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Research-in-Progress/Süreçteki Araştırma

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INTRODUCTION

W e are very pleased to announce the release of the 11th issue of *Masculinities: A Journal of Culture and Society*. In this issue, we have four articles, one work-in-progress paper, and two book reviews. The contributions bring together significant themes and debates around contemporary forms of fatherhood, and masculinity in the workplace, as well as the literary and cinematic representations of masculinity crises. Moreover, they represent perspectives from different regions of the world including the USA, France, Bangladesh, and Turkey.

This issue opens with Mounia Utzeri's article entitled "Rethinking men's position in the organization: The French experience" which reveals the dynamics of gender equality actions at organizational level. By presenting findings from a qualitative case study conducted in a global manufacturer located in France, Utzeri argues that organizational settings may help men to question the processes and assumptions inscribed into the hegemonic managerial masculinity frames.

Aditi Sabur continues the discussion on the enactment of different masculinities with a different focus: fatherhood. In her article entitled "Performing fatherhood in Bangladesh: Changing roles, responsibilities and involvement of older and younger fathers", Sabur compares two generations of fathers from contemporary Bangladesh and examines how they differ from one another.

In the third article entitled "Annie Proulx's Wyoming Stories: Deconstructing Hegemonic Masculinity in the American West", David Klein Martins discusses the importance of masculinity in the western genre as well as the romanticized cowboy myth and analyses how masculinity is constructed, lost and reassured in the American West.

In the fourth article, entitled "The Wild Man and the Shepherd. Hegemonic Masculinities and the Definitions of Trauma in The Hurt Locker (2008) and American Sniper (2014)", Sebastian Fitz-Klausner explores the problematic nature of the traumatic male body in the context of hegemonic masculinity. Being a culturally and historically contextualized reading of these two movies, this article analyses how trauma is conceptualized and constructed in the contemporary USA as well as how it is related to hegemonic masculinity.

In the Work-in-Progress section, Jacob Woods examines the confrontation of hegemonic masculinity with a classed and queer identity in his paper entitled "A Gay Man in A Hypermasculine Kitchen: An Autoethnographic Account". By analyzing his experiences as a dishwasher in a kitchen predominantly populated by men with a focus on hegemonic masculinity, Woods brings internal experiences to the academic field.

In addition to these articles, the current issue includes two remarkable book reviews – one in Turkish and one in English. Lale Kabadayı reviews Özlem Özgür's recent book named *Türk Sinemasında Baba Temsili* [Representation of Father in Turkish Cinema] and Murat Göç critically evaluates *Contemporary Masculinities in the UK and the US: Between Bodies and Systems* edited by Stefan Horlacher and Kevin Floyd.

Finally, we would like to thank the authors who sent their work to our journal, the reviewers who kindly reviewed the manuscripts and the readers who spread the word. We also take the opportunity to invite researchers of men and masculinities to submit their work for the 12th issue.

Also, we'd like to take this opportunity to invite you, the researchers of the critical studies on men and masculinities to attend the 2nd International Symposium on Men and Masculinities which will take place between 12th and 14th September in İstanbul, Turkey, in collaboration with Özyeğin University, Raoul Wallenberg Institute, and Research Worldwide İstanbul. Please visit the journal's website for more information.

We also have an announcement about the journal. The previous title of the journal has now been changed with a slight alteration to "Masculinities: A Journal of Culture and Society" to better reflect the scope of our journal.

