

Masculinities Journal

6 | August
2016 issn: 2148-3841

ISSN 2148-3841

MASCULINITIES

a journal of identity and culture

Issue 6

August 2016

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Issue 6, August 2016
ISSN 2148-3841

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It is the place where words fail that violence takes hold all of the life. As Hannah Arendt argues, violence is dumb, it silences exchange ideas unlike political action; because of this, it is used by force as a tool to gain certain ends through force. Arendt underlines that the practices of violence change the world like all types of action but with an important difference: After an act of violence, the world becomes uncertain, more fragile, unreliable and woeful place. The violence is unpredictable in nature and dangerous because its results are never predictable and cannot be determined precisely.

We are in a struggle to keep speech safe from violence, turn speech into political action and take issue with the encompassing of the public sphere by violence in our country, where violence has become an ordinary practice of everyday life. Furthermore, we need more words, more effective speech today than ever, so we can resolve problems with non-violent democratic politics. The reason for the delay of this issue is that violence has paralyzed us all to some extent and narrowed the field of speech at the same time: 25 bombing assault in which many civilians were killed in Turkey in one year; endless violence against women, LGBTQI, children, and animals. We all know this is the embodied state of the masculine mind.

We apologize to all our readers because of publishing this issue tardily for such reasons as much as we apologize to all victims because we couldn't do anything against violence, create a democratic solution or expand the public sphere. We are aware of the burden of our masculine history and feel a drastic desire to transform our life by struggling against violence.

Probably any dystopia explains the darkness in which our country suffers: Orwell's 1984, Huxley's Brave New World, and so on. Science and its tools were supposed to be the only factors that influence all

aspects of life, and people free of their feelings. Moreover, science was supposed to turn humans into robots as just logical things or rational thinking which are seen as the only method of power. Yet it can be said that the dystopia of Turkey is completely different: it is not based on the destructive consequences of overconfidence in reason and understanding. Furthermore, we need to find a new way to understand dystopian experiences through an analysis focused on meaning in the world. When we focus on meaning in the world of societies, we find a junction where the sources of the many political problems, such as violence, militarism, dictatorship, force and ideological determinations, stand together. It is imbued with masculinity, the masculine mind, which is not only rational; it has been nourished by all the parts of the semantic world, all elements of culture and tradition. It takes its justification only from its existence. Often the source of violence must be sought in this kind of legitimation and in the cultural formulation of this legitimization.

It is no longer public speech here, the assumptions of the tradition and the culture that do not need to be justified by reason determine all the principles. If there is no public discourse, violence imposes itself in a cultural context. That is to say, concentrating on different forms of masculinity reveals different forms of power and it is cultural texture.

So it would not be wrong to say that each form of violence has created itself from within a certain cultural structure. Here, the legitimacy of the power is nourished by a meaning map that ethos is dominant, not the notion of rational world. Cultural violence manifests itself most explicitly in the masculinity problem. So, it is not always and for every society that the phenomenon making dystopia possible is over-rationalization. Perhaps, in such a case, the need for rebuilding of the speech, discloses the requirement to create a rational ground of discussion. As Arendt points out the grammar of political action as action or speech, defines politics in the most abstract sense as part of the human condition.

Despite the wave of violence, we have experienced, we wanted to include well-qualified works in this issue, even if it is delayed, in order to contribute to the reestablishment of the public speech.

Hence, the sixth issue of *Masculinities: A Journal of Identity and Culture* aims to expand the field of discussion and discourse on masculinity by giving place to the following works:

Frank Karioris' article entitled "The Unbearable Lightness of Friendship: Homosociality and The 'Crisis of Masculinity'" analyzes the concept of "homosociality" with two examples, and, explores them in two case studies. Karioris ends the discussion with the help of ethnography. In his stimulating work, he evaluates homosociality in relation to sharing ideas, jokes, worries, anxieties and the simple pleasure of daily life. Karioris' article may require us to consider how cultural elements create the masculine ideals and cause violence in society.

Müge Özoğlu, in her paper, analyzes the relationship between Ottoman modernization and masculinity. She also presents the fetishization of Western modernity and claims that Ottoman modernization has been determined through this fetishization. As an example of this, she continues her analyses on *the trimmed moustache* as a metaphor in selected works and carefully examines the works of Turkish writer Ömer Seyfettin. It is worth considering the relationship she establishes between trimming and castration.

As mentioned before, masculinity is not founded only in a rational way, but at the same time it is created by irrational elements such as fantasies, ideals and myths of heroism. Tania Evans refers to these issues in her article "Take it like an elf: masculinity and emotion in Christopher Paolini's young adult fantasy series *The Inheritance Cycle*". She especially focuses on the concepts of "magical bonding, magical races, the quest, alcohol and magic" using Raewyn Connel's theory of hegemonic masculinity alongside Judith Butler's gender theory.

In her meticulous paper "Literature Review on Shifting Fatherhood" Tingting Tan has turned to the concept of fatherhood in the

context of different cultural experiences. Her main questions in this literature review are: What are fathers' new roles? How do paternal new roles act? Is there any universal character of fatherhood? By exploring various fatherhood examples through the examination of important works, she argues that the shifting fatherhood is a controversial and complicated topic. For example, Swedish fatherhood as a father-friendly model challenges mainstream thinking on Americanization while American fatherhood reveals the inherent traditional social expectations. She also asserts that modernization, urbanization and postmodern globalization affect the concept of fatherhood.

The main problem of Valentine Fedele's article is explaining masculinities in progress and drawing out some deep reflections on the relationship between social movement in public space and masculinities. Fedele tries to show how the traditional patriarchal structure is transformed. Taking together the experiences of the Maghreb and Tunisia, she aspires to reveal the transformative potentiality of protest masculinities. The article entitled "The Challenge of 'Protest' Masculinities: How Arab Riots Have Changed the Representation of North-African Masculinities in the Public Space" extends our horizon about the protest masculinities.

The book review section for this issue includes rich debates and new perspectives as well. Barbara Becker-Cantarino from Ohio State University reviewed the book entitled *Männlichkeit: Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch* by Stefan Horlacher, Bettina Jansen and Wieland Schwanebeck. Barbara tries to explore how Stefan Horlacher's handbook on masculinity speaks especially to and for the humanities. She also informs us about the content and method of the book; the book has sociologic, humanistic perspectives including "natural body, biology and performativity".

Another book is "Adalet Kıskaçında Erkeklik: Mahkûmların Suça, Tutukluluğa ve Değişime Dair Düşünceleri" reviewed by Atilla Barutçu from Bulent Ecevit University. Barutçu, an assistant editor member of the Journal, reviews in a critical way the book written by Öznur Öncül.

He indicates that writer who gives clues that will benefit crime prevention efforts, focused on motivations for cognitive construction that support criminal behavior and change through male prisoners. In general, he suggests that the book does not only leave the debate to theory, but is also a guide for practice.

Joseph Jay Sosa, from Bowdoin College, reviewed the book titled *The Body as Capital: Masculinities in Contemporary Latin American Fiction* written by Vinodh Venkatesh. According to Sosa the book offers a survey of the many potential directions of masculinity in contemporary Latin American cultural representation and readers can gain a broad perspective on contemporary Latin American literature.

The final review on “Beyaz Yakalı Eşcinseller İşyerinde Cinsel Yönelim Ayrımcılığı ve Mücadele Stratejileri ” by Aysun Öner is written Zuhul Esra Bilir. In this review, Öner aims at examining the sexual orientations of white-collared gay and lesbian people in Turkey and their struggles against discrimination. It is important to assert it in such a way as to be.

As Masculinities journal editorial board members, we hope you enjoy this issue and we look forward to your criticism and contributions.

Özlem Duva Kaya
On behalf of Editorial Board of the Masculinities Journal

ARTICLES

The Unbearable Lightness of Friendship: Homosociality and the “Crisis of Masculinity”

Frank G. Karioris

American University of Central Asia in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan

Abstract

Over the past 30 years in the US there has been a lot of discussion around boys’ and men’s friendships, or the lack thereof. Not only are men, we are told, lacking in friendships, but these friendships are also lacking in affection, emotion, and depth. This so-called crisis is deeply intertwined with the broader social, political, and economic crisis having an impact on boys’ lives. This article will seek to elaborate on the importance of homosociality in discussions of crisis and will be examine friendships in light of these changing relational possibilities. The masculinity model put into place by the ‘crisis’ discourse is premised on a version of masculinity that is competitive and aggressive. In examining homosociality and crisis, this article will present two individual case studies who showcase the ways that the crisis narrative is misleading and does not provide a true picture of the complexity of men’s relationships.

Key words: Mixed marriages, Christian-Muslim couples, Muslim masculinity, migrant men.

Arkadaşlığın Dayanılmaz Hafifliği: Homososyallik ve "Erkeklik Krizi"

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Özet

Geçtiğimiz 30 yıl boyunca Amerikan literatüründe oğlan çocuklarının ve erkeklerin arkadaşlığı veya arkadaşlığın eksikliği üzerine birçok tartışma yürütüldü. Erkeklerin arkadaşlık kurma açısından eksikliğini yanı sıra bizlere erkeklerin kurdukları arkadaşlık ilişkilerinde derinlik, duygu ve yakınlık eksikliği olduğu da söylendi. Bu sözde kriz, oğlan çocuklarının hayatında etkili olan geniş çaplı sosyal, politik ve ekonomik krizlerle birbirine karışmış durumdadır. Bu makale, homososyalliğin bahsi geçen kriz üzerindeki etkisini detaylandırarak ve arkadaşlığı değişen bu ilişki olasıklar ışığında inceleyecektir. "Kriz" söylemiyle ortaya konan erkeklik modeli rekabetçi ve agresif bir erkeklik versiyonunu temel almaktadır. Bu bağlamda, bu makale kriz söylemlerinin ve anlatımlarının ne kadar yanıltıcı bir yol gösterdiği ve erkek ilişkilerindeki karmaşıklığı doğru yansıtmadığını gösteren iki adet bireysel vaka çalışması sunarak homososyalliği ve erkeklik krizini inceleyecektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: karma evlilik, hristiyan-müslüman eşler, müslüman erkeklik, göçmen erkekler

Introduction

At present, men and masculinity are often discussed in terms of reaching for and performing masculine ideals. Headlines in newspapers, local and national, tell us time and again that masculinity is in crisis, whether it is the startling revelation of a celebrity or a candidate for the presidency of the United States of America, or a lacrosse team at a local university. Of course, the so-called “crisis of masculinity” is hardly new, but what is new, one might imagine, is the persistent media focus on, and therefore popularization of, the crisis. For example, we can look at Christina H. Sommers’ position, who states that we should acknowledge “there are far more men than women at the extremes of success and failure. And failure is more common [for men than women]” (Sommers 2013: 53). While many in the field of men and masculinities are quick to dismiss Sommers, it seems to me that we ought to engage her in some fashion, especially because of her influence in public, rather than scholarly, debates. If research is about impact, Sommers has had an impact on public discussions of men, boys, and masculinity. Her book, *The War Against Boys*, originally released in 2001, has just been rereleased. Its rerelease marks its continued relevance as a marker for particular narratives about boys and masculinity, and provides a critical beginning for understanding the discourse regarding masculine ideals and men and boys’ relationships with other men or boys. It is important to note, moving forward through the article, that the discourse is not simply regarding men’s friendships, but their relationships with other men and boys. This distinction is at the core of this article. In the quote above, she is talking about the number of CEOs versus jobless men, homeless men, and men in prison. She could just as easily be talking about those who are successful at masculinity and those who aren’t. The root of the supposed ‘crisis’ of masculinity, put another way, is that unattainable masculinity has failure embedded within it (Kimmel 2000; Walsh 2010, 1-36). The problem is, rather, systematic. Boys and men are moving away from narrow forms of competitiveness that suggests boys undertake a “strenuous education in autonomy”

(Rotundo 1993: 46). The issues of competition and imposed 'crisis', and the systemic nature of them, has, for a long period of time impacted and been a primary driver of men's social relations with other men. Failure as an inbuilt element of masculinity has elicited competitive behavior, which has often manifested in competitive relations with other men. In many ways, though, one is beginning to be able to see a shift towards new forms of relationality, homosociality, and intimacy between men that in turn problematizes the myth of the Self-Made Man. These new forms of homosociality stem from the opening up of masculinity's possibilities, and the move away from particular strictures. E. Anthony Rotundo describes the "cult of the self-made man" as the "image of the lone male rising steadily by his own efforts from a humble cottage to the mansions of wealth and power" (Rotundo 1993, 195). Much like the construction of a system perpetuated upon class antagonism, this supposed "crisis" is perpetuated by a culturally specific masculinity which is structured to produce these results: "masculinity as crisis". In this way, there is not actual crisis outside of the in-built crisis within masculinity. The Self-Made Man is both unfeasible to achieve, and impossible to sustain. Put another way, as Jonathan A. Allan has suggested, masculinity is a form of "cruel optimism" towards an unreachable impossibility (Allan 2014). Rather than moving towards a more sustainable and intricate vision of masculinity (or masculinities), Sommers – as both an individual and as a representative of the 'crisis' literature – is pushing towards and for a masculinity and style of interaction that is isolating and competitive; providing its own self-fulfilling prophesy of such.

This article seeks to redress and push forward the conversation about boy's and men's homosocial relations, especially in light of the crisis narrative, arguing for a nuanced picture that opens the way for further understanding not only the way that these men see their own relationships but also to open the way for a discourse outside narratives of crisis (as Sommers above) or 'dominance bonding' (Farr 1988; Messner 1989). Too often relations between men have been treated as problematic, as a kind of reinforcement of dominance, as a reinscription

of patriarchy. So much so, it behoves the theorist of gender to ask: is there anything redemptive or good about homosociality? This article, thus, takes on a “reparative” (Sedgwick 2003) approach to the question of homosociality, wherein we move beyond the uncomplicated narratives that surround homosociality to think through the positive, affirming, and productive potential of homosociality, and, more crucially, the plural possibility of homosociality.

Homosociality and the connections that it allows is helping provide social networks for boys, giving them a broader perspective on the ways they are able to connect with others, work with others, and engage beyond the economic model of most educational institutions and the market. E. Anthony Rotundo reminds us, with a historical perspective, that competition is frequently an economic re-establishment of aggressive behaviors. “This ideal [of competition] grows out of a belief that there is, in fact, no proper place for true masculine impulse within modern society... [This belief entails that one is] suspicious of authority, wary of women, and disgusted with corrupt civilizations” (Rotundo 1993: 286). In this way, this article will show the importance for a focus on boys’ and young men’s friendship, showcasing the ways that they are forming relationships that do not create distance, competition, and aggression; but in fact can open up new forms of relationality and intimacy. With the rise of new iterations of masculinity and the growing acceptance of change and gender fluidity, men today have far more options and choice than thirty years ago. In recognizing the multifaceted forms of homosociality – without dismissing the negative elements – one is able to see the openings up of new possibilities of relations outside of the neoliberal-individualist-masculine format (Braedley 2010; Connell 2009; Connell 2010). Once again, they are new in the sense that the changes in neoliberalism itself has foisted particular elements as dominant and, as with anything, resistance opens up challenges to prior formations.

This article will present two examples of men whose homosocial friendships demonstrate a lack of crisis occurring in their lives and repudiate the ‘crisis’ discourse; and who are not only “successful” in a

standard fashion but who are also creating intimate friendships and partnerships with those around them, and, via this interconnectivity and open homosocial connections, are undermining the erroneous conception of the “self-made man”. They, along with their friends and peers, are not only opening up distinct forms of relating homosocially, and are reshaping the types of relationships that are allowable and encouraged. Friendship and intimate social relations are some of the most crucial aspects of the growth of boys and men. These strong homosocial relationships provide bonds that can move past a sense of the ‘crisis’ of failing boys and assist in overcoming an individualizing mentality that has often been a hallmark of masculinity. This article puts forward important elements of homosociality, exploring them in two case studies drawn out of a larger body of ethnographic fieldwork. While situated in a particular location, the article shows that these changes towards openness and potential intimacy in homosociality are broader than merely these case studies or this particular locale, but are taking place on a broader societal scale. These men, simply put, provide insight into broader groups of men who are no longer seeking out ‘traditional’ masculinity.

Before moving further with the argument, the article will outline the basic methodological elements from which the articles derives, as well as the particular context of the case studies. From this vantage it will move on to discussing further the particular media narratives of crisis and the related anxieties and issues. Two vignettes are presented that help deepen and give substance to the argument, and which demonstrate the changes that are occurring in homosociality amongst college-aged men. The conclusion synthesizes these elements to highlight the importance of looking at homosocial relationships, providing an alternative reading of the “crisis of masculinity” and demonstrating the importance of looking at changes in homosociality.

Methodology & Context

Over the course of the year of in-depth, ethnographic field work at the University of St. Jerome (USJ),¹ I took part in hundreds of events, conversations, and activities. During this time, I conducted 75 semi-structured interviews that lasted between one and four hours long. Throughout the time at USJ, I took over 100,000 words of field notes. Utilizing ethnographic fieldwork allowed for a deep understanding of the individuals and their relationships. Ethnography is well known for providing the nuances that are sometimes lost through quantitative measures or by one off interviews or surveys. Similarly, this method also allows for a wider picture of the situation than interviews with individuals because one is able to grapple with the relations in action rather than as described after the fact.

The use of ethnography to explore masculinity and men's relations has been well documented in the recent volume *Men, Masculinities, and Methodologies* (Pini & Pease 2013). Throughout the volume, various authors explore the strengths – and difficulties – of ethnography as a tool for grappling with this topic. Often the discussion of masculinity can be itself a challenging task, and as Tristan Bridges aptly points out: “talking with another man about gender, inequality, and their own lives [is seen] as something out of the ordinary (and as a ‘feminine’ activity)” (Bridges 2013). While these issues do and did occur, deep, long-term ethnography allows these issues to be worked through in various ways, and allows for strong and intimate relationships to be built between the researcher and the guys. Throughout the article I frequently use the term “guys” as a space that is both neither and between “boys” and “men”, and to suggest a challenge to the ways that this transition happens and to situate those boys/men whom I discuss in this paper along a continuum rather than as either one or the other – similar to what Michael Kimmel does in *Guyland*.

Set in the midst of a mid-sized, Midwestern city in the U.S., the University of St. Jerome is a private, Catholic university. Situated over a six by two block radius, the campus community is primarily middle-

class, white surrounded by various neighborhoods of lower class individuals. At either end of campus sits a single-gender residence hall. On the north end is Kemp Hall, the all-female hall of nearly four hundred first- and second-year women. On the south end sits Regan Hall, a three-hundred-person hall that is almost exclusively for first-year students. Originally Regan was an all-female hall when it opened, but has changed populations since then. The building is one of the oldest on campus and has not been maintained well by the university. Almost none of the guys who live there actively choose Regan. Instead they would rather live in the co-ed first-year Herald Hall, which is traditionally known as the 'party hall', a selling point that even the university's website acknowledges. The guys want to be in Herald because it is co-ed. Regan is treated, both by the residents themselves and outsiders, as a less-than-ideal location, and some of Regan's residents are openly mocked for living in the building – this mocking often takes on homophobic undertones (Pascoe 2007, 35). While many of the guys did not actively choose to live in Regan, this provides them an initial bonding agent and commonality from which to build.

Boys' Anxieties

This section looks at the way that notions of "crisis" are impacted by and impact on men's and boys' social relations with other men and boys – utilizing Christina H. Sommers's work and 'crisis' discourse as a lens into the anxieties and realities of men's social relations, though one could certainly also turn to Michael Kimmel's *Guyland* and his more recent work on *Angry White Men*. It should be noted that the crisis Kimmel presents is significantly different from that of Sommers. For Kimmel, and many others in pro-feminist Critical Studies of Men & Masculinities, the crisis is founded on that masculinity is harmful to boys and men – and, of course, to girls and women. Often the crisis is a lack of knowing where men fit, or what role they will or can play. On the other hand, the invocation of crisis is often a reaction to feminism and gains of women; which is indicated, in some ways, in the

title of Anthony Clare's first chapter of his book *On Men: Masculinity in Crisis: 'The Dying Phallus'* (Clare 2001). Put another way, when speaking about the crisis of masculinity we often see the ways that it is integrally related to a sense of loss in relation to the changing role of women (Rees 2016), seen clearly in Payne's *Crisis in Masculinity* (1995). There is, then, a sense of loss, and, often, following this, a desire to move back towards what had previously worked. Part of what then becomes clear, from an analysis of the vast quantity of work done that suggests men and boys are in 'crisis', is that much of this crisis mentality is reflective not merely of a state of men and boys, but is also concerned with their state of being. This distinction is a crucial one. The "state of men and boys" refers to the broader condition that boys and men are in (whether "crisis" or otherwise). On the other hand, the "state of being boys and men" refers more specifically to the ways that they are allowed and encouraged to be, as individuals and as groups. This crisis suggests a necessity for a specific type of masculinity that demonstrates "success", and yet exemplifies "failure". This necessary success is built on the backs of supposed previous successes – often with traditional masculine roles (Roberts 2014) – and necessarily demands future success. In this way, the crisis can be seen to be about what "masculinity" is, ought to be, and means. Building on this, 'crisis masculinity' suggests a specific form of relation that boys and men should take towards themselves, the world, and others— particularly other boys. Boys' homosocial relationships can provide a unique perspective on the crisis (Chu 2014; Way 2011; Rosen 2012). In popular culture, being a boy is often ascribed a number of different attributes that include passivity and vulnerability, whereas adult men are often assigned characteristics of strength, competition, physicality, and aggression. In the most recent iteration of her argument (2013), Christina Hoff Sommers argues that boys' gender appears to be conflated with adult masculinity. For example, Sommers suggests that we need to stop pathologizing "the behavior of millions of healthy male children. We have turned against boys and forgotten a simple truth: the energy, competitiveness, and corporal daring of normal males are responsible for much of what is right in the world" (2013: 13). She

continues, “No one denies that boys’ aggressive tendencies must be mitigated and channeled toward constructive ends. Boys need (and crave) discipline, respect, and moral guidance. Boys need love and tolerant understanding. But being a boy is not a social disease” (Ibid.: 13).

Though Sommers suggests that boys’ aggression should be put to “constructive ends”, one should begin by asking about the necessity of violence in these interrelations. She gives the example of a high school, Heights School, where “sword fights, sneak water balloon attacks, and mock battles” are utilized to help teach history, “but most of today’s schools prohibit [these activities]” (Sommers 2013: 15). We’re told, at the root of all boys’ selves is aggression and competition, and these traits have been turned into negatives by the feminized school districts. Sommers’ approach appeals to a notion of homosociality that has been linked to the reproducing and reciprocating of a dominating masculinity that is oppressive to both men and women. The cultivation of particular forms of masculine subjectivities results in the reciprocation of gendered inequality. Embedded within this notion of homosociality is the idea that it restricts and suppresses the possibility of intimacy and emotional engagement. Bird (1996) suggested that masculinity is cultivated by a homosociality that is built upon emotional detachment, competitiveness and the sexual objectification of women. Recent authors have been reconceptualizing and complicating simple definitions of male homosociality (Arxer 2011; Hammaren and Johannson 2014), emphasizing and including the more intimate, ontological, and pedagogic elements of these relations. Sommer’s approach to homosociality fails to address that not all boys prefer or enjoy competition, but also forgoes any consideration of the type of relationships that are created out of this genre of behavior and interaction. She labels tug-of-war, dodge-ball, and kickball as fun and “critical to healthy socialization” (Sommers 2013, 38), failing to recognize that these are not the favored activities of all boys. It abstains from a nuanced perspective of the “structural calls to inaction, impediments to action, and acknowledging factors outside the individual” (Karioris 2014: 106), which are disseminated through these

behaviors and which are keenly impactful on a deep-seated awareness of how homosocial relations must be structured. The 'crisis' portrait of homosociality is exceptionally limited, and itself helps sustain a simplistic model of relationality between boys and men. Importantly, this notion of homosociality, one that is destructive and violent, underpins current arguments that are located within discussions about changing masculinity and men.

A struggle often takes place over an imagined masculine ideal—for example, that of the Self-Made Man—which sequesters men and boys apart from each other and propels them into competition. The notion of the Self-Made Man, so prevalent in the US, is based on the belief that each man can pull himself up by his bootstraps and make anything of himself that he wants, with no assistance from others. Michael Kimmel, giving an historical perspective, says that the Self-Made Man was “[m]obile, competitive, aggressive in business [and] ...was also temperamentally restless, chronically insecure, and desperate to achieve a solid grounding for a masculine identity” (2012: 14). This idea of the self-made man permeates the article as both a demonstration of what exactly is in 'crisis', as well as a way of thinking about how boys' and men's homosocial relations resist the vision of masculinity and manhood that is being pushed through these narratives of crisis. Christina H. Sommers' work (2013) has provided, as noted above, a particular edge to this 'crisis' discourse, putting it directly in contact with men's friendships. Throughout this section Sommers's is used, thusly, as a foil for the argument, as well as providing insights into the anxieties that boys are facing on a daily basis.

Much of the academic and popular literature and discussion surrounding homosociality and men and boys' friendships focuses on the negatives. Michael Flood, for example, states that “male homosociality plays a crucial role in many contexts in perpetuating gender inequalities and the dominance of particular hegemonic masculinities” (Flood 2008, 342). He has also stated, though, that “Men may bond as friends, comrades, family members or lovers in ways that do not subordinate women or other men. Indeed, intimate friendships between men are

valuable correctives to men's emotional stoicism and reliance on women's emotional labour" (Flood 2007, 426). Two encyclopedias have recently come out, *the International Encyclopedia of Men and Masculinities* (Flood et al 2007) and *Men and Masculinities Encyclopedia* (Kimmel & Aronson 2003), detailing and overviewing the study of men and masculinities. Both encyclopedia pose men's social relations with other men more often than not as conflictual and competitive, and often directly violent (Flood et al 2007; Kimmel & Aronson 2003). The complexity that these encyclopedias present is one that is rooted in, to a degree, the possibilities of exceptions to the rule. In this way, then, the texts fail to engender complexity but more oft seem to be seeking to explicate the things that do not fit the broader narrative being painted. These narratives of the positive elements of homosociality also often are premised on a political engagement with 'positive masculinities' and attaching to these forms these positive traits, without understanding the ways that intimate homosocial relations interact in real relations for men who do not embody the particularities of 'positive masculinities'. These quotations represent something of the dual presentation of homosociality wherein homosociality is linked directly with violence and the oppression of women in ways that limit homosociality's ability to talk to men's intimate friendships with other men. Building on this, David Greven suggests that homosocial relations and bonds, due to their supposedly compulsory nature, are isolating and put forward a competitive form of relating that isolates outsiders who have not been "assimilated into male collectives" (Greven 2004, 84). These polarities are often now being discussed with more nuance than in previously, with authors like Niobe Way providing new views from which to see these relationships. It is critical to keep in mind though that even for Way these new relations speak to a 'crisis of connection' (Way 2011, 262). For Way, this crisis is not one of masculinity, though, but one of connection (2011, 266). Way notes correctly – a point that seems like it is so simple it should not need to be clarified – that "boys in my study had and wanted male friendships to 'explore the deep seas together,' to share secrets, and to 'be there' in times of need" (2011, 262). What does it

suggest that even when discussing the more positive elements of homosociality scholars find it necessary to label it and put it in the register of 'crisis'? Further, what would it mean to step aside from 'crisis' as the narrative, towards, simply, a potential plurality of homosociality? Way, putting forward an *ought*, suggests – from her informants – that “rather than privileging the self-sufficient and autonomous elements, boys (and girls) suggest that we should emphasize the relational components of maturity” (Way 2011, 268). What she terms “self-sufficient” is similarly conveyed in the idea discussed above simply as the ‘Self-Made Man’. While Way focuses on the loss or lack of connection, rather than, as this article is doing, the existence of new possibilities of connection external to competition, she is simultaneously undergirding the desire that is implicated for intimacy in these formations of homosociality (2011, 272).

Homosociality, while often implicated in violence against women and gender inequality, can also provide the grounds for changes in masculinity, and open up possibilities of relations beyond the competitive. One can look towards the recent volume *Some Men: Feminist Allies and the Movement to End Violence against Women* (Messner et al 2015) or the “#HeForShe” (UNWomen 2016) campaign to see some recent examples of distinct and transformed versions of homosociality for men. These are merely a few of the recent examples of challenges to narratives of homosociality that revolves around an axis of negative traits.

While this article uses the term tentatively, it is crucial to note the multifaceted aspects of homosociality that revolve around ideas of intimacy, bonding, and gender segregated resources. Throughout I seek to recognize all of these aspects and their interrelation with each other, rather than focusing on the patriarchal aspects (Sedgwick 1985) or male/dominance bonding (Flood 2003), while keeping the intimate elements of these relations in view.

Plural Homosocialities

Central to the argument in this article is the idea that we need to recognize the importance of different forms of homosociality and how they can generate different kinds of experience. It is fascinating to note that Way does not use the word 'homosocial' at all throughout the book. Further, we can look backwards to Peter Nardi's (1992) edited collection on friendship, which also does not cite any works on homosociality. While this might seem tangential, it bespeaks the contested division of what scholars write regarding friendship and what is involved in homosociality. Put bluntly, while scholars have sought to present friendships as more positive recently, they have omitted that from the broader sense of homosocial relationships that men undertake, and, thus, forgo a more thorough understanding of the processes and practices through which theorizing around friendship are intertwined with those of other homosocial relations of men. Suggesting this ties with broader theorizing on masculinity which has put the singular form of masculinity in relation to a plurality of masculinities and, through this, opened up an ability to comprehend the intra-masculine conflicts, contest, and orderings. Similarly, through refuting, as above, notions of friendship as, at least minimally, positive and homosociality as primarily negative, and as distinct concepts from each other, this article has set out to explicate the convoluted workings of plural homosocialities that are neither wholly positive or wholly negative. In so doing, it repositions homosociality as itself, as a concept, outside of the framework of violence (as presented above) and opens it to new understandings. This is not simply to say new expressions of homosociality, which will be explored below in the brief vignettes; but new possibilities for the concept itself.

