarly regarded – even where the contradiction occurs within the one textual item. In other words, an apparent anti-homophobic message in a press report on a gay theme in relation to football will be undone by a headline that confirms existing anti-homosexual prejudices in a reader.

The quantitative dimension of media/press consumption is valuably considered at this point. Statistical indicators show that so-called 'red-top' (tabloid) newspapers in Britain have, when taken in total, the lion's share of circulation numbers. March 2009 Audit Bureau of Circulations statistics indicate the following daily circulation figures: *The Sun* (the

largest selling newspaper in Britain and one of the highest selling newspapers in the English language) 3,068,131 *The Daily Mail* 2,162,462 and *The Daily Star* (a relatively new newspaper, first published in 1978) 819,880. To go to the other end of the 'quality' scale, circulation for the UK broadsheets were given as:

> *The Times* 600,210, *The Guardian* 340,945 and *The Independent* 205,305. (http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/table/2009/apr/09/abcs-national-newspapers). Relevant figures for Sunday newspapers: Tabloids - *News of the World* (News Corporation stable-mate) 3,016,369, *The Mail on Sunday* 2,046,761; broadsheet - *The Sunday Times* 1,240,348. (http://www.guardian.co.uk/media/table/2009/apr/09/abcs-national-newspapers1).

Of course, the connection between readerships and 'reading' is a vexed question, endlessly pondered within media studies and related areas of academe. However, within the context of the present paper I merely note that the circulation of the newspapers carrying mixed messages about homophobia and football in the UK is at the high end of the sales scale.

It is interesting to reflect further upon the story of Ian Roberts. Roberts is one of few gay sportspeople to come out, especially so during their playing career:

> Hopefully he has inspired other gay competitors to come forward, debunked some of the myths and stereotypes about gay competitors and opened the eyes and minds of the public about issues of acceptance and equality (Hallinan, in Coakley et al., 2009: 399).

Robert's coming out challenges – to use Frank's (1987) term – the hegemonic heterosexual masculinity of sport. Robert's negotiation of rugby league as a cultural domain hostile to gay man was helped by a number of factors, primarily, and quite simply, his outstanding ability to play this sport, which lead to him representing Australia. Robert's also developed a reputation as a 'hard man', deliberately, he suggests in his biography, to ward off potential taunts about his sexuality. Eric Anderson's (2002) comment in a relevant academic paper can be applied to Roberts:

> … openly gay athletes, even though they may conform to all other mandates of orthodox masculinity with the exception of their sexuality, threaten the ability of sports to reproduce the hegemonic form of masculinity. Rather, gay male athletes, threaten to soften hegemonic masculinity. In doing so, they may

> help open doors to increased acceptance of subjugated masculinities, such as gay identities …

The failure of any players within the upper levels of association football in the UK to identify as gay is indicative of the rigidity of that sport's hegemonic terrain. Gay activists are all too aware of this. Prominently, Peter Tatchell of the Outrage! organization includes as a key point within his plan for ridding football of homophobia, the need for gay players to come out. However, Tatchell recognizes the difficulty involved and acknowledges that it must be done strategically:

> Kick It out and the FA could privately sound out several gay and bisexual premier league players about a collective coming out. If half a dozen top footballers came out in a joint statement, there would be safety in numbers. No individual player would be vulnerable to isolation and victimisation (http://www.fyne.co.uk/index.php?item=717).

As scholars of Gramsci know well, a dominant hegemony contains counter-hegemonic tendencies. These tendencies need to be activated in some way for the dominant power form to be shaken. In regard to the hegemonic heterosexuality of soccer, the open self-identification of well-known players as gay may well be paramount. However, for this to occur as a successful strategy – giving message to other men that it is possible for them to enjoy football as players and supporters without homophobic opposition – these players must be able to 'come out', rather than be 'outed'. Thus far, the tabloid press in Britain has functioned to vulgarly reinforce heterosexual normalness – and to deviantize homosexuality – in the culture of football. While the extent to which 'preferred messages' are taken onboard by readers will remain a matter of debate within media scholarship, there can be little doubt that the eradication of homophobia from the most popular and high profile sport in Britain will be thwarted as long as homophobic messages are rife in the overarching hegemonic institution that is the mass media.

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Chapter 12
Analysing Discursive Constructions of 'Metrosexual' Masculinity Online: 'What does it matter, anyway?'

Matthew Hall
Nottingham Trent University, England

> Gastrosexual: "A male, aged 25–44, upwardly-mobile and aware of and passionate about global cuisine, and he cooks to impress and seduce" (PurAsia, 2008: 3).
>
> Martha Studly: "The guy who has a set of variously sized throw pillows that not only match each other, complement the living room upholstery and decor concept" (AskMen.com, 2008: 3).
>
> SNAG (Sensitive New Age Guy): "A guy that women like to talk to like one of their own, and find attractive because they can. Refers … to sensitivity" (AskMen.com, 2008: 3)
>
> Metrosexual: "A young man with money to spend, living in or within easy reach of a metropolis – because that's where all the best shops, clubs, gyms and hairdressers are" (Simpson, 2002: 2)

The common theme across these contemporary categories is men's embodiment of feminised attributes (e.g. communicativeness) and/or their participation in historically feminised practices (e.g. food preparation). Many of these changes have been spurred on by media/advertising representations of men, which have contributed to the increasing visibility of men's bodies (Gill *et al.*, 2005). Where once female bodies dominated style magazines, newspapers, television and billboards, men's bodies are now just as likely to feature. The increasing exposure of men's bodies have lead some men at least, to 're-evaluate their appearance, re-position themselves as consumers of fashion and style products, and ultimately re-construct their idea of what it is to be male' (Harrison, 2008: 56). It is clear from her work and others (De Visser, 2008; Hill, 2006; Hunter, 1993) that some men are now engaging with these identities (e.g. 'metrosexual') and practices (e.g. applying make-up).

Such forays into hitherto feminine identity territory are producing interesting places of slippage where traditional standards and notions of gender binaries are potentially undermined and contested (Whitehead and Barrett, 2001). In spite these developments, there has been little direct engagement with how men orientate to and negotiate emergent category membership in the company of other men (or women). This paper then, reports on the deployment of metrosexuality, with a focus on the links made between metrosexuality and other masculinities. The analysis highlights the masculinised parameters through which metrosexuality is taken up. The continued fascination with hegemonic forms of masculinity in this context is discussed (Connell, 1995).

Methods and procedures

Membership Categorisation Analysis (MCA) (Sacks, 1992)[7] is a useful method for examining the deployment of categories and the practices that get them produced in specific contexts. Specifically, MCA provides the tools for understanding how common-sense facts about gender-appropriate behaviour come into play and appear as normative. Two common discursive resources often used in talk are: invoking contrasting categories (e.g. wo/men; heterosexual/homosexual), and drawing on relevant category-predicates. For example, in Western cultures, women are presumed to be more concerned than men with self-adornment practices - fashion, grooming and cosmetic use (Gill *et al.* 2005). Category-appropriate activities mean, that if a member of a different category is linked to non-normative predicates, a disjuncture occurs. Such transgressive practices become morally accountable. According to Speer (2005: 119), although category boundaries appear fixed, 'the corresponding flexibility of categories means that 'category labels and their associated predicates and activities can be "revolutionized". The inherent flexibility and stickiness of categories will inform the analysis of 'metrosexuality'.

An obvious place to access suitable data featuring self-ascribing metrosexuals is through the Internet, since it is routinely associated with freedom of expression. New forms of male identity such as the 'metrosexual', arguably ridiculed and marginalised in society, are more easily claimed online in and age of almost universal access to cyberspace (Kollock, 1999). Discussion forum data where the category 'metrosexual' was explicitly taken up was identified from a comprehensive search and cataloguing of English speaking Internet forums. The 'metrosexual' data was considered for its length, depth and clarity. In particular, members'

7 Sacks developed MCA in a series of lectures from 1963-4, which found there way into print in 1972 and 1992.

contributions from the MacRumours forum thread 'Metrosexuals?' stood out for its sustained attention to the matter at hand, richness in detail and diversity of members' perspectives, and so this dataset was focused on.

Analysis

Forum discussion posts largely defined metrosexuality in terms of men who are consumers of fashion and beauty products. In light of their presumed 'gender-inappropriate' behaviours, they provided accounts of their transgressions. The problems they encountered were predominantly in terms of marginalisation (e.g. intimations of effeminacy, homosexuality). In presenting their metrosexualsity therefore, contributors appeared to deploy idealised forms of masculinity (Connell, 1995). With this in mind the following extracts explore the various discursive tools metrosexuals use in order to justify their 'gender-inappropriate' activities:

Extract 1: *sjpetry* 11-26-2005, 01:58 am

1. How about any closet metros?

Simplistic 11-26-2005, 02:02 am

2. I used to be in the closet about it. It was so annoying. Whenever I'd do
3. something dainty I'd get weird looks from my parents. Eventually they
4. stopped caring and I was tweasing my eyebrows without a care in the
5. world! I like the attention I get from being the way I am. Like, I have this
6. attitude that is like, "Hey, ladies. I look good and I don't even know it... or
7. do I?" So the girls think, "Hmm, that guy looks good, but he doesn't look
8. too full of himself. Let me go talk to him." It's good.

Sjpetry's 'How about any closet metros?' (1) invokes the classic image of gay men, thereby positioning metrosexuality with homosexuality. Simplistic's response (2-8) can be understood in terms of 'category, predicate and task' (Hester and Elgin, 1997). His unconventional predicates 'something dainty' and 'tweasing my eyebrows' serve two functions. The first can be seen in his response 'eventually they stopped caring and I was

tweasing my eyebrows without a care in the world!'(3-5), which allow him to orientate his activities as courageous, autonomous and individual. This positions him as a 'gender-rebel' in more 'hegemonic masculine' terms (Wetherell and Edley 1999: 349–350). The second piece of discursive work repositions metrosexual beautification activities as being for heterosexual prowess 'I like the attention I get from being the way I am' (5) 'So the girls think, "Hmm, that guy looks good, but he doesn't look too full of himself. Let me go talk to him." It's good.' (7-8). Both discursive strategies provide accountability for disjunctive category behaviour and manoeuvre metrosexuality away from accusations of effeminacy and homosexuality (Edwards, 2003). In other words, they serve to re-masculinise metrosexuality.

Extract 2: *clayj* 11-26-2005, 09:43 am

1. - You wash with anything beyond bar soap and shampoo in the shower.
2. - You get a manicure and/or a pedicure more than once a decade.
3. - You've EVER been called "pretty boy".
4. - You apply any sort of skin conditioning lotion on a semi-regular basis.
5. - You spend more than 10 minutes a day grooming.
6. - You pay more than $30 for a haircut.
7. - You have hair coloring applied. (Exception: Eliminating grey doesn't
8. make you metrosexual, it just makes you insecure about getting old.
9. - Adding "accents" to your hair DEFINITELY makes you metrosexual.)
10. - You wear ornately decorated shirts. (Usually these are button-down
11. shirts with excessively-complicated designs and/or paisley.)
12. - If a woman calls you a metrosexual, you are.

Drawing upon Jefferson's (1991: 68) work allows us to see how lists are used as 'orientated-to-procedures'. Lists encourage recipients to imagine the items on this list as normal (e.g. heterosexual male). They provide a means for people to discursively position themselves in relation to a list, such that they can either ascribe to or disavow membership. The discursive work of Clayj's serves as a reference point at which metrosexuality

can be attained. The extensive nine-part list (1-12) also contrasts the activities in relation to men who are unconcerned with self-presentation. Thereby allowing it to be read as - a disinterest in self-presentation is equal to low self-respect. This discursive strategy serves to ward of accusations of moral accountability associated with disjunctive category practices. Like Simplistic in extract 1, Clayj links metrosexual activities to heterosexual masculinity 'If a woman calls you a metrosexual' (12).

Extract 3: *Daveway* 11-26-2005, 12:28 pm

1. I would be lying to myself if I didn't raise my hand to this. I think my cousin
2. got me caught into the whole metro thing. I remember seeing a story on 60
3. minutes about it. Anyways I admit to the hair, expensive clthing, tweasers,
4. shaving, more than one kind of soap, and various face washes. Ican't stand
5. to wear last years clothing, loose clothing, and t-shirts w/ basball cap worn
6. everywhere is NOT my style. I go for distressed jeans, buttondown shirt,
7. and jacket. Why is it bad to care how you look?

Daveway presents metrosexuality as a fad: 'my cousin got me caught into the whole metro thing' (1-2). As we have seen, the risk involved in ascribing to metrosexuality is being held morally accountable for ones gender transgressions. Daveway deals with this by using two distancing strategies. He first attributes responsibility to his cousin (1-2) and then points the finger of accountability at the media: 'I remember seeing a story on 60 minutes about it' (2-3). This second discursive activity also acts as a normalising feature by suggesting that metrosexuality is a common male identity. Like Clayj in extract 2, Daveway's listing of category-bounded activities (3-4; 6-7) does the work of contrasting metrosexual self-presentation in relation to conventional outmoded masculinity 'wear(ing) last years clothing, loose clothing, and t-shirts w/ baseball cap worn everywhere' (5-6).

Concluding remarks

There is clearly a lot at stake for self-ascribing metrosexuals, as is the case for anybody identifying with category-predicates unassimilated with common-sense gender-appropriate practices (Edwards, 2003). Metrosexual ascription walks a fine line between wanting to consume contemporary beautification products for men and being held accountable for rejecting a more conventional masculine identity. In order to manoeuvre metrosexuality between the two gender-distinct poles (wo/men), the most commonly deployed discursive strategy was 'category, predicate(s) and task' (Hester and Elgin, 1997). It was evident that the contributors relied on their common-sense knowledge of masculinity. Their gender transgressions were justified in more conventional masculine terms, with specific reference to self-respect, autonomy, individualism, rebellion and heterosexuality (see Gill *et al.*, 2005; Wetherell and Edley, 1999, for further interview-based accounts). Drawing on these attributes to reposition metrosexuality in line with more conventional heterosexuality suggests that masculinity is simply being repackaged for a new millennium to encompass contemporary consumption and lifestyle patterns.

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Chapter 13
Dismantling *Serious* in Neil Jordan's *Breakfast on Pluto*

Tiina Mäntymäki
University of Vaasa, Finland

Introduction

Neil Jordan's *Breakfast on Pluto* (released in 2005, based on Patrick McCabe's novel by the same title) is a road movie featuring a young gender blender, Patrick "Kitten" Braden (played by Cillian Murphy), in search of his lost mother from a small Irish village to London during the politically heated 1970's.[8] The film, a story of the development of the young gender blender in the swinging 1970's, is simultaneously a narrative of resistance against the regulatory regime of heterosexuality. The protagonist's unconventional way of doing gender is in the film presented as a vehicle of radical calling into question of patriarchal power and male violence.

In this paper my purpose is to examine, leaning on Michel Foucault's (1990) idea of power as always productive of places of resistance, how language in *Breakfast on Pluto* acts as an instrument of power while simultaneously providing for places of redefinition. I focus on one word only – the word *serious* – which is repeated in the film on different occasions, always in one way or another signifying hegemonic masculinity, homosociality and institutionalised violence. *Serious*, in other words, becomes by definition a male concept, the meaning of which is imposed on the gender blending protagonist. However, his fundamental disrespect of the norm of heterosexuality and his constantly transforming, "queer" performance of gender is in the film endowed with the capacity to disintegrate the power relations contained in the definition of the word.

8 In this text I call the protagonist Kitten and refer to him with the pronoun "he", although the use of the hybrid form s/he would perhaps be more appropriate. Providing the name Kitten with quotation marks all through would also be arguable to indicate, following Judith Butler (1990), the constructed nature of the gender identity of the character. However, because of reasons of readability, I leave them out after the first mention of the name.

By "queer", I refer to ways of doing gender that represent, in the words of Donald E. Hall, "a particular threat to systems of classification that assert timelessness for fixity" (2003: 14). These expressions embody the capacity of – if not dismantling these systems – at least of levelling criticism on them, thereby "torturing their lines of demarcation, [and] pressuring their easy designations" (Hall, 2003: 14). So, the unconventional reiteration of gender, carried out by Kitten, creates a place from which the justification and the contents of patriarchal power can be questioned. Kitten's queer performance trades on the blurring of the boundary between the expressions of maleness and femaleness in areas like behaviour, movements, facial expressions, voice, dressing and language use. In this study, language serves as a gateway to the understanding of the subversive power incorporated in the interplay of these intertwined expressions. Due to the scope of the paper, I concentrate on only one example in which Kitten suggests a redefinition of *serious* by questioning the central signifier of a group of paramilitaries, their black sunglasses.

Pink sunglasses

The 1970's in Ireland was a decade of violence, of shootings and bomb attacks. Violence did not occur only between military groupings, but was spread through the activity of paramilitary organisations as well as of common people to whole society. Violence is a naturalised constituent of masculinity, and the connection between violence and maleness is constantly made explicit in *Breakfast on Pluto*. The Irish troubles become manifest through violent acts which touch upon the protagonist personally. His childhood friend, Dalek, is blown into pieces by an IRA car bomb; another friend, Irwin, is murdered by his fellow Republican sympathisers. Violence has also a homophobic undertone: Kitten himself is nearly strangled by a gay-hater, and later he is accused of a bomb attack in a disco when the discrepancy between his body morphology and his female appearance is discovered. When he is arrested, he is brutally beaten up by the police. Through violence, the male characters re-establish their hegemony and assert their power (Connell, 1995: 83).

Serious is clearly connected with masculinity and violence when Kitten's childhood friend Irwin, after having joined a Republican paramilitary group, marches in the street with his face like stone together with his companions in a military formation. The group displays some obvious characteristics of hard masculinity: besides their disciplined, military-like manner of marching, they also follow a dress code that communicates of their belonging to a unified group. In addition to the grey uniforms and black berets, they wear black, easy-rider type sunglasses. An iconic

feature of tough masculinity, the black opaque easy-rider sunglasses, becomes Kitten's target. Wearing black, feminine sunglasses, he joins the procession and asks Irwin if he – in case he joined the group – were allowed to wear *pink* sunglasses. When uttered by Kitten, the question highlights the stereotypical imagery associated with soft femininity, the colour pink and moreover, pink sunglasses. By combining the feminine imagery with one of the most prototypical signifiers of hard masculinity and male aggression, the easy-rider sunglasses, and by depriving this symbol of its power by turning it into a parody, Kitten makes use of his place of speaking as a subject in-between, and turns it into a site of contestation of the male discourse of hardness.

Irwin refutes Kitten's question and replies with a counter question, "Don't you ever take anything *seriously*?", which attaches him to the discourse of hegemonic masculinity represented by the paramilitary group, and the violence that becomes institutionalized as part of the way of action of the group. Connell calls hegemonic masculinity the variety of masculinity that "occupies the hegemonic position in a given culture of gender relations" (Connell, 2001: 38). Hegemonic masculinity is thus the kind of masculinity that corresponds accurately to the definitions of masculinity central for the preservation of the patriarchal order (Connell, 1995: 77). Like gender in general, so is hegemonic masculinity not a monolith but a social construction, and as such subject to both corroboration and the effects of corrosive social forces. Through his reciting of *serious,* Irwin not only attaches himself to the Republican group and defines himself in terms of their values, but does even more: first, he consolidates the speech about the group and second, by doing this, he constructs Kitten as an outsider, as someone who shares neither the ideology of the reciter nor the power he gains through his belonging to the hegemonic male communion

Language plays an essential role in structuring our thoughts, social images, what we intend to express and what we articulate unintentionally. Moreover, as pointed out by Donald E. Hall, language also "provides the base matter of our identities, and the parameters and limitations of our ability to know and act" (Hall, 2003: 2). In this role, as the most central element in the construction of social reality, language has become the object of intense theorisation within gender studies during the past decades. Perhaps the most well known and most widely debated theory is Judith Butler's well known performative approach to language and culture, which is based on J. L. Austin's theory of speech acts, and specifically Austin's (1975: 6) argument that the issuing of the performative utterance is identical to performing the action. Like Austin, also Butler claims, that the kind of authoritative speech that performatives

represent, do, in the uttering, simultaneously "perform a certain action and exercise a binding power" (1993: 225).

So, when Irwin, who associates himself with hegemonic masculinity, defines his gender blending friend Kitten as a person who does not take anything seriously, he not only enunciates a mere neutral statement but a performative invested with the power granted him by the hegemonic status and the ideology which he represents. In so doing he changes the state of affairs and "brings about a new social state" (Kulick, 2003: 139). This is an example of how an utterance, a word or a name can, when enunciated by a person with the required authority wield great power (Wilchins, 2004: 2). In this case, the authority does not originate from Irwin himself but from the hegemonic position granted him by his membership in the paramilitary group.