Gülden Sayılan
On behalf of the Editorial Board of
Masculinities: A Journal of Culture and Society

ARTICLES

Rethinking Men's Position in Organisation: The French Experience

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Abstract

In the last decades, an ever growing body of research documents the tenants and the factors the asymmetrical representation of men and women in the managerial ranks and positions of authority in the organizations. Rather than extending the existing knowledge on new and subtle forms of gender discrimination in organisations, this paper aims instead at examining an often neglected dimension of gender in (mainstream) management studies, namely how to bring about change. Doing so, it adopts a critical and feminist cultural point of view and attempts to shed light on the overseen vectors of change. For this purpose, it draws on a qualitative case study which primary research question was to understand and unveil the dynamics of organisational gender equality actions. Set in the context of a male dominated industrial and technological organisation, namely global auto manufacturer located in France, the study generated interesting and rich findings pointing towards men and the growing awareness on the enactment of various masculinities in the organisation. The key results show that an important pre-requisite for successful implementation is the alliance of multiple partners and stakeholders stemming from different organs of control, operating thus as balancing tool for leveraging more cooperation and maintaining organisational as well as social consent. Second and more

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interestingly, the study draws attention on how men are identified simultaneously as key problem but also as conveyer for organisational change. They are no longer excluded in their own privileged role in the management and silent witness of the tremendous change in the greater societal context but are an active part of the solution. Hence, these organisational measures offer them the possibility to question organisational processes and assumptions inscribed in what we will here call the hegemonic managerial masculinity frames.

Erkeklerin örgütsel alanlardaki konumunu yeniden düşünmek: Fransız Deneyimi

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Özet

Son yıllarda gittikçe büyüyen araştırmalar, kadın ve erkeklerin yönetimsel ve örgütsel güç pozisyonlarındaki asimetrik temsillerini belgelemektedir. Örgütsel alandaki görünmez toplumsal cinsiyet ayrımcılığına hali hazırda odaklanan çalışmaları genişletmek yerine bu çalışma, yaygın örgütsel çalışmalarda toplumsal cinsiyet bağlamında sıklıkla göz ardı edilen bir boyutu araştırmayı hedeflemektedir: Değişimi nasıl mümkün kılarız? Bunu yaparken de eleştirel ve feminist bir perspektifi benimsemekte ve değişimin görmezden gelinen araçlarına ışık tutmaya çalışmaktadır. Bu amaç doğrultusunda bu çalışma, amacı örgütsel dinamiklerde toplumsal cinsiyet eşitliği uygulamalarını açığa çıkarmak olan bir nitel vaka incelemesi üzerine kurulmuştur. Erkek-egemen endüstri ve teknoloji şirketi olan Fransa'daki bir otomobil şirketi bağlamında yürütülen bu çalışma, erkekleri ve farklı erkekliklerin icrası konusunda gittikçe artan bir bilinci hedefleyen zengin ve ilginç sonuçlar elde etmiştir. Çalışmanın öne çıkan sonuçlarına göre başarılı bir örgütsel uygulamanın ön koşulu işbirliğini artırma ve örgütsel olduğu kadar sosyal kabulü de sürdürme konusunda dengeleyici rolü oynayacak birden fazla ortak ve paydaşın bu konuda beraber çalışmasıdır. İkinci ve daha ilginç olanı ise, bu çalışmanın erkeklerin hem problemin nedeni hem de örgütsel değişim için çözümün bir parçası olduklarını göstermesidir. Erkekler artık ayrıcalıklı yönetimsel pozisyonlarında, bu eşitsizliğin

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sessiz tanıkları olarak dışarıda bırakılmamakta; aksine, çözümün aktif bir parçası olmaktadır. Bu nedenle, bu gibi örgütsel ölçümler erkeklere bizim *örgütsel hegemonik erkeklik süreçleri* dediğimiz süreçleri ve varsayımları gözden geçirme imkânı sunmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: erkekler, toplumsal cinsiyet, eşitlik, örgüt

T he omnipresence of gender rhetoric in modern organisations blurs the contours of gender inequality today. Insidious and implicit processes of discrimination are becoming more difficult to detect. Women stay in complex ways subordinated to men (Kelan, 2013) by showing apparent consent and denying any forms of discrimination at the workplace. Similarly, male managers take for granted their privileged status and show resentment against gender equality actions (Utzeri, 2015). Similarly, Gill, Kelan and Scharff (2017) argue that the rejection of gender inequality in the workplace, the attitude suggesting a gender fatigue and the acceptance of the unequal status quo are important discursive enactment of women's, and to a certain extent men's subordination. All these aspects are the manifestation of post-feminist sensibilities (Gill et al., 2017) which are widespread and typical in organisational settings, and in particular in management.