In order to explore this further, the next section draws upon data that comes from ethnographic fieldwork conducted in an all-male university residence hall. More specifically, it examines the relationships between two first year men at the University of St. Jerome (USJ), living in the all-male residence Regan Hall. With these I aim to showcase the

importance that friendships have for these men, as well as to discuss their hesitations surrounding intimacy and emotional engagement. These case studies allow for a more nuanced perspective on homosociality and boys' and young men's relationships, while also giving voice to the boys and young men who are being invoked in 'crisis' discourses. It is important to note that the notion of crisis is also tied to broader concerns about boys' emotional literacy. Not only do boys not have enough friends, their friendships are not intimate, according to sociologist Lisa Wade (2013). She says that men are "searching for something, searching for some place where they can feel like real men again, a place unpolluted by the presence of those others" (Wade 2013). Michael Kimmel (2013: 16) asks: "Where can a guy go these days to just be around other men, just to hang out, be a guy, and not have to worry about who won't like it, or having them wonder if he's gay or some political Neanderthal?" In this, it seems, there is overlap between various camps: men are searching for connection with each other and struggling to locate it. Where they differ dramatically is in what forms homosociality should take. Below are two case studies taken from extensive ethnographic fieldwork. In the first story we find Aaron demonstrating the importance of a homosociality that does not depend on competition or aggression. While Aaron is a strongly social person, Brady, the second guy, provides a portrait of a more academically focused student who prioritizes coursework above socializing and friendship in some ways. Through Brady's vignettes, we gain an insight into a different perspective on the meaning of friendship, and are able to glimpse, again, a homosociality distinct from that which Sommers and others point towards and push for.

Aaron Kane, a first year student from the West coast, came to USJ like many other students without knowing anyone at the school, and without anyone else from his high school joining him. He comes from a white, middle-class family, and attended a private Catholic high school. For him, he left his entire life in high school behind him geographically, but that does not mean that he left them behind socially. He talked about his friends frequently, and kept in touch with them through various

mediums. In an interview, when I asked him about them, he told me that “Since the beginning of sophomore year I’ve had the same group of friends I have now, for the most part. It’s ten of us that I’d consider my best friends.” He went on to tell me about his best friend who had joined the Coast Guard and who he hasn’t seen for a long time. “During the last three years of high school I probably did not go more than three days without hanging out with him.” He describes the rest of his friends, saying, at one point, “I literally have no idea how I met them or became friends with them.” There is a sense of randomness in his description of the friends, though as he tells the story it becomes much clearer how they became friends: through school, classes, and extra-curricular activities. The group of friends is comprised entirely of guys. He tells me that “On the weekends almost always it’d be all of us together and we’d do something.”

His group of friends was like a lot of other guys, with many of them playing on a sports team in high school (Anderson 2011), as well as them going surfing as a group frequently. Beyond sports, Aaron also served on his high school’s student union. He applied to twelve universities, getting into most of them, and getting offered financial aid and scholarships from many. At root, his time in high school was filled with a solid, intimate group of friendships. Keeping in touch with his friends, now that he at university, he is looking forward to Christmas break. Most of the guys from the group though are coming home at the beginning of December to get together for a music festival. Aaron isn’t able to join them because he is the furthest away can’t afford the plane ticket. It is the one time his friend from the Coast Guard will be able to get leave for a while, which Aaron is sad to miss.

One evening, near the end of November of his first year, I ran into Aaron with a group of his USJ friends. They had been drinking together in the hall, and Aaron was fairly intoxicated. While drunk, he was in a good mood, smiling and laughing as he came down the hallway. He was with a large group of his friends, some seeming to have joined him in drinking and others watching over him. Our conversation turned to the Christmas break that is coming up in three weeks or so. His face turned down a bit

and got serious. Surrounded by his university friends, he told me (and them), "I miss my boys at home. And I'm going to see them soon over Christmas break. Then I'm going to miss my boys here though." With all seriousness I responded, "Sounds like you are always missing your boys." There is an understated intimacy in his expression and his tone; one that his friends can also feel. Looking around him at his friends, thinking about those back home, "I am. I have such good boys. They're so awesome. I'm going to miss my boys here when I go home to Cali over break." He hugs his friends on each side of him as he says this, grinning thinking about just how connected he is with those next to him and to those who are thousands of miles away. They walk back into the hallway towards Aaron's room. Ryan stayed behind and chatted with me for a second. He wasn't drinking and was taking care of Aaron for the evening. It was an unspoken agreement, with the rest of the group acknowledging the act as a "taking of care his bro". Here we can see the group collectively coming together to support Aaron in affective and physical ways. Speaking with John that night, he told me not to worry and that "I'll make sure he gets to bed safely." It is this sense of allegiance, in contrast to competition, that is part of the unrecognized forms of homosociality.

Not only has Aaron found a new group of close friends, but also has maintained his intimate friendships from high school. He has found a way to transform an educational context into devoted friendships. It would be difficult to apply the lens of crisis to Aaron's life or experience of education. In this sense, Aaron allows for a very different impression of both boys' situations within education, but also gives a dramatically contrasting perspective on the importance of relationships to these guys. He does not interact with his friends as competition, nor does he perceive education (and schools or schooling) as a place that should sustain a mentality of aggression and competition. For him, there is no clear and present danger of a crisis of masculinity that is rooted in competition. This is not to suggest that he never competes with other men. What he states directly in this way of interacting is that competition is not what sits at the root of his relationships. Here we see not simply some binaristic form of competition/non-competition, but the essence of

what is being driven at and towards in the relationships. Aaron competes with his friends in many things, but these competitions are, when inspected via their context, forms of play-competition. Here we might cite Goffman, who suggests that an analysis of the frame allows us to see how actions and interactions – such as play-fighting and fighting – can be seen as dramatically distinct by those involved, while the external observer might see no difference (Goffman 1986, 45). In this sense, it is not that Aaron represents pure altruistic affection or intimacy, but to state that the driving motivation for his friendships and relations is not competition. It is also important to note that this in no way suggests there is no conflict in his life. What it points one towards is the stark realization that in interactions with other men theorizing has conflated ‘friendship’ with ‘homosociality’, to the detriment to understanding the distinction between them; and, through doing this, has positioned friendships always already in relation to the conflictual and competitive that scholarship sees in the relationships between men. The link between an intimate homosociality and education is obvious for Aaron, whose relationships exist under the auspices of educational institutions (both high school and university) and which shape his experience of schooling dramatically.

Coming from a white, middle-class background, Brady graduated near the top of his high school class. He is a hardworking student, coming to USJ to try to get into its Physical Therapy (PT) program. He wasn’t admitted directly into the course so he has to work extra hard his first year to try and get admitted into the school and its accelerated program. In his first semester at USJ he is taking both Chemistry and Biology, both of which are considered “weed out” classes that he is struggling with—particularly since he needs to get an A in at least one of them to stand a chance at getting into the PT program. Though he spends a large part of his week focusing on academics, he makes sure that he gets to the gym at least five days a week. His best friends are two of his work out buddies, who he sees at least five days a week. They all hold each other accountable for their workout goals, as well as acting as mentors and confidantes. Brady is very serious about working out, drinking protein

shakes and eating as health as possible from his dorm room—he avoids eating in most of the dining halls, finding ways to cook out of his microwave and using the minimal kitchen.

As we were sitting in his room, Arjun—another resident on the floor—passed by the room and decided to stop in and join the conversation, with Brady telling us about his exercise and eating regime. He got his phone out and showed us a picture of himself from high school in his wrestling uniform that shows how skinny he was. He tells us that he has lost some tone and size this year living in the residence hall, but that he has been working on it a lot and is making gains. Arjun also exercises a lot, and they begin talking about their goals and comparing themselves to others. Arjun says, “You need to show them what a real man looks like,” proposing a masculinity and physique focused around an explicit muscular and regimented body and lifestyle. Brady, continuing, says,

Sometimes when I’m sitting in my friend’s room in Helpin Hall [another residence hall] they ask me what I’m up to and I just turn the computer around and show them google image search with half-naked men. I spend a lot of time just looking at guys who are half-naked, looking at their bodies. I like being able to judge them and figure out what they’re doing. I want to be able to really judge and decide on how they are doing with their work outs and what types of work outs they’re doing and how they’re eating.

His statement showcases both a vision of what masculinity is for Brady, but also the very evocative and everydayness of these demonstrations. These statements about bodybuilding and lifestyle could certainly be demonstrative of a competitive idea of masculinity, one rooted in physical strength. This simple image is complicated when one keeps in mind his focus on academics and the amount of time he devotes to his schoolwork. At the same time, his focus on working out and body building is always already enrolled as an element of his homosocial relationships.

Brady has spent his first year of university diligently working on his academics while maintaining a lifestyle dedicated to exercise and bodybuilding. While he expresses himself and his opinions in a specifically demonstrative physical embodiment, he challenges the specific notions about friendship revolving around competition. Rather than seeing these activities as a way of distancing himself, he uses bodybuilding as a way of connecting with others—including his two best friends on campus, whom he works out with five times a week. It is exactly this connectivity that many of Niobe Way's young men are looking for in their relations with other men. For all the bluster of doomsday predictions, not only is Brady succeeding in his desired course of study but is actively finding like-minded individuals to connect with. As the discussion about Aaron shows, understandings of a variety of expressions of homosociality are becoming more allowable, opening new ways of being for men. Brady is not simply pushing a competitive and aggressive version of masculinity, nor do his relations demonstrate feelings or expressions of competition or aggression. So while Brady is highly active and engaged in the world of bodybuilding he simultaneously is deeply rooted into his academic endeavors and is considered one of the most studious residents in the building who many come to for tutoring help. His relationships with his friends sometimes take a back seat to academics, but he has two strong friends who provide mental support as well as encouragement in both fitness and the rest of his life. Brady may have a stronger focus on academics, but his relationships with other guys demonstrate the crucial ways that friendships for men are changing, and the plurality of homosocialities that are more and more becoming allowable.

Conclusion

One of the challenges of discussing homosociality is the difficulty of capturing the emotional sensibility of the everyday, the intimacy shared in passing moments, and the undertones of change. Through these brief vignettes I have sought to showcase the

flexing and gradations of homosociality that are occurring for young men. While these two guys are not enough to demonstrate that there is no 'crisis' occurring for men, the aim in this article is to showcase ways that young men are avoiding and voiding 'crisis' as a necessity, not to disprove other's presentations of crisis. Put differently, what they show is the ways that the singularity of connectivity is being challenged, and through these brief vignettes, one is able not to see the fullness of possibility but the that which is now possible. It is important to think about homosociality as an everyday phenomenon rather than an extreme or part of a polemical argument, or as solely and uniquely structural. At the same time, this article has addressed a particular set of literatures that often forego deep analysis of homosociality, or think in terms solely of friendships. Both of these discourses provide complexity to the picture when looked at together, but when seen singularly can often be more simplistic than informative. Thus, the article has put forward not simply that homosociality is more complicated than previously thought, but that the forms of homosociality that are now possible has itself expanded.

Homosociality is what happens between men sharing ideas, thoughts, jokes, curiosities, worries, anxieties, and the simple pleasures of daily life. Neither Aaron nor Brady seemed to find themselves in the midst of a turbulent and tumultuous crisis; and in fact found their experiences of friendships to be far more demonstrative of a nuanced and affectionate experience. They are working through the challenges presented to them by a social system which perceives and positions men and men's homosocial relations in specific ways and that aims to corral their identities to mirror these expectations. Through this we are able to grasp the complicated nature not simply of the enactments of homosociality itself – a point made throughout this article and in a variety of other scholars' research – but in the conceiving of homosociality itself. In this they are each, in their own way, challenging expectations and opening themselves up to the challenges of cultivating and maintaining relations across borders, boundaries, and social expectations. These young men, sitting in the interstice between what is

meant by “boy” and “man” are working through their own meanings and expectations and creating pathways, leaving one with the question, “whose crisis?” (Haywood and Mac an Ghail 2013: 127).

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¹ All names, including of the university and residence hall, are pseudonyms.

The challenge of 'protest' masculinities: how Arab riots have changed the representation of North-African masculinities in the public space

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Abstract

In the last decades, the rare analysis on Maghreb masculinities have usually linked them with violence, social exclusion and terrorism, preventing the full understanding of changing processes on-going in the area, reflected also by changings in masculinities' models. This article reports some preliminary reflections of a study in progress on masculinities in the contemporary Maghreb, focusing on the emergence of 'protest' masculinities in the public space after the so-called Arab Spring, through the analysis of the representation of masculinities in the Tunisian post-revolutionary street-painting. The aim of the paper is to theoretically discuss the challenges that 'protest' masculinities pose to the concept of masculinity in North Africa and to analyse the way in which 'emerging' protest masculinities represent themselves in the public space, through artistic narratives. Fluid protest masculinities, represented through arts, are, indeed, a clear sign of the extreme variability of gender subjectivities and the impermanence of models of masculinity, characterizing contemporary North Africa, in opposition to the dominant national and international narratives about its inherent immobility.

Key words: masculinities, representation, public sphere, Arap spring

'Protest' erkekliklerin meydan okuması: Arap ayaklanmalarının kamusal alanda Kuzey Afrikalı erkekliklerin temsilini nasıl deęiřtirdięi

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Özet

Son birkaç on yılda, Maęrip erkekliklerine iliřkin yapılan ender analizler onları genellikle řiddet, sosyal dıřlanma ve terörizm ile iliřkilendirerek bölgedeki deęiřen süreçlerin tam olarak anlaşılmasını engellerken, aynı zamanda erkeklik modellerindeki deęiřimleri de yansıttı. Bu makale, Arap Baharı sonrasında kamusal alanda 'protest' erkekliklerin ortaya çıkıřına odaklanarak, Tunus'taki post-devrimci sokak resimlerindeki erkekliklerin temsilinin analizi yoluyla çağdař Maęrip'teki erkekliklere yönelik bir arařtırmanın bazı ön yansımalarını sunmaktadır. Yazının amacı, 'protest' erkekliklerin Kuzey Afrika'daki erkeklik kavramına getirdięi meydan okumaları teorik olarak tartıřmak ve bu protest erkekliklerin "ortaya çıkarken" kendilerini kamusal alanda nasıl temsil ettiklerini sanatsal anlatılar aracılıęıyla analiz etmektir. Gerçekten de sanat yoluyla temsil edilen bu sabit olmayan protest erkeklikler, cinsiyet öznelliklerinin ařırı deęiřkenlięinin ve egemen ulusal ve uluslararası anlatılar hakkındaki doęal sabitlięe zıt olarak çağdař Kuzey Afrika'yı karakterize eden erkeklik modellerinin geçicilięinin açık bir iřaretidir.

Anahtar kelimeler: erkeklikler, temsil, kamusal alan, Arap baharı

Introduction

In the last decades, publications on Maghreb women and their religious, political, cultural, social and economic role have increased¹, while masculinities, especially hegemonic ones², have been left aside. In the rare analysis on Maghreb masculinities, they have been usually linked with violence, social exclusion and terrorism (Amar, 2011). The lack of a social and academic debate on masculinities, on the one hand, has favoured the reproduction of discriminatory gender relations' discourses (Pieroni, 2002) and, on the other, has prevented the full understanding of changing processes on-going in the area, that are, indeed, reflected and indicated also by changings in masculinities' models.

This paper reports some preliminary reflections of a study in progress on masculinities in the contemporary Maghreb, focusing in particular on the emergence and the representation of protest masculinities in the public space after the so-called Arab Spring. The latter have provided an opportunity for emerging masculinities, traditionally marginalized by the central states, to regain the public sphere, at the same time placing themselves in discontinuity with hegemonic forms of masculinities. The following considerations are referred in particular to the Tunisian experience. Tunisia, indeed, has

¹ Exceptions are those studies on marginalized masculinities, for example, because of their sexual orientation (Kugle and Hunt, 2012; Murray and Roscoe, 1997) and those on Islamic pietistic movements (Geoffrey, 2011). At the time of writing, there are only two studies on Arab or Islamic masculinities, edited by Ouzgane (2006) and Ghoussoub and Sinclair-Webb (2000).

² According to Connell (1995) hegemonic masculinity is the social dominant form of masculinity, defined through a process determined by leading groups, in a given culture, in a given historical time, legitimating both patriarchy in local practices and gender social stratification, implemented outwards on women and inwards on other men, lacking the social resources required to fully participate to hegemonic masculinity.

been the first country where riots have erupted, and rapidly led to dictator's fall - Ben Ali leaving the country few days after the first protest. Tunisia is also the only country concerned by revolutions that till now seems to be on the path of a democratic transition. The representation of masculinities in the public space has found in Tunisia a peculiar artistic declination. Arts have accompanied revolutions from the beginning, giving a particular insight on the processes and the changes underway in revolutionary and post-revolutionary Tunisia (see Sebastiani, 2014). This depends also on the improvement in the freedom of speech in the country, that far from being fully achieved, has improved to the point that Tunisia has been declared a free country from *Freedom House*, the first among near eastern and northafrican Arab countries³.

The starting point of the analysis is a reconstruction of the axes with respect to which maghrebian masculinities have been traditionally articulated. Thus, the Mediterranean patriarchy model of Kadioty (1988) is taken as a theoretical starting point in order to account for the forms of reproduction of a social and familiar model whose cogency does not stop at the Maghreb region but can be ascribed to different cultural frames. Through this reference, this reconstruction far from setting a static picture of the dominant models of masculinity, represents an attempt to define their main features, especially those enduring over time and being relevant to the re-articulation of post-revolutionary contemporary masculinities. These features are differently expressed depending on the country, its national history, its culture and politics, its social and institutional relationship with the religious sphere and the religion's organization. The paper will not analyse these different form of expression, in order to give space to the analysis and construction of more general models. The aim of the article is, indeed, on the one hand, to theoretically discuss the challenges that 'protest' masculinities pose to the concept of masculinity in North Africa; on the other, to analyse the way in which 'emerging' protest masculinities represent themselves in

³ <http://www.tunisia-live.net/2015/02/11/tunisia-declared-free-by-freedom-house>

the public space, especially through artistic narratives. The example deepened in the final part of the paper is street-paintings, as an artistic form particularly invasive in the public space.

Methodological note

In order to give an account of the dynamism and diversity of masculinities, the methodology chosen is the social-constructivist one, that recognize the variability of the concept of male and female between different societies, historical periods, generations and social, economic and cultural groups (Kimmel, 2010; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). That is why, different masculinities models, both hegemonic and subordinate, coexist in the same social space, not necessarily opposing to one another – as post colonial studies underline – but hybridizing and acculturating one another.

In order to give an account of possible relevant features in the construction of masculinities, Inhorn (2012) suggests to borrow, translating them in a gender perspective, some concepts from Williams' studies on social classes (1977), that of dominant, residual and emergent. The first coincides with hegemony, the second is related to the tradition, and the third refers to new meanings, values, practices and relationships continually created. The three elements form a dynamic inventory, which elements are activated and emphasized, depending on the spatial, historical and social circumstances. Following this perspective, the understanding of contemporary emerging Maghreb masculinities has to take into account hegemonic and residual elements that, in time, have affected their construction. In the article they are identified as the features of traditional Mediterranean patriarchy and gender discourses during colonialism and in the building of post-patriarchal nation states.

The traditional Mediterranean patriarchy in the Maghreb

Traditional patriarchy is the basic model of masculinities in the Maghreb. This is a conception of gender subjectivities and relations, not limited to the Arab-Islamic world, as generally understood, but that can be found also in other geographical areas and different cultural and religious systems (Kandiyoti, 1988, p. 278). In his specifically Mediterranean declination, the patriarchal model is articulated with respect to the gender characteristics of monotheism, supporting and sustaining itself with the interpretations of a God that is male and father, functionally using elements of the religious message useful to its assumptions and denying or hiding contradictory ones. Religion is thus turned in a discursive and symbolic reference that legitimizes patriarchy, and, specifically, its basic cell, the family.

As Kandiyoti (1988) explains:

The key to the reproduction of classic patriarchy lies in the operations of the patrilocally extended household, (...) which gives the senior man authority over everyone else, including younger men. (...) Under classic patriarchy, girls are subordinate not only to all the men but also to the more senior women, especially their mother-in-law. (...) Woman's life cycle in the patriarchally extended family is such that the deprivation and hardship she experiences as a young bride is eventually superseded by the control and authority she will have over her own subservient daughters-in-law. (...) However, women have access to the only type of labor power they can control, and to old-age security, through their married sons. Since sons are a woman's most critical resource, ensuring their life-long loyalty is an enduring preoccupation(pp. 278-279).

The son, in this view, represents, on the one hand, the continuity of the family, its social advancement and economic security, on the other, the legitimation of the mothers. The superiority of the male is, therefore, reiterated through socialization that, as Dialmy (2004) underlines, is

based on a differential structure, which practices aim to establish two gender models, two sexualities, two distinct and hierarchically sanctioned gender performativity. Childhood games and rituals of birth, growth and marriage, mainly religiously grounded, emphasize the construction of a strong, aggressive and competitive masculinity, “evidently” superior to femininity, passing to the son from his father and his ancestors, following a typical masculine memory that reaches up to the Prophet and to God. The model established in this way is that of a heterosexual male, respectful of traditions, able of being a family man, to maintain familiar economic stability and social honour, especially through the control of women.

An important source of legitimacy of this model is religion, although some of the patriarchal elements contradict it. Women’s honour, for example, that legitimizes the ability of man to be the head of the family, is evaluated through the maintaining of their subordination and virginity (Moghadam, 1992). This is based on the concepts of honour and shame and the control of the female body and is embodied in a series of practices, symbolic and not, from marriage ceremonies concerning bride’s proof of virginity or the provisions concerning crimes of honour in the legal systems (Obermeyer, 2000). These practices are supported by functional interpretations of the religious, even if in some way they contradict its orientation. Islam, in fact, recognizes a positive value to sex, if it is practiced within legitimate relationships, for both male and female. Despite the difference in the definition of legitimate relationship (marriage and concubinage for men, only marriage for women), it forbids unlawful sexual relations, explicitly condemned as *zina*, fornication⁴, one of the five crimes *hudud* against religion and God, as apostasy. In the Mediterranean patriarchal system, however, the revision of the concept of complementarity as diversity and as

⁴ Unlike later interpretations, which tend to consider fornication all sexual behaviour not conforming to Koranic provisions, including homosexuality, at the time of the Prophet were considered as such only those performed outside legitimate relationships. See Sura 17: 32 and Sura 24: 1-3.

sanctioning of superiority of the male over the female, results in an differential interpretation of sexual behaviour, building only male wishes as natural and normative, then exercisable even outside marriage (Obermeyer, 2000)⁵.

The challenge of colonialism

The extended patrilocal and patrilineal family, base of the traditional patriarchy, in time, has been questioned, challenged, surpassed by demographic change, social and economic, but retaining a strong symbolic and evocative call, to the point that some of its characteristics are relevant in the construction of contemporary Maghreb hegemonic masculinities. One of the most traumatic experiences that influenced the evolution of Maghreb masculinities has been colonialism, a particularly violent challenge to the classic model of patriarchy, to the assumptions guaranteeing its reproduction, to the memory sustaining it and to gender models constructed according to it (Dialmy, 2004). Colonial experience, in fact, has been built on and accompanied by a narrative in which racism and sexism proceeded hand in hand to inferiorize colonized subjectivities, through a double discourse that ideologically endorses the social difference between men and indigenous, as an integral part of the gender production process typical of the “*colonial situation*” (Siebert, 2012, p. 64). Despite the different national declinations of the colonial experiences, depending on the institutional model of colonization implemented – for example, the occupation of Algeria declared in 1947 part of metropolitan France is different from of the protectorate in Tunisia and, even more, in Morocco –, the country’s political culture and pre-colonial history – for example the degree of independence from previous supranational political institutions – and, even considering the diversity in the penetration of

⁵ It has to be underlined, however that there are religious elements supporting traditional patriarchy, as those concerning traditional interpretations of homosexuality, see Guardi and Vanzan (2012).

colonial institutions between urban and rural areas, colonialism has definitively always influenced social, economic, cultural structures of the populations encountered.

Colonial gender narrative affects men in a peculiar way, through the creation of two unquestioned hierarchical masculine spheres, where European dominant white one is feeds and built through the brutalization and humiliation of North African one (Siebert, 2012). Loomba (2001) identifies two alternative discursive strategies sustaining this hierarchization: colonized male is either feminized, portrayed as homosexual or weak, incapable and unintelligent; or brutalized, described as lustful, vile, violent, particularly against local women, but threatening also European ones⁶. In both cases, the actual characteristics of Maghreb society and gender subjectivities are ignored. In both cases, the white European, therefore rational, male is called upon to intervene, to save the “indigenous man” from himself, according to the first narrative, or the indigenous women from the brutality and oppression of men, according to the second narrative.

The ability of the Maghreb male to protect the honour of the family and of women, one of the two poles on which was built its hegemony in the traditional patriarchal model is, therefore, challenged and weakened by colonial discourse. Men are asked to express their masculinity, protecting the nation and its women, from what is called, in a typically masculine military language, as the rape of the motherland (Nagel, 1998), a task, however, difficult to accomplish in a public sphere, constantly devaluating them.

Colonial narrative challenges the religious, the second axis of reproduction of traditional male models: Maghreb male inevitable inferiority is attributed, in fact, to its belonging to an inherently

⁶ As Loomba (2001) underlines, this double narrative affects also colonized women, that are either considered submissive, weak, victims of a continuous violence; or represented as 'Amazons', expressing a deviant femininity, whose sexuality represents a temptation and danger to colonizer males.

backward race and culture, preventing their full participation to the dominant masculine sphere. The "natural" cause of this inevitable inferiority, is the Islam, historically the *other* against which has been built a supposed European Christian identity, the absolute opposite and a main threat, specifically identified as "*an index and a metaphor*" for racial, cultural and ethnic differences (Loomba, 2001, p. 114).

The deconstruction of patriarchal masculinities' axes of reproduction involves an overinvestment just in the private and in the religious sphere, the most attacked by colonizer's racist gender narrative. Continually frustrated and marginalized in the colonial public sphere, colonized males focus on the private sphere and on the religious discourse, attempting in this way to protect the honour and integrity of the nation itself, turning the household and the woman in emblems of its culture and identity: using Loomba words (2001, p. 164) the outside world may be westernized but not all is lost till domestic space maintains its cultural purity. Islam and the traditional family become outposts of resistance, authentic and inviolable symbols of the nation. The tightening of pre-colonial patriarchal relations is supported, as pointed out, by the masculinization of the public sphere promoted by colonizers, on the one hand, institutionalizing a completely masculine administration, from the military, spiritual and cultural point of view, on the other, assuming the colonized male as its unique interlocutor, marginalizing female subjectivities.

Masculinities in Neo-patriarchal states

Colonial institutional, social and cultural processes influence the structuring of independent nation-states. The wars of liberation, despite their regional and national different declinations and evolutions, question, as often happened, gender subjectivities and relations, especially in the urban areas. The fight for independence leads, in fact, to the deconstruction of women' exclusion from the public

sphere, and the feminine active participation to its actions is a challenge, often unconscious, to the patriarchal familiar and institutional structure.

However, once gained independence, women are again marginalized in the national states project, typically structured as masculine regimes based on “a single party, a single memory, a single language, and a single dominant ethnic group. And, generally, a single sex (male and dominant)” (Siebert, 2012, p. 136). Within the institutions and the structures of the male nationalist project, women are typically considered as supporting actors, traced back to traditional roles, in order to be the biological and cultural reproducer, both in the public and in the private sphere, of the members of the community. Women are, once again, considered the symbol and the icon of national authenticity and identity and, in continuity with traditional patriarchal model and colonialist discourses, men are identified as the protectors of the honour and the integrity both of women and of the nation (Connell, 1995).

The independent nation-state is, thus, built on a single dominant, masculine memory, by emphasizing masculine themes – honour, patriotism, courage, duty – evaluating male institutions, such as the army⁷ and masculinizing its organization – hierarchical structure of authority, male domination in decision-making process, masculine regulation and division of labour and sexuality –, all practical and symbolic issues that make masculinities *happen* (Connell, 1995).

In the Maghreb post-colonial states, the re-articulation of dominant masculinities proceeds in two ways: on the one hand, perpetuating the masculinization of the public sphere and institutions in continuity with colonialism, on the other, revising and reinforcing

⁷ The army is always been relevant in the definition of masculinities at global level, for many reasons: the sexualized nature of the war, the emphasis on virility and strength associated with the military, the construction of the enemy as a sexual demon that threatens women, because of being incapable of a true manhood, the use of an heterosexual masculine imaginary on rape, penetration and conquest, to describe the same military actions (Nagel, 1998).

traditional patriarchal structure, in the private sphere. This duality characterizes post-colonial states, that, indeed, Moghadam (1992), following Sharabi (1988), defines as neo-patriarchal. In the political and economic public sphere, the reproduction of masculine institutions perpetuates a reverential relationship between citizens and power and administration (Mouiche, 2008). A particularly symbolic example of this relation is the process of personalization of power, highlighted by the constitutional arrangements of newly independent states and by the institutional and political establishment of the single party. The latter gives way to the glorification of the head of the state that, being male, embodies the power of man, charismatic, strong, typically tied to the military, the more masculine of the institutions, able to lead the nation and protect its honour and independence.