In *Excitable Speech*, Judith Butler (1997: 107) writes about the performative power of the utterance 'I am a homosexual' in the context of the US military first, to constitute the speaker as a homosexual and moreover, to constitute the speech as homosexual conduct. In a corresponding manner the utterance "Don't you ever take anything *seriously*?" cannot be regarded as just a simple question that projects towards a truthful answer. Like the utterance 'I am a homosexual', it performs what it describes, i.e. constitutes the speech act as masculine behaviour as defined in the film, and, in addition to that, defines Kitten as not belonging to the category of "those who take things *seriously*".

Similarly, Kitten's reaction to Irwin's critique, "Oh, *serious*, *serious*, *serious*, *serious*", cannot only be considered empty repetition, a contentless echoing of Irwin's question, but an elaboration of the different meanings of the word *seriously* by a queer subject. Kitten's utterance is an example of queered speech, i.e. speech returned to the original reciter in a changed form, re-uttered against the intended meaning and original purpose (Butler, 1997: 14). In this way Kitten – whose expression of gender remains unintelligible to a high degree because of the impossibility of pinning it down and naming it – by dismantling the singular meaning given to *seriousness*, a meaning associated with hard, hegemonic masculinity, further calls into question this male culture of violence. Kitten's power lies in the indescribability of his doing gender, a questioning of masculinity from his place of unnameability. So, if gender itself is treated as language (cf. Wilchins, 2004: 35), a system of meanings and symbols governed by rules and regulations, Kitten represents polyphony or an infinite deferral of the sign.

Irwin's interpretation of Kitten's elaborative reply is an effort to restore the singular meaning of *serious*. His answer, "You will have to, soon enough", can be regarded as, what Judith Butler (1997) calls "hate

speech", the purpose of which is to harm by producing subordination through language use and by reproducing and consolidating that subordination. The utterance refers directly to aggression; it makes quite explicit the threat of violence against those who remain outside the hegemonic ideology. However, Irwin's utterance has already, at the moment of recitation, failed to accomplish what it was meant to do. Kitten exploits the vulnerability of the hateful speech act "to counter the threat" (Butler, 1997: 12): his deconstructive reply has already deprived the threat of its illocutionary power and rendered it a mere statement, an item of ritualistic repetition with no power to harm. *Serious*, thus, remains a word signifying the fragmentation attached to it by Kitten, with the consequence, that as the antecedent of Irwin's utterance, it simultaneously dismantles what is signifies.

Consequently

Although "queer" is generally regarded primarily as a theory of sexuality, it is also a useful tool when making sense of all kinds of expressions of gender difference, of transgressions of boundaries and resistance. Eve Sedgwick's felicitous description of the nature of queer as a "continuing moment, movement, motive – recurrent, eddying, *troublant*" (quoted in Hall, 2003: 12) expresses what is most fascinating about queer, its disrespect of essence, stability and even of its resistance to definition.

In this paper, I have showed how a whole ideology can be incorporated in one single word, *serious*, and how this ideology is queered by the protagonist, Patrick "Kitten" Braden, through unconventional expressions of gender. I have showed how language, in this sense, functions as a vehicle of power simultaneously providing for places of resistance for the queer subject. Some critics (Lee, 2005; Bradshaw, 2006; Soikkeli, 2006) have regarded *Breakfast on Pluto* as a reactionary film, in which the representation of transsexuality repreats the familiar popular imagery relying on well known cultural stereotypes (see Dyer, 2002: 19; Medhurst, 2002: 314–315). Contrary to them, I find the film a fundamentally queer text with interpretative potential for the problematization of how non-normative expressions of gender are constructed, and perhaps even more interestingly, how these expressions, through different subversive acts can provide for outlets for resistance within the oppressive discourse of hegemonic masculinity so visible in the film. Donald E. Hall (2003: 116) defines queer texts as texts that analyse the oppressive nature of what in society is considered "normal" regarding gender, sexuality and desire. Accordingly, queer texts and their readings are characterized by crossings of boundaries, shattering of categories and constitution of new meanings.

Breakfast on Pluto, although accused of a lack of radical redefining potential as regards representations of alternative ways of doing gender, is part of the policy of reiterating gender differently, with the help of which space is created for new ways of being a human being. Through the story of Kitten, the film invites for new and less hostile or prejudiced attitudes towards people who in their lives cross boundaries, question hierarchies and dismantle power structures. Every sympathetic and constructive representation of difference will eventually, hopefully, lead to less violence and more tolerant attitudes towards our fellow-human beings.

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Chapter 14
Representing Men in their Creative International Careers: What do you need to give up?

Katarzyna Kosmala
University of West of Scotland, Scotland

What dreams we have and how they fly
Like rosy clouds across the sky;
Of wealth, of fame, of sure success,
Of love that comes to cheer and bless;
And how they whither, how they fade,
The waning wealth, the jilting jade –
The fame that for a moment gleams,
Then flies forever, – dreams, ah – dreams!

(From Dreams Paul Laurence Dunbar)

Introduction: Hegemony of men in the international careers

Dominant masculinities have now been globalised and continue to be shaped by global forces (Hearn *et al.*, 2006), travelling and spreading across different localities. This paper is intended to contribute to the body of knowledge that focuses on the problematic of deconstruction of hegemony of men and masculinities (e.g. Howson, 2005; Hearn, 2004; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). More specifically, this paper focuses on the visual explorations of men and masculinities in the international professional realms; illustrated here in international creative careers.

Connell (2005, 1998) characterized global masculinity in the business realms and in particular in the metropolitan contexts. The objective here is to facilitate engagement with discursive gender power relations in the context of internationalisation of work and in that way to contribute to the critical debate addressing the notion of hegemony in the relation to men and masculinities. In this paper, identity related categories of men and masculinities in the sphere of work are situated in professional cre-

ative careers, in academia and in the arts, and not in the business realms. Gender is envisaged here as a dimension of personal accounts of identity.

The images and visual accounts have the power that is both critical and seductive. Deconstruction of hegemony in reference to masculinities, I argue, can be captured via representation at the intersection between contrasting accounts of experiences of men. In recognising masculinities in the context of international careers, I acknowledge that institutionalised world and dominant ideologies (and associated value systems that stem from them) that emerge out of political, social and cultural arenas, 'dictate' and reproduce power relations via projected orders. In addition, the focus on the new media art in this paper acknowledges the role of technology in challenging and problematising the hegemonic domain of masculine order.

It could be argued that dominant views and structures, including the structures that reflect dominant masculinities, are perpetuated and contested today particularly through the persuasion of visual culture and media accounts that are mirrored and mirror everyday practice. In other words, the hegemony of men and masculinities reflect the power of seeing that perpetuates the *status quo* of gendered order via image production.

The concept of hegemony tied to masculinities and men was employed in prior studies that focused on media representations of men more generally and its politics (Hearn, 2004a) or more specifically, for instance in a relation to sport and violence (Jansen and Sabo, 1994; Messner and Sabo, 1990) or masochism in the film (Edwards, 2008). Visual culture and media process the hegemonic acceptance of the social category of men, dictating which men's practices are most powerfully visible and tied to a success. Cultural and visual studies promote deconstructive approaches to men and masculinities (e.g. Oleksy and Rydzewska, 2004; Adams and Savran, 2000; Goldstein, 1994; Craig, 1992), revealing more ambiguous aspects and more paradoxical nature of various masculine forms.

Turning to the method: Visual turn

In this paper feminist discourse is envisaged as a theoretical context sustaining a political intervention in culture and society; a discourse that addresses and critiques the production of gendered identities, provides opportunities of resistance to normative roles and is concerned with articulating the dynamics of gender hierarchies where women, of whatever sexual or political orientation, are registered as the subordinate group. Feminist praxis, the art production itself, provides here politically charged platform for investigation, and thus, becomes relevant in terms

of either the *presence* or *absence* of feminist politics in a given socio-cultural realms of dominant masculinities.

The intention is to contribute to Hearn's (1998) notion of an absent presence in relation to masculinities. The examples of masculinities in the context of international creative career that are performed and enacted will be juxtaposed with the examples of 'out-performed' masculinities that are vulnerable, also linked to disability and aging. Purposeful 'interjection' of the selected images and in particular tensions that can emerge by contrasting these images contribute to problematisation of the notion of hegemony of men and masculinities.

In media accounts, men and women are represented in a way that may suggest multiple (trans)patriarchies. Hearn (2006) pointed out that men predominantly act as producers and users of new media, in reference to virtuality. Similarly, in the new media art, visual representation becomes a site of contestation of hegemony in relation to men and masculinities, including inclusion and exclusion processes. An examination is enveloped in a feminist consciousness and more specifically feminist consciousness that turns to new media (Mulvey, 1992).

Visual accounts of men in international creative careers: *Vacuum* and *Java* projects in the wider context

The visual accounts of professional men are situated here in the realms of their international creative careers. The selected works focus on the accounts of the exemplars of masculinities that are tied to success in the professional creative realms. The hegemony itself works in part through the production of the exemplars of masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) and the symbolic masculinities tied to a success. In my earlier work, I have discussed discourse of the 'ideal' managerial masculinities in the context of late capitalism (Kosmala, 2008; 2007). Multiple masculinities constructs including authoritarianism, entrepreneurialism and careerism (McDowell, 2001; Collinson and Hearn, 1996; 1994), all seem to validate what can be envisaged as proper ways of working in such realms. For instance, in Alicja Żebrowska's video *Monitoring*, the anesthetisation of the body in the corporate realms is deconstructed through the representations of a man in a suit who is playing with his tie (Kosmala, 2006). The manager, the boss appears clean, shaved and yet, hidden in his suit:

'The boss' tie becomes a phallic mark that symbolises capitalism, with little practical value as the boss is playing with it... Being suited, shaved and clean represents a political desire for the abstract ideal of masculine norm. The manager cannot escape from the aesthetics of his managed

body. He sees himself in a mirror and sees himself as manager; this is how the conformity and obedience is achieved, through looking in a reflection of one's professional appearance. The manager is imprisoned within organisational aesthetics. This is a role of dressage as means discipline and taming. The boss becomes inscribed within a discourse of self-control, which can be symbolised aesthetically through his managed body' (Kosmala, 2006).

Dominant masculinities in a domain of the professional world as represented above form corporate symbols of performance and productivity (Gherardi, 1996) tied to the successful men. These accounts represent a construction of highly over-determined and sanctioned socially male role in the corporate world, and subsequently, a mainstream masculinity in the West. Similar representation of the executives were produced by Michael Clegg and Martin Guttmann's collaboration-based group portraiture of the patriarchy such as for instance, *The Financiers* (1987) reminiscent of 17th century Dutch tradition. Yet, dominant managerial masculinities in the mainstream are also present in creative careers pursued outside corporate contexts; in the realms of creative practice. Hanna Nowicka's installation *Java* is based on the project *Journeys into the withering past* (2007). At the group exhibition *Artists in Wonderland* (2007) in Park Krajobrazowo-Pomorski in Gdynia, Poland, in the labyrinth of the corridors and partition walls, Nowicka's *Java* narrated a fading dream of the success of two men in the context of their international creative career.

There is a growing body of field studies on masculinities that draws on ethnographic realism, emphasizing the plural nature of masculinities and the complexities of gender constructions, and revealing struggle for dominance that is implicit in the Gramscian concept of hegemony (see Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 832). Nowicka's approaches to visual representation are also enveloped in ethnographic realism.

Nowicka's installation *Java* represents the insights-accounts of identity constructions of successful men of the 20th century: Alfons Karny, an artist and Bronisław Malinowski, an academic. Yet, enacted masculinities of their entrepreneurial and creative drive, authoritarianism and determination are gradually stripped out of their surface layers, stripped purposefully to reveal more contradictory forms of masculinity tied to the success. Three light boxes in the installation *Java* depicted the fragments of texts, the narrative extracts taken from *Diaries* of Polish anthropologist Bronisław Malinowski, than an avant-garde writer, based on his pioneering field study of Melanesia. Like Malinowski who emphasized the importance of a detail in participant observation of the local context in his anthropology, Nowicka observes the man in his anthropological

professional world in a similar manner. Great and groundbreaking observations are interwoven with the accounts of Malinowski's negativity, violent fantasies and sexually charged reflections targeted at the local women. Nowicka comments on the problem of a geographical isolation and distancing from significant relationships that translate into a price of the success; for Malinowki such a 'masochistic' isolation is fuelled by his creative drive and his determination to succeed in his creative pursuit.

Nowicka also carefully oscillates on the edge of Malinowski's autobiographical subjectivity and her own. The installation *Java* also included three landscape photographs, purposefully overexposed in order to detail the fading landscapes of the island, its wilt-green rice fields, the mirage –like sculptures at the local craftsman workshop. These photographs represent the fragments of memory traces, images acquired in distant locations while travelling in the world of international work. Nowicka comments that such memories of the short lived yet exciting journeys that make up the professional international career in the global realms, inevitably wither into the past. These are not lasting memories, more like memories of passing places, not really participatory but surfaced, observed from distance despite their proximity, not engaging. The artist also comments on a sense of estrangement created by a dislocation for work and a sense of self-selected disconnectedness.

All objects in the installation were sealed in a 10 minutes-long silent video entitled *Anthropology of the Arts*. In this, the viewer was confronted with the close-ups of the monumental torsos. These sculpted torsos were made by the Polish sculptor, Alfons Karny, representing his *Opus vitae*, as Socrealist reinterpretation of classical tradition of the great heroes, the endless busts of Polish political male heroes and artists: Józef Piłsudski, Juliusz Słowacki, Kazimierz Pułaski, Ignacy Paderewski, as well as international male figures such as Albert Einstein or Ernest Hemingway. All, the exemplars of ideal masculinities and the great men heroes, were filmed in the darkness of the sculptor's home, now the museum in Bałystok. All the sculptures represent formalized, sterilized masculinity; great male heroes that can only live in the museum, despite their achievements, remain invisible. Yet, the way Nowicka filmed these sculptures, in the darkened light, including a slow-motion, the close-ups of fragments of their bodies transformed their rigid formal postures into more sensual embodied represen-tations of great heroic men, transgressing masks of their enacted postures and gestures.

The narratives taken from Malinowski's *Diary in the Strict Sense of the Term* that were also in the exhibition, offered more personal accounts of working life where professional experiences are interwoven with a more personal struggles and limitations in the presentation of identity

in the everyday. Nowicka depicts the subject through his autobiography and memories, exposing different dimensions of identity; dimensions that are both selected and imposed through a dialectic between the autobiographical text and its representation – in the case of Malinowski or through a dialectic between the images of the home-museum and the representation of his works created – in the case of Karny. Nowicka mediates visually external discourses of masculinities of two men in the context of creative international careers, their total devotion and self-discipline to create is revealed. The academic profession is represented through Malinowki's anthropology and the genre of his autobiography. The artistic practice is represented through Karny's version of socialist art history and his collection of socrealist heroes. In *Java*, Nowicka both reveals and visually deconstructs the 'great men'. The great achievements of these two men seem to wither into the past, become history itself, and disappear into the intangible. Nowicka's comments here on a temporarily of the success of creatively enacted masculinity, revealing both its transience and impermanence.

The accounts of a successful career pursuit in the international realms represented in *Java* can be juxtaposed with the accounts of disempowerment in another project by Nowicka, *Vaccum*. One of underexplored areas of masculinities is that of disable and/or aging or dying body. In Nowicka's installation *Vaccum*, the process of losing the bodily control is represented in the context of illness. The process of losing the bodily control reflects the loss of power associated with changing relation to work, the success and the occupational role itself. In the video installation *Vacuum*, gallery space has been transformed into a hospital ward, the walls were covered with the pink salmon paneling, the sculptures made of the rubber trimmings, evoking impaired bodily parts and their fragments marked to be excluded or altered were hanged on the gallery walls alongside two photographs, representing the partially working oxygen supply and the vacuum regulator. The gallery was transformed into a hospital ward the viewer refuses to be taken to; a viewer does not want to be in. Also, absence of matter, the 'vacuum' itself is 'stuck' in between the gallery walls, represented by a gigantic sculpture; emptiness in a form of a gigantic corpse barricaded the passage between the two walls, the sculpture that resembled a skin-dressed balloon of nothingness blocked a way through.

The viewer was invited into a bleak institutionalized space. In such space, the video was projected on the gallery walls; in a darken room viewer could see through the eyes of the patient. What has happened to a successful masculinity discussed in *Java*? It seems outperformed, entering another domain, from enacted managerial masculinity of success to a

domain of vulnerability. In the video, the ceiling details, its otherworldly greens and yellows were contrasted with functionalism of the place, the side panels' austere decor of the hospital wards all intertwined with the images of the sky were projected onto the gallery walls.

The viewer witnesses somebody being pushed on the trolley through endless corridors and rooms. There are the flashbacks of the crowns of the trees. The immobility of the patient is accentuated with the sound of the trolley's wheels and interwoven with the wind-scapes trapped in the trees' branches. Motionless, somebody lives through a vivid visual memory. The video *Vacuum,* 7 minutes-long projection keep circulating. What is about to happen next? In an immense silence the viewer can enmesh in a space of empty matter, be intimate with an isolation of the patient where dominate masculinities and the notion of a success cease to exist.

The vividness of visual memory of the anonymous patient in the video *Vacuum* is recorded with sensitivity similar to adopted in Julian Schnabel's featured film *The Diving Bell and the Butterfly* (2007) based on the true story of *Elle's* artistic director and Editor Jean-Dominique Bauby. A successful professional man pursuing his fast-track international career suffers a stroke, left with a paralyzed body in the age of 42. All his senses are lived through his eyesight, his insights and visual memories. Nowicka's installation and Schnabel's film, through their painterly narrations open up the aspects of their patients' inner worlds, representing embodied masculinities that are also creative in their most vulnerable states.

The aesthetics of hospitals' reality differs in their films; the bleakness of the post-Soviet ward in Nowicka's work is at odds with the spaces of French private clinique in Berck-sur-Mer. For these two professional creative men life has taken another form, enacted masculinities of a success, creative drive and individualism were transformed into fragility, dependency and even despair. The masculinities represented in the *Vacuum* are distant from a notion of a success and a successful flashy career, and therefore for some may appear not masculine enough. The visual accounts render the absent masculinities and their bodies somewhat present. These visual accounts of men at different stages of their international careers represented in Nowicka's projects, both at their peaks and lows, attend to fragility of the success, simultaneously reflecting upon the power and disempowerment of men who need to perform to be masculine enough in the professional realms.

Discussion and conclusions

Nowicka's projects attend to the possibility of deconstructing the notion of masculine hegemony, and more specifically, the insights that emerge contribute to unpacking of contested dimensions of the construct itself. The projects discussed here and the visual accounts presented in the paper comment on the processes of inclusion and exclusion of men in the context of a successful international career. The examples of visual accounts represent different forms of disconnection/exclusion that can occur through a geographical distancing, an immersion in the pursuit of a chosen career itself and disability. These accounts also reflect various contradictions in the hegemonic categorization of men. The paper depicts visibility of dominant masculinities that are intimately tied to invisibility.

The visual accounts discussed here also point at the relational links between hegemony of men and representation of their bodies. Such accounts contribute to the opening up the notion of hegemony that include some men and exclude others as active agents situated in the power dynamics of their working life. The social hierarchies as well as the values attached to the notion of a success in the context of international careers reflect and enforce the existing power orders and dominant masculinities that reflect them. The insights that emerge in the paper in relation to the processes of marginalization by both (self)-exclusion and inclusion of certain men in the context of international careers contribute to reconceptualization of the notion of hegemony tied to dominant masculinities. It could be argued that distancing processes can reinforce the hegemony of men. Dominant masculinities are diminished alongside a loss of control and a decline of authority. The distancing by a geographical dislocation, distancing by an immersion in the pursuit of creative drive that can be obsessive at times and distancing by disability, all represent the examples of an absent presence of dominant masculinities and men. I conclude that the absence presence that Hearn (1998) discussed, as different forms of marginalization, including exclusion, dislocation or disembodiment of men can be realized on both voluntarily (self-infused) and involuntarily basis (imposed) in the realms of international career and its success narratives.

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Chapter 15
Transforming Masculinity: The Case of Modern Physics

Elvira Scheich
Technical University of Berlin, Germany

Introduction

The analytical perspective provided by critical men's and masculinity studies facilitates understanding physics as a deeply gendered discipline. My aim in this talk is to highlight how physics is embedded in specific historical forms of hegemonic masculinity and contributes to highly dynamical structures of social and political power. Moreover, my approach builds on gender studies and critical theory. The focus is on developments after the Second World War. It was then that physics underwent a transition from war to peace, from nationalism to an international community, from a collaboration with the military to becoming a key component of democratic visions. The shift is made clear by foregrounding a new concept of masculinity: a boyish, playful and even insubordinate habitus which replaces the stern and severe scholarly habitus of the past. Simultaneously the transformation in the leading ideal of being a physicist overlaps with a social re-masculinzation of science.