This article seeks to contribute to the ongoing debate on post-feminist phenomenon in organisations by focusing on men's interests. This paper considers that power and gendered relations remain a key component of management today, it therefore adopts a critical approach to examine practical solutions and actions undertaken in a corporate environment where men's position is being re-defined.

This study focuses on the automotive sector in France, a country usually applauded for its women-friendly workplace policies. In France, women in managerial positions is a common picture, in particular in public organisations, the retail and service industry; where according to the "Etudes Generations" conducted by the CNRS, a feminisation of managerial professions in these sectors has almost closed the gap. In the industrial sector, the picture is rather gloomy with strong horizontal and vertical segregation. Despite a widely accepted gender quota legislation established in 2011, women's proportion remains however overall minor, in particular in engineering and industrial industries.

Similarly, the French automotive sector is male-dominated. Women tend to occupy lower paid and lower skilled positions while the

top management is largely male. For instance, only 20% of the women working in the French automotive sector have a management position, in Germany, only 18,3% of managerial positions are held by women. The share of women in executive and supervisory boards is even lower 9%. [1]The industry is not only characterised by a pronounced vertical segregation but also by an horizontal segregation as there is a large concentration of women in Human Resources, Marketing or Public Relations divisions and very few in Research and Development, Technical Development or Finance, divisions where the manager talent pool is selected.

In order to correct this asymmetry, virtually all auto-makers in France (and beyond the borders) have set specific programmes to empower women, ensure equal opportunity, and to some extent promote gender diversity in management. In spite of a variety of measures undertaken on the organisational level, little progress has been done to tackle the gendered dimension of the sector (Martinuzzi et al., 2011, Moore, 2015).

Based on a case study of a car manufacturer located in France, the findings presented in this paper demonstrate how the concomitant involvement of multiple partners (thus different interests and goals) in designing measures may be an essential pre-requisite for efficiently tackling the issue of gender equality in management. In its course, the study enabled the identification of a combination of key actions and practices that brought substantial positive change. The research reports the living experience of incremental steps in a male dominated corporation which attempts to dismantle the toxic image of masculiniti(es) in management, that continue to subordinate men; through the active participation of men managers, the informal yet powerful cultural and gendered stereotypes pervading the managerial world are dissected.

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[1] TNS Sofres Les conditions de la promotion des femmes dans le secteur automobile (2013)

The rest of the paper is organised as follows: after a brief presentation of the theoretical framework and the methodology informing the study. The fourth part is dedicated to the analysis and interpretation of the results of the study. Finally, the last part concludes the paper by not only indicating the limitations of the study but also giving crucial recommendations for further research.

Theoretical Framework

In recent years, the emerging literature on men and masculinities has given a new impulse for treating the question of gender(s) in management and feminist studies in general.

Indeed, Collinson and Hearn's seminal research (1994) builds on the vast and rich existing feminist scholarship and argues that the pervasive "taken for granted" assumptions on gender in management silenced the links between men, masculinities and management. The concept of multiple masculinities illustrates the various forms in which the construction and persistence of masculinities alongside femininity are deployed. It serves as a basis to explain how gendered asymmetrical power between men and between men and women are reproduced (Collinson & Hearn, 2011).