Although this personalization has different significances and consequences, being embodied in the king in the case of Morocco, in the Father of the nation, in the case of Tunisia, where Bourguiba rules from 1956 to 1987, and in the senior party officials in an Algeria that before the '90s Civil War changes six presidents, the men in power contribute to the definition of the hegemonic male models of that time, urban and nationalist, still retaining an evocative power. They are strong and powerful men, Muslims, they observe traditions, but are open to the challenges of modernity, heterosexual, family and nation men, whose biographies embody models of hegemonic masculinity. Their strength, honour, ability to protection is continuously enhanced by using a military language and reaffirmed by charging them of being supreme heads of the armed forces, but also referring to their participation, more or less active, to the wars of independence, or at least to their belonging to the army. Governments' ability to control the nation is supported and demonstrated through the action of a pervasive internal security apparatus, as the *mukhabarat*, defined by Sharabi (1988):

the most advanced and functional aspect of the neo-patriarchal state (...) In social practice ordinary citizens not only are arbitrarily deprived of some of their basic rights but are the virtual prisoners of the state, the objects of its capricious and

ever-present violence. (...) It is in many ways no more than a modernized version of the traditional patriarchal sultanate (p.145).

The masculine nationalists models are, thus, reproduced within a social and a political system dominated by dynastic governments in all his aspects: governed male are deprived of the opportunity to fully participate to hegemonic masculinities, being excluded from a full partaking in the economic and social life, controlled by power oligarchies.

On the other hand, the family, and not the individual, is the basis of new independent nations and is the subject of a strong discursive re-investment. The continuity of the national narrative in the family focuses again on women and their honour, that, once again, the good father, extension in the private sphere of the father of the nation, has to safeguard: men are self-erect in charge of defining the role of women, both at the national and at the family level. The narrative of post-colonial state repeats the same binary opposition of colonialism (European / North African), but highlighting the valorising character of traditions, family and religion. Islam becomes, in fact, one of the symbolic references of nation building, the legitimation of public power and a vexillum for the legal and social organization (Amour, 1997). Reference to Islam are contained in the new constitutions, as the state religion and as the religion of the head of state, a symbolical guarantee of government's authenticity and a source of its power's legitimacy, functionally used for the maintenance of neo-patriarchal order.

The latter, as pointed out by Moghadam (1992), through its family, religious and security institutions, establishes a strongly masculine continuity, between God, the ruler and the father. This line of male hegemony translates and projects the power of God over his believers, on the ruler 'one over its subjects, and on the father's one over his family. As noted by Sharabi (1988), between ruler and ruled and father and son there are only vertical relations: in both cases father's decision is absolute, transmitted and forced, in the society and in the

family, through a consensus based on ritual and coercion. The continuity God-ruler-father makes possible to participate in the strengthening of the neo-patriarchal masculinity hegemony, also for those properly Islamic models of masculinities, processed by the same religious movements, politically opposing the government in power. They propose, indeed, a different answer to social, cultural, economic and political challenges faced by post-colonial states, without questioning the neo-patriarchal structure in its entirety

The challenges to neo-patriarchal models and the emerging contemporary masculinities

Hegemonic neo-patriarchal masculinities, while remaining, with different variations, an important reference, have been challenged over time by social, economic, cultural and demographic processes and by the spread of new models of gender and masculinities especially through globalized media. In particular, since the 80s, with different national variations and between urban and rural areas, changes in family structure – decreased fertility, widespread use of contraceptives, increased age for marriage and raised rate of celibacy – correspond to changes in the public sphere, especially for what concerns the increase in the rate of female education and women's access to paid work and their representation in the political, economic, civil culture sphere, especially among the middle class (Obermeyer, 2000). Such access is often formally supported by governments themselves, through what in the case of Morocco and Tunisia can be defined as 'state feminism', a Governments' strategy to control social changes in the country, without giving up authoritarianism. This strategy inspires, for example, the constitutional reforms and the amendments to the codes of Personal Status, including the provisions on family law, over the 90s. As emphasized by Moghadam (1992), the processes of change affecting the countries of the area are, indeed, framed by the states in the attempt of conserving the neo-patriarchal order, traced by nationalism and by the single party. So the fluid emerging masculinities, developed in the last 50 years as an internal challenge to the social, cultural, economic, religious and political structures, have been excluded by the public narrative of an official,

hegemonic masculinity, limiting the political, social and economic space, that would allow the affirmation of new gender subjectivities (Adibi, 2006).

A further challenge to the perpetuation of hegemonic masculinity models, less controllable by central states, is the spread of new supra-national and regional models, especially through global media, satellite television and the internet, facilitating the penetration of new models of gender subjectivity, that have become possible references for the construction of Maghreb masculinities. As Kimmel (2010) emphasizes, in fact, globalization changes gender constructions, renews the field where local and national masculinities are articulated, that become transnational, reconfigures economic, political and cultural structures, both traditional and post-colonial, challenges domestic and public patriarchy. It allows, in particular, the circulation of what the author defines as a globalized hegemonic model that, regardless of its cogency and pervasiveness at a regional level, engenders both emulation of resistance “*to the incorporation in the global arena as subordinate entities*” (*ibid*, p. 154). These forms of resistance are often expressed in religious terms – as in the case of the neo-traditionalist Islamic movements – but not necessarily are dichotomous compared to all the elements that characterize global hegemonic models. The re-articulation of masculinities in a transnational context is itself fluid, appropriates hegemonic and non-hegemonic elements belonging to different models, developed in different contexts that co-exist in a transnational and de-territorialized space.

The Arab Spring and the emergence of protest masculinities

Within the framework outlined, the so-called Arab Springs and their consequences have been a peculiar opportunity for the representation of emerging masculinities in the Maghreb⁸.

⁸ For a deeper analysis of the Arab Springs, see Corrao (2011). According to Ventura (2014), the riots that have crossed the North Africa and the Near East

Previously, as underlined, models not conforming neo-patriarchal narrative were generally reproduced on the edge of the official discourses, marginalized by the state, subjected to its moral and social control and were unable to be fully reproduced in the public sphere. Alternative gender subjectivities were, therefore, expressed through informal networks, both passive – like fashion and food – and active – like music, art and football supporters club. Through these networks, they re-invent, aside the political scene, their affiliation behind the sectarianism of ethno-religious organizations and political elites in order to recreate a new social solidarity against fragmentation. By the very fact of their exclusion in the nationalist patriarchal frame, their activities are built upon dynamics of inclusion, control and responsibility and develop discourses on governance and democracy (Bayat, 2013). This subjectivities, therefore, express themselves mainly through what Bayat (ivi) calls *social non-movements*,

collective actions of not collective actors; they embody shared of large numbers of ordinary people whose fragmented but similar activities trigger much social change, even though this practices are rarely guided by an ideology or recognizable leadership and organizations (p.15)

Emerging gender subjectivities are fluid even for this reason, using different references, re-interpreted in a different form, adapted to the needs to escape the control of the neo-patriarchal states.

from 2010, with different evolution and forms, were announced events, although most observers and analysts have been surprised. For decades, in fact, Arab societies were crossed by deep fractures, by popular movements exerting a pressure from below on neo-patriarchal corrupt and authoritarian regimes. These pressure was often channelled into religious movements, themselves functional to the perpetuation of regimes that, claiming themselves as banners of stability and freedom, implemented a systematic repression of civil, political and economic freedoms, strictly controlling changes generated in the society.

Regardless of the outcome of Arab uprisings on the economic, political, social, institutional level, in the different countries involved, they have undeniably represented a strong challenge to neo-patriarchal systems, allowing ordinary subjectivities and protest emerging masculinities to express themselves in the public sphere, particularly in the case of the Maghreb. The revolutionary events, both large and limited in scope and scale, are identified by Moghadam (1992) as the only ones that in the Middle East have proved to be able to effectively challenge central states' neo-patriarchal structure. Unlike social, demographic, economic changes that regimes legally and institutionally guide and control, in fact, revolutions and uprisings, are often uncontrollable and cause a sometimes involuntary de-construction of gender relations.

In the specific case of the Arab Springs, they have had a particular impact on emerging masculinities. It is important to emphasize that these masculinities were already present and articulated in the social and cultural context of Maghreb countries, but their expression in the public sphere had traditionally been inhibited as, destabilizing the assumptions of hegemonic masculinity (from sexual, religious, generational, political etc. point of view), it represented a major challenge of the assumptions of the neo-patriarchal model and of the cultural substratum in which it was reproduced. During the Arab Spring, emerging masculinities have, instead, had the opportunity to express themselves in the public sphere and to spread globally through global media. International media coverage, however, has been often concentrated on the relationship between Islam, marginalization, violence and masculinities in continuity with the classical analysis on Arab masculinity⁹. These analyses, however, fail to grasp the potential and the characteristics of male subjectivities as protest masculinities.

⁹As Amar (2011) underlines the New York Times has been one of the main agent of this kind of gender discourse about Arab Springs. In continuity with analysis already deployed in the aftermaths of September 11, the journal linked masculinities and protests, from the same origin of the latter, underlining how frustrated masculinities were embodied in the symbolic men of riots: Mark

Those representing themselves and being represented in the global public sphere during the Arab Springs, are, in fact, young Arab men with fluid identities and different references, with unstructured models of masculinity and family, some in continuity, other in discontinuity with hegemonic patriarchal ones.

The case of Tunisia is particularly illustrative of post-revolutionary forms of public representation of emergent masculinities in the Maghreb. The relatively rapid fall of Ben Ali allowed a direct regain of the Tunisian public space (Sebastiani, 2014) by until then marginalized subjectivities, leading to the re-construction of a new space of freedom of speech and expression, that has a valuable social and daily dimension, aside from the institutional one¹⁰.

In this re-opened space, one of the most pervasive discourses concerns the social, religious and cultural identity of the country and its citizens. In the post-revolutionary context, indeed, the development of the Tunisian identity proceeds through the breaks opened in the narratives of the neo-patriarchal state, deconstructing the meaning of religion, politics, family and generational relationships, hitherto not debatable and taken for granted. In this discourse, the re-articulation of gender narratives, especially those concerning masculinity, is particularly relevant.

The representation of protest masculinities in the public sphere: street-painting in Tunisia

Artistic representation was one of the main ways of expression of the revolt and of the protest male and female subjectivities, in continuity

Zuckerberg invented Facebook because his girlfriend broke up with him, while the pride of Mohamed Bouazizi, had been hurt by a policewoman slap!

¹⁰ Apart from the recognition received by the NGO Freedom House, the issue of freedom of expression has been central in the debate around the new constitution, see for example art. 31, guaranteeing freedom of opinion, of thought, of expression, information and publishing, and art. 32 ensuring the right of access to information.

with the historical relationship between art and revolution. Stuart Hall (2006) speaking of popular culture, points out that it is not to be conceived as a fixed set of criteria, but as a struggle that involves different dynamics of incorporation, distortion, resistance, negotiation and recovery, a struggle that becomes part of the historical process, whose social forces disappear and reappear in various forms. It is not, therefore, a way of living separate from historical evolution, but a way of fighting. From this point of view art has historically accompanied movements, riots, revolutions, protests, being the main narrative of collective movements in many countries.

In Tunisia art forms chosen to narrate the revolt have been different. In the case of music, a special role has been deployed by rap. The most significant example is the song *Rais le bled* by El-General, a very hymn of the revolution. Its video begins with a vintage broadcasting of a dialogue between Ben Ali, father of the nation, and a child, representing the governed, interrupted noisily by the song's beginning, as the revolt interrupted his power. An important role has also been played by theatre performance, with many actors arrested in days following the 14th January (Solera, 2013).

Street-painting, an expressive form born during the 80s in the United States, in particular, provides some useful reflections to our analysis. Regardless of the form it takes – writings, drawings, stencils, graffiti – it is a peculiar form to narrate the revolution, as it represented a special re-appropriation of the public sphere by the same subjectivities until then excluded. As Korody (2011) emphasizes, Tunisian street has always been occupied by powers, being divided before between Islamic and colonial symbols, and then between religious and central power' ones. The symbols of the single party and of Ben Ali were everywhere, exemplifying the pervasiveness of power itself, expressed, also, through a direct repression of the street painting itself, whose author were often arrested, their jobs immediately deleted. The spread of drawings and writings in symbolic places – as Kasbah square or private and governmental presidential palaces – but also in the suburbs, signs the entry of ordinary subjectivities in the public sphere, the de-construction

of the same public/private border, supporting neo-patriarchal system. From this point of view of particular impact is the work of the French-Algerian JR, who, immediately after the revolution, has filled the streets of Tunis with black and white photographs of young people, superimposing the images of the regime¹¹.

The representation of youth challenges the basic element of patriarchy, the authority of the father and of the state, and the traditional moral order. Tunisian protest masculinities are portrayed as young, heroic and martyr, as it had already been described the Iranian one during the Islamic Revolution of 1979. The images of the martyrs of the revolution, embodying the new Tunisian, are a constant in the street painting, first of all Muhammad Bouazizi, the guy whose immolation had symbolically started the riots and whose image is often reproduced using stencils, that recalls the British artist Banksy¹². The same stencils are used to reproduce the image of Ben Ali, as a symbolic regaining possession of the possibility of representing the power.

The images of the martyrs are often juxtaposed to those of international heroes representing the struggle for freedom, such as Che Guevara. A similar ideological link can be found also in those writings directly recalling the *ultras*. The latter have been active during the riots in North Africa: although their different political references, they have proved to have the ability to deal directly with the power during the clashes and a strong anti-authoritarian motivation.

There is also a widespread representation of the popular critical to social cultural and economic arrangements. Anti-capitalists References – as resuming the style of Coca Cola logo to write *Enjoy Capitalism* – can be found in the work of the *Ahl al-Kahf*, the group born during the sit-in Kasbah 2, which name recalls the Abrahamic tradition of

¹¹ <http://anewhype.com/2011/06/28/tunisia-revolution-in-street-art/>

¹² Some example can be found in

<http://observers.france24.com/content/20110606-graffiti-artists-show-support-tunisian-revolution>

a group of young people that in order to escape from a despotic power refuge in a cave where they fall asleep for years. By choosing this name, the group intends to emphasize the cultural awakening needed by post-dictatorial Tunisia.

Also, noticeable is the questioning of religious authoritarianism and of the arbitrary management and monopoly of religious signifiers and meanings that, as underlined, is an important part of the neo-patriarchal legitimization system. Examples of this are the Calligraffiti (graffiti using Arabic calligraphy) made by eL-Seed, a Franco-Tunisian artist, to decorate the highest Tunisian minaret that of Jara in Gabes, with a Koranic phrase against intolerance. This is a protest against the attacks of Salafist groups generally tolerated during the three-year rule of the Islamist party En-Nahda.

Street painting in Tunisia, thus, criticise strongly all the constituent elements of the God-father-governor line supporting North African neo-patriarchy: the representation of youth, indeed, challenges the basic element of patriarchy, the authority of the father and the state, as well the traditional and religious moral order, rising new possibilities for the representation and articulation of family, gender identities and relationships.

Conclusions

The example of Tunisian street-art exemplifies how Arab Springs have opened new spaces for the deconstruction of North African neo-patriarchy. In Tunisia, the opening of these spaces has been supported by revolution's outcomes, but even in countries where protests, for different reasons, have not lead to government's fall, but to some concessions, it is possible to identify different forms of deconstruction of the patriarchy's axes. Examples can be found in the heterogeneous contemporary movements questioning religions' legitimacy to inform public and private life – as Moroccan MALI (*Mouvement alternatif pour les libertés individuelles*) a collective of

activists that from 2009 fight for freedom of thought and expression, promoting the campaign *Masayminch* (“we do not fast”), during Ramadan; or the networks of the so-called inclusive Islam and of the LGBTQIA mosques, discussing religious normativity of heterosexuality as a gender defining feature, especially in the case of masculinity. These movements have recently acquired more and more visibility in the regional and international public sphere, representing a major social and cultural challenge.

In this sense, artistic expression can be considered a privileged field of observation for the changes in the representation of gender identities and in particular of masculinity in north African countries, a field where often different gender and social relations’ models confront and collide. Taking once again Tunisia as an example, it is not a case that Salafi’s action has often focused on different forms of art: as in 2012 assault on the headquarters of a television channel (and to the house of its owner) for having broadcasted the animated film *Persepolis*; or the attacks against an art exhibition in the Tunis suburb of La Marsa. Salafi groups, indeed, have themselves been long marginalized, as government monopolized institutional and social control of religion. As a consequence they compete for the affirmation of their social and gender models, in the same public space where emergent protest masculinities have been affirmed.

The latters’ ability to reproduce themselves will depend on the longstanding outcome of the revolutions, the cultural policies of the new governments, the repositioning of the economic and social assets, the pervasiveness of the possible re-structuring of the neo-patriarchal states. Despite this, fluid protest masculinities are a clear sign of the extreme variability of gender subjectivities, their continuous change, the impermanence of their models, the multiplicity of their religious, cultural and social references.

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Take it like an elf: masculinity and emotion in Christopher Paolini's young adult fantasy series *The Inheritance Cycle*

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Abstract

Fantasy genre fiction has increasingly received academic attention for its representations of gender and sexuality, and scholars have acknowledged that the genre has the potential to challenge accepted ideas about femininity and heterosexuality. However, few studies have questioned how men and masculinity are constructed within the fantasy genre, despite the prevalence of masculine characters and readers and the influence that popular cultural texts exert over young audiences. This paper uses Raewyn Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity and Judith Butler's poststructuralist gender theories to reveal how dominant ideas about masculine stoicism are negotiated and (re)imagined within Christopher Paolini's young adult fantasy series *The Inheritance Cycle* (2005-2011). I argue that while unemotional masculine discourses are present within the narrative, fantasy genre conventions such as magic and magical creatures invite readers to question their desirability and recognize how they are socially constructed and compelled. By analysing magical telepathic bonds, crying, magical races, and magic, I find that young readers are presented with complex but often progressive ideas about how masculine subjects may experience and express their emotions. The article demonstrates that fantasy genre fiction is a crucial site for analysis in masculinities studies because it provides a means of reflecting and re-creating masculine discourses without the constraints of realism.

Key words: Masculinity, fantasy fiction, emotion, young adult, gender

Elf gibi düşün: Christopher Paolini'nin genç erişkin fantezi serisi *Miras Döngüsü*'nde erkeklik ve duygu

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Özet

Toplumsal cinsiyet ve cinselliğin fantastik edebiyattaki temsillerine yönelik akademik ilgi gittikçe artmakta ve araştırmacılar bu türün feminenlik ve heteroseksüellikle ilgili kabul gören görüşleri sarsma potansiyeli taşıdığını kabul etmektedir. Ancak, erkek karakterlerin ve okurların yaygınlığına ve popüler kültür metinlerinin genç izleyiciler üzerinde oluşturduğu etkiye rağmen, erkeklerin ve erkekliğin fantezi türünde nasıl inşa edildiğini sorgulayan çalışmaların sayısı oldukça azdır. Bu çalışma, eril stoacılık hakkındaki baskın fikirlerin Christopher Paolini'nin *The Inheritance Cycle* (Miras Döngüsü: 2005 - 2011) isimli genç erişkinlere yönelik fantezi serisinde nasıl ele alındığını ve (yeniden) tasavvur edildiğini ortaya çıkarmak amacıyla Raewyn Connell'in hegemonik erkeklik kavramından ve Judith Butler'ın postyapısalcı cinsiyet teorilerinden faydalanmaktadır. Anlatı içerisinde duygusuz eril söylemler yer alıyor olsa da, büyü ve sihirli yaratıklar gibi fantezi türünün ayrılmaz parçalarının okuyucuları bu söylemlerin arzu edilirliliğini, nasıl inşa edildiklerini ve oluştukları sosyal bağlama nasıl bağlı olduklarını sorgulamaya davet ettiğini savunuyorum. Sihirli telepatik bağlar, gözyaşı, sihirli ırklar ve büyüü analiz ederek genç okuyucuların eril öznelerin duygularını nasıl deneyimleyebilecekleri ve ifade edebilecekleri hakkında karmaşık ancak genellikle ilerici fikirlerle karşılaştığını buldum. Bu makale, eril söylemlerin realizmin sınırlılıkları olmaksızın yansıtıldığı ve yeniden yaratıldığı bir araç sunması bakımından fantastik edebiyatın erkeklik çalışmaları içinde analiz edilmesi gerekli bir alan olduğunu göstermektedir.

Anahtar kelimeler: erkeklik, fantastik edebiyat, duygu; genç erişkin, toplumsal cinsiyet

Masculine subjects in Western society are compelled to practice emotional repression, a process demonstrated through popular phrases such as “man up”, “boys don’t cry”, and “take it like a man.” Yet these discourses do not go unchallenged, especially in young adult fantasy fiction, where stoic hegemonic masculinity is often thrown into question. I argue that in Christopher Paolini’s fantasy series *The Inheritance Cycle* is one such text in which genre conventions play an integral role in subverting emotionless masculine discourses and inviting young readers to question how they may benefit from emotional expression. *The Inheritance Cycle* was published between 2005 and 2011 and sold over twenty-five million copies, won a children’s choice award, spent weeks upon bestseller lists, appeared in numerous languages, and was adapted into the 2006 film *Eragon* (Random House 2008; International Reading Association 2005; Macauley 2014). The series’ success has been attributed to a number of elements, particularly the protagonist Eragon’s emotionally open and hence highly subversive relationship with the dragon Saphira (Estes 1; Leonard 27) and its reinterpretation of traditional fantasy genre conventions (Jones 30; Rosenberg 7; Ward 11). While *The Inheritance Cycle* is a work of fiction, popular culture plays a crucial role in reflecting and shaping masculine identities in ‘real’ life and allows audiences to imagine how these constructs may be renegotiated in new and more inclusive ways. Considering how popular *The Inheritance Cycle* has been among young readers (Del Negro 1; Hamilton 3-4, 15; Rosenberg 5-7), analyzing masculine emotions in the series contributes to our understanding of how young readers are invited to repress or express their feelings based on their gender.

Using Raewyn Connell’s theory of hegemonic masculinity alongside Judith Butler’s gender theories, this paper focuses upon magical bonding, magical races, the quest, alcohol, and magic. In *Gender Trouble* (1990) Butler argues that sex and gender are not innate but performative, comprised of repeated acts that are seen to express masculine and feminine subjectivity. The ideal form of masculine

subjectivity is what Connell describes as hegemonic masculinity, a concept that allows scholars to discuss the most revered formation of masculinity within a local, national, or global context, against which all other masculine configurations are measured. While the concept of hegemonic masculinity has been critiqued for many reasons, including its lack of clarity and failure to engage with poststructuralism (Beasley 2012; Connell and Messerschmidt 2005; Demetriou 2001; Jefferson 2002; Wedgwood 2009), it provides a means of analysing the dominant configuration of masculinity which is, amongst other things, associated with logic and reason (Branney and White 260; Brody and Hall 396; Seidler 9). While I focus upon gender, I do not suggest that other identity categories, such as race, class, and ability, are any less important for the meanings that circulate within *The Inheritance Cycle*. As intersectional theorists have shown, dominant identity categories such as whiteness and heterosexuality rely upon one another for their articulation (Butler 1993; May 2015). However, given the tension between dominant masculine ideologies and emotion and their complex construction in the fantasy genre, it is not within the scope of this article to examine how masculinity intersects with other identity categories in relation to emotion.

While some recent cultural texts have attempted to destabilize these gender dichotomies between hegemonic masculinity and its feminine or other, supposedly 'lesser,' others, many popular fictions continue to draw upon them. This is true of the fantasy genre, which has traditionally emphasized place and plot rather than detailed characterization (Attebery 2; Lynn xxvi). Critics point out that while many boys and men attempt to emulate emotional hardness, it can have dire consequences on their health, as 'vulnerable' emotions are repressed and may manifest as substance abuse, violence, or suicide (Branney and White 260; Jakupcak et al. 275; Oliffe et al. 77). Despite these realities male stoicism prevails in popular culture. In the fantasy genre, in which boys and young men are more often than not the protagonists, emotions find an 'acceptable' physical outlet in quests, revenge, and fighting, the genre's driving tropes (Lynn xvi). The textual

reliance upon outdated gender binaries has implications for the familial and cultural encoding of 'appropriate' male behavior (Brody and Hall 396; Seidler 18). However, as Daniel Baker (2012) has argued, the fantasy genre does have radical potential for challenging accepted ideas and attitudes about gender and sexuality, and this subversive potential is certainly present in *The Inheritance Cycle*.

The four novels in the series, including *Eragon* (2005), *Eldest* (2006), *Brisingsr* (2009), and *Inheritance* (2011), take place in the pseudo-medieval fictional land Alagaësia, in which characters complete numerous quests, the purpose of which is to defeat the 'evil' King Galbatorix and restore peace and prosperity to the kingdom. While the series has been criticized as derivative and clichéd, its success with young readers is undeniable (Del Negro 1; Hamilton 3-4, 15; Rosenberg 5-7). Considering popular culture's role in shaping young readers' attitudes and values, *The Inheritance Cycle*'s popularity indicates that the masculine discourses in the series are significant to both masculinities studies and fantasy studies.

Dragons, Direwolves, and Dæmons

Young adult fantasy fiction often features masculine protagonists whose adventures force them to repress their emotions, yet genre conventions such as the telepathic magic bond can destabilize this unemotional masculine ideology. Magical psychological contact has featured in numerous fantasy texts, including Philip Pullman's *His Dark Materials* trilogy (1995-2000) and George R. R. Martin's *A Song of Ice and Fire* series (1996-forthcoming), both of which feature characters who share a telepathic link with an animal. Lenise Prater (2016) has also analyzed the magical bond convention in Robin Hobb's fantasy novels, and argues that, "psychic powers help to reimagine the boundaries between the self and the other, and this destabilization of the unified masculine subject provides space for an alternative understanding of identity" (23). The magical bond can be used to challenge stoic hegemonic masculinities because, as Prater suggests, "symbolic or

metaphoric queering” (32) through genre conventions subverts the notion of a unified, singular, and stable masculine subject.

In *The Inheritance Cycle* the magic bond queers the narrative in ways that promote emotional connection with others. The bond between Eragon and the dragon Saphira forces these two characters to explicitly acknowledge their thoughts and emotions through a telepathic connection—a linkage that expresses intimacy and empathy. In the first novel in the series the experience scares Eragon (Paolini 39), although he soon enjoys the open communication: “Saphira was a balm for Eragon’s frustration. He could talk freely with her; his emotions were completely open to her mind, and she understood him better than anyone else” (61). The value Eragon and Saphira place on their emotional bond is demonstrated when they are temporarily separated in *Brisingr*, and Eragon yearns for “the open exchange of thoughts and emotions they enjoyed when in close proximity” (151). Eragon enjoys sharing his emotions with Saphira, which contests the idea that men lack feelings or the ability to express them (Lilleaas 39; Milestone and Meyer 114). Sociological research suggests that “compared with maintaining a stoic silence, they [men] said expressing emotional vulnerability would be easier, even ‘therapeutic’” (Oransky and Marecek 236). Paolini himself has commented that Eragon’s relationship with Saphira is a “friendship that a lot of young people would like to have” (in Leonard 27). Because Eragon’s emotional openness with Saphira is presented as desirable, *The Inheritance Cycle* invites young adult readers to recognize that emotional expression is, as Eragon suggests, more fulfilling than hegemonic masculine stoicism.

The dragons in *The Inheritance Cycle* may be understood as another site upon which masculine (and feminine) Dragon Riders displace or enact their vulnerable emotions, particularly love, tenderness, and affection. When Dragon Riders speak about their dragons, it is often with the emotional undertones that are reserved for romantic heroes in the genre. In the third novel in *The Inheritance Cycle*, *Brisingr*, “Eragon paused and looked up at Saphira, and his heart was so full of love, he thought it might stop beating” (303). Dragons become a

site that male characters use to embrace their emotions in a safe way while maintaining distance and difference from a 'feminine' emotionality which might be demanded in a relationship with another human character.

The magical bond is also of importance because it can be read in ways that both reinforce and resist accepted ideas about sexuality. Reading the dragon-Dragon Rider bond as a pseudo-romantic relationship suggests that the pairings reinforce what Butler (1990) refers to as the heterosexual matrix—the system in which heterosexuality is compulsory and all other sexualities are policed (17). Most of the dragon and Dragon Rider pairs consist of one male and one female, and it is uncommon in *The Inheritance Cycle* for a Dragon Rider to engage in an intimate relationship with another human or elf during their dragon's lifetime. The relationship between a dragon and a Dragon Rider, particularly where one partner is gendered male and the other female, resembles a monogamous heterosexual relationship in which male characters can experience, embrace, and express their vulnerable feelings while outwardly performing a stoic male identity, and this dynamic is similarly present in Pullman's *His Dark Materials*. If this is the case, however, we may read several of the same sex dragon and Dragon Rider pairs in this series queerly, such as Eragon's half-brother Murtaugh bonding with the male dragon Thorn, Galbatorix forcibly bonding with the male dragon Shruikan, and the elf Oromis bonding with the male dragon Glaedr—even if their emphasis on exclusive, long term partnerships reinforces heterosexist relationship logics (Balay 297; Prater 31-32). Such polysemous representations again reveal the constructed nature of masculinity and men's desire for emotional connection while acknowledging stoicism as 'appropriate' male behavior. These representations make space for this emotional connection within a framework of masculine stoicism or hegemonic masculinity, thereby expanding these terms.

Weeping Warriors

While men may desire contexts in which they can express their emotions, such displays are often viewed as a failure to perform masculinity. The fantasy genre is often home to epic battles, impossible quests, and the constant threat of mortal danger, yet few (if any) male characters are depicted as crying in response to their slain comrades, grievous wounds, or temporary failures. Crying can be, and often is, regarded as the antithesis of masculinity and masculine stoicism (Warner and Shields 95-96), yet the fantasy genre conventions in *The Inheritance Cycle*, particularly the quest and magical creatures, create narrative space in which crying is visible and acceptable. There are numerous instances in which Eragon is shown weeping, most notably because of 'evil' magical creatures called the Ra'zac who destroy his home and murder his uncle in *Eragon* (90-91), and later, because they murder his mentor Brom (276-277). Eragon cries almost fifteen times in *Eragon* alone, and throughout the series it is the events of his quest, such as the break from innocence and the death of a mentor, and magical creatures (such as the Ra'zac) that cause his tears.