Historical viewpoints

My analysis reads the representation of science at the photographic exhibition "The Family of Man" from 1955 against its historical-political background. The exhibition was curated by Edward Steichen and was first shown in 1955 at the Museum of Modern Art in New York (MoMA). It consisted of 503 photographs from 68 countries. The exhibition later travelled to 38 countries and more than 9 million visitors saw it. More than 4 million copies of the exhibition catalogue were sold.

Steichen's project aimed to demonstrate the universality of human experience ranging from birth, love, and joy to war, privation, illness and death. A cluster of pictures was devoted to learning, knowledge and science. The pictures display a scientific masculinity that is carefully crafted in order to handle profound contradictions: the threat of the nuclear bomb and the quest for "Atoms for Peace", the reconstruction of the scientific community after forced emigration, the need to channel

the competition between individuals and "schools" into a professional network, the problems to overcome internal generational differences, and to come to terms with the prevailing strength of the US military-industrial complex in this research field. Most of these tensions, as well as what counted as their solution, changed over time and thus should be explored by looking into the history of the field.

This page from the exhibition catalogue is central to my argument:

The composition of photographs on this page conveys the following messages:

(1) science as universal,
(2) science as innocent,
(3) science as power.

Each of these combined aspects touches on fundamental ambivalences and seeks to provide a way of turning them upside down. Furthermore, each of these messages is grounded in structural inequalities:

(1) science as universal – related to the exclusion of women,
(2) science as innocent – related to exclusion of some men,

(3) science as power – related to exclusion of victims.

Note that none of these three dimensions can be generalized. The pictures displayed on this page of the exhibition catalogue portray the science of physics in a world of transition and of science as being itself a moment of these processes. The hierarchies and exclusions that came along with the transformations can be interpreted as responses to political, sociological and/or psychological needs at this moment. In what follows I will stress the historicity of the exisiting ambivalences and their closures within the context of the MoMA exhibition. Yet, the answers provided obscure relevant aspect of science and its history.

Ambivalent transition No. 1: From nationalism and colonialism to an international community

In its totality, the MoMA exhibition represents the universal values of humankind and, as a component of it, the universality of a heterosexual order. This gender regime is part of forging the international community, "The Family of Man", in which knowledge and science is seen as one of the key universal values. In the framework of an overall gender duality, women are not presented in the fields of science, technology and knowledge (except as teachers and assistants).

The exclusion of women in the picture of science obscures the inner working of science. The idea of the "genius" negates the social bonds and the role of mentors, the necessity of support within hierachical professional networks. Accordingly, "pure" research is valued higher than teaching. J. Robert Oppenheimer is centrally placed in the large picture above and as the former scientific director of the US-project to build the atomic bomb he signifies the power of physics. Active women physicists of that time, e.g., Melba Phillips (a doctoral student of Oppenheimer), Lise Meitner, or Clara von Simson (or others) are not mentioned. Two of these three women could not pursue a research career and turned to the field of pedagogy.

Ambivalent transition No. 2: From war to peace

In 1955, the year when the MoMA exhibition opened, the UN conference "Atoms for Peace" took place in Geneva and brought for the first time after the Second World War together physicists from all over the world. During this major public event, speaking of the atomic bomb, its potentially disastrous consequences and the dangers of a nuclear arms race was forbidden. Similarly, the MoMA exhibition largely avoids the

topic and emphazises instead the promises of the civil use of nuclear power.

Both presentations conceal an essential context of working science, namely the links to power, the state and the military. They are hidden by playfulness and boyishness. Even more importantly, the political activities of scientists for peace and against the nuclear arms race are indicated while the failure of their actions are downplayed. The pictorial triangle of Oppenheimer, Einstein and the boy represents the innocence of unrestricted and independent thinking to a public that knew about the Oppenheimer security clearance hearing in the spring 1954 due to his reservations about constructing the hydrogen bomb and which furthermore was familiar with the Russell-Einstein manifesto against nuclear war issued in July 1955.

The triple image brings together the generation of young scientists that had established the foundations of modern physics and erases their affiliations with different political systems like Nazi Germany, the US, or the Soviet Union. It places actors like Max Planck or Arnold Sommerfeld, their teachers and central science organizers of their time, in the shadows and indicates a generational shift with a new professional habitus. Moreover, the attitudes of men like Leo Szilard, James Franck, or Paul Peter Ewald, for whom scientific responsibility included a political stance for humanistic values, were marginalized in the memory of the physics discipline in order to balance the tension between political involvement and the self-ideal of remaining untouched.

Ambivalent transition 3: From totalitarian regimes to democracy

The third strand in the image of science presented by "The Family of Man" exhibition links free science and free thinking with a free society. Yet, if one turns the page of the exhibition catalogue, the rubbles of Cologne after the war come into view – and a boy running to school. The following pages of the MoMA catalogue lead towards the idea of a world democracy as represented in the institution of the UN. Knowledge and science are seen as essentially free of politics and will lead to "good" politics – this statement can be seen as the central Cold War science myth. Its message negates the experiences of forced emigration from Germany and the occupied countries during the Second World War. The memories were still preserved within the scientific community as well as the deep feelings of distrust and doubt that accompanied the politics of collaboration.

By omitting any reference to this period in the history of science, the Cold War science myth suppresses the fact that a thought collective had been destroyed. Hans Bethe, an emigrant and a colleague of Oppenheimer in Germany and later in the US, and like him one of the younger generation of physicists recalled fondly: "The physicists in all countries knew each other well and were friends. And the life at the centers of the development of quantum theory, Copenhagen and Göttingen, was idyllic and leisurely, in spite of the enormous amount of work accomplished." (Schweber, 2000)

The photograph was taken in Berlin in 1921, at the celebration for James Franck on the occasion of his appointment as a professor in Göttingen. It shows, left to right, in the first row: Hertha Sponer, Albert Einstein, Ingrid Franck, James Franck, Lise Meitner, Fritz Haber, Otto Hahn, and in the second row: Walter Grotrian, Wilhelm Westphal, Otto von Baeyer, Peter Pringsheim, Gustav Hertz. In summary: 12 persons, 4 women, 5 Nobel prize winners, 7 emigrants – only 3 straight careers. Eleven scientists, all of them belonging to the younger generation of physicists. The course of their lives as emigrants, survivors, victims is not presented in the MoMA exhibition's picture of science.

While physicists such as Richard Gans, who had had to struggle for his life, are completely erased from the picture of science given by the MoMA exhibition, a scientist like Werner Heisenberg would have fitted perfectly into the picture of the boyish, inventive researcher, who is only

committed to his studies. At the core of the representation of science in "The Family of Man" exhibition one finds the exclusion of the victims and this erasure makes it impossible to speak about and to try to understand important distinctions in the relation between science and politics. The lingering doubts about Heisenberg's relationship to Nazism and his willingness to collaborate are still discussed to this day.

Summary with questions

The composition of a modern masculinity in physics as highlighted by the combination of Oppenheimer, Einstein and the school boy integrates power, innocence and peacefulness. At the same time, the picture still carries traces of deleted histories and hidden ambivalences. I would argue, that the driving force for this construction is a void, in which the silence about failed interventions and exceedingly painful historical experiences are confronted with incomplete transformations from nationalism and colonialism to an international community, from war to peace, and from totalitarian regimes to democracy. The community of physicists was centrally involved in these historical transitions.

The result is a community of physicists speaking with a single voice. This voice denies the physicists' involvement with politics as warriors, critics, victims and negates the fact that scientists have little or no control about the decisions concerning knowledge-making. Instead the construction of the modern = peaceful and democratic masculinity of physics resolves the remaining tensions and presents science as a project of peace, democracy and universal humanism in the transformations of the world in the aftermath of the Second World War.

The case of the physicists points to the question how science and technology are related to political developments. In order to further explore this issue, I want to emphasize the importance of memory and the question of whose memory is recognized in the profession as well as in the public. Who is at center stage, who is marginalized, who is excluded? Which sociological and political dynamics have thereby been mobilized more broadly? Do they provide a link between the physicists and other professional and social groups? Does the construction of modern masculinity in physics serve as a stable reference in these relations?

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Workshop C
Transnationalisations

Rapporteurs' report

The scope of the presentations in this workgroup, chaired by Fataneh Farahani and Karen Gabriel, was as follows:

> The semiperiphery, transnationalism, de-development, and gendered social restructuring in the Balkans (Marina Blagojević);
>
> Japanese company in Sweden and change of work culture (Anna Fogelberg Eriksson);
>
> Transnationalisation, intersectionality, transforming nationalisms and patriarchies in Indian context (Karen Gabriel);
>
> Sexing diaspora: Construction of diasporic femininities and masculinities among Iranians in London, Stockholm, Sydney (Fataneh Farahani);
>
> Transnational dimension of Kurdish nationalism in the everyday practices of internally displaced men in Turkish urban context (Nil Mutluer);
>
> Women's narratives of Asian masculinities in the UK (Gurchathen Sanghera and Suruchi Thapar-Björkert);
>
> Intersectionality and critical scholarship on Turkish migrant men's masculinities in Austria (Paul Scheibelhofer);
>
> Reconfigurations of Turkish nation-state visa vis transnationalisation through hegemonic definitions and practices of masculinity (Nurseli Yeşim Sünbüloğlu).

The main general themes and concepts were: transnationalisation; globalisation; semi-periphery; locationality; de-development; multinational corporation; gender mainstreaming; work culture at the managerial level; intersectionality: age, caste, class, ethnicity, gender, nation, religion, 'race', sexuality; nationalism; patriarchy; migration; diaspora; transnational capital flows; everyday life; transnational institutions; urbanism; Othering discourses; identity, identification; masculinities/ femininities; Asian Masculinities/ Muslim masculinities; gendered identity; Islamophobia; immigrants' power; generation; agency.

The impact of transnationalisation on masculinities involves:

- The Othering of certain men and women and their engagement with it
- De-development, marginalization and the semi-periphery
- Opportunities, negotiation, reshaping of gender, sexuality and power relations

Methodological issues include:

- Multilevel analysis and the problem of integrating local and global, micro and macro phenomena
- Positionality and social location
- Power play in the field and academy
- Structure and Agency
- Multiplicities: locations, historicities
- Institutions, processes and policies

The connections with the other workgroups and sub-themes include:

- Ageing and embodiment: intergenerational relations, changes in status of the aging men.
- Virtualities, representations and technology: media, ICTs, images, money flows, elite formation.
- Theorising: Transnationalisation, masculinity, core and margin, knowledge production and policy, everyday life, nationalisms and technology, state and nation-state.

Rapporteurs: Marina Blagojević and Nil Mutluer on behalf of the workgroup

Chapter 16
Intersectionality and Critical Scholarship on Migrant Men and Masculinities – the case of Turkish migrants in Germany and Austria

Paul Scheibelhofer
Central European University, Hungary

In the German speaking world, there is a rising interest in Turkish migrant masculinity. In the media, political debates and the social sciences, covert and overt depictions of Turkish migrant men share a focus on *problems* these men have and, more importantly, that they produce (Ewing, 2008). While Turkish migrant men who came in the 1960s and 70s to work in unqualified, low-paid jobs in Austria are understood to have conserved a specific masculinity rooted in Turkish traditions, their sons are seen to take over these norms and values uncritically, thus lacking reflexivity and individuality. In this context bad school failure or petty crime are seen as indicators of a lack of generational assimilation processes (e.g. Kelek, 2006). These images are highly productive, and we see them at work in diverse discourses and applied by different agents across the political-ideological spectrum.

Reflexivity and intersectionality

In such a context, it is not easy to answer the question, what might constitute *critical* research on migrant masculinities, which does not reproduce dominant culturalistic images. The approach presented here might be described as reflexive sociology in Bourdieu's (1992) sense, in that it rejects the de-contextualised analysis of a given *social problem*, and instead traces its social production, the role that academia plays in that process and strives for thoroughly relational analyses.

The proposed intersectional approach is one way of going about such a reflexive sociology of migrant men and masculinity. In brief, the concept of intersectionality draws attention to the interaction of multiple forms of social divisions and exclusions – or "axes of difference" (Yuval-Davis, 2006). It analyses how divergent forms of discrimination are mutually constituted (Walgenbach, 2007) and lead to subordinated and,

important for research on *men*, superordinated social positions (Brod, 2002), as well as contradictory locations where effects of divergent axes interact (Anthias, 2002). In what follow, I want to sketch out how an intersectional approach to migrant men and masculinities affects research questions and analyses.

From worker to culture

An analysis of the dominant discourse on Turkish migrant men shows how class, ethnicity and gender is played out there, to create specific, and historically shifting, notions of Turkish migrant men as the culturalised Other in Germany and Austria. While, in the early days of "guest worker migration", the public focus lay on social questions like employment or housing issues, this focus of attention shifted in the 1980s to questions of culture, difference and integration (Soysal 2002). This shift should not be seen as "merely discursive", but can be situated within changing social circumstances and power struggles. Thus we can see that it was just in the time when former "guest workers" started to claim social and political citizenship rights, that the cultural integration paradigm gained ground. This shifted attention could be used to divert attention away from socio-structural questions and locate the main source of migrants' problems in their culture and thus ask "cultural integration" as a precondition for full participation (Bojadzijev, 2002). Besides these struggles over rights and resources, we also see a changed racist understanding of the Other at work in the dominant discourse on Turkish migrant men. While, in earlier times, the Western Self was understood to be stable and embedded in European culture, vis-à-vis a nomadic and detached Other, notions turned around. It is now a modern, flexible and reflexive West that sees itself confronted with migrants who *still believe* in culture, tradition or religion (Steyerl, 2000). These changes can be related to shifts from discourses of national community that, following Matti Bunzls (2005) argument, focussed on Jews as its Other, to discourses of European identity, where commonality is created in opposition to the Muslim Other. The changing discourses can thus be seen as reacting to local struggles within a broader transnationalising context. Together, these shifts have created specific notions of gendered Others, that create both notions of Muslim femininity as well as masculinity, depicting the former as imperilled and the latter as dangerous (Razack, 2004). As far as migrant *men* are concerned, the discourse fulfils the function of keeping a certain group of men from cashing patriarchal dividends based on notions of their difference. The site where this difference is located is the "package picture" (Narayan, 2000) of "their culture", so that their masculinity can be talked about as problematic, while leaving "Austri-

an" men and masculinity, and the privileges associated with it unnamed (Collinson and Hearn, 1994).

Turkish rural masculinity

With reference to Øystein Holter's (2005) discussion of theoretical approaches to gendered dominance, we can interpret the dominant image of patriarchal Turkish masculinity as relying on idea of male dominance which allocates power directly to the "inner workings" of masculinity. As Holter points out, this notion not only blinds out diversity among men, but also the social institutions that mediate and establish gender hierarchies – an omission that a *critical* approach must seek to avoid. From an intersectional point of view, the discourse can be seen as downplaying questions of class and racism, by creating a stable link between culture and foreign masculinity. In such a context it comes as no surprise that there is very scant research that studies how ideals and practices of those first generation men changed, whose migration positioned them in a new and often disadvantaged social and institutional context. The little research that goes beyond notions of clash of cultures (e.g. Spohn, 2002) gives an idea of how migration, for some, could actually be part of the realization of masculinities beyond hegemonic ideals, while for others, the change of geographical and social location was challenging to self-understandings and feelings of entitlement. As Kathy Ewing (2008) in her study interestingly shows, these men could also make use of the widespread "Turkish rural masculinity discourse" in Germany, to establish some form of male power and control over family members. Rather than presupposing that certain masculinity-types are created at some locations and than conserved over time and space, we should thus ask for the contexts, in which certain discourses of traditional masculinity are a means to stigmatise certain men, but which can also be appropriated by these men in order to attain certain forms of male power (Wetherell and Edley, 1999).

Of criminal young machos

When it comes to young men of the second and third Turkish migrant generation, the aspect of *age* adds a specific alertness to popular representations. Be it surveys on attitudes towards gender equality, democracy or Islam or reports of petty crime of "youth gangs". In the present context, these are more than anything else read as indicators of generational processes of integration, or rather: their failure. The idea that the sons of Turkish migrants are virtually driven to criminal acts by their culture, is challenged when the context that *produces* certain masculinities

is taken into account as in Susanne Spindler's (2006) study of imprisoned migrant men in Germany. She shows how the young men, from early childhood on, experience violence and discrimination, disintegrating them from state institutions like schools or the labour market. Her interviews show, how their "gangs" are organised much in the same way as other male networks where support is granted in trade for solidarity, with the decisive difference, that their networks are located at the *low end* of society. In this context, the body becomes one of the few resources these men have at hand and they use it to illegally gain resources and in street fights mainly with policemen. In a situation where other ways of social participation *as men* are closed off to them, these fights, Spindler notes, represent for the young men one way to participate in competitive struggles among men. In political and media discourses, these clashes with the law are read as motivated by a distinct culture, blinding out the fact that they are fundamentally shaped by a society in which the worth and social power of individuals is defined along axes of gender, class and ethnicity.

To conclude

In the past years, the notion of *cultural difference* of Turkish migrants was broadened to *cultural-religious difference* (Caglar, 2002) creating the, by now common, notion of "Turkish-Muslim migrants". To the notion of Turkish cultural backwardness, this reference adds a component of dangerous religious fundamentalism. Coupled with notions of a global Muslim population that grows in numbers and in strength, this reference can be used to argue for heightened policing of migrant men and boys (e.g. Broder, 2006). An intersectional and contextualising approach, would, on the one hand, analyse how Islamophobic discrimination affects lives of Muslim migrant men and how, in this context, Muslim religiosity, can become a marker of resistance (cf. Gerami, 2005). Such an analysis should also include the diverse social functions that participating in Muslim organisations can have in the lives of migrant men. Importantly, these organisations should not be seen as existing outside the dominant society and polity. On the contrary, it can be argued that Muslim migrant organisations gain visibility and importance with the help of states themselves. In recognising these organisations as representatives of *the community*, states not only found new ways of governing migrant populations (cf. Amir-Moazami, 2009) but also participate in strengthening the power of these organisations. The dominant discourse not only blinds out this institutional context, but also the diversity of practices, norms and values of Muslim migrant men that we find documented in the few

studies focussing on masculinity and migrant masculinity that exist in Germany and Austria (e.g. Ornig, 2006; Tietze, 2004).

In this text, I discussed how intersectionality can inform critical studies on migrant men and masculinities. It is obvious, that this is not an *exhaustive* discussion of all aspects of the broad topic, but rather showing basic directions of such research. It enables the analysis of migrant masculinities as constituted within social structures that, in their complexity, create both subordinating and superordinating effects. In depicting and constructing Turkish Muslim migrant masculinities transnationalisation processes play a role on diverse levels as became visible. While such an intersectional analysis can show how migrant masculinities are constructed in articulation with these dominant social realities, it can, and should, also study where dominant masculinity constructs are *not* accepted, under which conditions alternatives are established and where transversal coalitions with diverse groups can be maintained.

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Chapter 17
Let's Talk about … Men! Asian Muslim women talking about Asian Muslim men in Bradford, West Yorkshire, UK

Gurchathen Sanghera
University of St Andrews, UK

Suruchi Thapar-Björkert
University of Bristol, UK

Introduction

Two days after the Mumbai (India) terrorist attacks on 26 November 2008 by suspected Islamists, the popular British tabloid newspaper, *The Sun*, published as its front page headline, '2 Mumbai Gunmen from Bradford'. Despite being speculation, which was eventually unfounded, the significance of this headline is that it once against linked violent event with members of the Pakistani Muslim community of Bradford, West Yorkshire – a city in northern England. It has become synonymous with the urban disturbances of 1995 and on a larger scale in 2001 and more recently with the 7/7 London bombings (2005) when two of the 'home-grown' bombers were found to have previously lived in Bradford and all of the bombers had some connection with the county of West Yorkshire (Macey, 2007: 161). Such local events mirror global events and illustrate the interconnectivity between the global and local.

In light of these events, we make three observations. Firstly, distant global events can shape and impact on the everyday lived material realities, experiences and identities of people. In an increasingly globalised world marked by time-space compression (Harvey, 1990), news and events can be experienced almost instantaneously, and responded to accordingly, within the diaspora. As Kwaja (2005: 4) suggests, 'when a *Whahabi* bomb maims or kills dozens of Shi'a in Multan, the repercussions are felt in Bradford; an attack on a Barelvi mosque in Lahore invites reprisals in Birmingham'. Simultaneously, second, global and local events have led to the construction of the 'problematic Muslim' discourse and systematically vilified Muslims in many parts of the world. As a male respondent in Alam's (2006: 211) research in Bradford stated, 'this 9/11 has really put pressure on us, not because we're Pakistani but

as Muslims. Governments are always questioning everything we do… Its like us, as Muslims, we're Public Enemy Number One'. Fuelled by Islamophobia that 'contributes to and reinforces the disadvantage and discrimination experienced by many Muslims' (Ansari, 2004: 394), we would suggest, third, that a cause and consequence of this increasing visibility of Muslims, has been securitization of Muslims that was exacerbated post-7/7 – for example, Muslims have become objects of anti-terror legislation and policing.