Unlike many masculine characters in popular culture, Eragon's emotionality is not confined to the private sphere. He also cries in public spaces, including at a funeral in *Inheritance*: "they buried him [the elf Wyrden] while singing several aching laments in the ancient language—songs so sad that Eragon had wept without restraint" (339). In these scenes, as in many others in the novel (762, 849), Eragon is characterized as 'deviating' from normative masculine behavior by performing the 'feminine' act of crying. According to Butler (1990), it is the "occasional discontinuity" of repeated acts—in this case Eragon's crying—that "reveal[s] the temporal and contingent groundlessness" of gender (92). These discontinuous moments provide ways of subverting stoic hegemonic masculinity. Genre codes, particularly the quest and magical creatures, provide contexts in which Eragon is prompted to express his emotions in ways that invite readers to critically engage with unemotional male identity.

The dwarves in *The Inheritance Cycle* also validate the existence of emotional masculinities by disrupting the emotionless male performance that dominant ideologies perpetuate. When the dwarf character King Hrothgar is killed in *Eldrest*, masculine and feminine dwarves express their feelings by weeping: “the dwarves tore at their hair, beat their breasts, and wailed their lamentations to the sky. [...] After a time, Orik noticed them [Eragon and Saphira] and rose, his face red from crying and his beard torn free from its usual braid” (657). Within the dwarf society crying is not a sign of weakness or failure, but a normal and healthy practice that is acceptable for both masculine and feminine subjects. Unlike ‘real’ and fictional Western human cultures in which emotional outbursts are policed and punished, the dwarf culture in *The Inheritance Cycle* embraces vulnerable emotions and their overt expression and discloses stoicism as performative. According to Butler (1990), “the strange, the incoherent, that which falls ‘outside,’ gives us a way of understanding the taken-for-granted world of sexual categorization as a constructed one, indeed, as one that *might well be constructed differently*” (110, my emphasis). The dwarves’ emotionality demonstrates that unemotional masculinities are not innate but dependent upon shifting cultural, social, and historical contexts. Such a discrepancy also reveals how a culture that values and validates men’s emotions may be possible or even preferable to the stoic and often harmful performance which many characters in the series seek to maintain.

Take It Like An Elf

While masculine displays of emotion are generally promoted through Eragon and the dwarves, many magical races in *The Inheritance Cycle*, including the elves, likewise demonstrate a cultural preference for emotional repression. Elves are a common fantasy convention, although their characteristics vary between texts (Kellner 368; J. Simpson 76). Paolini’s elves are similar to those in J. R. R. Tolkien’s *The Lord of the Rings* trilogy (1954-1955) in that they are powerful, impassive, and possess keen senses (J. Simpson 76), although

Paolini's elves have a stronger aptitude for emotional regulation than Tolkien's. In *The Inheritance Cycle* elvish stoicism echoes 'real' world masculine discourses, but in doing so challenges their purported desirability.

As the protagonist, Eragon admires the elves' unemotional appearance and in *Inheritance* he believes that his elvish mentor Oromis "had been in such perfect command of himself, never the slightest doubt or worry had bothered him" (246-247). Eragon attributes the elves' emotional repression to their communication restrictions: "speaking and thinking in a language that prevented one from lying [...] fostered an aversion to allowing one's emotions to sweep one away. As a rule, then, elves possessed far more self-control than the members of other races" (246-247). From Eragon's perspective emotional "self-mastery", or learning to 'take it like an elf', is desirable, and Oromis is upheld as the pinnacle of stoicism. Eragon's allusion to Oromis links his honourable status as a mentor and Dragon Rider with his impassive manner, which emphasizes Eragon's affirmative views about elvish emotional control. The ideological implications this scene fosters are polysemous because, on the one hand, they reinforce emotional regulation as desirable and useful. On the other hand, by casting stoicism as racial rather than gendered, Eragon is able to define his emotional masculine identity not through its "differentiation from the opposite gender" (Butler 22) but from an act that is changed from gendered to racial in the androgynous elf culture. The binary between masculinity and femininity is destabilized and the definition of masculine through difference to feminine is subverted by its irrelevance in the context of emotional self-mastery. While other minor characters criticize the elves' stoicism in *Eldest* (76, 80) and *Inheritance* (118-119), Eragon's admiration for the same characteristic is important, because he holds a privileged position as the text's lead protagonist (P. Simpson 28).

Eragon's positive attitude towards the elves' emotional repression is destabilized by the ancient elvish character Rhunön, who criticizes the unemotional façade that her fellows perform. While Eragon's perspective is the readers' main point of reference, he is influenced by his personal

(and often unfounded) prejudices and is often an unreliable narrator. Conversely, in *Eldest* Rhunön is characterized as ancient, highly skilled, and respected within both elf and dwarf cultures, and her dialogue reflects a clear, unbiased, and candid attitude (301-304). When she and Eragon discuss elvish stoicism in *Brisingr*, she claims that she “cannot abide how [her] race has become” because “elves used to laugh and fight like normal creatures. Now they have become so withdrawn, some seem to have no more emotion than a marble statue!” (649-650). By referring to emotional expression in conjunction with “normal creatures”, Rhunön implies that her race has become unnatural, which evokes earlier comments in *Inheritance* about the elves’ cold, unemotional, and superior characterization (118-119). By suggesting that the elves’ stoicism has made them Other, Rhunön implies that men who perform the same unemotional masculinity are likewise alien and unnatural.

While it could be argued that Rhunön’s attack on elvish stoicism confirms the binary which defines males as stoic and females as emotional, the elves’ androgynous culture and Rhunön’s non-normative embodiment of gender resist this character dichotomy. Rhunön can be read as embodying what Judith Halberstam (1998) refers to as female masculinity because she is referred to with female pronouns but is described in *Brisingr* as a blacksmith with “thick muscles” (650) and in *Eldest* as having “short-cropped hair (303), “all the authority of a warrior” (302), and a voice that “reminded Eragon of the old men of Carvahall who sat on the porches outside their houses, smoking pipes and telling stories” (301)—all of which are masculine signifiers. While Rhunön is also described as having, “cradled the weapon [Zar’roc] like a mother would her firstborn” in *Eldest* (302), her characterization disrupts the sex/gender/sexuality correlation. To assume that Rhunön and Eragon’s exchange reinforces the connection between femininity and emotion would therefore be too simple a reading. Rhunön challenges dominant modes of masculine performativity by implicitly labelling stoicism as Other, and further demonstrates the constructed nature of gender through her non-normative gender identity.

Despite the openness with which Rhunön, Eragon, and the dwarves experience and express their feelings, *The Inheritance Cycle* also reveals that emotional regulation by men can bring social rewards. The importance of self-mastery is demonstrated in numerous instances, chief of which are Eragon's training as a Dragon Rider and his cousin Roran's quests. Roran faces considerable hardships throughout the series, but unlike Eragon he always attempts to perform a stoic masculine identity by exerting intense internal control over his feelings. After a distressing series of events in *Eldest* Roran represses his emotions in a scene that is worth quoting at length:

He leaned against the wall and—through the sheer strength of his will—began to gradually subdue each of his unruly emotions, wrestling them into submission to the one thing that could save him from insanity: reason. [...] Once he regained control, Roran carefully arranged his thoughts, like a master craftsman organizing his tools into precise rows (246).

Emotional expression is depicted as a destabilizing and destructive practice, although Roran overcomes his “unruly emotions” and thus maintains his morality and sanity. However, Roran's conscious and explicit battle with emotionality also emphasizes how masculinity is constructed through mundane acts (Butler 33, 136, 140). Roran's interior perspective reveals that he is not unemotional but performs psychologically repressive behaviors that constitute his masculine identity. Roran's self-mastery, like the hardening of his body, the use of violence, and the growth of his beard, is connected to his transition from marginalized to hegemonic masculinity within a culture and context that both demands and rewards it. During his quest Roran experiences trials that condition his body and mind to harden in accordance with dominant masculine practices, which in turn enable his hegemonic status. The quest convention facilitates narrative events that cause Roran distress, but his repressive reaction to these emotions invites readers to recognize that stoicism is not natural but performative.

While Roran has seemingly learnt to master his feelings, Eragon often fails to achieve the same unemotional behavior. During his training as a Dragon Rider, mentors such as Oromis in *Eldest* (346, 397) and the dragon Glaedr and the elf Arya in *Inheritance* (94, 536) encourage Eragon to control his feelings. He is frequently admonished for being too emotional, letting his feelings cloud his judgement, and not keeping control of himself. The importance of self-mastery is stressed by Oromis in *Eldest*, who says: “you must keep a better hold over your emotions, Eragon. It could cost you your life if you allow your temper to sway your judgement” (397). Oromis’s statement once again illustrates how emotional expression is constructed as a weakness that diminishes Eragon’s masculine identity. As the elves train Eragon as a Dragon Rider, they police his deviations from hegemonic standards by encouraging him to control his feelings and adopt the impassive appearance that their culture venerates. Because this process is made visible, readers are invited to recognise that gender is, as Butler notes in *Gender Trouble*, “a strategy of survival within compulsory systems” (139-140). Eragon’s complicated relationship with his emotions demonstrates how gender is constituted through the acculturation of ‘appropriate’ masculine behavior in familial, cultural, educational, and institutional contexts. Such a revelation invites readers to consider the constructed nature of gender and how socializing practices, like those Eragon struggles with, can be renegotiated, resisted, and transformed.

While male characters in *The Inheritance Cycle* attempt to maintain emotional self-control, they also channel their feelings into alternative outlets in their quests such as physical activity or aggressive behavior. David Buchbinder (1994) claims that because masculine emotion is seen as inappropriate, it “may be articulated in other, less positive ways. Accordingly, anger and aggression frequently come to signify appropriate ‘manly’ feelings” (39). Considering the negative way in which men are taught to regard emotion (Oransky and Marecek 228; Seidler 9; Whitehead 175) vulnerable emotions may be understood as ‘unmasculine,’ requiring compensatory behaviors such as drinking alcohol and aggression (Buchbinder 39; Jakupcak et al. 275-276).

Throughout *The Inheritance Cycle* and particularly in *Eragon*, Eragon punches inanimate objects when his emotions threaten to overwhelm him: “frustrated, he punched a nearby wall, bruising his knuckles” (256). Similarly in *Inheritance*, his cousin Roran: “put aside thoughts of his slain friend, for they were too painful to dwell on, and instead concentrated upon the most immediate problem at hand: the soldiers at the southern end of the square” (194). Eragon and Roran translate their frustration, grief, and sadness into aggressive behavior that aids their respective quests. Considering their main character status and the rewards they receive within the narrative, such as love, respect, power, and material wealth, channelling emotion into aggression is upheld as acceptable masculine behavior and as a desirable practice with real social rewards (P. Simpson 28).

Aggression is not the only outlet into which masculine characters displace their emotions; throughout *The Inheritance Cycle* and many other popular fantasy texts, work becomes an outlet for masculine emotions (Drummond 104; Lilleaas 40). Like aggression, physical and mental work allow men to displace their emotions by emphasizing their hold on other masculine resources, such as strength, muscularity and organizational superiority (Connell and Messerschmidt 840; Drummond 104). Eragon often uses physical activity as an emotional outlet and says so explicitly in *Eldest*: “he had realized, with Saphira’s help, that the only way to stay rational amid such pain was to *do things*” (2, original emphasis). Eragon consciously channels his feelings elsewhere because he understands that during his quest and its often horrific realities, emotion is undesirable and requires distraction or deletion. The text thus utilizes stoic masculine behavior, yet in doing so it also reveals that gender is learned and performed (Butler 140; West and Zimmerman 125, 135). Eragon’s statement illustrates that he has learned to draw on masculine resources such as work in reaction to emotionally challenging situations that threaten to disrupt the repetition of those masculine acts that compose his gender identity. While emotion is emphasized as a debilitating and ‘unmasculine’ force that must be transformed into work,

physical activity, or aggression, this practice is revealed to be performative and thus open to interrogation and transformation.

Emotional repression is also enacted through alcohol, one of the staples in the fantasy genre, which provides an opportunity for men to both transform their emotions and overcompensate for the existence of vulnerable feelings. Many scholars agree that alcohol and masculinity are intrinsically linked in Western society; drinking is an accepted act through which men perform masculinity and rise within the hierarchy of masculinities (Mullen, Watson, Swift, and Black 151; Oliffe et al. 77). Because of its masculine connotations and capacity to influence the drinker's emotional state, some men use alcohol not only to demonstrate their masculinity but to subdue their feelings (Branney and White 256; Oliffe et al. 84-85). The relationship between alcohol and masculine emotional regulation is reflected in popular culture texts and features in a number of adolescent fantasy novels.

Throughout *The Inheritance Cycle* Eragon consumes alcohol to displace his emotions, particularly sadness, grief, shame, and fear. He drinks with his mentor Brom during their quest to find the Ra'zac in *Eragon* (249), binge drinks with the dwarves at a funeral in *Eldest* (50), suppresses his melancholy with mead while hunting the Ra'zac with Roran in *Brisingr* (33), and drinks an elvish alcohol to calm himself in *Inheritance* (342). In each of these scenes alcohol is transformative, intended for "release" and used "to forget" troubling realities (342). Eragon's reliance upon alcohol is indicated when he concedes that, "the tension he felt was too deep-seated to ease with mental tricks alone. [...] When Arya returned the flask to him, he downed a large quaff and then chuckled, unable to help himself" (342). From Eragon's perspective, feelings such as fear, shame, grief, and anxiety are undesirable and 'unmasculine,' so he drinks alcohol to minimize his emotional experience. This can also be understood as an act of masculine overcompensation in which Eragon draws on external masculine resources to hide his interior emotional vulnerability. Yet by requiring overcompensation, the scene reveals once again that masculinity is performative: Eragon admits that he is experiencing intense emotions,

which disrupts the idea that masculine subjects are naturally unemotional. While drinking a “large quaff” of alcohol to subdue his emotions reflects accepted masculine behavior, *The Inheritance Cycle* also reveals that gender is “an idea that no one *can* embody [...] all along the original was derived” (Butler 138-139). Readers are invited to recognize how impossible hegemonic masculinity is to access because, even for a fantasy quester with magical powers, they require “something else”—in this case alcohol—to be achievable.

The Inheritance Cycle also destabilizes alcohol’s accepted role in emotional repression because intoxication makes male characters vulnerable. When Eragon becomes intoxicated in *Inheritance*, he is powerless when his enemies attack: “Eragon staggered and fell to one knee as the ground seemed to pitch underneath him... *Balance is gone*, thought Eragon. *Can’t trust my vision. Have to clear my mind*” (346-347). Because of the alcoholic drink that Eragon consumed, he is unable to fulfill his masculine role as protector. Readers are also invited to empathize with Eragon’s failure through his perspective: “panic blossomed within him so strongly that it almost overrode his sense of reason and sent him running blindly into the night. [...] Eragon was not sure how he and Arya could fight them off. Not in their condition” (346-347, original emphasis). Alcohol transforms Eragon from powerful to powerless and his urge to start “running blindly into the night” cements his impotence by suggesting that alcohol nullifies his magical and physical abilities as well as his bravery and masculinity. The fantasy context is particularly important to consider when analysing this scene, because the genre is enamored with epic heroes whose quests and violence cement their glorified status (Lynn xvi; Milestone and Meyer 136-139). Yet Eragon’s desire to not only avoid fighting but to run in fear emphasizes how alcohol, as an emotional bolster to masculinity, is here a source of impotence. Readers are invited to recognize that stoic hegemonic masculinities are always already impossible to embody and that the ways in which they can be achieved—in this case through alcohol—may inhibit ones’ agency.

Emotion as Weakness and Weapon

Masculine characters in *The Inheritance Cycle* perceive their feelings as the origin of weakness and vulnerability in both *Eragon* (32) and *Brisingr* (607), yet the series also positions emotion as a supernatural source of power. The relationship between emotion and magic has seldom been analyzed within the academy despite the fact that many non-realist texts suggest that magic is stimulated by strong emotions. Linking magic with emotion subverts hegemonic masculine stoicism, especially in *The Inheritance Cycle*. When Eragon first uses magic in *Eragon*, he envisions “dead villagers piled around the spear and an innocent baby who would never grow to adulthood” and so feels “a burning, fiery power [which] gathered from every part of his body” (133). When Eragon’s emotions reach a point where “he felt ready to burst from the contained force”, he attacks the enemies that have inspired his wrath with magic: “the arrow hissed through the air, glowing with a crackling blue light. It struck the Urgal on the forehead, and the air resounded with an explosion” (133-134). Eragon experiences such intense emotions that he sets an arrow alight and kills his enemies with the ensuing explosion. Later in the same novel, his mentor Brom explains that a similar process initiated the Dragon Riders into the magical arts: “the students were presented with a series of pointless tasks designed to frustrate them... after a time, they would get infuriated enough to use magic” (144-145). In these scenes emotion is not only a conduit to magical power, but a form of power connected to the ‘good’ characters.

Emotion is aligned with fantasy heroes rather than villains, yet its role as both weapon and weakness is emphasized in the final battle of the series, in which Eragon uses emotion and magic to defeat the evil King Galbatorix in *Inheritance*. Because he has been magically silenced by Galbatorix, Eragon casts a spell using his emotions and the enchantment forces the king to experience every emotion he has ever evoked. When Eragon inadvertently casts the spell, he realizes that, “it was a spell without words, for Galbatorix’s magic would not allow otherwise, and no

words could have described what Eragon wanted, nor what he felt... His was a spell of instinct and emotion" (714). The emotion comes from both Eragon and the crystallized dragon souls (Eldunarf) that aid him, who feel "a hundred years of inconsolable grief and anger [...] like a roaring wave" (714). The emotionally powered spell that Eragon and the Eldunarf create would "compel him to experience all the feelings, both good and bad, that he had aroused in others since the day he had been born" (714-715). Because of Galbatorix's misdeeds, the effects of the spell are described as "an unbearable cacophony of pains and joys innumerable" (715). As the final battle between 'good' and 'evil,' this scene is one of the most important in the series, and it also offers complex and contradictory meanings about whether masculinity and emotion can and should coexist.

The final battle between Eragon and Galbatorix is ideologically fraught and can be read in ways that both reinforce and reject stoic hegemonic masculinity. Emotional experiences and expression are often seen as a vulnerability and weakness for men (Seidler 13), and emotion clearly weakens Galbatorix and inspires his decision to 'undo' himself with magic (718-719). However, readers are invited to critique Galbatorix's inability to accept and express his emotions when he commits suicide to escape them, saying: "the voices... the voices are terrible. I can't bear it..." He closed his eyes, and fresh tears streamed down his cheeks. 'Pain... so much pain. So much grief... Make it stop! *Make it stop!*'" (718, original emphasis). By forcing Galbatorix to embrace emotion, his masculine identity is symbolically withdrawn and he chooses death rather than emotion (which we may read as femininity and powerlessness). Galbatorix's final pleading moments offer a harrowing critique of masculine stoicism and a haunting allusion to 'real' Western culture, in which men commit suicide far more often than women because of the cultural stigma that polices their emotional expression (Branney and White 256; Oliffe et al. 77).

Finally, it is worth examining how Eragon defeats Galbatorix not through physical force, with which violent hegemonic masculinity has often been associated (Hatty 2000), but through emotion. Rather than his

muscular body or combat skills, Eragon's emotions create magic and undermine the king's protective spells, particularly his vulnerable feelings such as fear and grief. Similarly, the Eldunari's "unbearable [emotional] cacophony" strengthens the spell and contains so much power that it delivers the final blow in the battle between 'good' and 'evil.' This climax shows that *The Inheritance Cycle* presents a complex yet often subversive construction of masculinity and emotion, one that may also invite young readers to re-examine their own experiences and reactions.

Conclusion

In *The Inheritance Cycle* unemotional male identities and emotional repression face textual interrogation. Fantasy conventions such as magical creatures and quests reflect the Western conflation of masculinity and stoicism, yet these same fantasy conventions, particularly magic, indicate that emotion provides great power to change the world. *The Inheritance Cycle* does not always illustrate progressive views about emotional openness, yet the idea that men are naturally unemotional, or should attempt to be so, is repeatedly contested. The series thus invites young readers to recognize that masculinity is constructed, and that its enactment often involves psychological and physical harm to men and those around them.

Even though the fantasy genre conventions in *The Inheritance Cycle* utilize stoic masculine ideologies, they simultaneously showcase diverse and less harmful ways in which characters can engage with their emotions. Considering that fantasy genre fiction often facilitates emotional repression through quests, revenge, isolation, and violence, and is immensely popular among young readers, emotionally expressive masculine characters may invite young adults to reject hegemonic stoicism and its damaging consequences. Few academic studies have examined how masculinity is represented in fantasy fiction, yet this paper shows that because of its conventions, the genre is a critical cultural site for masculinities scholars who wish to examine how

hegemonic and alternative masculinities may be (re)imagined. Dominant and destructive ideas about masculine subjectivity are pervasive within the genre, but questioning what it means to be masculine in fantasy fiction—to “take it like an elf”, or a dwarf, or a dragon—may reveal how scholars and readers can “redescribe those possibilities that *already* exist” (Butler 148-149, original emphasis) in our real world, but have been obscured by essentialist gender models and hegemonic discourses.

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Modernity as an Ottoman Fetish: Representations of Ottoman Masculinity in *Kesik Bıyık*¹

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Abstract

Because masculinity was a central part of Ottoman culture and politics, changes in these domains had a fundamental impact on discussions about masculinity. At the turn of the twentieth century, the Ottoman Empire's dominant role in world politics began to weaken due to the increasing influence of modernity. This generated socio-political anxieties. Ömer Seyfettin's short story, *Kesik Bıyık* (*Trimmed Moustache*), is a good example to use when discussing the influence of modernity in relation to the issue of masculinity. The transformation of a moustache into a fetish object can be read as an allegory of the Empire's socio-political anxieties caused by the process of modernisation. This paper discusses the way in which *Kesik Bıyık* allegorically represents the Ottoman Empire's socio-political anxieties as castration anxiety, and how modernity becomes a fetish throughout the narrative.

Key words: castration anxiety, modernity, fetishism, Ottoman-Turkish literature, Ömer Seyfettin

Bir Osmanlı Fetiři Olarak Modernite: *Kesik Bıyık'ta* Osmanlı Erkeklięinin Temsilleri

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Özet

Erkeklik, Osmanlı kültürünün ve siyasetinin merkezi bir parçası olduęundan bu alanlardaki deęişimler Osmanlı erkeklik tartışmalarını da önemli ölçüde etkilemiştir. Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun dünya siyasetindeki egemen rolünün modernitenin artan etkisiyle zayıflayamaya başlaması pek çok sosyo-politik endişe doğurmuştur. Ömer Seyfettin'in *Kesik Bıyık* öyküsü, modernitenin İmparatorluk üzerindeki etkisini erkeklik tartışmaları bağlamında incelemek için iyi bir örnek teşkil etmektedir. Metin boyunca bıyığın bir fetiş objesine dönüşmesi, İmparatorluęun modernleşme sürecindeki sosyo-politik endişelerini alegorik bir şekilde okuma imkanı tanır. Bu makale, *Kesik Bıyık*'ın Osmanlı İmparatorluğu'nun sosyo-politik endişelerini nasıl alegorik bir şekilde hadım edilme endişesi olarak temsil ettiğini ve bu endişeden hareketle, modernitenin metin boyunca nasıl fetişleştirildiğini tartışmaktadır.

Anahtar kelimeler: hadım edilme endişesi, modernite, fetişizm, Osmanlı edebiyatı, Ömer Seyfettin

The ubiquitous trope of sexually differentiating “the West” from “the East” has been a long-lasting and reciprocal one. As Edward Said wrote in *Orientalism*, in Orientalist representations, the West persistently associated the East with sex, and regarded it as an entity that “seem[ed] to suggest not only fecundity but sexual promise (and threat), untiring sensuality, unlimited desire, deep generative energies” (1994: 188). The affinity between sexual and political dominance perpetually occurred in the colonial history of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Western colonialism represented the political and socio-economic domination of the West as the domination of masculinity over femininity (Nandy 1993: 4). Although Irvin Cemil Schick contended that the East was not invariably feminised, gender and sexuality were nonetheless used to create contrasts that supported the self-definition of the West and its imperial agenda (1999: 4-5). Conversely, the Ottoman Empire applied similar sexual metaphors to define itself via a contrast with ‘the other’ – the West, in this context. In the work of Ottoman authors in the *Tanzimat* period (1839-1876) – also known as the reformation period – the relationship between the East and the West was used to resemble a metaphorical marriage or a sexual relationship between a man and a woman. The East and the West were personified as the male and female sides of the relationship, respectively, with the East having superiority over the West (Parla 2004: 17).

Nevertheless, the advancement of Western science and technology, the increasing spread of modernity and the loss of important territories due to the emergence of nationalism started to undermine the representations of the Empire’s gender stereotyping and challenged Ottoman self-perception and self-identification. The identification of the Ottoman Empire with a masculine role in its metaphorical marriage with the West became problematic because of the changing power balance in world politics. The Ottoman Empire’s political predicament and its decreasing imperial power necessitated the modernisation of the Empire and highlighted its need to keep pace with the West. The decision to modernise the Empire in order to preserve its masculine role and to

compete with the West led to the rapid transformation of traditional representations into new socio-cultural settings. The issue of masculinity was discussed in conjunction with considerations regarding the extent to which Western modernity should permeate Ottoman traditions.

In his book *The Image of Man: The Creation of Modern Masculinity*, George L. Mosse linked masculinity with modernity in Western culture:

The ideal of masculinity was invoked on all sides as a symbol of personal and national regeneration, but also as basic to the self-definition of modern society. Manliness was supposed to safeguard the existing order against the perils of modernity, but it was also regarded as an indispensable attribute of those who wanted change. Indeed, the exhortation “to be a man” became commonplace, whether during the nineteenth century or the first half of the twentieth (1998: 3).

Similarly, the transformation of Ottoman culture and tradition led the Ottoman elite to look for new ways to envision an ‘idealised’ and ‘hegemonised’ masculinity that would supposedly protect “the existing order against the perils of modernity”, as well as leading “those, who wanted change”, to the ‘right’ path in the process of modernisation. As R. W. Connell remarked, “hegemony is likely to be established only if there is some correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power, collective if not individual” (1996: 77). Based on Antonio Gramsci’s “hegemony”, Connell stated that hegemonic masculinity is a form of masculinity that is superior to other masculinities in terms of cultural hierarchy and power relations (1996: 77). In fact, hegemonic Ottoman masculinity, to a great extent, was constructed to affirm the Empire’s cultural fabric and political power. It provided a blueprint for the indigenous-cultural identity in keeping with the Empire’s masculine role. In this paper, the term “hegemonic masculinity” does not refer to a stable and unchanging masculinity; “hegemonic Ottoman masculinity” mainly refers to Turkish-speaking Muslim men, whose sultan was the caliph of the Islamic world and who were aware of ‘the danger of imprudent influence of the West’, who took precedence over other men because

they spoke the Empire's official language, and who outnumbered non-Muslim subjects.

Such masculinity was hegemonised in order to support the interests of the Ottoman Empire, particularly through literary representations. From the second half of the nineteenth century, various representations of masculinity began to be embodied in fiction. This embodiment resulted from – and also resulted *in* – anxieties involving society. As Nurdan Gürbilek suggested in *Kör Ayna, Kayıp Şark: Edebiyat ve Endişe (Blind Mirror, Lost Orient: Literature and Anxiety)*, similar to the Ottoman Empire's gender stereotyping, authorship was frequently associated with the male gender role by Ottoman authors whose narratives were deeply influenced by anxieties caused by Westernisation, national culture and cultural identity. These anxieties also became intertwined with the fear of losing one's masculinity in the form of writing/narrating (2014: 9-10). This intertwining of socio-political and literary anxieties shows how the modern West, as a concept, shifted “from a geographical and temporal entity to a psychological category”, as it is no longer confined to certain territories, but it takes place “in structures and in minds” (Nandy 1993: xi).

How did these anxieties regarding modernity and the form of narration affect the literary production of Ömer Seyfettin (1884-1920), who often commented on and attached importance to the existing political and cultural circumstances of his period? Ömer Seyfettin is often regarded as the founder of the short story genre, and he is one of the most important authors of Turkish national literature in the early twentieth century. In his brief life he witnessed significant wars such as the Turco-Italian War (1911-1912), the Balkan Wars (1912-1913) and the First World War (1914-1918), all of which left their marks on his literary production (Alangu 1968: 14). As did his nineteenth-century literary precursors, Ömer Seyfettin occasionally employed the marriage *topos* between the East and the West with a nationalist emphasis. For instance, his serial stories *Fon Sadriştayn'ın Karısı (The Wife of Von Sadreistein)* and *Fon Sadriştayn'ın Oğlu (The Son of Von Sadreistein)*, first published during the First World War in 1917 and 1918, respectively,

are based on this marriage *topos*. The short story *Fon Sadriştayn'ın Karısı* praises German culture through the marriage of a Turkish man called Sadrettin to a German woman – after his first marriage to a Turkish woman, Sadrettin, who previously appeared physically weak, becomes sturdy thanks to his German wife. The follow-up narrative, *Fon Sadriştayn'ın Oğlu*, continues the plot and takes place twenty-five years later. Sadrettin's decision to leave his Turkish wife and marry a German woman results in a 'mischievously' brought up son, who is born from this transnational marriage and who steals his parents' money and runs away to America, which could perhaps reflect America's entry into the First World War in 1917.