As a consequence of these discourses and debates, Pakistani Muslims are projected as the 'new folk devil' (Alexander, 2004; Sanghera and Thapar-Björkert, 2008). *They*, this homogenised group, are perceived and constructed to be a threat and the ultimate Other; a threat to British ways, British society and democracy; they are innately different and dangerous; they are wedded to a religious, political and cultural identity that predisposes them to violence and disrespect for non-Islamic law; they choose to live separately (encapsulated and legitimated by the term of *self-segregation* (Ouseley, 2001; Phillips, 2006) and maintain their primordial identities, inwardness and patriarchal control.

Importantly, such public representations are gendered and Pakistani Muslim women are being positioned and discussed in rather ambiguous and contradictory ways. For example, recently, there has been a concerted effort in security circles to draw Muslim women in the 'fight against terror'. This draws on the notion of femininity that is considered to be 'safe', 'law-abiding' and unproblematic compared with a 'dangerous', 'aggressive' Muslim masculinity. Muslim women, therefore, are considered to be important cultural 'links' in the de-radicalisation of co-ethnic male peers. On the contrary, positioned along side this discourse is a discourse that highlights the vulnerabilities of Muslim women and their lack of agency. In recent debates, this discourse has been discussed in terms of forced marriage (for example, the UK Home Office's Forced Marriage Unit), domestic violence, and honour-related violence which are often perpetrated by men against women.

With these debates in mind, and in light of the current political climate, the focus of this paper is to explore how young Asian Muslim women talk about co-ethnic male peers. What this paper demonstrates is that, at least on the face of it, there is convergence between how young Muslim women discuss young co-ethnic men and how government discourses have problematically positioned Muslim men. But, importantly, women construct their discourses in terms of their own positionality and within the confines of their 'everyday lives'. Theoretically this is important because as Connell and Messerschmidt (2008: 848) argue femininities and masculinities are relational and this is frequently overlooked in

recent research where discussions of masculinities are divorced (rather ironically) from discussion of femininities and women's narratives.

Muslims in the UK – objects and subjects of the law

The urban disturbances of 1995 and 2001 marked an important shift in the public perception of Muslims in the UK. The most serious of the two disturbances took place in 2001, which took place a month before the 9//11 terror attacks, marked the most significant shift from legal to illegal forms of protest by Pakistani Muslims. Much of the blame for the disturbances was placed on the 'Muslim community' and focused on the criminal behaviour of Pakistani Muslim men (see Alexander, 2004; Allen, 2003; Amin, 2003; Bagguley and Hussain, 2008; Kundnani, 2002; Webster, 2003).

The 2001 disturbances were eclipsed by the events of 9/11 and the 7/7 London bombings, which were to bring to the fore public debates concerning Muslim loyalty to Britain, which had previously been raised during the Rushdie Affair in 1989, the incompatibility between Muslim and British identities, and the terrorist posed by 'home-grown' terrorists – the so-called 'enemy within'. Indeed, Tony Blair warned following the bombings, 'Let there be no doubt, the rules of the game are changing'.[9] Emblematic of this change was the increasing securitisation of the Muslim community whereby 'young ethnic and religious minority people, especially young Muslim men, are at the epicentre of this [security] consciousness' (McGhee, 2008: 95).

The subsequent intensification of Islamophobia in Britain has been marked by an increasing climate of fear and suspicion. The 'Othering' that is a central process to Islamophobia is also gendered. Increasingly, the Muslim community has come under scrutiny with respect to cultural practices associated with Muslim women, such as the wearing of the veil (the *niqab*) and arranged marriages between British Asians and foreign spouses with poor command of the English language. However, on the contrary, the British government has also sought to bring Muslim women to advise ministers on, *inter alia,* countering terrorism and extremism and in negotiating access to sites such as the Mosque – they are the 'missing link' (Brown, 2008).

There has been increasing attention on Muslim masculinities in order to explain why 'men behave the way they do', and much of this has focused on working with Muslim men in deprived areas in order to understand how and why particular processes of marginalisation and

9 PM's Press Conference – 5 August 2005 – http://www.number10.gov.uk/Page8041 (accessed 10 April 2009)

alienation impact on identity choices that eschew ethnic identities for religious (Muslim) identities. Our starting point is that all masculinities are political and that due to the specific geo-political events Muslim masculinity has become more (or explicitly) politicised than any other. Therefore, whilst acknowledging the importance of Connell and Messerschmidt (2008) analysis, we argue that Pakistani Muslim masculinities have to be understood in relational terms, to 'other' ways of being Muslim men, to being men in general and as well in relation to Muslim femininities (e.g. for Asian masculinities see: Alexander 2000, 2004; Archer 2003, 2001; Dwyer, Shah and Sanghera 2008; and Bradford masculinities see: Ali 1999; Burlet and Reid 1998; Macey 1999).

'Let's talk about men'

- Our empirical material foregrounds the 'everyday' lived experiences of women respondents in which their narratives of co-ethnic male peers are constructed in relation to their own assertiveness, independence, educational achievements and the decoupling of religious and cultural identities. These women respondents, we argue, are symbolic of **New Muslim Femininities** (our emphasis). They contextualise their ideas through two frameworks :
- Son preference (Critical of male peers; the lack of respect for authority; 'negative' male peers)
- Apathy in the Community (generational disjunctures (culture of 'turning a blind-eye'); dominant stereotypes)

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Chapter 18
Resisting Men: Gandhi, Gender and Anti-colonialism

Karen Gabriel
St. Stephen's College, Delhi University, India

This paper proposes that the gender dynamics of transnationalisation are both continuous and discontinuous with the earlier and highly significant transnational moment of the colonial encounter. I will argue that imperialism, the colonial encounter, nationalism and the Gandhian enterprise put the practices and meanings of self-definition – individual, communal and national – under severe pressure. The flow of these events were to play out with a scrupulous and even libidinal intensity in the fields of gender and sexuality, quite literally inserting physiological difference into analytics, sexual politics into policy and embodiment into theory and practice. Within this frame, I will attempt to understand how certain modes of masculinity were generated, operationalised, transmitted and embodied within specific hegemonic formations that reference that historical moment in one way or the other. To do this I map out the distinctive gender politics that was mobilised by imperial coloniality, by Gandhi and by two politico-historical developments that are now almost emblematic of national and communitarian identity politics within the modern Indian nation-state.

Since colonial hegemony is crucially about embodiment and power, since gendering is always processual, interrupted, always located in the twin domains of history and culture, and since subjects, subjectivities, and selves are formed in the intersections of the 'stasis' of culture and the dynamism of history, colonialism – rough and inorganic as it was – interrupted local dynamics and their formative contexts.[10] In this encounter (and more recently in globalization and its analogues), disparate rules of economic, social, institutional, and personal engagements came into conflict. Colonisation, the nationalist struggle, independence, political democracy, the principles of welfare, industrialization, and so on, brought structural, institutional and legislative changes as well as social,

10 The impact of British rule in India was multifaceted. New values, technologies, and institutions, some of which were part of the processes of founding the modern nation-state, were to have a profound impact on what came to be India (Niranjana et al., 1993; Sarkar, 1983).

spatial, and occupational mobility, all of which effected ruptures in the 'sex/gender system'. The encounter itself left the colonial subject split, epistemologically destabilized.

Intuiting the trope of sexuality in imperialist projects and the equivalences made between the colonized and feminine subject, the elite attempted to identify and address the ideological and strategic collaboration between patriarchy, imperialism and the organisation of sexuality. Within this nexus, the prevalent gendered binary was extended to the colonized subject disadvantageously (Hyam, 1992 (1990); McClintock, 1995; Montrose, 1991; Sinha, 1995) as coloniser–colonised, masculine–feminine, civilized–barbaric, powerful–powerless, thereby modulating the organization and meanings of race, gender and sexuality. We see for instance that the feminine (typically signifying vulnerability, passivity and emotion and so on) is typically deployed to consolidate the oppositionally situated masculine (typically signifying impenetrability, control, rationality), and both become attributes of not just individuals, but of institutions, systems, communities and even nations.

The colonial encounter notated the 'dynamic, shifting and intimate interdependence' (to borrow a phrase from McClintock (1996: 61)) of caste, class, race, gender and sexuality in the politics of empire. In fact, colonial hegemony was crucially about the distribution and management of power at both the microphysical and the systemic-structural levels, and we find policy exemplifications of how an epistemology of the social gets rooted in the sexual[11]. The related disadvantageous and confusing gendering (as both violent *and* effeminate) and sexualisation (as both inordinately promiscuous *and* impotent) of native men led to a situation where neither anatomical maleness nor social power prevented feminisation or the denial of 'exemplary masculinity' (Silverman, 1992). The 'femininity' of loss, alterity and disempowerment were in fact the colonial male's unwelcome heritage. Not surprisingly, those Indian men engaged with 'recovering manhood' (Vivekananda, Gandhi, Golwalkar, Tilak)' insisted on the *distinction* between sex and gender ('we may be powerless but we are still men'), and attempted to restore the older and more familiar equations between power and masculinity, i.e. the gender of sex.

Recognizing how demoralising this was, Gandhi began to innovate notions of subjectivity and selfhood that had recuperative moral, political, ideological and psychological dimensions. Propositionally, his espousal and even valorisation from 1916 onward of the feminine within himself as a moral principle and a signifier of civilizational superiority,

11 See Ballhatchet, 1980, Hyam, 1990, and Stoler, 1989, for instances of policy regulations of the sexual and social relations between coloniser and colonised .

indexed how he conceptualised this paradigmatic shift. Yet, neither the work involved in such a project nor its angularities should be underestimated[12]. Gandhi's own overt feminisation of himself is evident in the image of him at the spinning wheel, where both posture and activity are distinctly feminine, and in his nursing. He also maintained that women possessed of a strong 'soul force' that made them evolved sacrificial and moral beings, exceptionally well-suited to labour-intensive, painstaking and sacrificial tasks. The slippage whereby the circumstantial became the ontogenetic announced the investment in the feminine subject who had become the subject reform practices that were located clearly, strategically and very problematically in the interstices of religion, politics, morality and the sexual economy. These reforms aimed to both enhance their status (by tempering customary law, for instance) and refashion women within terms that declared the national investment in her embodiment (e.g., Gandhi, Tagore, Bankim Chandra Chatterjee). Women were addressed ambiguously as with the Gandhian paradigm, where she was both autonomous *shakti* or the driving force behind national destiny and Sita, the exemplar of purity and virtue who would facilitate the creation of *Ramarajya*.[13] The equivocality with which Gandhi linked female domesticity, child-rearing and nurturing with national well-being indicates that Gandhi, like other 19th Century reformers, addressed the woman question within the discursive dynamics of nationalism (Katrak, 1992; Patel, 2000; Mondol, 2002).

Nevertheless, Gandhi also attempted to offers alternative conceptions of universalism to the post-Enlightenment ethnocentric model (Parekh, 1989: 26). This was articulated mainly through a set of beliefs, values, concepts and practices the most well-known of which are *Satya* (Truth), *Ahimsa* (Non-violence), *Swaraj* (both Self-rule and Home-rule), *Sarvodaya* (Universal benefit), *Bhramacharya* (the search for Brahma (truth) entailing celibacy)[14] and *Satyagraha* (broadly the philosophy of non-vio-

12 Nandy (1983), Kakar (1989) and Alter (1996) are right to remind us that scholars tend to skirt the troubled and troubling area of Gandhi's sexual experimentation. Here, I too, for lack of space, will skirt around the issue

13 A mythic metaphor for an ideal form of governance for India that refers specifically to the legend of Ram as the ideal king, under whose governance none were unhappy, and, more generally to any such form of governance. Of course this version denies Sita's story. According to popular and north Indian versions Sita the long-suffering wife of Rama is abducted by Ravana, whom she keeps at bay with her 'soul-force' till Rama rescues her. Unfortunately, he refuses to accept her because she may be suspected of sexual infidelity. In one version, Sita leaves him at this juncture, in another more popular one, she undergoes an agnipariksha (test by fire) to prove her purity. (See Gabriel, 2002, for a discussion of the relative worth of Sita for patriarchy within popular invocations of her).

14 See Vinay Lal's (2000) elaboration of Brahmacharya.

lent resistance, literally the pursuit of Truth, effectively the combination of the other five). These ideas and practices themselves we see were gendered and offer an explication of the relationship between practices of the self, stylisations of the self and political practices, between strategies of embodiment and political theorisation and strategies. But first we will quickly place these within transformations in the processes of gendering that accompanied the evolution of the nationalist and anti-imperialist discourses, and their impact on Gandhian thought.

Two highly significant social and political developments of the nineteenth century in India were the emergence of the politics of representation (c. 1909) (Zavos), and the introduction of the system of personal laws (from c. 1811/1812 onwards) (Sangari). Vijayan (2008) has linked these two developments and argued that they were instrumental in the institutional formation of communal identities along religious and gendered lines. At the same time, the notion of the communities themselves were riven by controversies because of intra-community disagreements between the elites of each community over the nature, scope and content of the personal laws; and also because of confusions and suspicions over who constituted the respective communities. This, he notes, was part of the process by which the disparate and multiple socio-religious practices – distinguished by caste, tribe and region – were stabilised under the rubric of a fundamentally Brahmanical 'Hinduism'. As a result the notion of the communal self, as opposed to an individual self, is gradually institutionalised, importantly, in the realm of the personal, through the processes of personal law, where each community sought to legitimise the powers of its hegemonic and dominant masculinities. Personal law – pertaining as it did to issues of sati, child marriage, widow remarriage, inheritance and property, the education of women and their participation in the public sphere – became the means to *defining a communal self through a gendered self*. It was also the process of institutionalising 'upper-caste racism' (Pandey in Mondol, 2002: 933). This process in no way challenged colonial interests and was supported by colonial powers (Sinha, 1995: 140) notating a problematic and telling run-on between imperial power and the national(istic) elite. Gandhi's affirmation of caste serves to notate the extent to which his imagination and discourse were finally and ironically (given his furtherance of the Muslim cause in India) communal, casteist and gendered. Immediately we take up the ingenious ways in which Gandhi was to yoke the reconceptualisation of (gendered) selfhood and politico-communal identity.

Imperial allegations of the 'civilizational' weakness of Indian/Hindus, were addressed by Gandhi precisely in civilizational terms: witness his philosophical articulation of the principle and enterprise of *satya* and

satyagraha as a fundamentally civilizational and Hindu one. The conflation between Indian and Hindu is both deliberate and politic. At the same time, his awareness of the instability and multiplicity of human truths, led him to aver that "*satyagraha*, as conceived by me is a science in the making" (*Harijan*, Sept 24 1938: 266). Given the fragile nature of truth, *satya* and *satyagraha* are sustainable only in a strictly non-violent environment, marking paramount importance of the notion of *Ahimsa*, which also served to reign in the fissiparous tendencies within the nationalist movement (Vijayan, 2008). Of course, Gandhi's rendition of this notion of Truth makes it a discipline in itself, a way of approaching everything from the quotidian to the other-worldly. It also inverted the discourse of civilizational weakness, not least because of the enormous discipline involved in its pursuit. These included 'biomoral' (Alter, 1996) means such as celibacy, rigorous austerity, fasts, dietary experiments and vows of silence without which the mind stood to lose its firmness, stamina, courage and ability for great exertion (*Hind Swaraj*: 82). Moreover, celibacy, imperative for the enterprise of *swaraj*, would free the mind and the soul, and harness the power of *shakti* in the service of the nation: the rigours of *swaraj* (self-rule) would yield *swaraj* (home-rule).

Swaraj was the crucial conceptual link between the community of individuals in pursuit of the Truth and the (gendered) individuals themselves. For Gandhi, home rule was about true *swaraj*, 'Real home rule is self-rule or self-control' (*Hind Swaraj*: 103), and only then about the political arrangements of power. This was vital to his understanding that political (re) construction cannot be conceptualised as a state enterprise (given the experience of the imperial state), but as a moral even quasi-spiritual one, requiring a *metanoia* that remained always intricately linked to the doctrine of Truth. Political gain was incidental in such a scheme, a position that strained his alignment with the nationalist elite. His stand that modernity and its accomplishments were fundamentally flawed[15] only intensified the strain, especially since the local nationalist elite already had stakes in modern technological, economic and political systems. What was required was a moral economic order that would facilitate social justice, symbolised in the spinning of *khadi* on the *charkha* (spinning wheel).

Gandhi thus linked a model of development (*swadeshi*, small scale, self-sufficient, pro-poor, agricultural based production), political practice (*swaraj* as Home rule), a moral system (*satya* and *satyagraha*), self-stylisation (*swaraj* as self-rule) and sexual practice (*brahmacharya*), a

15 'Industrial modes of production encouraged wrong standards of wealth and achievement, eroded spiritual values and enabled patterns of living based on greed and consumption' (cited in Brown, 1995: 89).

complex that is well-symbolised in the *charkha* or spinning wheel. Like the practices of *ahimsa*, *satya* and *satyagraha*, the spinning of *khadi* too (which had been taken up enthusiastically by his women followers) became civilizational and moral attainments. Importantly the practice of all of these, while generally recommended, was understood as especially compatible with femininity which by now had evolved into a chain of analogous signifiers: *shakti* – moral power – renunciation – sacrificiality – nurturance – suffering – asexuality – courage. Gandhi's post-1916 reformulation of courage as equally a feminine attribute (Rudolph and Rudolph, 1967: 191) with unique connotations of its own, led him to recommend the incorporation of femininity into the masculine. Later women come to be seen as the best candidates for *satyagraha* since they exemplified non-violent courage. Eventually, as Parekh (1989: 220) notes, Gandhi wanted to become a 'complete woman'. This 'womanhood', that hosted the chain of signifiers given above, would have to be adopted by men at large to yield a sustainable morally upright nation. Interestingly, women themselves featured in this national landscape mainly as domestic renunciators. While Gandhi's movement brought women onto the public political stage, his nationalism here seeks to fix the unstable and shifting terrain of gender, doubly: first, through ideological appropriation of the terms of femininity as domestic, nurturing etc., to further a larger seemingly 'spiritual' agenda; and second, in that very move, fixing these terms by yoking them onto a national communal identity, so that to belong as women in the 'Hindu' fold, is to be domestic, nurturing, etc.. The constellation of Gandhian ideas clearly works together to weave a sign of moral superiority and civilisational achievement; the sign itself, however, is undone by its gendering.

While Gandhi disrupts and reconfigures the ways in which gender is aligned at the beginning of the 20th Century, the crucial political lapse is feminisation without any real empowerment of women. This happens because patriarchal structures within the systems of religion, caste, class for instance are not addressed systemically. The moral practice of self-transformation nevertheless retained markers of caste, religious exclusivity and gender-sex bias with historical effects that are still being assessed. The significant overlap between the Hindu nationalist ideology of the 1930s and 1940s with Gandhianism has been noted (Mondol, 2002: 931; Jaffrelot, 1969), and we note here the complex relationship that the contemporary Hindu Right has with Gandhi whom they saw as practicing Muslim appeasement. At the same time pro-Hindu and pro-caste discursive strains in his philosophy have been effectively mobilised by the Hindu Right. This, along with the now well-known international impact of Gandhi on figures like Martin Luther King, Nelson Mandela

and Einstein, or in the fields of peace and conflict studies is one of the many complex legacies of the historical amalgam that is known as the colonial encounter. The impact that he continues to have as a national actor-pedagogue is indexed by the extent to which his praxis is referenced explicitly or idiomatically in popular film worldwide, but especially in mainstream Bombay film (Gabriel, 2003). One lasting effect of the imperial encounter is the communalisation of politics and society in India, which plays out with devastating effects in genocidal experiments, but also in the realm of personal law and the lives of women.

Finally, urban centres, fundamentally modern and transnational, are sites for sexual experimentation, some of which are market driven, and some of which are driven by identity politics that still retain a 'western' discursive frame. Yet while most sexual rights movements have a transformational politics and are therefore, overtly political, few so far have been able to coherently identify and politically articulate the links between themselves and other modern social movements around typically modern issues of equity or sustainability (e.g. female infanticide, labour, caste, displacement, poverty, racism). For its heuristic value alone, it would be interesting to trace the orientations of these linked but highly divergent practices of sexuality and the self. For this reason again, it is possible to argue that the complex and innovative mechanics whereby Gandhi injected gender-sexual politics into political transformation and integrated *metanoia* and social change is a legacy worth re-examining. It will be especially interesting to see what emerges philosophically, ideologically and in praxis when the Gandhian paradigm is deliberately made to encounter contemporary thoughts on and practices of gender and sexuality in this transnational moment.