In addition, *Primo Türk Çocuğu – Nasıl Doğdu* (*Primo the Turkish Boy – How He Was Born*), first published in 1911 during the Turco-Italian War, narrates the story of a young Turkish engineer, Kenan, who was infatuated with Western culture and who married an Italian woman, Grazia. However, in the narrative – which takes place during the Italian invasion – both Kenan and his half-Italian son, Primo, gradually become nationalists and develop aggressive attitude towards the West. By presenting *Primo Türk Çocuğu* as an example, Halil Berktaş underlined the inclination of nationalist authors to develop a discourse that represented “a deceived macho masculine culture” in opposition to the Western perception, which often feminised the East in its cultural productions (1999: 362-363). Here, the term “hyper-masculinity”, – an exaggerated form of masculinity – corresponds to the impulse of the nationalist authors, who struggled against the Western influence. Ashis Nandy used the term hyper-masculinity to explain “a reactionary stance” that “arises when agents of hegemonic masculinity feel threatened or undermined, thereby needing to inflate, exaggerate, or otherwise distort their traditional masculinity” (Agathangelou & Ling 2004: 519). In *Primo Türk Çocuğu*, Ömer Seyfettin presented a representation of ‘Turkishness’ through hyper-masculinity. These transnational marriages follow the same pattern, namely marriage between a Turkish man and a Western woman whose nationality depends on with whom the Ottoman Empire was struggling at the time. Hence, masculinity becomes a domain of

contestation in which nationalism plays a key role in these narratives.

Nationalism, as a significant part of Western modernity, wittingly or unwittingly led Ömer Seyfettin to the internalisation of the West as a necessary reification and this had consequences for indigenous discourses surrounding masculinity as well as the political and literary representations thereof. A. Ezgi Dikici suggested that, similar to his other nationalist contemporaries, Ömer Seyfettin was confronted by the dilemma of Western modernity and Turkish national identity. This dilemma was depicted as “a sense of crisis” due to the feeling of being torn between contesting the economic and cultural hegemony of the West and the need to maintain a national identity (2008: 85). As Partha Chatterjee claimed, nationalist thought “simultaneously rejects and accepts the dominance, both epistemic and moral, of an alien culture” (1993: 11).

I suggest comparing this simultaneous rejection and acceptance of an alien culture to Sigmund Freud’s concept of fetishism. In his essay “*Fetishism*”, Sigmund Freud wrote, “the fetish is a substitute for the penis” (1927: 152). When a little boy notices that his mother does not have a penis, he perceives it as a threat – he might also lose his penis. The possibility of the loss of his penis creates castration anxiety. In order to address this anxiety, the boy disavows his mother’s lack of a penis. However, this disavowal causes a conflict – on one hand, the boy continues to believe that his mother has a penis; on the other hand, he acknowledges that she does not have one. He tries to find a middle ground and invents a fetish object that substitutes for his mother’s absent penis. In other words, castration anxiety is eradicated by fetishising a new object as a replacement for the mother’s penis (Freud 1927: 154).

With reference to Sigmund Freud, Homi K. Bhabha interpreted fetishism at the level of colonial discourse. He emphasised that “[f]etishism, as the disavowal of difference, is that repetitious scene around the problem of castration” (1994: 74). His reading of stereotypes with regard to fetishism is crucial for explaining castration anxiety in relation to colonial discourse in general and to late Ottoman politics in

particular. Although the Ottoman Empire was not actually colonised by the West, Homi K. Bhabha's reading functions well as a way of demonstrating the shift in the Empire's approach to gender stereotyping and castration anxiety both in politics and in fiction. In this regard, the question of whether one has a penis or not is similar to the question of what it means to 'be the other', and to having a different skin colour/race/culture, issues that constitute differences between cultures, and between the coloniser and the colonised. The recognition of the difference between the coloniser and the colonised might be seen as analogous to the sexual difference between the boy and the mother (1994: 74-75).

I argue that fetishism occurred in the form of modernisation in the late Ottoman context. The purpose of modernisation was to resurrect the Empire's weakened masculine role and to compensate for its political castration, which not only functioned as a disavowal of the difference between the Ottoman tradition and Western modernity, but also became the acknowledgement of the Empire's existing differences from the West and/or 'lack' of modernity. The Empire's simultaneous recognition and disavowal of its difference from the West challenged the imperial power and became representative of its castration anxiety. My contention, therefore, is that the dissolution of the implicitly masculine role of the Ottoman Empire, an empire that was becoming increasingly less potent, is represented via castration anxiety in fiction, an anxiety that is particularly reflected in Ömer Seyfettin's *Kesik Bıyık (Trimmed Moustache)*, published in the literary and political humour magazine *Diken (The Thorn)* in 1918. It narrates the story of a young man who has his moustache trimmed in an American-style in order to follow the latest fashion adopted by his friends. With regard to the modern manly look, George L. Mosse remarked that,

just as modern masculinity reflected the ideals and hopes of society, so its enemies were the enemies of society. Here manliness fulfilled its task of strengthening normative society against those who supposedly wanted to destroy its fabric, and who through their looks and comportment made

clear their evil intentions (1998: 12).

As mentioned above, Ottoman modernisation was often debated in relation to discourses on masculinity, both metaphorically and literally. Idealised and hegemonised masculinity became a destination that one might reach via the 'right' path to modernity, the limits of which were, to a great extent, determined by Ottoman tradition. In Ömer Seyfettin's corpus, from which I take *Kesik Bıyık* as an example, the connection between masculinity and Ottoman modernisation is already present. The American-style trimmed moustache, which exceeds the limits of the desired Ottoman modernity, might largely be indicative of opposition to hegemonic Ottoman masculinity and the implicitly normative content of modernity, and might conversely represent "evil intentions", as George L. Mosse stated. However, I contend that the analogy moves beyond such opposition and representation. As I will argue below, the act of moustache trimming can be read as an analogy for castration, which in itself can be seen as representing late Ottoman anxieties about modernity and as shown in literary production. By reading *Kesik Bıyık* in relation to castration anxiety, I will discuss the ways in which these anxieties produce different masculinities juxtaposed with hegemonic Ottoman masculinity as exemplified by the style of moustache worn.

Ottoman Masculinity is at Stake: A Subversive Reading of *Kesik Bıyık*

K*esik Bıyık* begins with a reference to Charles Darwin made by the protagonist:

One has to believe in the words of the guy called "Darwin". Yes, human beings must have absolutely evolved from monkeys! Because whatever we see we immediately imitate it; the way we sit, stand up, drink, walk, stop, in short in short everything... (6)²

The protagonist gives an example of men who needlessly imitate what they see:

There are many men who wear one-eyed glasses called a “monocle” without having a need for it. Because [the men in the] pictures they see in the fashion albums at the tailor [shop] have one-eyed glasses (6).³

After this brief criticism of those who imitate Western fashion, the protagonist refers to himself and remarks that he is also one of these imitators:

Six seven years ago, I saw that everyone used to trim his moustache American-style. You naturally might guess that I also immediately had [my moustache] trimmed. Ah, yes I also had [it] trimmed. I also had my handlebar moustache trimmed just because of mimicry; indeed I looked like my ancestors in the way Darwin wanted (6).⁴

This reference to the theory of human evolution implicitly alludes to Charles Darwin’s theory of sexual difference and civilisation. In his two-volume study *The Descent of Man, and Selection in Relation to Sex* – first published in 1871 – Charles Darwin described the relationship of civilisation, reproductive sex and sexual differences. In addition to “man’s putative ‘descent’ from animal forms”, Charles Darwin suggested that human beings are superior to animals since they have morality, culture and civilisation. He valued Western civilisation above other civilisations by arguing that it is based on sexual selection and reproduction. With regard to means of reproduction, he placed specific emphasis on heteronormativity and stressed the differences between the sexes. Charles Darwin ascribed indistinct sexual differences to inferior races and savage societies such as the “American aborigines”. This importance given to sexual difference and reproduction ostracised Western homosexuality and regarded it as primitive, a kind of non-Western savagery. It rendered both the homosexual and the savage intertwined discursively in Charles Darwin’s theory (Gandhi 2006: 47-49, 50).

With reference to Charles Darwin’s theory, I argue that *Kesik Bıyık* allegorically highlights the challenges posed to hegemonic Ottoman masculinity by its Western counterparts in the process of modernisation.

The use of a manly sign – the moustache – initially underlines the sexual difference between male and female. The handlebar moustache – *palabıyık* in Turkish – is trimmed from the corners of the mouth downwards – above the mouth, it is allowed to grow in an unrestrained fashion. It represents hegemonic masculinity and Ottoman tradition in the narrative. The act of trimming, therefore, represents the Empire's modernisation attempts that led to the alteration of hegemonic masculinity and constituted sexual ambivalence. After trimming his moustache to make it appear in an American-style, the protagonist admits that he does not look the way he had expected. However, after he shaves off the handlebar moustache, he regresses in terms of human evolution and resembles a monkey. If one considers the discursive Darwinian relationship between the homosexual and the savage, the protagonist's monkey-like appearance transforms him into a savage, if not into a homosexual. The protagonist's act of shaving his moustache annihilates the sexual difference between male and female and, implicitly, his masculinity. Correspondingly, the trimmed moustache functions as a critique of Ottoman modernisation based on the emulation of the West that prevents the Empire from being part of Western 'civilisation', and misdirects it in a Darwinian sense.

The protagonist's parents react negatively to him because he trimmed his moustache. In their eyes, the American-style moustache is a symbol of "excessive Westernisation". In this context, the West is not limited to Europe – the emulation of American fashion shows that Westernisation expands into and includes Americanness. When the protagonist's mother is told that he has trimmed his handlebar moustache and she enters his room, he tries to hide his upper lip with his hand as if he had a toothache. However, his mother starts crying and tells him:

- Ah traitor vile! You are not my son anymore! [...] Do you think that I do not understand? [...] freemasons cut their moustaches. This means you are a freemason too! May you get no benefit from the milk I gave you: Ah this means you are a freemason and we were not aware of it... (6)⁵

The protagonist's mother initially sees the trimmed moustache as being dreadful. She even threatens to disown her son. The protagonist's mother makes clear that having an American-style moustache is the equivalent of becoming a "freemason". The mother's accusation is not related directly to the protagonist's masculinity; instead, her anger is linked to the loss of the cultural heritage and/or the unity of the Empire. Hence, one might suggest that Ottoman masculinity is a central part of Ottoman culture – if one is lost, the other will be lost too.

The protagonist's father then arrives on the scene. The protagonist feels frightened and trembles with fear when he sees his father. He also tries to hide his moustache from him, but his father sees it. The protagonist feigns an excuse by saying "[...] while lighting my cigarette I burned one side of my moustache... That is why I had it trimmed" (6).⁶ However, he cannot convince his father:

- You cannot fool me with this, [...] it means that all those dandies on streets burned their moustaches with a match.

[...] Bringing the fez's tassel to the forefront, trimming the moustache all of it indicates something... Something, which is very vile... (6)⁷

The protagonist's father accuses the protagonist of being a dandy because he trimmed his moustache. According to the protagonist's father, when a man trims his moustache, he becomes a "dandy" and his masculinity becomes diminished. The association of the dandy with the loss of masculinity is a central issue in the discussions of modernisation in the Ottoman-Turkish novel. In these discussions, any Western influence is seen as an excessive influence; this excessive influence is frequently associated with the excessively Westernised, effeminate dandy, a figure that appeared frequently in the narratives of the time.⁸ The effeminate dandy was not only seen as having a "borrowed personality" due to excessive Westernisation, but also reflects the anxiety felt by some about turning to "borrowed sexuality" (Gürbilek 2014: 11, 55-56). By contrast, the sexuality of excessively Westernised female characters is reinforced and they become hypersexual. The hyper-sexualisation of these female characters leads them to lose their

chastity and virginity (Bilgin 2004: 106). Thus, it may be concluded that excessive Westernisation is considered the equivalent of having sex with a man – the West in these examples – that ultimately results in a loss in one way or other, either of chastity and/or virginity, or masculinity.

It is remarkable that when the father disowns the protagonist and throws him out of the house, he displaces the widely debated issue of female chastity to the loss of male chastity:

- Leave now! [...] do not ever think of coming here again...
Because even if your moustaches grow your chastity is not
be restored... (6)⁹

This displacement of female chastity with male chastity depicts the extent to which the excessively Westernised Ottoman man surrenders his virility and becomes as effeminate as a hypersexual female character. The juxtaposition of moustache and chastity depicts the loss of masculine characteristics that one experiences as a result of the influence of Western modernity. Accordingly, ‘womanly’ issues, such as the loss of chastity, are also ascribed to the protagonist. The loss of chastity due to the trimmed moustache becomes the yielding of Ottoman tradition to excessive Western influence. Elif Bilgin suggested that the private sphere and, consequently, the family became a “castle of chastity” that should be kept safe from excessive Westernisation (2004: 90). Therefore, the father, who was seen as the guardian of the family in early Ottoman-Turkish novels (Parla 2004: 19), banishes the protagonist from the house in order to wage war on the excessive influence of Western modernity and to protect the “castle of chastity”.

After being thrown out of the house, the protagonist decides to go to his friend’s house in Topkapı. On the way, he encounters some of his friends. They salute him and react to the trimmed moustache in exactly the opposite way from that of his parents:

- Bonjour, bonjour! [...] here now you look like a man...
What was that handlebar moustache! Like a chief officer of
the Janissaries who arose from the grave... (6)¹⁰

The Janissaries (the *Yeni Çeri*, or the “New Army”) were a powerful military force in the Ottoman Empire until the mid-seventeenth century. Later, their malpractices and military inadequacies against Western armies led to their execution by Mahmud II (r. 1808-1839) in 1826. These executions were called the “Auspicious Event” (*Vak’a-i Hayriyye*). A Western-style army replaced the Janissary corps in one of the most significant and pioneering attempts to modernise the Empire. The renowned Ottoman-Turkish poet and diplomat Yahya Kemal (1884-1958) discussed late Ottoman masculinities in relation to the execution of the Janissaries. He noted:

[...] following the Auspicious Event our old customs disappeared completely because of the aim to raise a dignified and well-mannered generation and in the end, under the Ottoman garment that is called *İstanbulî*, just as that government wanted, a generation that was well-behaved, well-advised, kowtowing, lickspittle, lowly, silenced, deprived of all sorts of manly appearances, walks and movements was fostered. A foreigner, who would look at Ottoman generation in this era, would not recognise the sons of the old quarrelsome, strong voiced and manly Ottomans (1975: 97).¹¹

I contend that the similarity between the protagonist’s previous appearance and the Janissaries, as remarked upon by his friends, is a significant indicator that demonstrates how hegemonic Ottoman masculinity was altered by modernisation. As the handlebar moustache allegorically signifies Ottoman tradition, the trimming thereof causes the protagonist to cease being a man in the traditional sense. However, he becomes a ‘modern’ and ‘real’ man in the eyes of his Westernised peers. Each character adopts a different attitude towards the American-style moustache: it is either interpreted as the loss of hegemonic Ottoman masculinity, or it receives approval as the symbol of modernity.

When the protagonist takes the tram to Topkapı, he sees a religious hodja who looks at him. The protagonist becomes concerned that he will receive further criticism because of his moustache from the

hodja. He makes ready to escape from the hodja's sight. Meanwhile, the hodja smiles:

- May God bless you my son. May you live long! [...]
- For what sir? [...]
- Seeing elegant youngsters like you being circumcised is the biggest pride for us! [...]
- But how did you understand that I am circumcised sir?

The hodja smiled:

- You have your moustaches trimmed my son [...]. Isn't it a sunnah? (6)¹²

This grotesque misunderstanding becomes highly explicit in the original parlance of the narrative, because the words circumcision and sunnah, a set of religious customs and practices introduced by the Prophet Muhammad, are the same word in Turkish: *sünnet*. Since the hodja is the cult leader, his position requires that he does not criticise undesirable acts directly; instead, he likens them to something pleasant. As readers, we are uncertain whether he criticises the protagonist implicitly or whether he appreciates the trimmed moustache because it is recommended for religious reasons.¹³ The hodja's allusive use of the word *sünnet* maintains the tension between hegemonic Ottoman masculinity and 'modern' masculinities until the end of the story.

Both penises and moustaches are exclusively male. Furthermore, circumcision and moustache trimming both consist of "trimming" at a physical level, either of the foreskin or of the hair on the upper lip. However, the act of trimming the foreskin does not have the same connotation as does trimming the hair on the upper lip. In Ottoman-Turkish culture, the loss of foreskin via circumcision is never seen as a loss. Instead, circumcision is a signifier of masculinity. It is considered a transition from childhood to manhood. Unlike the circumcision tradition in Jewish culture, which is generally performed early in the neonatal period, Muslim boys are circumcised when they are aged between five and twelve. Thereafter, they are supposed to "become socially gendered beings" (Delaney 1994: 164). One of the stages of manhood is the growth of pubic hair and facial hair, which occurs at a later age than does

circumcision. The growth of male hair proclaims the beginning of puberty and sexual maturity. In terms of sexual maturity, Dror Ze'evi divided male sexuality into two prominent periods; the period until puberty during which a young boy is an object of desire for older men, and the period when he grows in maturity and is attracted to women and younger men (2006: 93). In the period of maturity, facial hair not only differentiates men from women, but also from younger, beardless men (Najmabadi 2005: 142). Accordingly, facial hair – beards and/or moustaches – becomes a reinforcing sign of sexual maturity and adulthood. In many Islamic traditions, the transformation of vellus hair into a moustache is particularly seen as indicative of virility (Bromberger 2008: 381).

The correlation of male hair with virility is explained by Wendy Cooper as “a simple equation: male hair equals virility, equals power, equals strength” (1971: 38). In his book *The Unconscious Significance of Hair* (1951), Charles Berg described this association in reverse and suggested a symbolic relationship between hair cutting and shaving with castration.¹⁴ In her analysis of the biblical story of Samson and Delilah, Mieke Bal also underlined the symbolic relationship between hair cutting and castration. Samson’s loss of hair leads to the loss of his strength, as his strength in general and his masculinity in particular are reliant on his hair. The loss of his hair diminishes his masculinity. Samson’s diminished masculinity generates “hair envy” and, by extension, penis envy in the story (1987: 55). Drawing on Mieke Bal’s reading of the story of Samson and Delilah, I contend that the parents’ negative reactions to the protagonist’s trimmed moustache also transform castration anxiety into “hair envy” on behalf of the protagonist. Since he does not have an ‘adequate’ moustache according to his parents, he embraces the ‘womanly’ psychological conflict of “penis envy” in the guise of “hair envy”.

In *Kesik Bıyık*, circumcision and the handlebar moustache are juxtaposed as constitutive elements of virility. This juxtaposition forms the basis for the interrogation of hegemonic Ottoman masculinity. Circumcision is one of the prerequisites for being a man. An

uncircumcised man is one who does not conform to the physical perception of an Ottoman man. A circumcised penis becomes the symbol of power and transforms the penis into the phallus (Barutçu 2015: 134). The handlebar moustache – like circumcision – is also representative of hegemonic Ottoman masculinity, and consequently functions as the phallus in the narrative. The loss of the handlebar moustache – with the aim of having a ‘modern’ or ‘civilised’ look – diminishes the protagonist’s virility, as it does in the story of Samson and Delilah. Given the association of circumcision with the trimming of the handlebar moustache, the American-style moustache moves the idea of circumcision beyond its reinforcing meaning in relation to hegemonic masculinity and turns it into castration anxiety. Furthermore, although circumcision is usually called *tahara* (purification) in Arabic (Bouhdiba 2000: 21), I argue that trimming the moustache in contrast to circumcision does not signify purification, but rather ‘deterioration’ of the protagonist in the narrative.

In addition, circumcision is also a necessary condition for one to marry. Abdelwahab Bouhdiba drew attention to the similarity between circumcision and wedding ceremonies:

It is as if circumcision were only a mimicry of marriage and the sacrifice of the foreskin an anticipation of that of the hymen [...]. It is as if circumcision were a preparation for deflowering and indeed is it not a question of preparing oneself for coitus, of sensitizing oneself to the genetic activity, of valorizing in a sense the phallus, which is thus in turn purified and placed in reserve? (2000: 27).

The trimming of the handlebar moustache in an American-style as a reflection of circumcision and of symbolic castration prevents the protagonist from practicing marriage in the sense of Abdelwahab Bouhdiba. This inability might also be interpreted as a prevention of the metaphorical marriage between the Ottoman tradition and Western modernity, which reflects the Empire’s ‘dysfunctional’ attempts at modernisation.

Trimmed Moustaches and 'Modern' Masculinities

K*esik Bıyık* enables an allegorical reading, a reading that relates Ottoman modernisation to the issue of masculinity. I have read this short story as a sexual allegory of late Ottoman anxieties caused by the Empire's socio-political predicament with regard to Western modernity. The narrative revolves around the protagonist, whose American-style, trimmed moustache receives different responses from the people around him. Using these responses, Ömer Seyfettin presented various alternative masculinities without singling out a particular masculinity. He did not privilege or criticise one particular masculinity throughout the narrative. The refusal to take a side creates an ambivalent ending and suggests a tension between hegemonic Ottoman masculinity and 'modern' masculinities. This tension represents the changing – and perhaps decreasing – masculine role of the Ottoman Empire in its metaphorical marriage with the West at the turn of the century. At the end of *Kesik Bıyık*, Ömer Seyfettin leaves readers in suspense, which intensifies the Ottoman Empire's socio-political anxieties caused by Western modernity.

Making use of the well-established analogy between trimming and castration, I have read *Kesik Bıyık* in terms of fetishism and castration anxiety. I have argued that Ottoman modernisation, symbolised by an American-style, trimmed moustache, is fetishised in order to overcome the Ottoman Empire's socio-political anxieties, represented by castration anxiety. However, the trimmed moustache is not considered the equivalent of modernity, as it remains simply a fetish object – a substitute for modernity. Therefore, modernity becomes an Ottoman fetish, simultaneously acknowledging and disavowing the Empire's difference from the West. By placing Western modernity and Ottoman modernisation within the frame of masculinity, *Kesik Bıyık* illustrates the extent to which discourses on masculinity were interrupted and challenged by modernisation.

¹ I would like to thank the anonymous referees of *Masculinities Journal* for their helpful suggestions for revision. I would also like to express my gratitude to Ernst van Alphen and Petra de Bruijn for their valuable feedback.

² “Darwin” denilen herifin sözüne inanmalı. Evet, insanlar mutlaka maymundan türemişler! Çünkü işte neyi görsek hemen taklit ediyoruz; oturmayı, kalkmayı, içmeyi, yürümeyi, durmayı, hâsılı hâsılı her şeyi...

³ Ne kadar adamlar vardır ki hiç ihtiyaçları yokken “monokl” dediğimiz tek gözlükleri takarlar. Çünkü terzide seyrettikleri moda albümlerindeki resimler tek gözlüklüdür.

⁴ Altı yedi sene evvel, gördüm ki herkes bıyıklarını Amerikanvari kesiyor. Benim de hemen kestirdiğimi tabii tahmin edersiniz. Ah, evet ben de kestirdim. Ben de palabıyıklarımı sırf taklitçilik gayretiyle kestirdim; hakikaten “Darwin”in istediği gibi ecdadıma benzedim.

⁵ - Ah hain alçak! Artık benim evladım değilsin! [...] Beni anlamaz mı sanıyorsun? [...] bıyıklarını farmasonlar keserlermiş. Demek sen de farmasonmuşsun! Verdiğim süt sana haram olsun: Ah demek sen de farmasonmuşsun da bizim haberimiz yokmuş...

⁶ [...] cigaramı yakarken kazara bıyığımın bir tarafını tutuşturdum... Onun için kestirdim.

⁷ - Sen bana dolma yutturamazsın, [...] demek ki sokakları dolduran züppelerin hepsinin bıyıkları kibritle mi yandı.

[...] Fesinin püskülünü önüne getirmek, bıyıklarını kesmek hep bir şeye delalet edermiş... Öyle pis bir şeye ki...

⁸ For a detailed discussion of the dandy in Ottoman-Turkish literature, see Gürbilek, N. (2003). Dandies and Originals: Authenticity, Belatedness, and the Turkish Novel. *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, 102 (2), 599-628, and Mardin, Ş. Super Westernization in Urban Life in the Ottoman Empire in the Last Quarter of the Nineteenth Century. In Benedict, P., Tümertekin, E., & Manşür, F. (1974). *Turkey: Geographic and social perspectives* (Études sociales, économiques et politiques du Moyen Orient; nr. 9). Leiden: Brill.

⁹ - Hemen çık! [...] bir daha sakın buraya geleyim deme... Çünkü artık bıyıkların çıksa bile namusun yerine gelmez...

¹⁰ - Bonjour, bonjur! [...] işte şimdi adama benzedin... Neydi o palabıyıklar! Mezardan kalkmış bir yeniçeri ağası gibi...

¹¹ [...] Vak'a-i Hayriyye'yi müteâkip efendi ve çelebi bir nesil yetiştirmek gayreti yüzünden eski sporlarımız tamâmiyle zâil olmuş ve nihâyet, İstanbul'den denilen Osmanlı kisvesi altında, o hükûmetin tam istediği gibi, uslu, akıllı, el pençe dîvan durur, mütebasbıs, başı aşağıda, sessiz, erkeklığın her türlü gösterişinden, yürüyüşünden ve hareket edişinden mahrum bir kâtip nesil yetişmişti. Bu devirde Osmanlı nesline bakan bir ecnebî, eski döğüşken, gür sesli ve erkek Osmanlıların oğullarını tanımazdı.

¹² - Eksik olmayınız oğlum. Varolunuz! [...]

- Niçin efendim? [...]

- Sizin gibi şık gençleri sünnetli görmek bizim için en büyük bir iftihadır! [...]

- Fakat sünnetli olduğumu nereden anladınız efendim?

Hoca güldü:

- İşte bıyıklarınızı kestirmişsiniz ya oğlum [...]. Bu sünnet-i şerif değil midir?

¹³ See hadiths: Imam Malik, *The Description of the Prophet, may Allah Bless Him and Grant Him Peace* (Muwatta) 3 (<http://ahadith.co.uk/chapter.php?cid=99>);

Sahih Muslim, *Purification* (Kitab Al-Taharah) 496

(<http://ahadith.co.uk/chapter.php?cid=71&page=7&rows=10>).

¹⁴ For further discussions of hair and its symbolic use, see E. R. Leach, *Magical Hair* (1967), C. R. Hallpike, *Social Hair* (1964), P. Hershman, *Hair, Sex and Dirt* (1974), G. Obeyesekere, *Medusa's Hair: An Essay on Personal Symbols and Religious Experience* (1981), A. Hildebeitel, and B. D. Miller, (eds.), *Hair: Its Power and Meaning in Asian Cultures* (1998).

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Literature Review on Shifting Fatherhood

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Abstract

This study aims to review what extent have the attitudes and practices on fatherhood changed in different countries and how these changes are explained. Firstly, a comprehensive review of fatherhood study is given. Following this, the dynamic changes of fatherhood and its causes in 4 countries, i.e., Sweden, America, Japan and China are elaborated. Lastly, this article is concluded with four main points: a) Both Sweden and America are Western welfare states with strong academics and public calling on gender equality and new fatherhood. However, Sweden is much more father-friendly than America; b) Although China and Japan share an East Asian 'Confucian' cultural heritage, they are on different paths in terms of shifting fatherhood; c) Even though these four countries all have experienced periods of industrialization, modernization, urbanization and postmodern globalization, gender equality and new fatherhood ideologies and values have a much more profound influence on fathering in Sweden and American than that in China and Japan; d) These four models reflect four different aspects: Swedish fatherhood - father-friendly model challenges mainstream thinking on Americanization, while American fatherhood - Second-mother model reveals the inherent traditional social expectation that men should give priority to the work; In contrast, Japanese fatherhood - struggling model testifies the fluctuation of transformational fatherhood path, whilst Chinese fatherhood - women-headed model shapes a new egalitarian gender order rather than discourse of conservatism in the family life.

Key words: Fatherhood, aile, İsveç, Amerika, Japonya, Çin

Değişen Babalık Üzerine Literatür Taraması

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Özet

Bu çalışma babalık rol ve davranışlarının farklı ülkelerde ne kapsamda değiştiğini ve bu değişimin nasıl açıklandığını analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır. İlk olarak, babalık çalışmalarının kapsamlı bir taraması verilecektir. Bunu takiben, babalığa ilişkin dinamik değişimler ve bunların sonuçları dört farklı ülke, İsveç, Amerika, Japonya ve Çin, çerçevesinde değerlendirilecektir. Çalışma son bölümde dört farklı çıkarımla sonlanacaktır: (a) İsveç ve Amerika'nın her ikisi de akademinin ve kamunun toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliğine ve yeni babalığa güçlü çağrılar yapan Batılı Refah devletleri olarak öne çıkarlar. Ancak, İsveç Amerika'ya görece daha baba dostu bir duruş sergilemektedir; (b) Çin ve Japonya Doğu Asyalı Konfüçyüsçü mirası paylaşan ülkeler olmalarına rağmen, değişen babalık çerçevesinde farklı yollar izlemektedirler; (c) Ülkelerin her biri endüstrileşme, modernleşme, şehirleşme ve post-modern globalleşme deneyimleri ve toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği ve yeni babalık ideolojilerini benimsemiş olmalarına rağmen, İsveç ve Amerika'da, Çin ve Japonya'ya görece babalığa ilişkin değerlerin önemi daha fazladır; (d) Bu dört model, dört farklı görüşü yansıtır – İsveçli babalık Amerikanlaşmanın ötesine geçerek baba dostu bir yaklaşım sergilerken Amerikalı babalık, gelenekselleşmiş sosyal beklentiyi açığa çıkararak erkeğin işteki rollerine öncelik vermesine vurgu yapar. Bunların aksine, Japon babalık dönüşen babalık ile mücadele eden tartışmacı bir model sunarken, Çinli babalık, aile içi muhafazakarlık söylemlerinin aksine annenin reisliğine dayanan yeni eşitlikçi bir toplumsal cinsiyet düzeni çerçevesinde şekillenir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Babalık, family, İsveç, Amerika, Japonya, Çin

Introduction

Historically, gender division of labour, namely women taking main responsibility of unpaid domestic works while men undertaking breadwinner role, is prevalent in different communities and social classes to a greater or lesser extent (Trask, 2009:189). However, the social trends of individualization, urbanization and modernization combining with economic growth are shaping the postmodern family life (Cheal, 2008:34-44). Moreover, the globalization has unprecedentedly sped up the process of slightly fading patriarchal family models in the industrialized and developing countries by recreating new gender ideologies and transforming the global social order in the global market (Trask, 2009:185-191). In addition, the declining influence of traditional gender order and growing participation of women in the higher education and labour market are challenging the roles of men and women both in public sphere and private home (Connell, 1995:23-26). With more mothers undertaking the role of earning household income, an interesting question arises after 1960s, i.e., what are fathers' new roles?