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Workshop D
Theorising

Rapporteurs' report

The TheorisingWorkgroup, chaired Anna Jónasdóttir and Richard Howson, saw a range of papers presented from diverse regional contexts and theoretical and analytical positions. After much discussion on the directions and themes explored, we decided to offer a 'modest proposal' from an ecumenical group hoping to be helpful rather than excessive in our claims to a possible direction. We began by agreeing that it is important not to reject what is currently in the sub-field but perhaps to recast, to refocus some of the terms of the debate. The key issue was of the extent to which the reiterated use of particular privileged terms in particular ways in any field of thought, including studies of men/masculinities might involve some degree of inadvertent delimitation in what is discussed or can be discussed, and how it is discussed.

We suggest that there is an advantage in thinking about how to move from what we see as some degree of fixed/calcified/ossified conceptualisation of gendered power in the subfield to a more dynamic conceptualization. In other words, we saw advantages in moving towards a more PROCESSUAL/ more explicitly political conceptualization of gendered Power, towards an emphasis on 'doing power'.

In order to do this, we suggest a recasting of the terms of the debate towards terms like **LEGITIMATION/LEGITIMISING (gender 'legitimation studies'),** which might still enable the use of existing privileged terms that have a more macro-structural casting, like hegemony, hegemonic masculinity, and/or patriarchy. At the same time we propose moving towards a way of understanding gendered POWER as more permeable/dynamic, (which can include less macro-structural approaches), with the intention of highlighting the POLITICAL that is at stake.

The aim is then to move beyond an emphasis upon the negative conceptualization of power towards one which more often captures and pays attention to both **limits and possibilities/capacities.** This means, in practical terms, the recasting of delimiting terms like 'gender equality' towards a notion of 'gender justice'; the recasting of hegemony/hegemonic masculinity(ies) towards an approach which deals with gendered power relations in less categorical ways; the enabling of space for other or new terms to enter the subfield in relation to a recasting of understandings of gendered Power. It means the exploration of similarities between men and women/crossovers; the acknowledgment of absences/

missing/not said (for instance, in the paper attending to the uncertain relation between hegemonic masculinity and young boys in Australia); the need to investigate new articulations/shifts (as is considered in the paper on Cossacks and iconic masculinity); and even the elaboration of counter-articulations/social change.

Relatedly, the group also acknowledged the need for renewed attention to generative/positive analyses (as for instance was raised in relation to the paper on care and intimacy and their refashioning under the sign of masculinity).

LINKS to the other groups

While the group was largely preoccupied with pushing the theoretical and conceptual boundaries of the existing debate on men and masculinities, it did also reflect on the other themes of the conference. It engaged in particular with the question of embodiment, and the need both to widen the ambit of the term as well as enhance its analytical potential through further empirical research. The issue of the transnationalisation of men and masculinity came up repeatedly, given the multiple regional contexts which were addressed in the papers, as well as directly through one paper on African migrant men in Australia. While the group did not address the theme of virtuality directly, it recognized the importance of engaging with the questions raised by the complex relations between virtual and 'real' gender claims and constructions.

Rapporteurs: Chris Beasley and P. K. Vijayan on behalf of the workgroup

Chapter 19
Is Masculinity Studies increasingly the 'Odd Man' Out?: Considering problems and possibilities in contemporary Gender/Sexuality thinking

Chris Beasley
University of Adelaide, Australia

Introduction

I want to take up Anna Jónasdóttir's point (2008: 15) that a dialogue between Feminism and Masculinity Studies is important and worthwhile for both. This condensed version of a paper delivered to GEXcel attends precisely to that dialogue. In particular I would like to consider the present location and future directions of Masculinity Studies in this context. This paper employs a focus on *theoretical* frameworks in Feminist, Sexuality and Masculinity Studies as a short-hand means to consider the question the possibilities and problems of the Gender/Sexuality field. In other words, I concentrate upon the main approaches in the most prevalently employed theoretical work in Feminist, Sexuality and Masculinity theory which shapes the overall agendas of these subfields.

The Gender/Sexuality field

I refer to the Gender/Sexuality Field in order to draw upon the most usual scholarly terminologies in Western thinking for *sexed* and *sexual* respectively (Edwards, 1989: 1–12). These terminologies of 'gender' and 'sexuality' are employed in the three major subfields of the Gender/Sexuality Field – that is, in Feminist, Masculinity and Sexuality Studies (see Figure 1). However, the Gender/Sexuality Field is not as self-evident as these three existing subfields. It necessitates some explanation and is certainly a looser assemblage than the three subfields.

Figure 1: The Gender/Sexuality field and subfields

All the same, I suggest that there are several important reasons for *claiming* it as a field, even if a field in process. This province of thinking can be discovered in the continuing linkages which many writers make between gender and sexuality. For example, even Queer Theorists – who dispute any *intrinsic* connection between the two terms – constantly invoke references to gender as well as sexuality. Moreover, even though the three subfields have distinctive histories and characteristics, the three subfields are by no means entirely discrete. Some writers may explicitly locate their work in more than one subfield. This may for example be said of Ken Plummer's work (2005) and indeed of my own (2005).

What this means is that whether or not a particular writer, or form of analysis or institutional program or department is described under the rubric of Women's Studies (or Gender Studies, or Sexuality Studies, or Gender *and* Sexuality Studies), the *resources* drawn upon will necessarily derive from the trio of subfields either implicitly or explicitly. Hearn and Morgan (1990: 7) have argued, 'feminist research and theory…has never been just about women'. However, even feminist writings which, at least explicitly, talk exclusively about women inevitably make use now of materials that are intertwined with debates about gender and sexuality.

In this climate I would argue that any attempt to *entirely* disengage Feminist, Sexuality or Masculinity Studies from each other would amount to an impossible dismemberment of existing epistemological linkages. This paper addresses what I see as the present engagement between the sub-fields in the developing Gender/Sexuality Field, their existing interconnection and dialogue. Their engagement contains possibilities, but also points of conflict. After all, the emerging ménage is not just

a matter of sticking together commensurable bits that fit together neatly like pieces of a jigsaw.

Problems in the new ménage: The three subfields as differing knowledge cultures

The subfields do share features, but also have important differences. In *Gender & Sexuality* (2005), I employed the methodological device of a notion of continuum within the Gender/Sexuality Field (see Figure 2), ranging from strongly Modernist to strongly Postmodern thinking. The continuum shows the ways in which the Feminist, Masculinity and Sexuality subfields draw upon a broadly similar theoretical terrain with similar main directions. I consider these subfields in terms of five main theoretical directions. These directions are 1. Modernist Humanism (e.g. Martha Nussbaum), 2. (Singular) Difference – ie Gender or Sexuality as the singular focus (e.g. Mary Daly), 3. (Multiple) Differences – typically Gender & Race, Sexuality & Race (e.g. Gayatri Spivak), 4. Social Constructionism (e.g. R.W. Connell), and 5. Postmodernism (e.g. Steven Seidman).

In brief, for those unfamiliar with particular terms, Social Constructionism (upper case, i.e. SC) is a designated label for a particular grouping of Modernist thinkers in Gender and Sexuality Studies. SC writers assert that identities are formed by the social structuring effects of power. However, they stress specific social *variability and complexity* rather than emphasising virtually unlimited fluidity per se as Postmodern thinkers are inclined to do. The approach has a Modernist stress upon macro forms of power, on social *structures*, and is more inclined than Postmodern thinking to view power negatively – in terms of oppression. Hence, this particular theoretical direction may be distinguished from social constructionism (written in lower case), which refers to a broad anti-essentialist stance or strategy, and includes a whole range of perspectives including postmodern approaches.

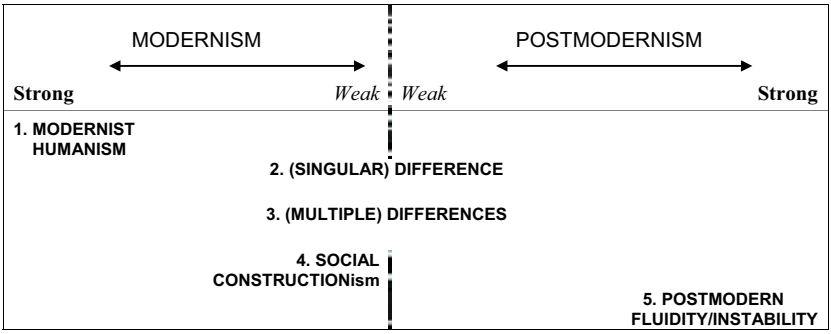

Figure 2: Map of the Gender/Sexuality field: continuum and directions

The crucial point to be made here is that each of the subfields of Feminist, Sexuality and Masculinity Studies have different emphases in relation to these main theoretical directions. The subfields are not, in other words, all spread equally across the continuum. Rather they tend to 'clump' differently in certain locations within the continuum.

Debate about the advantages and limits of Postmodern inflected theories like Queer Theory continues to rage in both Feminist and Sexuality Studies linking them in terms of theoretical terrain, shared key theorists (such as Judith Butler), and directions, but this debate is still largely emergent in Masculinity Studies. This is because Masculinity Studies remains largely Modernist in approach and has only recently entered the fraught debates associated with challenges to this Modernist frame of reference (on left of Fig. 2).

While there have, to be sure, been some writings since the mid-1990s in Masculinity Studies (Edley and Wetherell, 1995; Martino, 1999; Whitehead, 2002; Petersen, 2003), which have developed more Postmodern lines of enquiry, engagement with Postmodernism still remains comparatively unusual. Whereas in Feminism and Sexuality Studies Postmodern thinking or at the very least being well versed in its complexities is virtually a given, in Masculinity Studies this is by no means a certainty. I would argue, perhaps more controversially, that a comparatively limited number of Masculinity scholars do rhetorically invoke Postmodern theory, but passing reference to Foucault sits alongside a continuing adherence to power as negative, to gender categories and to notions of gender categories as determining sexuality. I will return to this shortly.

Overall, Masculinity Studies writings share a largely Modernist alignment. Which remains dominated by Social Constructionist writings (see 4 in Figure 2). By contrast with Masculinity Studies, Modernist Social Constructionism (in upper case) is much diminished in Feminism and under serious attack in Sexuality thinking. The prevalence of Social Con-

structionism in Masculinity Studies as against in Feminist and Sexuality Studies highlights the differences between them.

Masculinity studies: the 'odd man out'?

I argue that, since the 1960s/70s, the subfields have aligned in shifting ways. While initially Feminist and Masculinity Studies developed closely linked Modernist theoretical paradigms under the rubric of the term 'gender', with the rise of Postmodern approaches Feminism and Sexuality Studies have moved closer to one another in terms of overarching theoretical frameworks. By contrast, Masculinity Studies has increasingly appeared as 'the odd man out'. The point here is that the different trajectories of Feminist, Sexuality and Masculinity Studies have shifted in relation to their differential uptake of Postmodern perspectives. This differential uptake has significant implications for dialogue between the subfields.

In brief I would note three points in support of my claims regarding these developments. Firstly, the different trajectories of Feminist, Sexuality and Masculinity Studies can be seen when comparing *central theorists* in the three subfields. Whereas Judith Butler's work has become a cornerstone of both Feminist and Sexuality Studies theoretical frameworks (with the telling exception of feminist work on violence), major 'gate-keeper' theoreticians in Masculinity Studies such as R. W. Connell remain rather resolutely modernist and highly sceptical concerning postmodern agendas and Butler's work (Connell, 2000: 20–21, 2002: 71, 2005: xix).

Secondly, evidence for the potentially dissonant trajectories of Feminist, Sexuality and Masculinity Studies may be found in differential *adherence to gender categories and gender identities*. The now well established antagonism to the presumed limits of gender categories found in Sexuality Studies is now also relatively widespread in Feminist work. For example, the major focus of Feminist work in the 1980s was upon 'gender difference' and was organised around the identity category of women. However, by the mid-1990s this emphasis had shifted sharply towards a critique of such identity categories under the banner of Postmodern inflected analyses.

The emphasis of Postmodern thinking in Feminist and Sexuality Studies construes resistance to power as resistance to identity itself and effectively disavows recourse to identities as politically problematic (Beasley, 1999: 95). By contrast, Masculinity Studies writers typically retain certain investments in identities and may even conceive of resistant identities underlying power. In this context, Jeff Hearn, a crucial writer in the Masculinity Studies subfield, questions the common concern with 'masculini-

ties' in favour of a focus on 'men'. While the intention here, in keeping with Social Constructionist approaches, is certainly to deconstruct and critique the category of 'men' as a social category – rather than re-affirm the category as an essentialist identity – the approach retains a strong and continuously reiterated commitment to starting with gender and gender categories and to developing an ethico-political stance from this starting point (Hearn 2004, 2008). This is not a Postmodern orientation. Postmodern theorists do not share this commitment and precisely question such a starting point. According to Michael Kimmel, another major Masculinity Studies writer, the political goal is not for men and women to become the same but, rather, to embrace differences which will exist even in a gender equal society and become 'more deeply and fully themselves' (emphasis added) (2000: 268). These are not sentiments which display Postmodern affiliations.

Thirdly, my account of the different trajectories of Feminist, Sexuality and Masculinity Studies can be seen in different views of the relationship between *gender and sexuality*. These views are not spread indiscriminately across the three subfields of Feminist, Sexuality and Masculinity Studies. Theorising in both Feminist and Sexuality Studies now largely take as given that gender and sexuality cannot be reduced to one another – a postmodern perspective strongly associated with Queer Theory (see Richardson 2001). Both Feminist and Sexuality Studies nowadays (once again barring feminist work on violence) do not presume that gender produces sexuality. Feminist and Sexuality Studies do not presume that men as a group have a specific and different sexuality from that of women as a group. By contrast, Masculinity Studies thinkers remain aligned with (second-wave) Modernist views which presume that gender does effectively determine sexuality. Michael Kimmel, for example, writes from 'within a perspective that sees gender as *the* organizing principle of sexual expression' (emphasis added) (Kimmel, 2005: xiii, 16–21; Kimmel and Plante, 2004: xiv). Such a view is decidedly at odds with Postmodern and Queer critiques which reject prioritizing gender over sexuality and reject stable distinct gender identity categories.

Differences between Masculinity Studies as against much of Feminist and Sexuality Studies with regard to the relationship between gender and sexuality arise out of shifts associated with the so-called 'sex wars'. In short, the 'sex wars' amounted to a debate between on the one side Modernist radical Feminist (Gender studies) thinkers like Catharine Mackinnon, Andrea Dworkin, and Mary Daly, amongst many others, talking about 'sex as danger' in the 1970s/80s, and on the other side the growing influence from the late 1980s/1990s of Postmodern thinkers associated with Sexuality Studies, talking usually from a Foucauldian and

Queer Theory perspective about 'sex as pleasure', the so-called 'pro-sex' position (Echols, 1984; Epstein and Renold, 2005).

The so-called 'pro-sex' position set itself in opposition to the 'sex as danger' stance and was strongly associated with the rise of Foucauldian Sexuality Studies and Queer theory developed by theorists like Judith Butler, Gayle Rubin and Steven Seidman who were noticeably less persuaded of the analytical authority of gender categories. Moreover, sex in this approach was precisely about embracing danger, power and even consensual violence (Beasley, 2005: 122–123). The upshot of theoretical tensions and shifts expressed in the 'sex wars' is that Feminist/Sexuality studies writings find themselves at odds with Masculinity Studies works around sexuality. For example, while Feminist and Sexuality studies are both now very largely pro-sex oriented, it is almost impossible to find any account of heterosexual men's pleasure in Masculinity Studies that does not presume desire=damage.

These three elements – *the take-up of Postmodern thinkers, a sustained questioning of gender categories, and a position which disengaged gender and sexuality, associated with a comparatively more positive pro-sex view of sexuality* – mirror the ever closer alignment between Feminist and Sexuality Studies in terms of scholarly debates and concepts. This deepening relationship between Feminism and Sexuality is not evident in the case of Masculinity Studies. It is metaphorically and literally often the 'odd man out'. Thus, I am not only arguing that Feminist and Sexuality Studies are increasingly coalescing, at least at the level of theorising, but that this coalescence has increasingly made evident the relative isolation of Masculinity Studies, despite its subject matter links with Feminism as a form of Gender Studies.

Conclusion

The impact of this potentially serious disjunction in the Gender/Sexuality field is that it is difficult to conceive how to plan projects and courses which draw upon the full range of the subfields given their possibly incommensurable directions. How do we overcome this? Feminist and Masculinity analyses intersect but are not parallel equivalents. I agree with Janet Halley to the extent that I too would say that convergence in forms of thinking is not a self-evident good (Halley, 2004). Moreover, I do not intend to presume that one or other of the subfields has somehow 'got it right'. All the same, issues like sexual violence require us to think about the problems of discord. Furthermore, at the beginning of this paper I argued that any attempt to entirely disengage Feminist, Sexuality or Masculinity Studies from each other would amount to an impossible dismemberment of existing epistemological linkages. The difficulties are

not therefore avoidable and must be explicitly confronted. Despite my concerns about serious disjunctions between Feminist, Sexuality and Masculinity Studies, it is this kind of critical stance that is shared by all of the subfields, which links them together in interesting and politically important ways. It gives me, for one, great hopes of their creative intermingling in the emerging ménage that is the Gender/Sexuality field.

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Chapter 20
Examining Power, Men and Hegemony – A Theoretical Question?

Marie Nordberg
Karlstad University, Sweden

To examine and understand how men's privileges and power positions are constituted, upheld and reproduced scholars have often used and also combined different power concepts. In this paper four concepts are discussed: *Patriarchy/ies*, *Hegemonic Masculinity*, *The Hegemony of Men*, and *Discourse Theory*. The concepts are compared and their potential to catch and explain the reproduction of (certain) men's power positions are examined, along with some shortcomings.

As the sociologist Lisa Adkins (2002) has argued, there is a need for new concepts and new analytic tools that better than the old ones can catch new hierarchies and intricate forms of suppressions today constituted on a local as well as on a transnational level. Nina Lycke (2003) has pointed out that even if gender has to be treated as a central category in gender research, is it also important to pay attention to the work of other hierarchies and analyse how gender is constituted through and interacts with other hierarchies and identity-categories. In the paper I will to some extent follow her stress on gender as a central category that must be in focus. But, at the same time I want to point out, that a strong focus on gender and gender hierarchies also can direct researchers' attentions so strongly, that the work of other hierarchies easily can slip out of attention.

The ontological and epistemological assumptions, the theories and analytic concepts we understand gender and power through, constitute the research and direct our attention to certain phenomena, individuals, practices and settings. Thereby a phenomenon is conceptualised, described and explained in a certain way. It therefore important to critically reflect on concepts applied and assumptions that are taken-for-granted.

Patriarchy/patriarchies

Patriarchy was originally a term describing a historically established social hierarchy, often found in traditional societies, through which necessities, commodities, wealth, duties, tasks and power was distributed and

men were given more status, power and possibilities to act then women. As the sociologist Øystein Gullvåg Holter (1997) has pointed out, patriarchy cannot only be understood as a gender hierarchy suppressing women. Also other categories as age, kinship and the social positions individuals are born into (today discussed as "class") have been – and still are – important for how individuals were positioned in this hierarchy. Holter describes patriarchy *as a historical fluid structure* and *a practice changed over time*.

When patriarchy in the 1970–1980s was introduced as an analytic tool in Women's Studies, the intricate combination of age, kinship, social position, sex and gender that historically constituted the power positions was downplayed. Patriarchy was presented as *a gender-system* and the hierarchy *between men and women* highlighted as more important than the hierarchy between men. Patriarchy was defined as "men's rule over women". Patriarchy analyses have often been reworked to fit better new circumstances in societies. Jeff Hearn (2009) has, for example, recently presented a new elaboration – *Transpatriarchies* – which makes the concept more fluid, and thereby also possible to apply in a more nuanced way on a transnational level.

Hegemonic masculinity

In analysing "Hegemonic Masculinity" Raewyn Connell (1995) has integrated patriarchy with masculinity-theory and Gramsci's concept of hegemony. Hegemonic Masculinity offers scholars an analytic model described as a relational gender-system with a central and idealised masculinity-position (a hegemony) to which all other masculinity-positions and femininity positions are related. This concept makes it hereby possible to catch and explain the contradictions and variations in men's and women's practices, without losing the focus on the reproduction of men's power. "Hegemonic Masculinity" is for Connell described in three different ways: *as a privileged masculine position*, the centre in a relational gender system; *as a collectively upheld, fluid configuration of practices*, reworked and changed over lifetime; and *as* a *certain group of men*, those occupying the power positions in a society (or world order).

The hegemony/hegemonies of men

Another application of Gramsci's hegemony concept is "The Hegemony of Men" (Hearn, 2000, 2004). Instead on focusing on Hegemonic Masculinity – a position few men empirically embody and practice – Hearn requested scholars to go back to Gramsci's original concept. The analytic focus in this concept is directed at the multiple practices and knowledge

productions that are ongoing, in a multiple way constitutes and normalise the social category of "men", and are ongoing in also dividing the individuals included in this category by naturalising certain descriptions and certain practices. The focus in this concept is both on how the category man is made and on *men's practices*. The analytical tool offered in Gramsci's writings is in this concept applied in a way that – without taking for granted a pre-existing centre – make it possible to study hegemony as shifting and multiple processes in which the social category of "men" and "men's practices" are constituted and normalised by intellectuals, capitalists, politicians, schools, law, media and other actors in this web.

Discourse theory

Discourse Theory takes points of departure in the performativity found in language and practices. This concept focuses on how elements (both words and practices) are brought together and constitute meaning, by being temporarily fixed into a certain contingent chain of equivalence (Laclau and Mouffe, 1985/2001). The analysis is directed both at the meaning constructed by the elements (words) brought together and fixed in certain relations to each other and directed at examining *the exclusions* and the *material effects* of a certain fixation. The concept makes it possible to examine and describe how gender and other categories are constituted and contested by discourses and other practices articulated. Discourse Theory is often applied to study how certain understandings are constituted in texts, interviews and everyday interactions. The analytical tools offered in this concept also make it possible to examine how discourses and practices flow and travel between countries and are picked up and repeated in other settings. It is also possible to study and describe how gender discourses and practices are changed, rearticulated and intertwined with other discourses and other identity positions.

Strengths, lacks and weaknesses in the concepts

The strength of Patriarchy is that the concept points out and highlights how new hierarchies are established and spread and thereby also puts attention onto the reproduction of male bodies in top positions. The concept is useful for analysing how power is distributed and to explain how some bodies more often then others, are placed in top positions and considered to be more entitled to a higher salary and a certain position, than other bodies. A weakness is that the concept is so focused on gender hierarchies, that it often downplays the work of other hierarchies. It is also difficult to use the concept for analysing how power relations

are constituted and distributed in non-hierarchical and equality-oriented settings. When applying the concept it is also easy to neglect negotiations and more positive changes.

Connell's integration of masculinity theory and Gramsci's hegemony concept can be criticised for reducing the analyses of men's practices to a highlighting of a masculinity-model with an idealised position few men actually practice and embody. Hegemonic Masculinity can also be criticized for having problems to catch flows between subordinated and the hegemonic masculinity position. Further the concept can be accused of neglecting negotiations and the positive changes also going on among men in the cultural elite. By giving gender the most important and privileged position in the analyses, the power established by other hierarchies is downplayed. The analyses risk thereby – by not questioning this assumption – reproducing gender as an important dividing category. And, by subordinating other hierarchies and only highlighting the existence of one globally constituted and spread concept of hegemonic masculinity, this analytical tool also tends to normalise other suppressing hierarchies.

The strength of "The Hegemony of Men" is that it focuses on men's practices as well as on the knowledge production and the network of actors, institutions ands practices that together constitute and divide the social category of "men". A weakness is that the concept does not confront women's practices and does not direct attention to the constitution of femininity hierarchies. By excluding individuals categorised as women from the analyses, this concept tends to leave violence executed by women out of sight.

Discourse Theory's strength is that it directs attention to *performativity* and focuses on *the work of the linguistic*, thereby making it possible to analyse verbal as well as non-verbal practices. A strength is that attention is paid to both *inclusions* and *exclusions* made when a certain meaning is established and normalised. A weakness is also the strong emphasises on the linguistic, which tends to direct researchers attention more at documents and interviews, than on ethnography and observations of non-verbal practices.

The importance of combining different power concepts

Postcolonial theories and intersectionality raise important questions about what category/ies, hierarchy/ies and subordinations are most important in a given situation. To open up a more elaborated analysis, I suggest a *multidimensional analysis*, where concepts with different focuses are allowed to meet and confront each other. If these four power-concepts discussed are also combined and integrated with other power-concepts and tools from other disciplines, some of the lacks and

problems earlier pointed out might be handled. Discourse Theory needs, I will argue, to be combined with Patriarchy, Hegemonic Masculinity, The Hegemony of Men, and also with other power-concepts, to make it possible to recognise hierarchies, categories and hegemonic discourses that are constituted and fixed by a certain articulation. On the other hand, the exclusions in Patriarchy-concepts, Hegemonic Masculinity, and The Hegemony of Men, and the assumptions shaping those concepts, need to be more critically discussed and confronted with analytical tools available in Discourse Theory.

By also integrating a power-concepts focus with other hierarchies, which now – because of this lack – are often allowed to pass unmarked, new insights can be drawn. I therefore suggest an integration of three other concepts: *Heteronormativity, Metronormativity*, and *Actor-Network-Theory* (ANT). This is important, if masculinity scholars in the future want be able to notice, observe and describe the new, often complex intertwined forms of male power and new gender hierarchies that today are established in many new places. *Heteronormativity* makes is it possible to examine the process and the hegemonies through which bodies are sexed, sexualised and gendered. Hereby masculinity scholars can develop new insights and become aware of how some bodies and practices are made more intelligible then others, while other bodies are problematised or made totally unthinkable (Butler, 1990) *Metronormativity,* the hegemony constituting centre and periphery is another fruitful tool, which make it possible to pay more attention to ongoing hierarchical practices – both on the regional and global level – in which some individuals, places and lifestyles ongoing are made more normal and modern than others (Halberstam, 2004). Finally, I suggest an integration of *Actor-Network Theory* (ANT) and the research tools offered by this concept (Latour, 2005). ANT offers masculinity scholars tools that make it possible to more thoroughly examine and understand how the hegemony of men, and new ongoing networks of "men" are established, produced and made possible by extended flows and networks of things, techniques and practices. If ANT were more integrated with masculinity research it becomes possible to focus and examine the connections, through which clothes, hairstyles, shoes, information on internet, media and individuals today are brought together and shaped, and so better understand the processes and practices that constitute and normalise certain bodies, hierarchies, combinations and practices. Men are today connected and brought together geographically by phones, computers and many other techniques and practices that make it possible to extend men's networks and thereby make the power they execute possible.

To conclude

In this paper I have pointed out some strengths and weaknesses that can be found in four power concepts often applied in Critical studies on men and masculinities. Theories and the tools they offer direct our attention in certain ways. By privileging some analyses, hierarchies and explanations, the concepts discussed also restrict our analyses in a problematic way. As pointed out, is it important to critically reflect on how the power-concepts we use restrict analyses in an ongoing way. In this paper I have also suggested a multidimensional analysis, a meeting that opens up new combinations, through which also other categories and hierarchies are brought in and made visible. A more complex approach in the analyses, where different concepts are both combined and confronted can open up new insights. When combining and integrating concepts in this way it is also important to be aware of the concepts' different ontologies and epistemologies, and the different assumptions underpinning the analyses. Furthermore, it is important not to assume in advance and take for granted that gender is always the most important category and most powerful hegemony, and at the same time not to downplay gender oppression as less important. The theories and analytic tools often applied today in masculinity research often conceal constructions of sameness and other hierarchies. If these hierarchies can be noticed and brought into analyses, we can also develop new understandings of gender and thereby also stimulate masculinity scholars to develop new theories.

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Chapter 21
Masculinities and Affective Equality: Love Labour and Care Labour in Men's Lives

Niall Hanlon
University College Dublin, Ireland

Masculinities studies and affective inequality

Critical studies of men and masculinities implicitly acknowledge, and sometimes explicitly address (e.g. McMahon, 1999, Gerstel and Gallagher, 2001, Coltrane and Galt, 2000), how the unequal gender division of love and caring work is a significant source of gender inequality (Lynch, 1989; Lynch and Lyons, 2008; Lynch et al., 2009; Lynch and McLaughlin, 1995). However, masculinity studies have neglected the affective in its analysis of gender domination. Instead the focus is on the construction of dominant and hegemonic masculinities in the public sphere (Connell, 1987; Hearn, 1992; Bourdieu, 2001). Those studies that do focus on men, masculinity and caring tend to research specific groups of male caregivers either within paid or informal unpaid sectors (Applegate and Kaye, 1993, Kramer and Thompson, 2005, Russell, 2007a, 2007b) or in respect of men's investments in paid work (Holter, 2007). Moreover, even though leading theorists such as Connell ([1995] 2005) define emotional relations as a structure of gender orders there is a reluctance generally within the field to focus centrally on affective relations as a key source of gender domination (Seidler, 2006, 2007). Often this reluctance is based on the fear (perhaps well-grounded) that focusing on caring and emotional relations risks empathising with men's *pain* at the expense of exposing the oppressions and domination of men's *power*.

The neglect of affective relations in the construction and constitution of inequality is being addressed by innovative approaches to contemporary egalitarian theory. Baker et al (2004) have devised a model for conceptualising inequality that defines cultural, political, economic and affective relations as generative sources of inequality. These systems of social relations give rise to five interrelated sets of inequalities: inequalities of resources, respect and recognition, representation, working and learning, and love, care and solidarity. Alongside the traditional focus within sociology and egalitarian theory on economic, cultural/symbolic

and political relations, Baker et al. (2004: 28) argue that affective relations are also generative sources of inequality and injustice, especially in generating inequalities of love, care and solidarity:

> '…[I]t is an important issue of equality, and therefore of justice, to ask who has access to, and who is denied, relations of love, care and solidarity, whether these relations are reciprocal or asymmetrical, and whether the ways societies operate help to satisfy or frustrate these human needs'

Inequalities arise in the ways that love, care and solidarity labours are accessed and produced with some people having less access to caring relations and/or by undertaking disproportionate burdens of affective work (Baker et al., 2004: 60, Lynch et al., 2009).

Masculinities, love labour and caring labour

Caring has been an important dimension to egalitarian research in Irish society (Lynch et al., 2009). My own research proposes that masculinities are central to understanding how caring relations are configured and that the affective is central to how hegemonic masculinity operates (Hanlon, 2008, 2009a, 2009b, 2010). This research involved 8 in-depth interviews with key members of diverse men's groups (*Care Conversations)* as well as a purposeful sample of 21 diverse men (*Care Stories)* based on major inequalities in Irish society (Government of Ireland, 2000). The research hypothesised that dominant definitions of masculinity write love labour and care labour out of men's lives and posed the question 'how do different men in Irish society define their masculinity in relation to love and caring work?' A critically reflective profeminist standpoint was used using research diaries and psychotherapeutic reflexivity (Jackson, 1990; Hearn, 1989; Kahn, 2008; Harding, 1998; May, 1998).

The *Care Conversation* research with men from diverse men's groups drew three conclusions (Hanlon, 2009a, 2009b, 2010). Firstly, the dynamics of masculinity preoccupy men with practices which are at least in ongoing tension with caregiving. Secondly, breadwinner discourses and practices, whilst potentially drawing men into limited amounts of caregiving, are more likely to restrict the amount and types of care that men undertake. Thirdly, there is considerable uncertainly among men about their role in 'feminised' caregiving and the value of 'feminised' attributes in their lives. Affective relations were found to be a significant source of tension as men struggle with what it means to be men.

These themes were elaborated within the *Care Story* interviews with individual men. The dominant way that masculinity was defined in relation to caring was in opposition to the ideal-type of *maternal femininity*. Ideal-type caring was defined as dependency work which is focused on the physical and practical needs of care recipients. The caregiver was seen to embody a nurturing capital (Reay, 2000, Allatt, 1993, Lynch and Lyons, 2009b) resulting in one who is especially emotionally and cognitively skilled at caring, sacrificially other-centred based on a strong sense of family duty and highly trustworthy and devotional. On the other hand the ideal-type of men's caring was defined as breadwinning, preventing many men from having a deeper reflection on the nurturing they provided.

Paid work was found to be a major field where men accumulate the symbolic capital they require to compete for hegemonic masculinity in the public sphere. Yet, primary care relations were also a significant source of meaning and identity in men's lives. Breadwinning is the dominant way that men balance their investment in these two aspects of their identity. This tension between paid work and love labour gives rise to a symbolic and affective trade-off between men's investments in love labour and investments in paid work. Their pursuit of symbolic capital in the public sphere through paid work clashes with love labouring when love labour obligations result in men having to sacrifice the time, effort and energy they invest in paid work.

Research demonstrates that men's involvement in caring is contingent on the women in their lives (Gerstel and Gallagher, 2001). My research found that few men are willing to neglect their masculinity by sacrificing paid work to love labour, but then again, few men are placed in a position of having to make this choice. Caring responsibilities were something that most of the men feared, resented and avoided.

Nonetheless, the research identified three configurations of masculinities in relation to love and caring labour. The men defined their masculinity in relation to caring either in terms of having a *Conventional*, *Sharing* or *Caring* masculinity. *Conventionalists* define their masculinity most strongly through paid work through their roles as breadwinners. They have not had to sacrifice paid work to caring nor did most of them experience these in conflict, either because they had no caring responsibilities, or because the women in their lives did the caring work. Their investments in paid work to the detriment of love labour were generally justified because of their economic contribution. They express only minor regrets for not being more involved in nurturing yet they had a strong sense of duty to family that included a paternalistic and commanding attitude to caring and a view that nurturing is women's work.

Sharers, on the other hand, had a strong sense of caring identity and responsibility and were involved in all aspects of caring. They did not define their caring exclusively through their roles as breadwinners, although breadwinning was very important for many of them. Paid work remained a major way that masculinity was defined and they therefore had to balance paid work and caring responsibilities to maintain a sense of themselves as men. They had more negotiations and compromises around caring and paid work than *Conventionalists*. *Sharers* described aspects of caring as rewarding but were very aware of its burdens and none willingly chose to do caring in replace of paid work.

In contrast to both *Sharers* and *Conventionalists, Carers* did not define masculinity strongly through paid work. They had a strong sense of caring identity and caring responsibility and were involved in all aspects of caring. They defined caring more in terms of nurturing. They also experienced negotiations and compromises around paid work and caring demands. However, noting that caring could be rewarding, more so than other men they highlighted its emotional burdens. There were two sorts of carers based on the small research sample. *No Choice Carers* were faced with the *w*omen in their lives being unwilling or unable to do the caring. They therefore felt that they had no choice but to become primary carers to protect and care for their children and therefore sacrificed having a full-time commitment to paid work. *Nothing to Lose Carers* on the other hand did not have a traditional masculinity constructed through paid work to lose in the first place when they became carers. Their caring identity was related to experiences of neglect as children and their having developed a caring life-project in order to heal past pains in their life.

Family dynamics were very important in how men constructed gender and caring in their lives but caring identity cannot be read off in any simple way from these experiences. Multiple social and emotional factors intervened in shaping later caring identities and practices. Nonetheless caring masculinity was generally defined in terms of a default traditional gender division of labour within ones family of origin with fathers and sons having to do very little caring. The research found that the gender order of caring in families was disrupted because of experiences of abuse and neglect. *Caregivers* were more likely to have negative care experiences that affected their ability to construct a *conventional* masculinity but these experiences could also affect their ability and interest in constructing themselves as caregivers.

The study also identified how men resisted the imposition of caring obligations on their masculinity by drawing on five care-free discourses. Doing primary caring was perceived to be *unnatural-for-men* because it went against men's evolutionary and biological nature and as a*bnormal-*

for-men, because it went against dominant social norms and conventions. It was also perceived to be *dysfunctional-for-men* because it was said to disrupt a 'properly' functioning social order and *impractical-for-men* because it went against economic and practical constraints of paid work and family life. Finally, doing primary caring was perceived to be *different-for-men* because men were said to have different interests, identities and orientations to caring.

Conclusion: Hegemonic masculinities as care-free

The research found that masculinity is defined in relation to love labour in terms of being Conventional (based on a traditional division of labour), Sharing (based on the more equal sharing of caring), or Caring (based on primary caring). Masculinity is also defined in opposition to the ideal-type caring identity characterised by maternal femininity which is constructed in opposition to the symbolic, political, and economic (and many affective) aspirations of hegemonic masculinities. It is also defined in relation to dominant heteronormative familial gender orders within families of origin wherein women are primary carers and men are primary breadwinners and where boys and men come to depend on and expect being cared for by women. Caring inequalities are negotiated and rationalised and dominant masculinities defended using five care-free discourses of masculinity.

Dominant definitions of masculinities as care-free write out primary love and caring from men's lives because dominant masculinities are defined in terms of the men's accumulation of symbolic capital in the public sphere in contrast with the time, dedication, and other-centred practices and identities that define love labour. However, I am not so much arguing that there are uncaring configurations of masculinity that are dominant. More fundamentally I am suggesting that hegemonic masculinity, as well as being power-pursuing (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Hearn, 2004), is also constructed as being care-free. Instead of the focus on identifying dominant models or types of masculinity, it is, I suggest, the underlying processes and logic that is important to analyse. Masculinity, including different types of oppressive masculinity, carries a care-free assumption as its default position. The masculine privilege of being care-free is invisible and taken-for-granted by men. Men consent to being care-free because it is not in their interests to undertake primary caring. Being a caregiver is an illegitimate position for a man because it precludes one from constructing hegemonic masculinity within the public sphere; masculinity cannot be legitimated through primary caring. These expectations are institutionalised within a masculinised public

sphere. This occurs explicitly when women are defined as primary carers as, for example, within the Irish Constitution:

> '[T]he State recognises that by her life within the home, woman gives to the State, a support without which the common good cannot be achieved. The State shall, therefore, endeavour to ensure that mothers shall not be obliged by economic necessity to engage in labour to the neglect of their duties in the home' (Government of Ireland, 1937: Article 42.2).

It also occurs within a neo-liberal environment that writes caring out of social and economic equations (Harvey, 2005; Hearn and Pringle, 2006) with the citizen defined as a producer consumer rather than as an interdependent carer (Walby, 1997: 4; Lanoix, 2007; Rantalaiho and Heiskanen, 1997; Fineman, 2008). Caring obligations are especially privatised for men because of the moral imperative on women to be carers (O'Brien, 2007). Patriarchal values of the zero-load worker are encoded within the structure of employment and the concept of the citizen (Lynch and Lyons, 2009a).

Hegemonic masculinity is constructed in opposition to feminised caring identities. Men deny responsibility for care and yet expect to be cared for. Nonetheless, different masculinities are not equally care-free; dominant masculinities are subject to change and contestation. Masculinity studies needs to interrogate the affective dimensions of gender relations, with all their contradictions and tensions, to deconstruct male domination and hegemonic masculinity. The theoretical and political space left unfilled by marginalising the affective is all too easily taken up by reactionary voices who would ignore men's power and responsibility (except as conceptualised in patriarchal terms), emphasise only men's pain, and thereby construct men as oppressed. "O"

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Chapter 22
'I'm not allowed wrestling stuff': The Difficult Fit between Hegemonic Masculinity and Junior Primary School Boys

Clare Bartholomaeus
University of Adelaide, Australia

> Nathan: That'd be just stupid, a boy wants a – is it a boy or a girl I can't tell the difference?
>
> Sophie: It's a boy
>
> Nathan: Why would a boy want a doll? That's just freaky. Why would a boy want a doll?
>
> CB: Why?
>
> Nathan: If it was boy doll I'd be happy . . .
>
> Matthew: If it was a wrestling doll I'd be happy
>
> Nathan: Yeah Lachlan [boy in another group] has a few wrestling dolls
>
> Matthew: I'm not allowed wrestling stuff[16]

The above exchange, in response to the children's book *William's Doll*, highlights several of the points I put forward in this paper. Firstly, young boys in my research with six and seven year olds show some support of hegemonic masculinity – it is stupid and freaky if a boy wants a doll but wrestling dolls are acceptable. Secondly, they show some flexible behaviour – playing with 'boy dolls' is okay. And, finally, the point I focus on, the exchange shows there are impacts of age on gender – Matthew has restricted access to wrestling things, restrictions presumably put in place by his parents, highlighting that there are barriers to certain forms of masculinity for young boys.

16 All of the children's names have been changed.

Within Masculinity Studies, concepts about gender are devised implicitly with adults in mind. However, this remains largely hidden. I have found only one other work which has explicitly pointed out the main issues I examine here. In her definition of 'Childhood Studies' in the *International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities*, Maria Eriksson (2007) argues that writing on men and masculinities does not draw properly on childhood studies, nor does it look at the implications of age and gender. In particular she draws attention to Raewyn Connell's *The Men and the Boys* (2000). Eriksson writes:

> Here, a theoretical perspective previously developed to understand the position of men (gendered adults) and multiple forms of masculinities (gendered adulthoods) is used to talk about boys and young men as well, without any further discussion about the implications of meanings of age or of age-related power (2007: 62).