How do paternal new roles act? The "second-wave" feminist movements (Rose, 2010:5) and masculinity movements in 1960s and 1970s call on fathers to take active involvement in childcare, housework and unpaid domestic chores (Becker, 2013). This leads to changes in attitudes towards fatherhood. Specifically, Sweden becomes the first country in the world to put the maternal leave into parental leave to support gender equality in the domestic sphere in 1974. Following this, Norway becomes the pioneer country to implement non-convertible daddy month to encourage more involvement in 1993. Subsequently, a series of father-friendly family welfare policies and laws have been broadly introduced worldwide. In addition, an increasing number of empirical studies (Ishii-Kuntz & Maryanski, 2003:352-380; Futoshi, 2007:13-14) illustrate that young men are getting more interested in taking care of children and doing housework than their fathers. To

conclude, fatherhood are reconstructed in the global contexts, although the level of fathers' involvement in childcare and housework is still small compared with mothers' active participation in labour market (Cheal, 2008:43).

Although the attitude and practice on fatherhood have been changing in both Western and Eastern countries, they have not always been shifting at the same pace and in the same direction. Developing countries consider the West as a template of industrialization and modernization, does it mean the West is also a moral template for them in socio-cultural sphere? More and more empirical studies disagree with this to some extent. Jayakody and Thornton (2008) argue that family transformation in Iran eschews the Western family model. Jayakody and Huy (2008:199-222) also claim that Vietnam adopts Western economic model but rejects their family attitudes and practices. In addition Cheal (2008:40) says that the industrialization and modernization matches well with socio-cultural sphere in Western societies, but this does not fit every region. Furthermore, Pringle, Hearn and Šmídová (2013:17) highlight that there are even huge gaps in shifting fatherhood across all European countries.

The above findings show that the fatherhood in different communities has undergoing changes in different ways, and thus a literature review on cross-cultural shifting fatherhood is of importance. Literature on fatherhood has increased significantly since the mid-1960s, but there is few paper related to comparison amongst different societies. Therefore, this article aims to illustrate diversified patterns of shifting fatherhood in different regions from comparative perspective to propose fatherhood models focusing on differences amongst different societies.

Another important issue, namely the causes of shifting fatherhood also requires further research. A load of scholars have tried to explain the underlying factors of changes, the agreements are not consistent on this complicated issue. From social constructionist perspective, Daly (1993) explains that fatherhood identity is constructed by observing,

communicating, and negotiating. He claims that paternal roles can be changed by setting up new role models (Daly, 1993:23). Parke (1995) further proves that fathers enact fathering by learning from father role models from social learning theory. But how these father role models are shaped? Fox and Bruce (2001) are the first scholars who attempt to use identity theory and parental investment theory to evaluate the impact of individual-level factors (i.e., age, race, education level, income, experience of fathering) on father role. Following this, Fuwa (2004) uses empirical data on gender division of labour in 22 counties and verifies that those individual-level factors have much less influence on housework distribution than macro-level factors (i.e., economic growth, the rate of female labour-force, culture context, and welfare systems). In addition, Ishii-Kuntz (2003) highlights women's ideology hinders fathers to take more responsibility on housework and childcare.

Clearly, fatherhood is changing. However, the factors underlying the changes are indeterminate. Therefore, further discussion on the causes of shifting fatherhood is needed. This paper also reviews how researchers explain the factors.

All in all, this paper attempts to resolve two main problems: what extent have the attitudes and practices on fatherhood changed in different countries and how these changes are explained. Thus, this paper begins by reviewing fatherhood studies and then analysing the dynamic changes of fatherhood and its causes in the case of Sweden, America, Japan and China.

Fatherhood Studies

Fathers' irreplaceable prominent position and their own role in the family upbringing began to be paid greater attention by researchers from the mid-1960s. Since then, substantial research has been conducted on fatherhood: Educationists and psychologists study father's influence on child development; anthropologists and historians illustrate the changes on father's role; sociologists explore

social father's involvement and social policy and so on. This study addresses the historically shifting fatherhood and its socio-cultural causes.

What are attitudes on fatherhood? "Fatherhood is in vogue" (Furstenberg, 1988:193). A complete conceptualization of paternal roles and father's types is needed. Historically, father's breadwinner, protector, moral teacher and sex-role model are viewed as common attitudes in the patriarchal societies. With the socio-cultural changes, especially with the feminist movements, father's new role--nurturant dad is emphasized in the late 1970s (Lamb, 2013). Besides, father's direct care is more emphasized than indirect care (Miller, 2010). Among four different typical father's types, namely absent father, deadbeat father, removed father and involved father, involved fathers are increasingly encouraged in gender egalitarian countries, such as Sweden, Norway and so on. Involved fathers "open up a space for the expressions and enactment of emotions and care" (Beşpınar, 2015:96). This study examines what extent traditional attitudes on fatherhood have been changing in different countries.

What are practices on fatherhood? Time-use methodologies have been used to evaluate how much time fathers spend on engagement, accessibility and responsibility of paternal involvement (Lamb, 2000) or father's indirect care. Although the concept of positive father-involvement was proposed in USA in 1970s, Swedes bring this into practice - father friendly societies (Rush, 2015a). Note that the attitude and practice of fatherhood is asynchrony, i.e., the attitude towards father's role has changed significantly while the practice on fathering is not (LaRossa, 1988 :451). This study examines the factors promoting or hindering the change of practice.

In terms of fatherhood model, there exist two main opinions: One is Castles *et al.* (2010), who proposes established welfare models and emerging welfare models based on the welfare societies; the other is Rush (2015a), who highlights Swedish model (state-supported agency) and American model (state-enforced agency) from four basic models

(i.e., the Nordic model, Anglo-Saxon model, European Social model, East Asia model) according to the differences on social policy and gender studies. In addition, Rush (2015a) also emphasizes the influence of the Sweden model on European Union and Japan, and the impact of the American model on UK and Ireland. However, one paradox appears. Although Sweden, Germany and USA are established welfare countries, they have various paths on shifting fatherhood. Likewise, both China and Japan are East Asian countries, but they have undergone different changes on attitude and practice on fatherhood. Besides, except for the above welfare systems, as well as social policy and gender issue, there are other factors, e.g., cultural context, economic growth, and local dynamics and so on, which also play an important role on transforming the attitude and practice on fatherhood. Synthesizing Castles's models, Rush's models and other important factors, this study analyses the dynamic changes of fatherhood and its causes in two Western countries and two Eastern countries: Sweden, America, Japan and China.

Sweden Fatherhood: Father-friendly Model

Why Swedish fatherhood is of great interest? There are two main reasons: a) Sweden is one of the most generous father-friendly welfare states and the most “comprehensive egalitarian” parental leave police countries (Wells & Sarkadi, 2012:25); b) in 1995, Sweden was acknowledged as the most gender-equal country in the world by the United Nations (Evertsson, 2006:415). This study considers Swedish shifting fatherhood as the typical representative of these Nordic countries, e.g., Norway, which shift from a traditional fatherhood country successfully to a father-friendly society.

It is of more interest to show how breath-taking Sweden modern fathers are compared with explaining Swedish traditional fatherhood model. Head to any Swedish street any day, you will easily run into Swedish notorious “Latte Papas” who are enjoying a coffee break or “Fica Papas” who are having coffee with pastries or sandwiches, before or after heading to the park with children. Moreover, according to

Nordenmark, Björk, Eydal & Rostgaard's research (2014), 70% of Swedish men do 25% of the total housework, ranking No.1 among the Nordic five gender-equality countries - Sweden, Finland, Iceland, Denmark and Norway (Nordenmark, Björk, Eydal & Rostgaard, 2014:172), where there is a remarkably high gender equality and moderate decrease in fertility than other western welfare countries (Datta Gupta, Smith & Verner, 2006:65). Most Swedish young adults desire to become a father (Kaufman & Bernhardt, 2012) and enjoy paternal leave. Recently, "child-oriented father", e.g., spending more time on playing and talking with children rather than sharing housework and feeding, is more endorsed and preferred by Swedish parents (Forsberg, 2007:109). Swedes make their own arrangements on family life and work. "Family comes firstly when the conflicts took place" and "it is shameful to be a career-oriented father" can always be heard from Swedish fathers in a Swedish middle-class network. Some Swedish fathers even prefer to be a primary caretaker, upholding the role of communicator.

In general, Sweden has experienced two gender revolutions and two different dual policies, five steps of parental leave revolutions, individual tax system and informal supports to transform into a father-friendly country, as follows:

The first half of gender revolution (1960-1990s) is when men support women to participate in the labour market, although women still consider taking care of children as their primary responsibility (Bernhardt, Goldscheider & Turunen, 2016:271). The second half of gender revolution (after 1990s-) is when men share the responsibility of housework and childcare, and parents have equal opportunities to work and take care of children (Baştuğ, 2002; Oláh & Bernhardt, 2008:1106; Goldscheider et al, 2014).

The dual-earner policy (from 1970 to 2005) helps the majority of Swedish mothers enter the labour market and thus Swedish female employment rate has been ranked the highest among the Western countries since the 1970s (Oláh & Bernhardt, 2008:1127). It also

promotes Sweden to become the country with the highest proportion of women as cabinet ministers (50%) and parliamentarians (43%) in the world. However, under the dual-earner policy, mothers continue to be primarily in charge of care and housework at home (Johansson, 2011:169). Therefore, the dual-carer policy (from 2005 -) induce men to be more involved in the housework and childcare and stressed parents have the same right and duty to work and take care of children (Johansson, 2011:169).

In terms of Swedish governmental proud phenomenon, i.e., *Swedish fathers* enjoying parental leave, it experiences five revolutions (Seward, Yeatts & Zottarelli, 2002: 387): a) unpaid 3 months maternity leave in 1937; b) paid 6 months parental leave in 1974; c) 15 months parental leave in 1990; d) father's one month non-convertible parental leave, namely "daddy month" in 1995; e) father's two months non-convertible parental leave, namely "the second daddy month", and paid 16 months parental leave in 2002. These five steps of parental leave revolutions promote Swedish men to enjoy the 21% of parental leave days in 2007 which is much higher than the international standards (Statistics Sweden (SCB) 2008).

Gender equality has also been addressed in the tax systems. Individual income taxation in 1971 had a great impact on economic equality between men and women (Hearn, Nordberg, Andersson, et al., 2012:12). The Swedish individual taxation and the progressive tax systems made the lower dual-earners more economically advantageous than a single higher income after the early 1990s (Ferrarini and Duv, 2009:3).

Meanwhile, there are numerous informal supports to Swedish fathers from both practical help and emotional support. Swedish workplace is providing many resources for dual income family with fathers sharing happiness and difficulties of fatherhood with their colleagues. (Wissö and Plantin, 2015:267). On top of that, Swedish women support Swedish men to be a more involved father, just as one of the interviewees from Johansson's research (2011) said, "When I'm out

walking with my son in the baby carriage, women smile and help me open doors and so on. They treat me like a king, whereas when my wife is out walking this never happens. So, being a guy with a pram is a lucky situation. You always get help, and often by women.” (Johansson, 2011:175). Besides, nurses also tend to positively offer professional tips for fathers and gays family to achieve a super gender-neutral ideology and emotional father society after 2006.

American Fatherhood: Second-Mother Model

Why American fatherhood is of great interest? There are two main reasons: a) USA are the main research place where many American scholars have devoted decades to study fatherhood (Eggebeen & Knoester, 2001:381); b) American research on Fatherhood are much more systematic and comprehensive than other developed countries and the fatherhood data is dominated by USA (Rush, 2015a:39). While family men are widely noticed by American public and researchers for the first time, absent fathers and uncaring fathers are widely criticized by American psychologists and educationists. Furthermore, it is American researchers who firstly propose the concept of father involvement. This study regards American shifting fatherhood as a typical representative of these Western countries, e.g., UK, which shift from a patriarchal fatherhood country to a second-mother society.

What are traditional American fathers? Four famous scholars (i.e., Rotundo, 1985:12; Pleck, 1998; LaRossa, 1988:451; Lamb, 2013:267-278) summarize the changing paths of typical traditional American fathers into 3 periods: the 1st period-- moral overseer (from 18C and early 19C), a moral model of children and to punish, educate and offer religious instructions to their children; the 2nd period-- distant breadwinner role (from early 19C to mid-20C), responsible for the financial support of his family but spend little time on childcare and housework; the 3rd period-- sex role model (from 1940 to 1965), strong masculine role model for his sons than daughters.

Rotundo (1985:7) points out that American society shifts from patriarchal fatherhood to modern fatherhood starting from 1800. However, more and more researchers (e.g., Wahlstrom, 2010; LaRossa, 1988) argue that the 21 century is considered as the turning point of American modern new nurturing fatherhood.

What are modern American fathers? New nurturing fathers (from the mid-1960s to present) should actively involve in the parenting of his children and share housework with mothers. Besides, they should encourage daughters like sons in many ways, and also should not sex-type their children. Furthermore, 'good fathers' should play two roles very well, namely breadwinner and new nurturant (Furstenberg, 1988). Family expectations on being an American dad today are "pushing" fathers to be the 'second-mother', who embrace the similar values and techniques with mothers (Samuel, 2016).

What is the modern practice of American fatherhood? The new modern nurturing fathers are present at the birth and participate in the daily child care since their children are infants. Also they are involved with their daughters as much as with their sons (Palkovitz, 2002: 40-41). Half of American men reduce work time to accompany their children, do laundry, sweat over homework, comfort kids, and drive the car. Moreover, $\frac{3}{4}$ of American fathers want to do more like mothers (Reed, 2005:2). Apart from that, the housework hours done by American men in 1990s is twice as much as that in 1960s (Bianchi *et al*, 2000). However, more and more researchers (Rush, 2015a; Shwalb *et al*, 2013; Lamb, 2004) criticize that this 'second-mother' does not do much childcare and housework as mothers.

What leads to these changes? Rotundo (1985:13) summarizes four main reasons: the rise of industrialism, the emergence of bureaucracy, the arrival of urban and middle-class ideas, and the decline of traditional authority with increasing immigrant fathers. Fuwa (2004:3) supplements that with more and more American women undertaking the responsibility of household income, their economic power is used as a powerful capital to negotiate with their husbands

about the housework and childcare distribution. Besides, the current situation of high rate of divorce and decline of marriage pushes the increasing single fathers and males to do much more in the family like mothers and females. Cheal (2008) further points out new technologies, such as iphone, imac, and ipad, are the crucial source of broad America social change. It broadens the way of father-children's communication with low cost and helps fathers do more and more timely and effective indirect care.

However, how to explain why American 'Second-mother' are not so positively involved in childcare and housework like mothers? Rush (2015a) gives the reasons: a) although welfare reforms and penal policy reforms promote fathers' involvement, the family welfare systems, such as the beginning of job-protected Family and Medical Leave Act in 1993, the advance version- California of the Paid Family Leave Programme only have 'minor effects' on most families. American fathers continue to be the main breadwinner after having children and do not take full use of unpaid parental leave; b) "18 States did nothing beyond the federal minimum of offering 'protections for nursing mothers at work, time away from work to care for a new child, or time off to tend to a child's or a spouse's medical needs'" (Rush, 2015a:43).

Japan Fatherhood: Struggling Model

In terms of the importance of studying Japan fatherhood, Rush (2015b:403) provides three main reasons: a) Japanese researchers run the forefront of studies on fatherhood alongside the USA; b) Japan is regarded as the core state in the worldwide gender equality; c) Japan is on the way to abandon traditional/Confucian welfare systems and adopt Nordic father-friendly family policies. Tatsumi (2016) confirms Rush's explanations and argues Japanese government promulgate policies and NGOs conduct activities to encourage Japanese modern father - "*Ikuman*" rather than Japanese hegemonic father-Salaryman. This study considers Japanese shifting fatherhood to be a

typical representative of these Eastern countries, e.g., South Korea, which shift from a male chauvinism county to a struggling father society.

The traditional Japanese fathers' image was somewhat unpredictable and fearful, as represented by "earthquake, thunder, fire and father" in the 1950s, and mothers were expected to be a "good wife and wise mother." Traditional Japanese father is "*Daikokubashira*", meaning men should support and take full responsibility of the family.

What is the modern Japanese fatherhood? The Japanese government wants to go towards modern "*Ikuman*" directly, which means the traditional concept of "men working outside while women taking care of children" should be changed and fathers should do more in looking after children. However, during the transformation, Japanese fathers are in the struggling states: a) how to fit better into the high tax welfare society, to choose traditional family patterns or modern dual care and dual earner; b) how to balance work and life; c) how to deal with the conflict between the attitude of supportive father and the practice of breadwinner father and so on. According to the data from Public Opinion Survey on Female by Cabinet Office every two years from 1987 to 2014, gender equality consciousness popularized but Japanese are still struggling with the belief on traditional family patterns and new style life (dual income family and supportive father-friendly family) after 2009. Although the NHK data (Senkine, Watanabe & Hayashida, 2016: 13) indicates that it is those males who worked less than 8 hours per day, spend more time on housework and thus 78% of their children think them to be very kind and openhearted (Takahashi & Aramaki, 2016). Ishii-Kuntz (2013) claims that Japanese paternal involvement in household duties and childcare has increased at a slower pace over the last 15 years. Women's house duty time declines during 1985 to 1990, while the changes after 1990s are very slight. Furthermore, taking paternity leave is a key step towards building a good relationship with child and wife. However, only 2% of Japanese fathers take paternal leave in 2015.

What kinds of factors result in the struggling of modern Japanese fatherhood? There are three primary factors, which accelerate the pace of Japanese involved father: family-friendly social policies, transformational de-patriarchy family and increasing individualistic oriented socio-culture. There are also three main barriers towards a Japanese father-friendly oriented society: hierarchical Japanese corporate culture, “male vested interests of power-bloc” in public area and powerful/dominant Japanese “housewife keeping” in private area, as follows:

Young generations are facing a dilemma. On one hand, they tend to pursue individual happiness and disagree that they should devote all their lives to the company. On the one other hand, their predecessors stay longer at work. The hierarchy company corporate culture leads to young generation’s dilemma., although there is flow of “*IkuBoss*” Award and the “*IkuBoss*” Corporate Alliance, which is a network of companies recognizing the need for “*IkuBoss*” and is striving to reform the awareness of their own managers and nurture an ideal type of manager for an era in which workforces are increasingly diverse amid the promotion of female staff and men’s greater involvement in family life.

As Yasumoto said that “Japanese paternal modifications influenced by expectations from close associates are due not to their embracing American fatherhood, but rather to their ‘situational adjustment’... And Japan adopted many aspects of Western lifestyles, but it seems that the Japanese kept their own family values for a long time rather than assimilating Western values” (Yasumoto, 2006:2; 53). Traditional men-headed culture is still dominant in Japanese society although Japanese females’ power within the public sphere is increasing.

Meanwhile, mother’s power within the domestic sphere keeps fathers away from the family. For instance, the popular slogan among mothers “A husband is most appreciated when they are healthy and out of the home” suggests the fathers’ role should be the healthy breadwinner, but also implies that wives gain the power to say that they are happier if they do not have to take care of their husbands. It is quite a

contrast to the previous image of “good wife and wise mother.” When it refers to why mother is not satisfied with father’s childcare, 27% of mothers believe that fathers usually are too kind to the children (Takahashi & Aramaki, 2016). Makoto (2001) reports that many of the characters in television dramas in 1970s are home oriented. In addition, producers reinforce the theme that women can be happy as long as they are at home by depicting women struggling in the workplace.

China Fatherhood: Women-headed Model

As for the significance of China fatherhood, Li and Lamb (2012:16) summarize three reasons: a) the number of Chinese fathers accounts for $\frac{1}{5}$ of that in the world; b) Chinese fathers’ attitude and practice are influenced by the diverse cultures, which mix Han culture with Confucian culture, Taoist culture, Buddhist culture and 56 ethnic minorities culture; c) China has changed from a feudal-isolated country to a major country with significant influence over the world, and more and more Chinese people live overseas and are influenced by the global contexts. Except for that, China has been undergoing considerable social changes. It has transformed from “Red” socialist country to a “Capitalist” society with Chinese characteristics. This study regards Chinese shifting fatherhood as a typical representative of these Eastern “Red” countries, e.g., Vietnam, which shift from a men-headed country gradually to a women-headed society.

What is traditional Chinese father role? As the outcome of mixing Han culture with Confucian culture, Taoist culture, Buddhist culture and 56 ethnic minorities culture, the ideal father would be a “responsible but affectively distant disciplinarian and role model” (Li & Lamb, 2012:25) and “more likely to be the educator, the knowledgeable parent to whom the child would turn for help in doing homework, answering questions and solving problems.” (Lamb 1988: 234).

What is the modern Chinese father role? New good men (“*Pa er’duo*”) who believe in one very popular dictum: good men listen to

their wives and always follow the Chinese Communist Party (*"ting lao pao de hua, yongyuan gen dang zou"*). Traditional male chauvinism seems to be gone forever in certain Chinese communities. In contemporary China, a variety of social changes have implied shifts in the roles of men and women inside and outside the home. One example is the change of appellation towards the wife from her husband. In the past, the husband tends to call their wife *"tang ke"* or *"nei ren"*, which means that women should stay at home. In contrast, nowadays they prefer to call *"ling dao"* or *"lao ban"*, which means that women is the leader or the boss of the family. Furthermore, the notion of "strict father, kind mother" is facing challenges from the symptomatic of the social changes taking place in China. Plenty of evidence shows that father is more lenient than mother (Hinsch 2013 :151-156).

What bring these changes? There are four main reasons:

Firstly, modernization and urbanization significantly influence Chinese family patterns and attitudes on parenting. China becomes a really fairly well-off world after the Four Modernization (the modernization of economy agriculture, industry, science and technology, and defence) from 1954 and the Reform and Opening-up Policy from 1979. The Chinese modernization and urbanization result in two main changes of family pattern, i.e., both the number of nuclear families and left-behind children are sharply increasing (Li & Lamb, 2012:23). In terms of the transformed family patterns, there are different effects on fathers' attitude and practice. Li and Lamb argues that the nuclear families, which account for over half Chinese households will improve total amount of time for father-child intimacy ((Li & Lamb, 2012:24). However, many other researchers (i.e., Tsai 2010: 423-439) criticize that the heavier childcare and housework burden without grandparents' help usually fall down to mothers rather than fathers. Although fathers realize that the mothers make significant contributions to the family finances, they still believe fathers' main role is breadwinner.

Secondly, a series of Chinese effective policies promote China to become the country with the highest female employment rate and

greatest gender equality among East Asian states (Hausmann et al., 2009). The most important policy is Chinese family planning policy from one child policy to two child policy. One child policy was executed on Sep.1st, 1979. Although there are criticisms on little emperor and Little Princess, it is good for all children's growing up because parents can intensively offer the whole family limited and available resources to this singleton child regardless of it is a boy or a girl. It further helps girls to obtain equal resources as boys, which was impossible in the past (Li & Lamb, 2012: 21). In 1982, The Further Guidance on Family Planning Policy (*"guan yu jin yi bu zuo hao ji hua sheng yu gong zuo de zhi shi"*) stipulates that the father can enjoy 15 days Nursing Leave (*"hu li jia"*) and mother can enjoy over 30 days maternity leave (*"chan jia"*) if the household have only one child and the mother gives late childbirth. On Jan.1st, 2016, another very important two-child policy was executed. Its' effect on family requires further research. The second important policy is marriage law and employment law. New marriage law was executed on Aug.12. 2011, claiming that Chinese women have the freedom to choose not to give birth. This is unimaginable in the traditional role of women. On Jan.8, 2015, Chinese Employment Promotion Law further protects women to enjoy the same right with men in the labour market. The third importance policy is family law. Chinese Family Education Draft Law is drawn up on Mar.12, 2016. On Jun.6, 2016, the first family education regulation- Promote Chongqing family education regulations was executed to strengthen parents' awareness of family education. Furthermore, Family Education Day will be celebrated on May 15 every year in Chongqing.

Lastly, the mass media further pushes the spread and prevalence of good father consciousness. In 2013, a Chinese hit reality TV show, namely *Where are we going, dad?* (*"ba ba qu na er?"*) features young generation of Chinese fathers, who are one of burgeoning middle class, discarding the traditional stern father role and taking a modern role of active childcare and being much gentler on children. This show raises a very critical question for modern Chinese - what is fathers' role in China today? On top of that, a series of father and children TV shows have

enraptured China, such as *The first time in life* (“*ren sheng di yi ci*”), *Father comes back home* (“*baba hui lai le*”), *Look at me, daddy and mom* (“*lao ba lao ma kan wo de*”) and so on. All these TV shows present a big difference of attitude and practice on childcare and housework between the older generation and young generation of Chinese fathers. Furthermore, in 2014, Chinese government starts a series of official Wechat accounts, e.g., “Chinese family” and new official websites, like Chinese family education website to propagate the new way of parenting.

Discussion and Conclusion

Gender roles of Breadwinning fathers and caregiving mothers are characterized to be production of early stages of individualization (Doucet, 2013:298). The modernization, urbanization, globalization, and feminist movements continually challenge worldwide family patterns and gender roles. However, from the cross-cultural studies, it can be seen that fatherhood, its dynamics and changing on the attitude and practice vary a lot in different countries. This study illustrates four patterns of fatherhood in two Western countries (Sweden and America) and two Eastern countries (Japan and China), and presents their similarities as well as differences on shifting fatherhood.

Comparing Sweden with America, both are Western welfare states with strong academics and public calling on gender equality and new fatherhood. However, Sweden and America display significant differences in the welfare systems. Because of Swedish state-supported dual-earner and dual carer policy and strong powerful family welfare systems, Swedes puts the American concept of father involvement into father-friendly practices (Rush: 2015a). In contrast, American father is still in embarrassing stage- be a ‘second mother’. Obviously, America is in Neo-patriarchal trends and Sweden is in de-patriarchal trends (Rush, 2011: 37).

On the other hand, China and Japan, the giants of East Asia, share a 'Confucian' cultural heritage to which many social attitudes prevalent today are often attributed. This is true not limited to 'family values', with Confucian ethics seen as underpinning the popular image of 'strict father, kind mother' (Shwalb et al, 2010). It is supposed that Americanization, postmodern globalization and education and official propaganda have huge but similar effect on views of parenting in general and on fathering in particular in East Asia. Since the 1960s and 1970s, feminist ideas have been challenging the traditional Confucian, e.g., men should work outside and women remain inside the home. While in reality, two countries are in totally different shifting fatherhood paths. In contemporary China, a variety of social changes, especially mass media have implied shifts in Chinese fatherhood- women-headed societies – with Mao Zedong famously declaring that 'women hold up half the sky'. In contrast, due to three main barriers, namely hierarchical Japanese corporate culture, "male vested interests of power-bloc" in public area and powerful/dominant Japanese "housewife keeping" in private area, Japanese fathers are in the struggling situation: On one hand, keeping a harmonious balance between cash and care is being attached an increasing value among young fathers; on the other hand, the new paternal attitudes do not necessarily lead to changes in their own paternal practice. Furthermore, in terms of women's role on shifting fatherhood, Chinese women are more independent than Japanese, whereas Japanese mothers' 'gatekeeping' roles have much more negative impacts on fathering than their counterpart.

In terms of these four countries, they all are on the way to de-patriarchy trends: more and more women enter the labour market; family members have to share the housework, and work together to ensure their children get a good education. More exactly, Swedish and American gender equality and new fatherhood ideologies and values have much more profound influence on fathering than that of China and Japan. Apart from that, younger generation of Swedish and American men are becoming more interested in engaging actively in the upbringing of their children and sharing housework than their

counterparts. On the other hand, although these four countries all have experienced periods of industrialization, modernization, urbanization and postmodern globalization, Chinese and Japanese supporting family welfare systems and social policies related on childcare are just starting. When Western values and Eastern traditional family cultures conflict, East countries need to take time to create their own way on shifting fatherhood, such as Japanese fatherhood. Japan prefer to be a Nordic dual-earner and dual-career welfare states, its traditional cultures and local contexts hinder housewife re-entering the labour force and young salarymen enjoying the paternal leave (Rush, 2015b; Ishii-Kuntz, 2003). Note that the growing trends of modern Chinese fatherhood should not be underestimated.

All in all, the shifting fatherhood is a controversial and complicated topic. Swedish fatherhood: father-friendly model challenges mainstream thinking on Americanization, while American fatherhood: second-mother model reveals the inherent traditional social expectation, i.e., men should give priority to the work. In addition, Japanese fatherhood: struggling model further testifies “the image of fatherhood has fluctuated ... and cannot be said to have evolved in a gradual, linear fashion from more distant and authoritarian to more involved and nurturing” (Wall & Arnold, 2007:511), whereas Chinese fatherhood: women-headed model shapes a new egalitarian gender order rather than discourse of conservatism in the family life (Lazar, 2000).

This study aims to conduct a systematic and comprehensive review on shifting fatherhood, but much more work still needs to be done. Although both the shifting fatherhood path and its causes in different countries are complicated, it is worthy continuing further research on these issues, as follows:

Firstly, a more systematic and empirical study, comparing the attitudes and practices of fathers in different communities is needed. The culture of fatherhood in community is very diverse and dynamic even in the same country (Marsiglio et al., 2000; Li & Lamb, 2012:25). Fathers’ attitude and practice may be more complicated in real-life situation.

What the previous researches have done, can only reflect some parts of local fathers' situations. Besides, the further research on how migrant fathers' attitude and practice change in the globalization is also essential, just as Abbott, Ming and Meredith (1992:45) said "Even in countries that have been isolated and insulated from Western cultural influence are now being affected by the economic and social forces in the wider world."

Secondly, how much of fatherhood has really changed still requires further analysis, just as Takabashi argues that there is no strong correlation between father's actual attitude and practice. (Takabashi,1986:104). Do the expectations of "new" fathers are just "old" wine in a "new" bottle (Beşpınar, 2015:98)? It should be noted that even mothers have a full-time job, they still do the majority of childcare and housework in most of the countries (Doucet, 2013:299). Moreover, multidisciplinary study and oral history methodologies on fatherhood are required. In order to know more about whether mothers' role and father's role can be equal, an effective way is to use oral history methods to let fathers tell their own stories about their division role in family education and the real benefit they receive from the public system and social welfare.

Thirdly, more cross-cultural studies on shifting fatherhood in developing countries and some matriarchal society are essential. Although there are an increasing number of studies focusing on fathers' involvement, educational research and theories on fathering have tended to be dominated by Western viewpoints or assumptions (Lamb, 1988; Wei Dong, 2013). Relatively little systematic comparative research has been conducted regarding contemporary East Asian fathers and their patterns of interaction with their children. In addition, when we consider the mainstream social formation today, we also should pay attention to these "living fossils" of studying matriarchal society where fathers stay at home for childcare and doing housework: Chinese Mosou who lived near the Lugu Lake in Yunan Province and the Minority of Baiku Yao in Guangxi Province, the Iroquois tribes in North America, and The Amis Tribes in Taiwan.

Acknowledgement

I'm sincerely grateful to the China Scholarship Council (CSC, File No.: 201406040035), which supported this research.

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BOOK REVIEWS

**Stefan Horlacher, Bettina Jansen, and Wieland Schwanebeck (eds.)
Männlichkeit. Ein interdisziplinäres Handbuch.**

Stuttgart: J.B. Metzler, 2016, 382 pp.
ISBN 978-3-476-02393-3

This is an impressive, informative handbook on masculinity research with an interdisciplinary and international perspective. The editors are a well-known and respected team at the Technical University of Dresden, Germany, active in the interdisciplinary GenderConceptGroup in the Humanities and Social Sciences. The main editor Stefan Horlacher who holds a professorship (*Lehrstuhl*) in English Literature at the TU is a distinguished, prolific scholar who has pioneered masculinity studies in Germany with, among other publications, *Conceptions of Masculinity in Thomas Hardy and D.H. Lawrence* (in German, 2006) and the edited volumes *Constructions of Masculinity in British Literature* (Palgrave 2011) and *Taboo and Transgressions in British Literature* (Palgrave, 2010). It is much to the credit of Stefan Horlacher that this handbook on masculinity is a readable, accessible, and reliable research tool to which some thirty German scholars - all gender specialists in their respective fields - contributed (all articles are in German).

The handbook aims to present the “most important scientific, sociological, and humanistic perspectives including the arts together in a non-hierarchical way and to offer and to extend the specific knowledge about masculinity as produced in each respective discipline” (p. 4). While there is clearly a focus on German-language and European research, this focus comes with a critical interplay with US-masculinity studies. The handbook furnishes a survey of research and at the same time a review of the state of the art, its different methodologies, concepts, and results in three major sections after a theoretical preface: 1. Introduction, pp. 1-10. 2. Masculinity research in major national publications, pp. 11-72

(German-language; Anglo-American; Russian and East European; French, Italian, Spanish; Latin American); 3. Disciplines and methodologies, pp. 73-236 (archeology; bio-medicine and human biology; ethnology; history; linguistics; education-pedagogy; philosophy; psychology; legal studies; religion and theology; sociology); 4. Artistic and media representations and theoretical aspects, pp. 237-370 (film; photography; art and art history; literature: German, English, Russian and East European, French-Italian-Spanish, Latin American; music, dance). Last but not least, an index of topics and one of names provides a handy tool for using the handbook, and the appendix also acknowledges all contributors. Kudos to the venerable Metzler Verlag (founded in 1682) for the production of this handsome volume in its prolific, eminently useful and distinguished series of handbooks.

The present volume documents the impressive breadth of knowledge and innovative research on masculinity in Germany; its strictly scholarly foundation helps to showcase this research and with it the significance of gender studies in German academia (where 'gender' is often cavalierly regarded as for/by 'women' only). This reviewer appreciates especially chapters on the artistic and media presentation of masculinity and the inclusion of Latin America and the arts. Stefan Horlacher's handbook on masculinity speaks especially to and for the Humanities. The handbook's focus is on imagined, fantastic, historical and performative masculinity in the Humanities and the arts and on multiple sexual identities, while 'natural men' are marginalized in comparison to such standard works as *Handbook of Studies on Men & Masculinities* (eds. Kimmel, Hearn & Connell, 2004). This seems to reflect a shift in gender studies in Germany from high (deconstructionist) theory of the 1990s to performative, multiple sexual identities. - Will this shift away from the 'natural body, from biology to performativity make 'men's studies' irrelevant the same way it has denigrated 'women's studies' and 'feminism' in recent decades in the eyes of millennials and much of the public? Will this shift to performativity and away from social reality further deepen the divide in German academia between the STEM (science, technology, engineering, mathematics) subjects and the 'soft'

arts and Humanities, when in the literary fields about eighty percent of all students are female and two-thirds of all women students opt for careers in the Humanities and social sciences? Will this shift to performativity of gender further alienate academic gender studies from the new reality of massive immigration into Germany (and Europe) from countries with very distinct concepts and hegemonic role expectation for men and traditional subordination for women? For good reason, this handbook on masculinity leaves out Islamic, Asian, and African countries. Surely, the new wave of migration will challenge the theory-heavy discourse on sexual identity in Gender Studies in German academia and its disregard for the 'natural' and social world.

Stefan Horlacher's handbook on masculinity does provide succinct and informative snapshots in section 3 into disciplines that recognize and integrate biological aspects of gender. Markus Schubert's very readable piece on "Biomedicine and Human Biology" addresses the biological development of masculinity, andrology (parallel to gynecology), neurobiology research, gender identification and sports, and transsexuality, but leaves out significant medical research on sexual difference (like Baron-Cohen's "Does biology play a role in sex differences in the mind?" in *The Future of Gender*, 2007) and the controversial history of traditional medical research with only or mostly male subjects before the advent of feminist / gender studies. Masculinity, if it is not simply a study into 'habitus' (Bourdieu) or 'intersectionality', needs a foil of 'man' and 'woman' lest it becomes endlessly mired in 'gender trouble' and/or sexual identities. Björn Krondorfer in his thoughtful section "Religion and Theology" comes to the conclusion: "Critical masculinity research does not attempt an affirmative and heteronormative interpretation of male presence in religious traditions, but focusses critically on the privileges of certain men and the marginalization of others as well as gender relations within religious groups" (p. 216). The theorist Michael Groneberg in his section on "Philosophy" leaves us with a provocative thought:

Different from man, woman has separated herself from the nature-culture-dichotomy und conquered ["erobert" -note

the military terminology, BBC] more self-determination and freedom of movement. The vectorially constructed male sex must first deconstruct itself and the question is into which direction. This dissolution is met with deeply ingrained resistance in conceptualizations, images, discourses and practices that articulate the different elements of masculinity and domination and the foundational order of male and female (p. 166).

Certainly, Stefan Horlacher's handbook on masculinity has provided us with an inspiring step in this direction.

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The Body as Capital: Masculinities in Contemporary Latin American Fiction

University of Arizona Press, 2015, 184 pp.

ISBN 978-0-8165-0069-7

Transformations in the labor and familial orders, propelled by neoliberal restructuring, have placed Latin American traditional, hegemonic masculinities in crisis. In *The Body as Capital*, literary scholar Vinodh Venkatesh examines these emerging masculinities-in-crisis through a series of innovative interpretations of novels recently published across the Spanish-speaking countries in the Americas. In each of the twelve short chapters, Venkatesh preforms close readings of one or two novels per chapter, where he focuses on scenes of evolving masculinities. Demonstrating contemporary Latin American literature's continuation of classic registers--e.g. tropicalism, *caudillismo* [strong-man ideologies]--Venkatesh convincingly argues for the need to rethink these legacies as they are being reinterpreted in contemporary novels. Neoliberalism and its attendant transformation of political and intimate life, as well as its shifts in aesthetic and discursive representation, have fundamentally reoriented these categories. Venkatesh proposes a new conceptual topography for Latin American masculinities, while each chapter grapples with remapping the coordinates. Latin Americanists will find *The Body as Capital* to be a refreshing reworking of classical frameworks around gender and power. Scholars of gender or masculinity may have trouble with the untranslated Spanish passages in this mostly English-language text. Nevertheless, they will gain insight as to how global changes in political economy and state power are transforming Latin American lived relations.

The Body as Capital is divided into three sections: new historical masculinities, lyrical and deterritorialized masculinities, and transnational masculinities. Each section contains four short chapters that delve into one or two specific texts. Venkatesh's analysis moves between interconnected sites of masculine power--industrial economy, authoritarian and democratizing governance, intimate care and awkward eroticisms. While at times the reader might wish for more explicit threads connecting one idea to the next, his interpretations of different literary scenes evoke a consistent set of questions: How is masculinity generative of modes of domination that it can no longer control? Has masculinity shifted from a source of confidence to one of anxiety? and, What do those anxieties tell us about transforming and co-constitutive regimes of political economy and meaning making?

The first section, "New Historical Masculinities," most explicitly lays out the shift that Venkatesh proposes between traditional hegemonic masculinities and what we might call neoliberal precarious masculinities. Crucially, Venkatesh demonstrates these new masculinities with a sustained comparison between characters representing decadent forms of masculine power (and in particular the figure of "the dictator") with other characters who demonstrate emergent masculinities that will be detailed throughout the book. Thus, each chapter in this section foregrounds the relationship between these two figural positions as a way to capture a paradigmatic shift in the historical present. Particularly convincing in this respect is chapter four's analysis of Pedro Lemebel's *Tengo Miedo Torero*, a fictionalized historical account of a failed assassination attempt against Augusto Pinochet told through the eyes of a transvestite named *la loca* (the crazy one). Venkatesh draws illuminating comparisons between the revolutionaries opposed to Pinochet and the dictator himself. Calling attention to another man's semen stain that threatens Carlos's heteronormative masculinity and a second fecal stain on the sheets of the aging dictator, Venkatesh shows the maintenance of masculine insecurities even as protagonist and antagonist are motivated by destroying the other. This leads to the second major theme in the

section: the body as index of changing political and economic regimes. Venkatesh shows how body parts become metonymic of the new economy (testicles as the site of production in the neoliberal order, or Pinochet's loss of anal control as the loosening grip of authoritarianism). The corporal imagery, Venkatesh briefly but provocatively suggests, has supplanted the phallus as the central image of the masculine imaginary.

The second section, "Lyrical Readings and the Deterritorialization of Masculinities," turns to musicality as a rhetorical mechanism that rearranges bodies, and, consequently, reconsiders masculinities as objects that float between bodies rather than exclusively becoming attached to them. Chapter five "Defining the Literary OST," functions more as a methodological overture, where the author demonstrates how the songs referenced in the novel intertextually frame the mood of the narrative. This method is fully realized in chapter eight's analysis of Franz Galich's novels *Managua Salsa City* (*¡Devórame otra vez!*) and *Y te diré quién eres* (*Mariposa traicionera*). Set in Nicaragua's capital city, Managua, the novels portray a cast of interweaving characters that negotiate the turbulent transitions of crisis capitalism that heighten already existing inequalities. Fans of Latin American music will quickly recognize the subtitles as a well-covered salsa standard and a ballad by rock-pop group Maná respectively. These songs set the mood for a city that is replete with new pleasures and dangers as the breakdown of hegemonic masculinity also seems to suggest the breakdown of the social write large. Venkatesh describes: "Money and its fain drive the characters within the market as they jockey for social and sexual position, even though they can never really escape belonging to an impoverished scavenger class that is maintained as the substrate for the rich bosses vacationing in Miami" (94). *Plus ça change...* Intertextual musicality here does not only deterritorialize bodies but also brings together intersubjective space on many levels--from the urban to the transnational. If the new historical masculinities analyzed in the first section were primarily framed by national imaginations then the masculinities depicted here are simultaneously globally underdetermined and locally vulnerable.

The focus on transnational masculinities occupies the final section. New archetypes appear of masculinities transformed--characters attempting to reconfigure and reapproach hegemonic masculinity on an altered neoliberal field. In chapter nine's analysis of Rodríguez Matte's *Barrio Alto*, the businessman becomes the new figure of a reconstituted dominant masculine figure. Thriving on the performative enactment of success in a terrain where the market performs the same chimerical ruses, business becomes a new site of conservative male homosociality. Masculinity in the market gets a new life through conspicuous consumption expressed in sartorial aesthetics. Chapter ten examines Enrique Serna's *La sangre erguida*, a novel which follows Latin American migrants to Barcelona who must contend with masculine identities in a location where they are divorced from their traditional sources of power. It is no coincidence that impotence becomes a central feature of these migrant stories as gender role reversals and economic and social frustration appear to demasculinize them. The migrant is the underside of the transnational business masculinity, which appears with cyborg masculinity and revolutionary masculinity as other iterations on the topic. As might be imagined, such a packed conclusion feels a bit rushed, and even less a conclusion than a continuation of the central themes of the book. But the inclusion of these additional new masculinities at the end reinforces a central argument that new Latin American masculinities are plural and refractory, resisting one dominant narrative that may have been available in a previous era.

The Body as Capital offers a survey of the many potential directions of masculinity in contemporary Latin American cultural representation. Readers will gain a broad perspective on contemporary Latin American literature, and perhaps be exposed to novels which they can explore further. One open question from this survey is the lack of female authors considered. Certainly female authors have much to say about contemporary masculinities that would offer a rewarding point of view. A second question arises about neoliberalism, which is deployed throughout the book as the predominant vector of structural change

transforming masculinity, but which is not substantively analyzed in its political, economic, and social particularities. (Venkatesh often gestures at the polyfunctionality of neoliberalism as it impacts many features of life.) As Latin America was the laboratory for neoliberal policies under the dictatorships of the 1970s and 1980s, it would have been interesting to think of neoliberalism as something *generated* from the political experience Latin America and not only something imposed on it. These questions do not detract from the incisive connections made in *The Body as Capital*. It is a compelling analysis of neoliberalism and gender roles in the contemporary era.

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Aysun Öner

Be Yazakalı Eşcinseller İşyerinde Cinsel Yönelim Ayrımcılığı ve Mücadele Stratejileri

İletişim Yayınları, 2015, 237 sayfa, 1.Basım

ISBN-13: 978-975-05-1703-7

Heteroseksizm, kadın ve erkek ikiliğine dayanarak, bunun dışındaki cinsel yönelimleri yok sayarak ve sadece bu iki cins arasındaki heteroseksüel ilişkileri kabul ederek heteroseksüelliği bir zorunluluk olarak belirlemektedir. Heteronormativite, heteroseksizm üzerinden toplumsal değerlerin, kuralların ve yapıların düzenlenmesi ile oluşturulan bir ideolojidir (Scott & Gordon, 2009; KaosGL, 2016). Heteronormativite, toplumsal yapı ve kurumlarda heteroseksüelliği norm olarak kabul ederek; cinsel yönelimi heteroseksüel olmayan ve cinsiyet kimliği kadın veya erkek olmayan tüm bireyleri hayatın her alanında yok saymaktadır (Berlant & Warner, 1998; Jackson, 2006). Ataerki ise heteroseksist, ikili cinsiyet rejimi içerisinde erkek hegemonyasını kadınları ikincilleştirerek kurmaktadır. Ataerki, maddi temelini kadının emeği üzerinde kurulan eril denetimden almaktadır. Bu denetim, kadınların kaynaklara ulaşımını engelleyerek, onları farklı yapı ve kurumlarda ikincilleştirerek ve kadın bedenleri üzerinde tahakküm kurarak sağlanmaktadır (Toksöz, 2011; 2012). Nasıl ki ataerkinin maddi temelini cinsiyete dayalı iş bölümü ve bu iş bölümü sonucu esas olanın erkek işgücü olarak belirlenip kadın emeğinin değersiz kılınması oluşturuyorsa; eşcinsel ve trans bireylerin işgücü piyasasına katılamaması ve türlü ayrımcılıklara maruz bırakılarak emeklerinin değersizleştirilmesi, heteronormativitenin çalışma hayatındaki kurumsallaşmasının sonucudur. Çalışma yaşamı da tıpkı diğer kurumlar gibi heteronormatiftir, bu nedenle eşcinsel, biseksüel ve trans bireyler için, yaşamın diğer alanlarında olduğu gibi, din, devlet, medya, ordu gibi kurumların desteğiyle çeşitli biçimlerde şiddet

gördükleri ayrımcılığa ve tacize uğradıkları bir alandır. Kendi aralarında yaşanan ayrımcılığın biçimi ve şiddeti değişse de lezbiyen, gey, biseksüel ve trans çalışanlar çalışma yaşamında en çok ayrımcılık yaşayan gruplardandır.

Aysun Öner'in, 'Beyaz Yakalı Eşcinseller İşyerinde Cinsel Yönelim Ayrımcılığı ve Mücadele Stratejileri' adlı çalışması, Türkiye'deki beyaz yakalı gey ve lezbiyenlerin çalışma yaşamında karşılaştıkları cinsel yönelimlerine yönelik ayrımcılıkları ve bu bireylerin uğradıkları ayrımcılıklara karşı geliştirdikleri mücadele stratejilerini, sorunun çözümünde etkili olacak biçimde ortaya çıkarma iddiası bakımından önemlidir. Çalışmanın özellikle Asya ve Ortadoğu ülkelerinde yapılan kısıtlı araştırma literatürüne önemli bir katkısı olduğu düşünülmektedir. Yazar, gey ve lezbiyen bireylerin iş deneyimine odaklanan bir araştırma yapmaya karar vermesinde, "Türkiyeli trans bireylerin iş hayatında maruz kaldıkları ayrımcılık" konusunu işlediği "TransHayat" isimli kişisel fotoğraf sergisinin ve sergi süresince tanıştığı ve ilişki kurduğu lezbiyen, gey, biseksüel, trans (LGBT) bireylerin etkisi olduğunu belirtmektedir. Araştırma, iş hayatında spesifik uzmanlıklara, statüye ve saygın mesleklere sahip olan eşcinsel bireylerin cinsel yönelimlerinin iş yaşamlarına ve ilişkilerine etkilerini ortaya koyabilmek için beyaz yakalı çalışanlarla yürütülmüştür.

Öner, ikinci bölümde, çalışmasında feminist metodolojiyi kullanmasını, lezbiyen ve geylerin gerçek yaşam deneyimlerini onların sözleriyle açığa çıkarmak ve bu deneyimler ışığında ortaya konan ayrımcılığa karşı onlarla birlikte duruş geliştirme isteği ile açıklamaktadır. Yazar, kadın olmaktan dolayı yaşadığı ezilmişliklerin feminist bakış açısını oluşturduğunu ve bu bakış açısının da metodolojisini belirlediğini vurgulamaktadır. Feminist metodolojinin bir sonucu olarak araştırmacının kendisini de araştırma ve öğrenme sürecine dâhil etmesiyle; yazar, kendi işyerinde yaşadığı ayrımcılıklara karşı yeterli ve gerekli tepkiyi veremediğini fark etmektedir. Görüşmecilerin uğradıkları ayrımcılık ve tacizlere karşı geliştirdikleri stratejiler ve aralarındaki güçlü dayanışma ağı, araştırmacının kendi yaşadığı olumsuz durumlar karşısındaki pasifliğiyle yüzleşmesine olanak

sağlamakta ve yazarı da işyerinde yaşadığı ayrımcılıklarla mücadele etmesi bakımından cesaretlendirerek ve daha dirençli kılmaktadır. Araştırma kapsamında, Türkiye’de kamu ve özel sektörde çalışan, 25-39 yaş aralığında, eğitim düzeyi lisans ve üzeri olan, beyaz yakalı sekiz lezbiyen, on iki gey bireyle derinlemesine mülakatlar yapılmıştır. Topladığı verileri feminist bir süzgeçten geçirmenin zorluğunu vurgulayan yazar, öznel bir yöntem geliştirmekte zorlanmakta ve bunun sonucunda temel metodunu görüşmecilerin hissiyatına dokunmak olarak belirlemektedir. Araştırma esnasında, görüşmecilerin işlerini kaybetmemek için olumsuz tavırlara katlanarak yaşadıkları ayrımcılıklara ilişkin farkındalıklarını kaybetmeleri, araştırmacının heteroseksüel oluşunun görüşmecilerde yarattığı kaygılar, kartopu örneklem nedeniyle benzer profildeki görüşmecilere ulaşma, bilinçaltına yerleşen cinsiyetçi, homofobik, milliyetçi ve sınıf merkezli önyargılar sonucu zaman zaman yaşanan yanlış anlaşılmalara yazar tarafından araştırmacının kısıtları olarak sıralanmaktadır.

Öner, araştırmasının teorik çerçevesini üçüncü bölümde belirlemektedir. Bu bölüm; ayrımcılık, ayrımcılıkla mücadele stratejileri ve Türkiye’de hukuk siteminde ayrımcılık başlıklarından oluşmaktadır. İşyeri ayrımcılığı, belirli bir gruba yönelik, işverenler ve diğer çalışanlar tarafından sistematik olarak uygulanan ayrımcı tutumlardır. Irka, etnik gruba, göçmenlere ve engellilere, yaşlarından dolayı yaşlılara veya gençlere uygulanabileceği gibi cinsel yönelime ve cinsiyet kimliğine dayalı olarak eşcinsel ve trans bireylere de uygulanmaktadır. İş görüşmesine çağırılmama, işe almama, işten çıkarma, düşük performans notu verme, terfiyi engelleme, düşük tazminat ödeme, hak kullanımlarını engelleme gibi yollarla yapılan ayrımcılıkların eşcinsel ve trans bireylere yönelik yapılması oldukça yaygındır. Bu bölümde, ayrımcılığın, çalışma yaşamındaki eşcinsel bireyler üzerindeki etkilerinden de bahsedilmektedir. Cinsel kimliğini açıklamaktan duyulan korku nedeniyle, duygusal travmalar, uyumsuzluk sorunları, iletişimde zayıflık, düşük üretkenlik/verimlilik, stres ve endişe yaşamak eşcinsel bireylerin yaşadığı ‘azınlık stresinin’ sonuçları olarak sıralanmaktadır.

Eşcinsel çalışanların, yaşadıkları ayrımcılıklara karşı gerek çalıştıkları yerin güvenlik derecesine gerekse kişisel faktörlerine göre belirledikleri mücadele stratejileri bulunmaktadır. Eşcinsel bireyler, meslek seçimini yaparken, serbest meslek sahibi olarak kendi işini yürütme, LGB dostu iş ve sektörlere başvurma ve risk alarak ayrımcılık düzeyi yüksek işyerlerine başvurma gibi stratejileri uygulayabilmektedirler. Eşcinsel bireylerin cinsel kimliklerini yönetirken uyguladıkları farklı mücadele stratejileri bulunmaktadır: Heteroseksüel bir kimlik inşa ederek, heteroseksüelliği taklit edebilirler. Heteroseksüel bir bireymiş gibi davranmayarak, cinsel yöneliminden bahsetmeme, sosyal ilişkiler kurmama, kişisel sohbetlerden kaçınma yöntemlerini kullanabilirler. Eşcinsel olduklarını açıkça belirtmeyip ama gizlemek için de herhangi bir çaba göstermeyebilirler. Son olarak da cinsel kimliklerini ifşa edebilirler. Çalışmada, eşcinsel bireylerin cinsel kimliklerini neden açıklamak istedikleri sorusu; dürüstlük, kişisel bütünlüğü koruma isteği, profesyonel düzeyde açık ilişkiler kurma tercihi ve toplumsal dönüşümü sağlama, işyerlerindeki cinsel azınlıklar konusunda farkındalık yaratma isteği olarak cevaplanmaktadır.

Teorik çerçevenin belirlendiği bölümün sonunda, Türkiye’de cinsel yönelimin hukuki sistemde yer bulamadığından, LGBT bireylerin cinsel yönelimleri ve kimlikleri nedeniyle ayrımcılığa uğramalarına karşı onları koruyan yasal düzenlemelerin olmadığından bahsedilmektedir. Bu kapsamda; Anayasanın ‘Kanunlar Önünde Eşitlik’ başlıklı 10. Maddesi, Anayasanın ‘Çalışma Hakkı’ başlıklı 49. Maddesi, Türk Ceza Kanununun ‘Halkı Kin ve Düşmanlığa Tahrik ve Aşağılama’ başlıklı 216. Maddesi, Türk Ceza Kanununun ‘Nefret ve Ayrımcılık’ başlıklı 122. Maddesi, 4857 sayılı İş Kanunu’nun ‘eşit Davranma İlkesi’ başlıklı 5. Maddesi incelenmektedir. Cinsel yönelim ve toplumsal cinsiyet kimliğine yönelik ayrımcılığa dair kanuni düzenleme ve koruma olmadığından lezbiyen, gey, biseksüel ve trans bireyler eğitimini sürdürememekte, çalışma hayatına katılamamakta, katılanlar ise türlü ayrımcılıklar yaşamaktadır. Çalışma hayatına ilişkin; 657 sayılı Devlet Memurları Kanunu, 4857 sayılı İş Kanunu, öğretmen, yargı ve ordu mensubu özel memur gruplarının hak ve görevlerini düzenleyen kanunlar da bu bölümde incelenmektedir.

Bu yasalarda da cinsel yönelime karşı ayrımcılığa karşı çalışanları korumaya ve bu ayrımcılığı önlemeye dair maddeler yoktur. Aksine, eşcinsel olmak genel ahlaka aykırı yüz kızartıcı ve utanç verici bir suç gibi kabul edilip disiplin cezasına neden olmaktadır. İşyerinde cinsel yönelime dayalı ayrımcılığa politik çözümlerin getirilmesi zorunluluğundan bahseden yazar, cinsel yönelime dayalı ayrımcılığı engelleyen yasalara ve genel ahlak gibi yoruma açık kavramların daha net açıklanmasına olan ihtiyacı vurgulamaktadır.

Çalışmanın dördüncü bölümünde ayrımcılık konusu daha detaylı olarak ele alınmış ve teorik çerçeve saha görüşmelerinden elde edilen verilerle desteklenmektedir. Araştırma kapsamında görüşmeciler, potansiyel ayrımcılık endişesiyle ayrımcı davranışlarla karşılaşmamak için çeşitli kimlik yönetimi stratejileri geliştirdiklerinden bahsetmektedir. Eşcinsellerin uğradığı ayrımcılıkları resmi ve gayriresmî ayrımcılıklar olarak sınıflandıran Öner, iş yerlerinde eşcinsel çalışanlara heteroseksüellerden farklı davranılması anlamına gelen homofobik ayrımcılığı erkek egemenliğinin sembolik şiddetinin uzantısı olarak yorumlamaktadır. Çalışmada beyaz yakalı eşcinsellerin resmi ve gayri resmi ayrımcılığı hangi biçimlerde ve nasıl yaşadığı ele alınmaktadır. Resmi ayrımcılık, kurumsal politikalar ve kararlarla uygulanan; işe alma, işten çıkarma, terfi ve maaş belirleme, görev atamaları gibi çalışanın iş yerindeki başarı ve konumunun doğrudan etkileyen durumlarda uğradığı ayrımcılık olarak tanımlanmaktadır. Terfi ve maaş artışı, görevlendirme gibi durumlarda kadınlar ve azınlıkların çalıştıkları yerde terfi ederek üst kademelere çıkışının önündeki görünmez engel, cam tavan, işe girebilen eşcinsel çalışanlar için de lavanta tavan olarak kavramsallaştırılmaktadır. Bir diğer resmi ayrımcılık biçimi, Türkiye'de en sık rastlanan resmi ayrımcılık türü olan, duygusal taciz ve mobbing uygulayarak istifaya zorlama ve çoğunlukla performans düşüşü gerekçesi kullanılarak işten çıkarılmadır. İkinci tür ayrımcılık ise resmi ayrımcılığa göre görünürlüğü daha az ancak sonuçları daha derin olan gayri resmi ayrımcılıktır. Sözlü-sözsüz taciz, düşmanlık, saygısızlık, önyargı gibi kurumsal olmayan tutumların sonucunda eşcinsel bireyler stres, anksiyete, anlaşılmanın yarattığı psikolojik baskı hissi, iş

ortamından tecrit, ie kapanma gibi durumları yaşamaktadır. Ařađılayıcı, alaycı, nefret ieren szler, dedikodu, szli satařma ve taciz ve zellikle de lezbiyen kadınlara yapılan “dzeltici tecavz” iması; duygusal taciz, mobbing, damgalama, yok sayma, sert bakıřlar, dıřlama, selam vermeme, konuřmama, srekli zel hayatına iliřkin sorular sorma, tecrit edilme yařanan szli ve szsz taciz trleri olarak alıřmada yer almaktadır.

alıřmanın beřinci blmnde, trl ayrımcılık yařayan eřcinsel bireylerin mcadele stratejilerine yer verilmektedir. Diđer azınlıklar ve dezavantajlı gruplar gibi eřcinseller de iř hayatında karřılařtıkları benzer ayrımcılıklara karřı eřitli mcadele yntemleri geliřtirmektedirler. Yazar, literatrdeki mcadele stratejileri kategorilerinin aynı anda ve i ie geerek kullanılmasından yola ıkararak, mcadele stratejileri arasındaki akıřkanlıđa dikkat ekmektedir. Bylece, iř yařamındaki stratejilerinin birbirini takip edebileceđini, bir stratejinin diđerine vesile olabileceđi gibi eř zamanlı kullanabileceđini ortaya koymaktadır. Arařtırma kapsamındaki beyaz yakalı gey ve lezbiyenler, ođunlukla, cinsel ynelim kimliklerini gizleme stratejisini kullanmakta ve bu gizliliđi srdrmek iin eřitli yalanlarla sosyal yařamını srdrmektedir. Kadınlara kadınlık zerinden ayrımcılıđa uđramalarını engellemek iin iř yařamında cinsiyetsizleřmesi gibi eřcinsel bireyler de cinsel ynelim kimliklerini ortaya ıkaracak durumlardan kaınma stratejisini uygulamaktadırlar. Kaınmanın yetmediđi, baskının yođun olduđu iř ortamlarında szli ya da szsz zelliklerle heterosekselliđi taklit ederek, sahte bir heteroseksel kimlik yaratıp, bir sevgili uydurma, karřı cinsle ilgileniyormuř gibi davranma yoluna bařvurulmaktadır. Bu durum, homofobik saldırılardan korunurken, kiřisel btnlkten fedakrlık, sylenen yalanları srdrmenin yarattıđı baskı, sahici olmayan bir kimliđin yarattıđı eliřki ve ifřa olma korkusu yaratmaktadır. Kitapta ayrıca gey ve lezbiyenler arasında iře alım ve alıřma srelerinde gl bir dayanıřma olduđundan bahsedilmektedir. Bu dayanıřma, arkadařını tavsiye etme, eřcinsel iřvereninin eřcinsel alıřan tercih etmesi, alıřanların birbirleriyle dayanıřması, hak arama mcadelesinde destek olma olarak grlmektedir.