It is evident within Connell's work she rarely specifies she is talking about 'adult' masculinities (for exceptions, see Connell, 2000: 31; Connell, 2003: 22). This ignores that children and teenagers may not have access to certain gender positions because of their age (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, 2003: 72), and that they interact with different institutions than adults (Thorne, 1993: 172). Furthermore, research and theory about high school boys may not always be relevant to primary school boys. It is problematic that the term 'boys' is often used in Masculinity Studies to mean *high school* boys (see, for example, Connell, 2000: Ch. 9; Martino, 2007).

In this paper I draw on findings from a study with 6 and 7 year old children in Australia to question the use of hegemonic masculinity with junior primary school boys. Whilst I argue that young boys perform subordinated masculinities because of their age, I explore the possibility that hegemonic masculinity can be applied to boys if a concept of plural (but still hierarchical) hegemonic masculinit*ies* (Beasley, 2008: 98) is employed.

The literature: Hegemonic masculinity/ies

According to Connell, hegemonic masculinity is positioned at the top of a hierarchy of masculinities which ensures men's dominance (as a group) over women (as a group) (Connell, 2000: 10–11; Connell, 1995/2005:

77).[17] Whilst hegemonic masculinity has been critiqued extensively, (see, for example, Beasley, 2008; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005; Flood, 2002), such broad criticisms rarely mention age, and its applicability to children has not been questioned.

There is confusion in the literature when boys are mentioned in relation to hegemonic masculinity. For example, Connell puts forward several different understandings of how boys and hegemonic masculinity fit together: men and boys (of an unspecified age) have *the same* relationship to hegemonic masculinity (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 846); *high school boys* can perform hegemonic masculinity (Connell 1996), although this idea is often dropped in broader discussions in favour of just men (Connell 1995/2005); or hegemonic masculinity cannot be performed until *after adolescence* (Connell, 1995/2005: 135).

In empirical studies of primary school children hegemonic masculinity is either taken up as an unproblematic term to use or is discarded in favour of a different term with little explanation.[18] The majority of studies with primary school boys use the term hegemonic masculinity, albeit often interchangeably with terms such as 'popular' or 'traditional' which do not always denote hegemonic masculinity in Connell's definition. The concept is mainly used in terms of the physical body, sports (particularly football), and violence or 'hardness' (Renold, 2004: 251; Skelton, 1997; Swain, 2006; Warren, 2003), as well as the attempted repudiation of or oppositional positioning to femininity (Renold, 2004), denigration of homosexuality (although boys may not fully understand what it means) (Hasbrook and Harris, 1999: 316–317; McGuffey and Rich, 1999: 619), and reliance on subordinating other masculinities (McGuffey and Rich, 1999).

Research Findings

My findings come from research with a class of six and seven year old children in a middle class public school in Adelaide, South Australia in 2007. The primary source of data collection was book reading sessions with small groups of children. In these sessions I read the children a

17 Due to space constraints and the complex arguments involved with hegemonic masculinity I have not included a full outline of the concept here. See Connell (2000) and Connell (1995/2005).

18 When a different term is used, such as 'dominant' masculinity, this is often done in relation to *junior* primary school boys (see, for example, Connolly, 2006; Keddie, 2003).

'feminist' or 'non-hegemonic' picture book[19] and then asked questions to encourage discussion and reflection of the ideas presented. Concepts such as hegemonic masculinity and a hierarchy of masculinities based on hegemonic masculinity could not be easily applied to the majority of the boys in my study. However, all of the children (to a different extent) were aware of a gender order in which many things (such as toys and behaviours) can be assigned as either boy or girl things.

Some of the boys affirmed the hegemonic by identifying with characters displaying hegemonic masculinity. However, their claims for this mainly related to physical appearance (such as hair colour) rather than behaviour. The rejection of identifying with non-hegemonic characters appeared to be stronger than identifying with hegemonic ones. For example, many of the boys refused to identify with William, a boy who wants a doll, because they could see his behaviour was stigmatised. This suggests there were hierarchies of some sort in the minds of the boys.

Whilst some non-hegemonic behaviours were derided or rejected by the children, others were supported. The children frequently reiterated the idea that boys can play with 'girls' toys' and girls can play with 'boys' toys' which was only occasionally denied by a minority of children. Some boys felt they could align themselves with 'alternative masculinities' by, for example, disliking William's father for not letting William have a doll, liking 'girls' toys', and identifying with female or non-hegemonic male characters. However, these were not deliberately resistant of the gender order and instead were inspired by fairness, freedom of choice, and a dislike of teasing.

Because of their status and age, I argue that boys cannot perform hegemonic masculinity. Indeed, if subordinated masculinities are associated with femininity (Connell, 2000: 31), it follows that young boys would be subordinate because of their position as children which does not allow for them to be 'properly' masculine (Haywood and Mac an Ghaill, 2003: 72). Hegemonic masculinity may be fleetingly 'tried on' but it is evident from the boys in my study that they struggle to combine behaviours associated with both masculinity and childhood. Furthermore, the shared experience of being children (along with girls) is often greater than the shared experience of being male (with adult men) especially in the setting of the classroom. Indeed, young boys have experiences of being subordinated by adult (hegemonic) masculinity and therefore may not support it when manifested as aggression and other forms of dominant behaviour.

19 The books used were *Piggybook* (Browne, 1986), *A Fire Engine for Ruthie* (Newman and Moore, 2004), *William's Doll* (Zolotow and Pène du Bois, 1972), and *Cinder Edna* (Jackson and O'Malley, 1994).

There appeared to some form of hierarchies amongst the boys in two of the four focus groups where particular 'leaders' were looked to before answering my questions. However, these hierarchies were only partially effective in influencing the behaviour of others. Sometimes other children requested one of these boys be sent back to class for being 'naughty'. The 'leader' in the other group often referred to another boy who was perceived as 'smart' to give the 'right' answers to my questions. Whilst I have given some examples of young boys attempting to perform a variation of hegemonic masculinity, I argue that these are not the same as 'adult' hegemonic masculinity. However, by drawing on ideas of *multiple* hegemonic masculinit*ies* it may be possible for young boys to perform a version of it.

Local hegemonic masculinit*ies*

Connell and James Messerschmidt propose that in empirical studies three levels of hegemonic masculinity appear: local, regional and global (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 849). The idea of multiple local hegemonic masculinities reliant on local context (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 847) seems to work for school-aged boys: '*Local* hegemonic masculinities are constructed in the arenas of face-to-face interaction of families, organizations, and immediate communities' (emphasis in original Messerschmidt, 2008: 106). Instead of continually trying to fit boys into adult concepts, here I briefly outline what was admired for boys by the children in my study, and what might be a local hegemonic masculinity for this particular class. It was important for boys to know what constitutes 'boy' and 'girl' behaviours, although it was less important for them to follow this behaviour. There also appeared to be some valuing of physicality, intelligence, and sociability. There was a complex relationship with teasing and wanting to be 'nice'. Whilst teasing is a strong upholder of the gender order, and a few of the boys claimed to do it, most of them preferred to be 'nice' and liked by their peers. Unlike adult masculinity, obedience was valued and boys generally feared getting into trouble, and were also closely monitored by others for obedience. Overall there was a general pattern where boys were disliked if their behaviour was too extreme.

These admired ways of doing 'boy' contrast with other studies of junior primary school children and hegemonic masculinity that have found that desired aspects of masculinity involve violence and hardness (Connolly, 2006; Hasbrook and Harris, 1999; Keddie, 2003; Skelton, 1997) and, less often, (hetero)sexuality (Keddie, 2003; Skelton, 1997). These different findings highlight that context and setting is crucial in how young boys perform and support certain masculinities. Furthermore, fo-

cusing on boys in schools does not account for how they perform masculinity in other settings.

Whilst there are admired forms of masculinity in particular settings such as individual classrooms, it appears problematic to call these hegemonic. The findings I have which point to two young boys being able to perform a kind of local school-based hegemonic masculinity some of the time seems to do a disservice to the concept hegemonic masculinity. It seems more accurate to say that junior primary school children are engaged in a process of 'trying on' a form of hegemonic masculinity which is not synonymous with an 'adult' hegemonic masculinity.

Some concluding thoughts

In this paper I have put forward several critiques of the use of hegemonic masculinity with primary school boys, particularly those in junior primary school. The largely unquestioned use of hegemonic masculinity with young boys hides the fact that the concept does not account for the interaction of age and masculinity. My findings suggest that whilst an adult form of hegemonic masculinity may have some influence in young children's lives, patterns and understandings of masculinity among young children are often different from adults. The general dislike of authority, 'naughtiness' and teasing and the favouring of obedience and being 'nice' are particularly questioning of adult-oriented theories of hegemonic masculinity. Further research into this area is needed to expand knowledge about young boys and to improve theoretical frameworks.

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Chapter 23
The Unhappy Marriage of Men and Gender Equality

Margunn Bjørnholt
Oslo, Norway[20]

> Achieving gender equality is not just about achieving equality for women, but *it is also about achieving equality for men. If men's caring does not achieve equal status to women's caring* then the burden of childcare will continue to fall upon women, and gender equality in the workplace is not likely to be fully achieved.
> (Project leader of the Norwegian part of the EU-project Fostering caring masculinities, interviewed in *Kilden* 2006, my translation and my italics)

Shortly after the publication of a White paper on men, men's roles and gender equality in the autumn 2008, I met an employee from the Norwegian Ministry of Children and Gender Equality, who, referring to the White paper, said: "*We are very concerned with men's roles and men's rights*". The above citations illustrate how the question of men and gender equality is currently framed as a question of recognition of men, and how arguments of recognition are intertwined with arguments of redistribution, constructing recognition of men as the equivalent to, as well as a necessary prerequisite for gender equality, erasing any conflicts of interests to form the basis of policies built on consensus.

20 The paper is based on the project "Work-sharing couples. A longitudinal study of men in change and intergenerational transmission", carried out 2007/2008, Department of Sociology and Human Geography, University of Oslo and funded by the Research Council of Norway. The project is a longitudinal follow-upstudy of Erik Grønseth's experimental research project Work-sharing couples in the early 1970s.

Men and gender equality in early Norwegian family research

As presented in more detail in Bjønholt (2009), Erik Grønseth was among the first Norwegian family researchers to draw attention to the question of men and gender equality. Drawing on the feminist pioneer Margarete Bonnevie and Wilhelm Reich, Grønseth criticized the male breadwinner model for jeapordizing the personal development as well as the love relations between men and women, for its alientating effects on men and for strengthening patriarchal dominance in the family (1956, 1970).

In pointing out the costs to men of the current gender arrangement, as well as the emotional gains for men of more egalitarian family relations, Grønseth emphasized women's liberation and financial independence. In contrast, current claims of recognition of men as the prerequisite for women's liberation rely on a reversal of the causal chain. Connell and collegues (Carrigan et al., 1985), warned against the view that men stand to gain from women's liberation as 'naïve at best, and at worst dishonest' (Carrigan et al, 1985: 580). In retrospect, historical accounts of the development of men's movements in several countries have demonstrated the development of men's movements as well as some men's activitsts from a profeminist towards a men's rights standpoint (Gronemann, 1987; Hill, 2007; Kimmel, 1996; Messner, 1998).

Men's self interest and gender equality

Men's interests are crucial to the question of men and gender equality. Based on an analysis of the persisting gendered division of domestic work worldwide, and ample evidence of men's resistance to take a more equal share of domestic work, McMahon (1999) argues that men perceive their interests are best served by maintaining the sexual division of domestic work and use considerable resources to defend it. Pease (2000) disagrees with McMahon that men's interests in maintaining the current gender order are given; he rather claims that men's perceptions of what constitutes their self interests can be changed into an antisexist men's standpoint. According to Pease, alternative conceptualizations of men's interests must to some extent build on the life experiences of men. A problem with this approach is that in less professional and less explicitly profeminist/anti-sexist hands, there is a danger with Pease's approach of reproducing the tensions and contradictions of the early men's liberation movement. The attempt to deal simultanously with the costs to men of traditional masculinity and to do away with men's institutional privilege may again lead to a reorientation towards men's feelings and men's inter-

ests in their own right and towards men's rights, unhampered by claims of a reformulation of male subjectivities and practices.

Contradictory masculinity – a potential for change

Drawing on Connell, Bengtsson (1987, 2001) points to the strength of desire as a potential for change "when caught in a contradiction"; and points to the fact that contradictions tend to increase in the processes which currently produce masculinity. Accepting Connel's assumption that the adult man's self-esteem to a greater or lesser degree relies on illegitimate dominance over women, Bengtsson (1987) pointed out three strategies of manliness. In a reformulation of her theory (2001, 159) she suggests rather to speak of *contradictory masculinity* and suggests there are three subject positions which men may invest in to solve the contradiction between reality, in which illegitimate masculine dominance is challenged and men's self-esteem, founded on illegitimate male dominance:

The first subject position is hidden male dominance, a position in which the man denies the illegitimate male dominance but retains his self-esteem (based on illegitimate male dominance). This leads to a dominating subject position which Haavind has called "positive masculinity", and Connell "hegemonic masculinity". The second subject postion is to acknowledge illegitimate male dominance without distancing himself from it. He then retains his self-esteem (based on illegitimate male dominance), but he will be perceived as negatively male or a macho. The third subject position is that the man acknowledges and distances himself from illegitimate male dominance, but this threatens his self-esteem (based on illegitimate male dominance). This strategy is also perceived as negative maleness, and exposes him to rejection and contempt by both men and women. In her analysis, Bengtsson, relies on the potential of change resulting from the inherent contradictions of current masculinity and much like Pease, points out the possibilities of multiple, renegotiable and "fluid" identities as a potential for change.

Recognition of men – redistribution between men and women

One problem with the strong focus on subject positions, personal life and identity questions is that questions of structure and justice tend to evaporate. Connell (1995) has pointed out that "the politics of masculinity must also concern questions of justice". It cannot be taken for granted that questions of justice can be solved by relying on men adopting

egalitarian-oriented subject positions or individually resisting complicitness in male dominance. Rather, questions of justice need to be dealt with politically.

Fraser (2000, 2003) points out the current tendency of identity policies and claims of recognition to predominate over claims of redistribution. In Fraser's view, theorists of recognition and identity policies, such as Honneth and Taylor, by placing the justification for claims of recogntition in the subjective feelings and psychological needs of claimants, fail to distinguish betweeen just and unjust claims of recognition. Fraser suggests treating recognition as a matter of justice, rather than as a matter of self-realization (47). According to Fraser, justice should include both claims of redistribution and of recognition, and be premised on the norm of participatory parity[21]. To justify their claims, recognition claimants must show in public processes of democratic deliberation that institutional patterns of cultural value unjustly deny them the intersubjective conditions of participatory parity and that replacing these patterns with alternative ones would represent a step in the direction of parity. Following Fraser, treating the claim of recognition of men as equal parents as an issue of justice, it must be shown that recognition of men as parents contributes to justice between men and women, while men's self-realization or increased psychological well-being is not a sufficient reason. As illustrated by the initial citation, it is often taken for granted that recognition of men's parenting will contribute to distributive justice in the labour market. Following Fraser, the claim that men are unjustly denied the intersubjective conditions of participatory parity by not being recognized as equal parents would need to be shown in public processes of democratic deliberation. Further it would have to be shown, and not simply assumed, that increased recognition of men as parents will represent a step in the direction of parity of participation between men and women.

An interesting theoretical experiment is to combine Fraser's emphasis on open democratic processes with the ideas of Chantal Mouffe (Mouffe, 2005). While Fraser criticizes and develops her argument in opposition to theorists of identity and recognition, Mouffe develops her argument in contrast to liberal thought in which she claims "the dominant tendency (…) is characterized by a rationalist and individualist approach which forecloses acknowledging the nature of collective identities". Mouffe contends that the task of democratic processes is not to

21 Fraser's concept of participatory parity means the condition of being a peer and that all members of society are secured the possibility of parity, in contrast to the use of the concept parity meaning numerical 50/50% balance of men and women in all spheres (2003: 101).

overcome through consensus the collective identities which entail a we/they discrimination, "but to construct them in a way that energizes the democratic confrontation". She argues that democratic processes should not be "limited to establishing compromises among interests or values or to deliberation about the common good; it needs to have a real purchase on people's desires and fantasies". Mouffe's point of departure is to see the political as a space of power, conflict and antagonism. She warns against the consequences of ignoring antagonism in theory and politics:

> what we are currently witnessing, is not the disappearance of the political in its adversarial dimension, but something different. … nowadays the political is played out in the *moral register.* (…) In place of a struggle between 'right and left', we are faced with a struggle between 'right and wrong'.

In Mouffe's conceptualization conflicts should be dealt with in open democratic processes as a combat over hegemony between adversaries who acknowledge and respect each other. Mouffe employs the term agonism, as a contrast to a war of interests based on antagonism. Combining the two approaches, it is possible to establish a link between the tendency pointed out by Fraser, of claims of recognition to predominate over claims of redistribution, and the tendency pointed out by Mouffe, of the political being played out in the moral register? The current, consensus model of gender equality leaves little room for political confrontation of conflicts of interest between men and women. In an evaluation of Norwegian policies of gender equality during the 1970s and 1980s, Gulli (1992) concluded that several reforms in family law had led to a redistribution of rights from women to men, but no reforms which benefited women at the cost of men. In a study of the process leading to changes in the Norwegian laws of (biological) fatherhod, Annfelt (2008) pointed out how gender equity served as a discursive resource for men. The consensus-oriented model of gender equality in the family has proven beneficial for the promotion of men's rights, while at the same time conceiling men's rights as part of men's interests. It cannot be taken for granted that the redistribution of rights to men contributes to justice in terms of participatory parity between men and women.

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Chapter 24
Cossacks in Ukrainian Consumer Culture: New Old Masculinity Model

Tetyana Bureychak
National University of Lviv, Ukraine

What is the role of national affiliation in the construction of masculine ideals in the contemporary, globalized and consumer-oriented society which is moving away from traditions? This question does not presume a simple and obvious answer. In fact, depending on a social context the answers to this question could be considerably different. This paper discusses the results of research in progress, which aims to analyze gender aspects of the promotion of Ukrainian consumer culture, and particularly addresses national images of masculinity within it. It discusses the meanings that are attached to a particular national masculine image – Cossack (which dominates in modern Ukrainian consumer culture) – and questions to what degree it can serve as a representation of hegemonic masculinity. Acknowledging that the meaning of hegemonic masculinity in not universal, but specific and attached to a particular context, the paper also offers an overview of the social, cultural and historical conditions, which make this image an attractive ideal of masculinity and model for succession for Ukrainian men.

Gender ideology in Post-Soviet Ukraine

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, a newly created Ukrainian state proclaimed its official course towards promotion of democratic values. At the same time, democracy was often understood as an opportunity to resist to norms and models of social relations constructed and imposed by the Soviet state. The freedom from state ideological control over gender relations promoted popularity of traditional gender ideas which had been challenged and suppressed during the period of the USSR (Verdery, 1996; Ashwin, 2000). The post-soviet period of Ukrainian history is marked by increase in popularity of traditional[22] ideas about men's and women's predestinations and social roles, which presume opposite spheres of successful self-fulfillment for men and women,

22 *Traditional* here and later is understood as the one corresponding to the patriarchal gender system.

their different life strategies and level of access to resources. This kind of gender order received a support of nationally-oriented media, political, religious and other non-governmental organizations, having become an integral part of their rhetoric and contributing to general public recognition of these ideas. Prioritization of traditional and essentialist gender models was presented as a way to revitalize Ukrainian nation, to preserve family values and to renew moral traditions which were destroyed by the soviet system. In this regard, some theorists apply the term "patriarchal renaissance" for marking the processes of gender transformation in the post-soviet time. (Attwood, 1996; Rotkirch and Temkina, 2007; Watson, 1993) A stress on the negative consequences of the artificial obliteration of gender differences during the soviet time, promotes attractiveness of the traditional gender order. It is considered as an order that represents authentic gender norms and ideals, which were ruined by the soviet system. This search of 'true' Ukrainian femininity and masculinity in the post-soviet time acquires a form of national 'neotraditionalism' – referring to gender models from the Ukrainian past. Presentation of these models as gender ideals for modern Ukraine is considered as one of the ways to national revival.

The 'neotraditional' Ukrainian masculine ideal is embodied by the model of Cossack. Cossacks were a militaristic community which played an important role in European geopolitics and Ukrainian history in 15–17th centuries (Wilson, 1997). The important function of this gender model is that it is used as a mean for the construction of a national identity, which represents the history of the Ukrainian people, their struggle for independence, culture, language and traditions. The image of Cossack is significantly idealized in its modern interpretation. It is mainly addressed as a noble hero, which embodies a range of virtues (bravery, courage independence, devotion to principles and national values etc.) that are desired for "real" Ukrainian men. (Bureychak, 2006) The moral principles that are ascribed to a Cossack nowadays often contradict the historical evidence of the lifestyle of the Cossack community. (Zherebkin, 1998) Although, the ideal of a Ukrainian man as a Cossack, has been promoted in various ways by media, state ideology[23], sport[24], and socialization[25] the most visually conspicuous way of promotion of this

23 For instance, the Ukrainian anthem contains a phrase "…We are all brothers of Cossack's descent …"

24 A mixture of dance and martial art of Cossacks – "fighting hopack" – was invented and promoted in Ukraine in the 1990s.

25 Boys are often dressed like Cossacks during various celebrations in kindergartens. They are taught about the virtues that are embodied by real Cossacks and which they should aspire to.

ideal is accomplished by Ukrainian advertisings and consumer culture. A Cossack in this case often serves a role of a brand for Ukrainian products and services.

Theoretical frames and methodology of research

The theoretical explanation of the model of Cossack as an ideal of masculinity is based on the concept of hegemonic masculinity developed in the works by Connell (Carrigan, Connell and Lee, 1985; Connell, 1995; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). This concept introduces a notion of multiple masculinities, which form a hierarchy based on power and subordination. According to it a hegemonic masculinity is defined as a normative and most honoured way of being a man that is ideologically legitimized and based on subordination of women and other less dominant masculinities. Hegemonic masculinity is also understood as a pattern of practice of cultural domination which is possible due to subordination, complicity and marginalization of other masculinities. (Connell 1995) It presumes cultural consent, discursive centrality and institutionalization of socially dominant masculinity. (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005: 846) Hegemonic masculinity is established through consensual negotiations or through power and achievement (Beynon, 2002) Connell and Messerschmidt suggest to differentiate between three interlinked levels of empirically existing masculinities – local (face-to-face interaction), regional (constructed at the level of the culture of nation-state) and global (constructed at transnational arenas). According to it, the Cossack image, analyzed in this research, refers to a model of masculinity that is reproduced primarily on the regional level. One of the aims of this study is to discuss whether and how it is possible to apply the concept of hegemonic masculinity to a model of Cossack, which is widely promoted by modern Ukrainian consumer culture.

This research is based on textual analysis of images of Cossacks, which are used for decoration of spaces of consumption (cafes, bars, restaurants, shops, markets etc.) and promotion of products (advertising, products' shape and packaging). A semiotic approach is applied as a major tool of analysis of visual representations of Cossack images. It is based on examination of how meanings are constructed on the level of signs and their relationships to other signs. (Hansen, Cottle, Negnine and Newbold, 1998) The major argument of semiotic approach is that since all cultural objects convey meaning and all cultural practices depend on meaning, they must make use of sings. (Hall, 2003) The study is based on analysis and interpretation of signs and their meanings at-

tached to particular representations of Cossacks[26]. At present, the collection of representations of Cossacks totals around 100 distinct images from different cities of Ukraine – Lviv, Odesa, Kyiv, Kharkiv, Donetsk, Simpheropol and others. The collection of images was started in 2005 and it is still in progress. An image of Cossack is considered as a mechanism for construction of social identity of Ukrainian men. (Hall, 2003) It transmits a range of ideas about attributes and behaviour, which should be inherent in this social group. Apart from this, the images often refer to common culture, lifestyle, similarities and differences of this group from others, and so on.

Do the images of Cossack represent hegemonic masculinity?

Hegemonic masculinity is supported through production of exemplars of masculinity that are supposed to be aspired by men. (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005: 846) Based on this a Cossack ideal can be considered as the one that represents hegemonic masculinity – on the one hand, the hegemony of this ideal is maintained by its promotion via a range of social institutes (media, socialization, politics and advertising) and, on the other hand, this image serves as a ideal model of masculinity for Ukrainian men. It expresses men's fantasies, dreams and desires. It refers to power, independence and courage. This image is also interwoven with the development of Ukrainian nationalism. Its significance is supported with the idea of regaining of glory and respect of the nation, which was under subordination of other states for most of its history. In this case, the image of Cossack embodies, on the one hand, an exemplar of struggle of Ukrainian people for their independence, and, on the other hand, it suggests an ideal of true Ukrainian masculinity which can and should be regained after Ukraine has finally received its independence.

The modern representation of Cossack is rather a romantic myth which is being introduced into a national Ukrainian ideology. An image of Cossack as a patriotic, devoted and noble warrior – a knight of Ukraine – is a discursive invention of the 18th century (Galenko, 2002; Kosenko, 2006), which due to a search of positive national identification models became popular after Ukraine's independence in the late 20th – beginning of 21st centuries. This model is not relevant to the lives of the majority of modern Ukrainian men. There is no need to fight, to express aggressiveness and courage, to protect the family and motherland from enemies, etc. However the ability and readiness to express this kind of

26 This paper provides only major research findings without detailed consideration of each image which was analyzed

militaristic masculinity is still a part of traditional understanding of masculinity. In this case the image of Cossack provides a set of general guidelines for men's potential conduct that signifies about their approaching to the ideal masculinity. Thus, at first glance, the Cossack image corresponds to hegemonic masculinity. However closer consideration of particular images of Cossacks that circulate in Ukrainian advertising makes this statement less certain.

Images of Cossack in Ukrainian Consumer Culture

From the outset it should be noted that there is no unified depiction of a Cossack. This leads to situation of multiple ways to represent Cossack (sometimes in a quite abstract manner). The common feature of all of these images which allows them to be identified as Cossacks is a set of attributes, the most important of which are long mustaches and a special type of haircut "oseledets" (shaven, bold head with a long tail on the crown of the head). The hairstyle of historical Cossacks had different variations based on hierarchy of a Cossack in the organizational structure of Cossacks' community. The type of hairstyle most often depicted in modern images of Cossack belongs to a Cossack that has reached the highest level of authority. The typical garment of a Cossack is a loose white shirt with embroidery around a collar, wide red or blue trousers (as worn by certain Eastern people) and red boots. This type of closes has been adopted as a national costume of modern Ukrainian men.

Images 1–3. Artistic depictions of Cossacks

The analysis of images of Cossacks in modern Ukrainian consumer culture reveals that there are two different forms of Cossacks' representation. One part of images supports hegemonic understanding of masculinity; the other might seem to question it.

Images of Cossacks that support hegemonic masculinity

These images of Cossacks stress on symbols of *power and superiority*. The representations of Cossacks and their attributes are associated with high status in military hierarchy. The image 4 presents not a Cossack, but an object which has double meanings – as an indexical sign it refers to a garlic, which is often used by Ukrainian men as a snack for vodka and as a symbolic sign it refers to a mace – a symbol of power which belonged to a "Hetman" (the head of Cossacks' community).

Image 4. Billboard of vodka "Ulyublena" ("Favourite"),
Lviv (Ukraine) October 2006
The slogan: "It tastes to a real Cossack"

This type of images refers to *militaristic masculinity* (Images 5–8). The Cossacks are depicted as armed with sabers, spears and rifles. They are portrayed as resolute and brave warriors. Their postures radiate *confidence and fearlessness*. These depictions of Cossacks also contain other symbols of military community, such as banners, coats of arms, and drums.

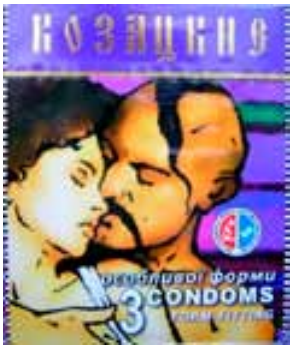
Image 6. Beer "Cossack's"

Images 5. Beer "Kozak"

Image 7. Cigarettes "Cossack"

Image 8. Computer game "Cossacks. European wars"

According to modern Ukrainian advertising, *sexual potency* is another characteristic that a real Cossack is supposed to conform to (Images 9–11). A myth about sexual potency of Cossack is expressed in the text on the back of the box of condoms (Image 9): "*Since long ago a Cossack had three powers: sabre, horse and broad steppe. However, he also had the fourth power – power of love. Condoms "Cossack's" – Cossack's power of love exclusively for you*". This statement suggests a very disputable idea, since Cossacks mostly lived in homosocial male communities, where access of women was strictly limited and sexual relations with them forbidden. Heterosexual relations of Cossacks and their sexual politics during warfare were brutal and aggressive. As Zherebkin describes it, Cossacks not only raped women from the conquered settlements, but also killed them. This was a special ritual supposed to restore masculine pride, which had been undermined by shameful relations with a woman. (Zherebkin, 1998)



Images 9.
Condoms “Cossack’s”

Image10.
Condoms “Cossack’s”

Image 11.
Condoms “Hetman’s”

Most of depictions of Cossacks of this type stress on masculinity, which is associated with dominance, leadership, courage and physical endurance. Cossack as a warrior and as a member of large armed forces refers to an idea of a man as a part of closed male community, with its special masculine values and life-style. It is a case of a homosocial culture, which stresses and promotes institutionalization of gender segregation and hierarchy.

Images of Cossacks that question hegemonic masculinity

The peculiar feature of these depictions is that they are more abstract (often cartoon type), creative and remote from depictions of real Cossacks (they may contain new or untypical Cossacks’ appearance, actions and situations).

Peacefulness is one of the particular qualities of Cossacks in this group of representations (Image 12–14). The Cossacks are depicted as smiling. These images connote kindness, openness and friendliness. They also portray Cossacks without weapons, but with other objects (like dumplings (Image 13) or a spoon (Image 14)), which rather help to support life instead of threatening it.

Image 12.
Café “Pan Varenyk”, “Smakota” “Mister Dumpling”(Kyiv, 2007)

Image13. Sign over a café Cossack juggling with dumplings (Lviv, 2008)

Image 14.
Sugar
(Donetsk, 2007)

Assistance and service is another activity the Cossacks might be depicted as involved in. Help (Image 15. Cossack pointing at the entrance of the book-store) and serving to someone (Image 16. Cossack as a waiter) contradict the notion of hegemonic masculinity which stress dominance and independence.

Image15. Book-store
“Book world”
(Odesa, 2006)

Image 16.
Cafe “Mandryky”
(Lviv, 2007)

The images of Cossacks may also refer to their *unseriousness and funniness* (Image 17–18). These depictions may portray Cossacks with not proportionate body shape (too fat and with big bellies; too long and thin; too short or big) or as involved in humorous activities (Image 18. Cossack’s eating lard refers a common and stereotypical joke about the favourite Ukrainian people’s food).

Image17.
Chocolate egg “Cossack”

Image 18.
Chocolate bar “Lard in Chocolate”

Contradiction or complementarily?

An important finding of this research that might assist the explanation of these two different ways of representation of Cossacks is that images, which correspond to hegemonic masculinity, are more likely to be used in advertising of products for men’s consumption (alcohol (beer and vodka), cigarettes, military computer games etc.), whereas the representations that question hegemonic masculinity are often applied in promotion of products for family use (mostly food products). This suggests that masculinity that is supposed to be judged by male peers (products for men) and the masculinity that is supposed to be demonstrated in the public settings require more emphasis on hegemonic attributes and qualities (such as status, independence, heroism, gender segregation). If humour would be applied to such kind of representations it would question or undermine the masculine power (hegemony). On the other hand, in the other kind of situations (for instance within a family) where there is no need to prove the brutal and aggressive character of masculinity, other strategies of masculine conduct and attributes can be employed (friendliness, kindness, assistance etc). At the same these two types of masculine conduct might not contradict each other, since they are relevant to different types of social situations. Men that support the ideal of a Cossack might find it flexible and not contradictive, since they still can associate themselves with this hegemonic masculinity. Apart from this, humorous representations of Cossacks might suggest as a symbolic bridge for a real Ukrainian men who are far from the ideal of Cossack, but who can still associate themselves with it. This suggests that hegemonic masculinity cannot be considered as a rigid set of ideas. It might suggest flexible practices and qualities for men, which would depend on the concrete situations in which they are supposed to be expressed.

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Appendix

Conference: Men and Masculinities, Moving On! Embodiments, Virtualisations, Transnationalisations

27–29 April 2009

Location: TEMCAS, T-building

Programme

Monday 27 April

12.00–13.15	Welcome lunch
13.15–14.30	Welcome and Introduction by Nina Lykke and Jeff Hearn, Department of Gender Studies, Linköping University
14.30–15.15	Plenary by Toni Calasanti, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, USA. Title: 'Masculinity and Aging Bodies: Considerations for Moving On'
15.15–15.45	Coffee break
15.45–17.15	Workgroups Session 1
17.15–18.30	Welcome drinks

Tuesday 28 April

09.15–10.00	Plenary by Chris Beasley, University of Adelaide, Australia. Title: 'Problems and Possibilities in the Gender/Sexuality field: Existing Tensions and Future Directions for Masculinity Studies'
10.00–10.45	Plenary by David Bell, University of Leeds, UK. Title: 'Geek Myths: Technomasculinities in Cybercultures'
10.45–11.15	Coffee break
11.15–12.45	Workgroups Session 2
12.45–13.45	Lunch
13.45–15.15	Workgroups Session 3
15.15–15.45	Coffee break
15.45–17.15	Workgroups Session 4
17.15–17.45	Wrap-up session and announcements

Evening: Conference dinner

Wednesday 29 April

09.15–10.45	Workgroups Session 5
10.45–11.15	Coffee break
11.15–12.45	Workgroups Session 6
12.45–13.45	Lunch
13.45–15.15	Feedback from first 3 workgroups
15.15–15.45	Coffee break
15.45–17.15	Feedback from final workgroup and final panel on future directions

Contributors and presented papers

Nina Lykke, Professor of Gender Studies, Linköping University, Sweden.

Jeff Hearn, Professor of Gender Studies, Linköping University, Sweden.

Workgroup A: Age and Embodiment

Vic Blake and *David Jackson*, retired, living in Nottingham, UK (vicblake@ntlworld.com, jacksonmould@btinternet.com)

Older men's embodied selves: Rethinking older men's relationships with their changing bodies

Anna Boden, doctoral researcher, Department of Geography, Lancaster University, UK (GEXcel visiting scholar, Theme 2)

Geographies of grandfather identities: Exploring the intersections of masculinity, old(er) age and the body from an intergenerational perspective

Susan Braedley, Postdoctoral Fellow, York University, Toronto, Canada

Developing a theory of masculinized care embodying gender and care relations in firefighting

Toni Calasanti, Professor of Sociology, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, USA (GEXcel visiting scholar, Theme 2)

Masculinities and aging bodies: Considerations for moving on

Josefin Eman, doctoral researcher, Department of Sociology, Umeå University, Sweden

The lives of older athletes – with a focus on masculinity and embodiment

Brendan Gough, Professor of Social Psychology, Nottingham Trent University, UK

The stubborn resistance of hegemonic masculinities within discourses of men's health and embodiment

Ilkka Pietilä, Postdoctoral researcher, School of Public Health, University of Tampere, Finland

Creeping ageing: Men's interpretations of the body, health and ageing

Linn Sandberg, doctoral researcher, Department of Gender Studies, Linköping University, Sweden

Dear body, dear diary: Researching intersections of old age, masculinities and bodies through body diaries

Priscille Touraille, Associate researcher, Musée de l'homme unité eco-anthropologie, Muséum national d'histoire naturelle, Paris, France

Hairy men in a naked species: What is the paradox all about?

Workgroup B: Virtualities, Representations and Technology Workgroup

Dag Balkmar, doctoral researcher, Department of Gender Studies, Linköping University, Sweden

On line/off line with virtual garages

David Bell, Senior Lecturer in Critical Human Geography, Department of Geography, Univeristy of Leeds, UK (GEXcel visiting scholar, Theme 2)

Geek myths: Technomasculinities in cybercultures

Alp Biricik, doctoral researcher, Department of Gender Studies, Linköping University, Sweden

Through the needle's eyehole: Surveillance, cruising and webcams

Matthew Hall, doctoral researcher, Nottingham Trent University, UK

Analysing discursive constructions of 'metrosexual' masculinity online

John Hughson, Professor of Sport and Cultural Studies, International Football Institute, University of Central Lancashire, UK

'Football's 'coming out": Hegemonic heterosexual masculinity and the beautiful game

Katarzyna Kosmala, Reader in Human Resource Management, Business School, University of West of Scotland, UK (GEXcel visiting scholar, Themes 4 and 5)

Embodying men in their creative international careers: What do you need to give up?

Tiina Mäntymäki, Lecturer, Department of English, University of Vaasa, Finland

"Queering" the *Serious* in Neil Jordan's *Breakfast on Pluto*

Elvira Scheich, Associate Professor, Technical University of Berlin, Germany

Transforming masculinity: The case of modern physics

Jutta Weber, Visiting Researcher, Uppsala Univeristy, Sweden

U.S. high-tech masculinities, oriental outlaws and armchair warfare

Workgroup C: Transnationalisations

Marina Blagojević, Director, Altera AB, Budapest, Hungary (GEXcel visiting scholar, Theme 2)

Masculinities as sites of transnationalisation: The Balkan semiperiphery perspective

Anna Fogelberg Eriksson, Department of Behavioural Sciences and Learning, Linköping University, Sweden

"We men are more gender equal here" – Gendered dimensions of local leadership in a multinational corporation

Fataneh Farahani, Postdoctoral researcher, University of Stockholm, Sweden (GEXcel visiting scholar)

Cultural and racial politics of representation: A study of diasporic masculinities among Iranian men living in Sydney, Stockholm and London

Karen Gabriel, Reader (Associate Professor), Department of English, St. Stephen's College, Delhi University, and Senior Fellow, Centre for Women's Development Studies, New Delhi, India (GEXcel visiting scholar, Theme 2)

Preliminary notes towards understanding gender in Gandhian strategies

Nil Mutluer, doctoral researcher, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary (GEXcel visiting scholar, Theme 2)

"Bare lives" and "situational masculinities": The role of transnational and national networks in internally displaced men's everyday life in Tarlabasi in Istanbul

Gurchathen Sanghera, Lecturer in International Relations, University of St Andrews, UK, and Suruchi Thapar-Bjorkert, Senior Lecturer in Sociology, University of Bristol, UK (GEXcel visiting scholar, Themes 4 and 5)

Let's talk about…men! Asian Muslim women talking about Asian Muslim men in Bradford, West Yorkshire, UK

Paul Scheibelhofer, doctoral researcher, Central European University, Budapest, Hungary

Intersectionality and critical scholarship on migrant men and masculinities – the case of Turkish migrants in Germany/Austria

Nurseli Yeşim Sünbüloğlu, doctoral researcher, Centre for Gender Studies, University of Sussex, UK

Nationalist reactions following Hrant Dink's assassination: Reconfigurations of nation-states and implications for the processes of transnationalisation

Workgroup D: Theorising

Clare Bartholomaeus, doctoral researcher, University of Adelaide, Australia

'I'm not allowed wrestling stuff': The difficult fit between hegemonic masculinity and junior primary school boys

Chris Beasley, Reader in Politics, School of History and Politics, University of Adelaide, Australia (GEXcel visiting scholar, Theme 2)

Problems and possibilities in the gender/sexuality field: Tensions in the emerging ménage of feminist, sexuality and masculinity studies

Margunn Bjørnholt, postdoctoral researcher, Oslo, Norway (margunn.bjornholt@gmail.com)

The unhappy marrriage of men and gender equality

Tetyana Bureychak, Associate Professor, Department of History and Theory of Sociology, National University of Lviv, Ukraine

Cossacks in Ukrainian consumer culture: New old masculinity model

Niall Hanlon, part-time lecturer, School of Social Justice, Equality Studies Centre, University College Dublin, Ireland

Masculinities and effective equality: Love labour and care labour in men's lives

Richard Howson, Senior Lecturer in Sociology, Universityof Wollongong, Australia (GEXcel open position scholar, Theme 2)

Why masculinity is still an important empirical category: Migrant men and the migration experience

Marie Nordberg, Postdoctoral researcher, Univeristy of Karlstad, Sweden

Examining power, men and hegemony: A theoretical question?

Irene Ryan, Faculty of Business (Management), AUT University, Auckland, New Zealand

A 'contradiction of absence' – ageing male bodies in sport

P.K. Vijayan, Senior Lecturer, Department of English, Hindu College, Delhi University, India, and doctoral researcher, the Institute of Social Studies, The Hague, The Netherlands (GEXcel visiting scholar, Theme 2)

The RSS and the cultivation of the national man