Bu bölümde sıralanan mücadele stratejileri arasında örgütlü sendikal mücadelenin olmayışı, çalışmanın ortaya koyduğu sorunun çözümünde de etkili olma iddiası ile çelişmektedir. Kitapta görüülen kişilerin deneyimlerinden aktarılan mücadele yöntemlerinin bireysel çözümler olması elbette sendikal örgütlenmenin düşüklüğü ve sendikaların LGBT örgütlenmesindeki eksiklikleriyle doğrudan ilgilidir. Türkiye’de işçiler çok düşük bir oranla (%11,5) sendikalarda örgütlenip sendikal haklara sahip olabilmektedir. Temmuz 2016 istatistiğine göre; sigortalı işçi sayısı ise 13 milyon 38 bin 351 iken; sendikalı işçi sayısı 1 milyon 499 bin 870’dir (DİSK-AR, 2016). Kadınlar, eşcinseller, göçmenler, kayıt dışı çalışanlar ve işsizler sendikal yapılarda ya çok kısıtlı var olabilmekte ya da hiç yer alamamaktadır. Oysaki lezbiyen, gey, biseksüel ve trans bireylerin uğradıkları hak ihlalleri temel insan haklarının ihlalidir ve tam olarak da bu nedenle sendikal faaliyetlerin temelini oluşturmalıdır. Heteronormativitenin yarattığı ayrımcılık etnik ayrımcılık, din ve mezhep ayrımcılığı, cinsiyetçilik ve ırkçılıkla birlikte yürütülmesi gereken bir mücadele alanıdır. Sendikalar tüm bu alanlarda ortak mücadele vermek zorundadır. Her türlü ayrımcılığa karşı net bir politika oluşturması gereken sendikalar, cinsel yönelime ve cinsiyet kimliğine yönelik ayrımcılıklara karşı da politikalar üretip, tüm çalışanları kapsayan bir yapı olmak zorundadır. Ancak mevcut durumda bunun tam aksine sendikaların kendileri heteronormatif kurumlardır. Bu nedenle LGBT çalışanlar sendikalarda var olamamaktadırlar. LGBT çalışanların çalışma hayatında yaşadıkları ayrımcılıklar ve sömürüler ile sendikalarda görünür olamayıp örgütlenememesi ancak birlikte çözüme ulaşabilecek sorunlardır. Bu nedenle, sendikalar hem kendi içindeki heteroseksizmi yıkmalı hem de mücadelesine heteroseksizmi katmalıdır. Ancak böylece yaşadığı güvencesizlikler ve uğradığı ayrımcılıklar karşısında LGBT bir çalışanın mücadele gücü artabilir. (Hancıoğlu, 2015; KaosGL, Kaos GL İşçi Bülteni, 2015; Sarı, 2015)

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Zuhal Esra Bilir

Öznur Öncül

Adalet Kısılcında Erkeklik: Mahkûmların Suça, Tutukluluğa ve Değişime Dair Düşünceleri

ODTÜ Yayıncılık, 2016, 138 sayfa

ISBN 978-605-9856-24-9

Son yıllarda Türkçe yazında sayısı artmaya başlayan erkeklik incelemeleri üzerine yapılmış araştırmalara bir yenisi geçtiğimiz aylarda psikoloji alanından geldi. Öznur Öncül'ün "*Adalet Kısılcında Erkeklik: Mahkûmların Suça, Tutukluluğa ve Değişime Dair Düşünceleri*" başlıklı çalışması ODTÜ Yayıncılık'tan çıktı. Bu çalışma, Öncül'ün doktora tezinin Türkçeye çevrilmiş, gözden geçirilmiş ve kitaplaştırılmış hali. Öncül, orijinal adı "*Investigating Cognitive Mechanisms of Offending Among Adult and Juvenile Male Prisoners: Suggestions for Intervention*" olan doktora teziyle ODTÜ 2015 Yılın Doktora Tezi ödülünü almış, aynı zamanda ODTÜ Kalbiye Tansel 2015 Yayın Ödülü ile birlikte bu tezinin ODTÜ Yayıncılık tarafından kitap olarak basılmasına hak kazanmış. Böylece biz de okuyucular olarak erkeklik incelemeleri üzerine yazılmış yüksek lisans ve doktora tezlerinin günden güne arttığı bir dönemde bu alandaki önemli bir çalışmaya kitap olarak ulaşma imkânı elde etmiş olduk.

Klinik psikolojinin adli konulara uyarlanması olarak tanımladığı adli klinik psikoloji alanında çalışmalar yapan Öznur Öncül; lisans, yüksek lisans ve doktora derecelerini ODTÜ Psikoloji Bölümü'nden almış ve bir dönem Birmingham Üniversitesi Adli ve Kriminolojik Psikoloji Merkezi'nde misafir araştırmacı olarak çalışmalarını sürdürmüştü. Suç yaşantısına girme ve suç yaşantısını terk etme, suç davranışlarını meşrulaştırma, suça sürüklenme gibi konularla ilgilenen yazar, ilk kitabı

olan bu çalışmasında erkek mahkûmlar üzerinden suç davranışını destekleyen bilişsel yapılara ve değişime yönelik motivasyonlara odaklanmış.

Kitap toplamda altı bölümden oluşuyor. İlk üç bölümde yazar, suç davranışı ve bilişsel yapılar üzerine geniş bir literatür özeti sunuyor. Sonraki iki bölümde kapsamlı saha çalışmasının verilerini inceliyor. Son bölümde ise farklı psikoloji alanları için öneriler ve sosyal politika önerileri sunarak kitabını bitiriyor. Kitabın doktora tezi formatından çıkarılmış ve sadeleştirilmiş diliyle pek çok okuyucuya hitap ettiği ve literatüre önemli bir katkı sunduğu rahatlıkla söylenebilir.

Birinci bölüm “Yetişkinlerde Suç Davranışını Destekleyen Bilişsel Yapılar” başlığını taşıyor ve altı alt başlıktan oluşuyor. Öncelikle literatürde var olan tartışmaların özetini sunan Öncül, suçu destekleyen düşünce yapılarını kavramsal, zamanlama ve normallik/anormallik olarak üç başlık altında ele alıyor. Hem bu tartışmalarda hem de kitabın diğer bölümlerinde neden “suçu destekleyen bilişsel yapılar” kavramını kullanmayı tercih ettiğini ise “bir ruhsal rahatsızlığa işaret etmek bakımından *nötr* ve zamanlama bakımından *kapsayıcı*” olması olarak açıklıyor (s. 21). Sonraki alt başlıklarda suç davranışını destekleyen bilişsel yapıları yetişkinler üzerinden ele alan yazar, suçu destekleyen inançlar, bu inançların nasıl aktif hale geldiği, suç işlemeye karar verme sürecinin nasıl geliştiği ve suç işledikten sonra bu davranışın hangi stratejilerle meşrulaştırıldığı üzerine kapsamlı bir analiz sunuyor. Bu analizler esnasında güç, adalet ve güvenlik kavramlarının öne çıkması dikkat çekici. Özellikle güç ile ilişkili inançların erkeklikle bağlantısını es geçmeyen yazar, güçsüzlük, adaletsizlik ve güvensizliğin bir aradalığının sonuçlarına da değiniyor. Son olarak ise suçu destekleyen bilişsel yapılara ilişkin bir formülasyon önerisi sunarak bu bölümü bitiriyor.

Kitabın ikinci bölümü suçu destekleyen bilişsel yapıları bu sefer çocuklar üzerinden analiz ediyor. “Suça Sürüklenen Çocuklar ve Suçu Destekleyen Bilişsel Yapılar” başlıklı bu bölüm iki alt başlığa ayrılmış. İlk alt başlıkta çocukların psikolojik ihtiyaç ve zorlanımlarına dikkat çeken yazar, şiddetin ve suçun çocuklar arasında normalleşebilmesine ve bu

davranışların bir baş etme aracı olarak kullanılabilirdiğine dikkat çekiyor. İkinci alt başlıkta ise çocuklarda suça karar verme sürecini hızlandırıcı ve engelleyici faktörleri ele alıyor ve suç davranışı sonrasındaki olası kazanımlar ve kayıpların çocukların suç işleme motivasyonunda ne derece etkili olduğunu gözler önüne seriyor.

Üçüncü bölüm bu çalışmanın özgün değerlerinden birini sunuyor. Kitabın ana meselelerinden biri olan ve bu bölümün başlığını oluşturan “Suç Yaşantısını Terk Etmeyi Destekleyen Bilişsel Yapılar”, ilgili literatürdeki önemli bir eksikliğe işaret ediyor. Akademik ilginin daha çok suç işleme davranışına yönelme üzerine olduğunu belirten Öncül, suç yaşantısına dâhil olmanın ve bu yaşantıyı terk etmenin farklı psikolojik mekanizmaları olabileceğine dikkat çekiyor (s. 57). Bu sebeple öncelikle yaş, evlilik, iş sahibi olma, çocuk sahibi olma gibi faktörlerin belirleyiciliğini tartışıyor, daha sonra ise bu somut faktörlerle ilişkili olarak suç yaşantısını terk etmenin psikolojik mekanizması ve motivasyonu üzerinde duruyor. Niyet öncesi, niyet ve sürdürme aşamaları üzerinden suça yönelik davranışların değişimini inceleyerek bu değişimin suç yaşantısını bütünüyle terk etmede etkili olabileceğini savunuyor.

Kitabın şüphesiz ki en değerli kısmı hiç de kolay olmayan bir saha çalışmasını geniş kapsamlı ve başarılı bir şekilde sunması. Kitabın dördüncü ve beşinci bölümleri bu saha çalışmasının verilerini inceliyor. Öncül, bu araştırması için iki farklı kapalı ceza infaz kurumundan yaşları 14 ile 66 arasında değişen toplam 252 erkeğe ulaşmış. Eğitim düzeyleri ilkokul terk ile üniversite mezunu arasında değişen, %90’ına yakınının cezaevine girmeden önce çalışma yaşantısı olan ve büyük çoğunluğunun cezaevi süreci öncesinde aileleriyle yaşadığı kişilerden oluşan bu örneklemin verilerini Öncül, 18-66 yaş arasını dâhil ettiği “yetişkin erkekler” ve 14-17 yaş arasını dâhil ettiği “genç erkekler” diye ayırarak, bu iki grup arasında karşılaştırma yapma imkânı da yaratan bir yolla sunuyor.

Öncül, yetişkin erkek mahkûmlarla yürüttüğü çalışmanın verilerini dördüncü bölümde, genç erkek mahkûmlarla yürüttüğü

çalışmanın verilerini ise beşinci bölümde sunuyor. Yöntem olarak pek çok farklı ölçek kullanan yazar, bulgularını her iki yaş grubu için de üç temel başlık altında inceliyor: (1) Suçu destekleyen bilişsel yapıların özellikleri, (2) suç davranışına yüklenen olumlu ve olumsuz anlamlar ve (3) değişime yönelik motivasyon ve duygular. Suçu destekleyen bilişsel yapıları bakıldığında yetişkin erkekler için güç ve adalet ile ilgili varsayımların yine ön planda olduğu dikkat çekiyor. Toplumda statü kazanma, erkekler arası ilişkilerde güçsüz görünmeme/hissetmeme gibi amaçların veya dünyanın adil olmadığı yönündeki inançların, suç ve şiddet davranışı için birer araç olarak kullanıldığı görülüyor. Bu durum genç erkeklerde de paralellik gösteriyor ancak güç ile ilişkili temel varsayımlar genç erkeklerde daha sık görüldüğü halde, adalet ile ilişkili temel varsayımlara bu grupta rastlanmamış. Suç davranışına yüklenen olumlu ve olumsuz anlamlara baktığımızda ise maddi kazanç sağlamanın yetişkin erkekler tarafından en sık dile getirilen olası kazanım olduğu belirtilmiş. Öte yandan genç erkeklerin maddi kazançtan ziyade kendini korumaya yönelik suç işlemleri ve hor görülme, damgalanma, saygınlığını kaybetme gibi olumsuzlukları yetişkin erkeklere nazaran daha çok ön plana çıkarmaları dikkat çekici. Son olarak değişime yönelik motivasyon ve duygular başlığında ise yine birbirine paralellik gösteren iki farklı yaş grubunda çaresizlik ve kabulleniş duygusunun öne çıktığı ve çabalamanın gereksiz olduğunun düşünüldüğü görülüyor. Ancak bu noktada yazarın vurguladığı önemli bir ayrıntıyı göz ardı etmemek gerekir: “Cezaevi koşulları içerisinde değişim sürecinde olan bir kişinin hayatında birtakım değişikliklerin gerçekleşmesi ve kişinin bu kazanımları deneyimlemesi imkânsız denilecek ölçüde güçtür” (s. 93).

Genç erkekler ve yetişkin erkekler üzerinde yürüttüğü çalışmanın verilerini iki farklı bölümde sunan Öncül, beşinci bölümün sonunda yaş grupları arasında karşılaştırma yaparak kitabın önemli analizlerinden birini sunuyor. Yetişkin katılımcıları “genç yetişkinler” ve “yetişkinler” diye ayıran yazar; genç, genç yetişkin ve yetişkin verileri arasındaki önemli farklılıkları gözler önüne seriyor. Bu farklılıkların başında ise gençlerin olumsuz duygularla baş etmede daha fazla zorlanmaları ve yaşadıklarını anlamlandırmada güçlük çekmeleri, genç yetişkinlerin güç

ile ilişkili temel varsayımları daha fazla sergilemeleri ve yetişkin katılımcıların suç davranışına daha fazla olumsuz atıfta bulunmaları gibi durumlar gelmekte. Araştırmanın ortaya koyduğu en önemli sonuçlardan biri ise suç psikolojisi yazınında gençlerin daha riskli bir grup oluşturduğunun kabul edilmesinin yanı sıra, aslında bu grubun yardım almaya ve davranış değişimine de en açık grup olduğunu ortaya sermiş olmasıdır.

Öneriler ve son sözü içeren son bölümde ise öncelikle klinik psikoloji ve adli psikoloji alanı için öneriler sunulmuş. Suçu önleme çalışmalarına yarar sağlayacak ipuçları veren yazar, çalışmasından elde ettiği bulgular doğrultusunda suç yaşantısını terk etme süreci için bir müdahale planı önerisi oluşturmuş. Niyet öncesi, niyet, eylem ve sürdürme basamakları altında sunulan bu planda mahkûmlarla rehabilitasyon programları çerçevesinde işbirliği yapılmasına özellikle dikkat çekiliyor. Bazı sosyal politika önerilerini de içeren bu son bölüm, yazarın çalışmasındaki sınırlılıkları belirtmesiyle bitiyor. Öncül, niceliksel veri analizinin yanı sıra niteliksel yöntemlerden de yararlanmanın ve çalışmayı tek bir zaman dilimiyle sınırlamak yerine geniş bir zamana yaymanın çok daha iyi ve yararlı sonuçlar doğurabileceğine dikkat çekerek kitabını bitiriyor.

Kitabın tartışmayı genel olarak sadece teoride bırakmayıp uygulama için de yol gösterici olduğunu söyleyebiliriz. Diğer yandan, yazarın eleştirel erkeklik çalışmaları bağlamında kapsamlı bir literatür taramasına girmekten kaçınması ve bu meseleyi diğer temel odak noktalarının gölgesinde bırakması kitabın eksikliklerinden biri olarak görülebilir. Yazar, psikoloji disiplininin çok uzaklaşmamayı uygun görmüş ve erkeklik meselesinde okuyucuya sadece psikoloji disiplini üzerinden çeşitli analizler ve çıkarımlar yapmayı sağlayacak kapılar açmakla yetinmiş. Bu anlamda günümüzde interdisipliner bir alana yayılmış olan erkeklik çalışmalarının bu kitapta psikoloji alanı için biraz yüzeysel kaldığını söylemek mümkün. Yazar, erkekliği sadece belli bölümlerde, özellikle güç ilişkileri ve adalet sistemiyle ilişkiler bağlamında ele almayı tercih etmiş. Ancak eleştirel erkeklik okumaları

yapan her okuyucu görecektir ki aslında bu kitaptaki her bir başlık erkeklik meselesiyle bir biçimde örtüşüyor, kesişiyor. Yazarın suçu destekleyen düşünce yapıları ve suç yaşantısını terk etmeye yönelik motivasyon ve duygular üzerine yaptığı bu kapsamlı çalışmasının yeniden okuması, erkeklik meselesi temel alınarak da rahatlıkla yapılabilir.

Yöntemsel olarak ise analizler esnasında suç gruplarının sınıflandırılmaması ilk bakışta büyük bir eksiklik olarak görülüyor. Ancak bu eksiklik, kitabı yazarın ele aldığı temel odak noktası ve bakış açısıyla düşündüğümüzde değil, yine erkeklik meselesi odaklı okuduğumuzda bir sorun olarak karşımıza çıkıyor. Yazar, kendisi de belirttiği gibi genel suç davranışlarını incelemeyi ve bu davranışlarla ilgili motivasyon ve bilişsel yapıların araştırılmasını amaçladığı için belli suç gruplarına özgü motivasyon ve olumlu/olumsuz atıfları çalışmanın kapsamı dışında tutmuş (s. 89). Ancak erkek mahkûmlar üzerinden ilerleyen, suça ve suç yaşantısı sonrası değişime yönelik bir çalışmada, örneğin mala karşı suç işleyen erkekler ile cana karşı suç işleyen erkeklerin farklı düşüncelerle, farklı motivasyonlarla ve farklı meşrulaştırma stratejileriyle suça yönelebileceklerini unutmamak gerekir. Belki başka bir çalışma konusu olarak bu farklılıkların neler olduğunu araştırmak oldukça değerli olabilir.

Her şeyden öte, “*Adalet Kıskaçında Erkeklik: Mahkûmların Suça, Tutukluluğa ve Değişime Dair Düşünceleri*” kitabının sadece akademik bilgi anlamında bir kaynak niteliğinde olmadığını da söylemek gerekir. Kitap, hepimizin gündelik yaşamımızda aslında her an işleme ihtimalimiz olan bir suç olabileceği ihtimaline de göz kırıyor ve cezaevindeki insanların yaşamıyla kendi yaşamlarımız arasında dağlar kadar fark olduğu yönündeki genel izlenimi yok etme girişimiyle okuyucuyu etkilemeyi başarıyor. Kitabın başına dönmek gerekirse, yazar önsöz bölümünde adil dünya inancından bahsediyor. “Yani iyi şeyler iyi insanların, kötü şeyler ise ancak kötü insanların başına gelir ve dünya iyiler ve kötüler olmak üzere ikiye ayrılmaktadır” inancı (s. 13). Ve ekliyor: “Elinizde tuttuğunuz bu kitapta yer alan çalışmanın birincil

amacı, bu düşünce yapısını bir miktar sarsmaktır". Sarsıyor da. Üstelik bunu erkek mahkûmlar üzerinden yapıp aynı zamanda erkekliği sorgulamamıza da olanak tanıdığı için literatürde kendine önemli ve sağlam bir yer ediniyor.

Atilla Barutçu
Bülent Ecevit Üniversitesi

Atilla Barutcu

He was born in Antakya, in 1988. He graduated from METU with a major in Sociology and a minor in European Studies in 2011. He was employed in aviation industry for 1.5 years. He got a masters degree from Ankara University, Women Studies with his thesis titled *“Physical and Social Phases of Construction of Masculinity in Turkey”*. He worked as a project assistant for academic projects. With his short film titled *“Damla Baligi” (The Blobfish)*, which he co-directed, co-wrote and played a part in, he was awarded second place in “Women’s Voices Now Film Festival” in the USA. He was qualified for competition, with the same film, in “International Encounters of Short Films” in France. Currently, he is continuing his studies for phd in METU Sociology and Ankara University Gender and Women Studies programs, and is employed as research assistant in Bulent Ecevit University Sociology department. He is also writing short stories and has a book titled *“Damla Baligini Anlamak”*.

Barbara Becker-Cantarin

Barbara Becker-Cantarino earn her Master and PhD degree from University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill. She has published widely on German literary culture from 1600 to the 20th century with a concentration in the seventeenth, eighteenth century and early nineteenth century. She has maintained an abiding interest in the Romanticism, the Enlightenment, reading, letters, women writers. the construction and representation of gender, and the intersection between literature, religion, and other social and cultural discourses.

Frank G. Karioris

Frank G. Karioris, PhD is an Assistant Professor of Sociology & General Education at the American University of Central Asia in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. He has a PhD in Comparative Gender Studies with a Specialization in Sociology & Social Anthropology from Central European University in Budapest, Hungary. His doctoral dissertation – titled ‘Between Class & Friendship: Homosociality in an All-Male Residence Hall in the U.S.’ – focused on men’s social relations with other men, looking at the spatial and temporal elements of these relations. He has published on the topic of masculinities in various peer-reviewed journals including *The Journal of Men’s Studies and Culture*

Unbound, and has published two co-edited volumes - most recently *Masculinities Under Neoliberalism* (with Nancy Lindisfarne and Andrea Cornwall, Zed Books 2016).

Joseph Jay Sosa

Joseph Jay Sosa is a sociocultural anthropologist and assistant professor of Gender, Sexuality, and Women's Studies at Bowdoin College in Brunswick, ME (U.S.). His research focuses on queer aesthetics and activism from the global South and its encounter with transnational norms of governance around LGBT populations. He is currently at work on a book manuscript: *Post-Partisan Desires: LGBT Activism and the Democratic Imagination in Brazil*. Combining ethnographic participation in a social movement with an attention to crowd theory, the book examines emergent activist spaces between queer counterpublic intimacy and organized political networks.

Müge Özoğlu

Müge Özoğlu obtained an MA in Comparative Literature (Asia/Africa) at SOAS, University of London in 2011. Her MA thesis is titled "A Comparative Study on Jameson's Three World Theory and 'National Allegory': The Yacoubian Building and the Flea Palace" (under the supervision of Dr. Ayman El-Desouky). Currently, she is a PhD candidate under the supervision of Ernst van Alphen and Petra de Bruijn in the department of Literary Studies at LUCAS, Leiden University. Her primary areas of interest are in postcolonial theory, gender studies, discourse analysis, and Middle Eastern literatures. Through a critical analysis of late Ottoman erotic narratives, in her research she explores questions concerning the representations of Ottoman masculinity under the influence of modernity.

Tania Evans

Tania Evans is a PhD student in the School of Literature, Languages, and Linguistics at the Australian National University in Canberra, Australia. Her dissertation is concerned with the extent to which the fantasy genre conventions in George R. R. Martin's fantasy series *A Song of Ice and Fire* ('Game of Thrones') influence the construction of masculinities, both hegemonic and marginalised/subordinated. She recently presented a paper about werewolves and teen masculinities in fantasy fiction at the 'Company of Wolves' conference at the University of Hertfordshire in the UK.

Tingting Tan

Tingting Tan is a Ph.D. candidate with particular interests in fatherhood studies from a comparative perspective at Kyushu University, Japan. Her Ph.D. dissertation title is *Father's Involvement in Family Education: An oral history of changing attitudes and practices in East Asia*. She holds a master's degree in mental health education from Beijing Normal University (China). She has separately done exchange studies at University of Hohenheim (Germany) for the 2016-17 academic year, at Yeungnam University (South Korea) for the 2012-13 academic year, and at National Pingtung University (Taiwan) for the 2010-11 spring semester. Currently, as a visiting researcher at Stockholm University (Sweden), she is doing research on European fatherhood model. Up to date, she has already published eight papers and sections about fatherhood research on the renowned international journals and international conference proceedings.

Valentina Fedele

Valentina Fedele is a post-doctoral Research Fellow in History and Culture of Arabic Countries at Università della Calabria. She is also Assistant Professor in Islamic Studies and member of the Research Centre of Women Studies Milly Villa. Her research interests include sociology of Islam, contemporary Islamic movements in the Mediterranean, gender identities in North Africa, Maghrebi diasporic communities. In particular at the moment she is researching on the relationship between gender and religious power in the Mediterranean and on the musical narrative of riots in contemporary North-Africa.

Zuhal Esra Bilir

Zuhal Esra Bilir graduated from Department of Business Administration at Hacettepe University, in 2010. She got her master's degree from Women's and Gender Studies Programme at Ankara University, with dissertation entitled "Process of Precarization and Emotional Labor: The Case of Women Working in Shopping Malls". As a feminist researcher, her fields of interest include gender equality, women's labour, women's employment, gender segregation, women's poverty, reproductive labour, care labour. She has been working as an Expert at The Scientific and Technological Research Council of Turkey (TÜBİTAK), since 2011.

Masculinities is an online biannual journal of interdisciplinary and critical studies of gender and masculinity. It aims to enable researchers and scholar to discuss issues in an independent and inspiring forum related to the representations of gender, particularly masculinity, formations of gendered identities, cultural, social, and aesthetic reflections of masculinity in culture and literature.

Masculinities primarily offers interdisciplinary and pioneering research in the field of gender and masculinity, necessarily outreaching into arts, literature, history, sociology, philosophy, communications, linguistics, and medicine. The editor(s) welcome scholarly and critical contributions, including articles, book and film reviews, reviews of the published articles as well as Announcements of forthcoming events, conference reports, and information on other matters of interest to gender studies and/or masculinity studies. The submissions are accepted after a double blind peer review process of evaluation and main criteria of admission are originality, theoretical and methodological sophistication, scholarly significance, and clarity. The editors reserve the right to accept or reject submissions for publication. Any changes to the text submitted will be clarified with the author before publication.

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- The paragraphs should be properly indented (1,5 cm)
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Masculinities toplumsal cinsiyet ve erkeklik çalışmalarına eleştirel bir yaklaşımı benimseyen ve yılda iki kez yayınlanan disiplinler arası bir akademik dergidir. Araştırmacıları ve akademisyenleri, toplumsal cinsiyet, ve özellikle de erkeklik temsilleri, toplumsal cinsiyet kimliklerinin oluşumu, erkekliğin kültür ve edebiyatta kültürel, sosyal ve estetik yansımalarına ilişkin bağımsız ve ilham verici tartışmaları yürütecekleri bir platform sunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Erkeklikler, öncelikle toplumsal cinsiyet ve erkeklik alanında ama aynı zamanda kaçınılmaz olarak sanat, edebiyat, tarih, sosyoloji, felsefe, iletişim ve dilbilim alanlarını da kapsayacak disiplinler arası ve öncü çalışmalara yer vermeyi hedeflemektedir. Dergi editörleri, her türden bilimsel ve eleştirel katılımı, makaleleri, kitap ve film incelemelerini, yayınlanmış makale incelemelerini, gerçekleştirecek etkinlik duyurularını, konferans raporlarını, ve toplumsal cinsiyet çalışmaları ve/veya erkeklik çalışmalarına herhangi bir çalışmayı dergide görmeyi arzu etmektedirler. Gönderilen metinler, ikili kör hakemlik değerlendirmesinden sonra yayınlanırlar ve ana yayın ölçütleri orijinallik, kuramsal ve yöntemsel olgunluk, bilimsel öneme sahip olmak ve netliktir. Editörler, gönderilen metinleri yayınlamak üzere kabul ya da red etme hakkına sahiptir. Metinde yapılacak herhangi bir değişiklik yayından önce yazara bildirilecek ve onayı alınacaktır.

Yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen makalelerin dergiye gönderilmesi şu hususların net bir şekilde anlaşıldığını ve kabul edildiğini gösterir:

1. Masculinities dergisinde editörlerin ve katkıda bulunan yazarlarının ifade ettiği fikirlerin sorumluluğu kendilerine aittir.
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Yazım Kuralları

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Herhangi bir sorunuz olduğunda lütfen aşağıda verilen iletişim bilgileri üzerinden editörlerle temasa geçiniz.

Atilla Barutçu

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