According to Connell, management and top positions are shaped by a culture of hegemonic masculinity (1995, 1998). Many organizations are gendered bureaucracies (Acker, 1990) in which the male norm is dominant and masculine practices of resistance to female leadership persist. This normative masculinity often associated to white, middle class, middle-aged, heterosexual/homophobic, Anglo-Saxon, Christian, western, able-bodied worker dominate senior and top positions and multinational workplaces and oppress other forms and expressions of masculinity. Likewise, Wajcman (1998) describes a dominant managerial masculinity, which is characterised by the underpinning idea of the ideal worker (Acker, 1990). According to Acker, the ideal worker is fully committed, disembodied, but at the same time, sexualises women excluding them from senior management. Notions of control, rationality

and expertise are central to the discourse of "managerial masculinity" (Cockburn, 1991). The concept of "managerial masculinity" emphasizes the embeddedness of masculine values such as full-time employment or position of power within the organisational structures. Paid work thus provides men with significant status and power. As a result, men managers tend to privilege other men, sharing these values in senior positions vis-à-vis women through job segregation and discrimination. Kanter (1977) has coined the perpetuation of this male managerial elite as "homosocial reproduction". Connell (2001) goes further and argues that a transnational business masculinity is increasingly hegemonic and is directly connected to the patterns of world trade and communication that are dominated by the North. This is a dominant masculinity marked by egocentrism, highly precarious and conditional forms of loyalty and a declining sense of responsibility (Collinson & Hearn, 1994).

Managerial masculinities might, thus, be understood as form(s) of (different) hegemonic masculinities. However, these forms of masculinities are as Connell (1995) argues, not fixed, but may shift over time, and according to the nature of the occupation. They are historically, culturally and temporally situated. Acknowledging that masculinities are embedded in organizational life (Connell, 2006), this paper attempts to understand the places for men and patterns of masculinity in a French car manufacturer. It focuses, not only on gender regimes in place, but also on concerted organisational actions that destabilise the powerful underlying assumptions and norms, that maintain and perpetuate the dominant image of managerial masculinity prevailing among men in the organisation.

In order to examine the various organisational measures aiming at improving gender equality, we rely on a promising analytical tool elaborated by Ely and Meyerson (2000) capturing the multifaceted dimension about gender issues in the workplace. The empirically based four approaches or "frames" helps understanding what gender(s) is and why gender based inequality in organisational setting persists. According to this "fourfold framework", Ely and Meyerson argue that the

first three frames are the most used approach to achieve gender equality in organisations nowadays.

Within the frame "Fix the Women" differences of socialisation and skills are the cause of gender issues, women need to be trained to do "as good as men". The "Equal Opportunity" frame is essentially policy based and aims at correcting asymmetry in terms of outcomes by reducing the barriers women have to overcome. Formalised hiring procedure, neutral job description and differentiated targets are typical measures under this frame. Alternatively, the frame "Celebrate the Difference" calls for the acceptance of diverse standpoints, and in particular, the appreciation of as inclusiveness and collaboration in management.

While interventions within these frames have proven significant gains for women, the overall progress is limited. The major problem lies in the fact that women are located as source of gender inequality, this view of gender corresponds to the essential differential assigned to men and women. Structures and processes remain unquestioned and men subordinated to the stereotype of ideal worker or male machine. According to Ely and Meyerson (2000), the fourth frame instead provides a more complex approach to understanding and conceptualizing gender. The frame "Revise the Work Culture" implies the change of deep structure of gender beliefs and unconscious bias that pervade every layer of the organisation and maintain the unequal gender order. The paper contends that this alternative promising approach constitutes a powerful method for kicking off longstanding and sustainable questioning of the "largest invisible majority" (Collinson & Hearn, 1994).

Methodology

This case draws from a research project examining how gender equality interventions and other women advancement programmes in an automotive organisation in France are functioning and designed on the one hand, and perceived and experienced by the individuals on the other hand. A qualitative case

study approach comprising the analysis of company documents and semi-structured interviews was used. The aim of the case study was to leverage a holistic understanding of the phenomenon of gender (in)equality in management within it social context, ensuring that the complexities of the setting and its participants are taken into account (Stake, 2000; Yin, 2003). The company documents comprised yearly review, which comprises quantitative data on personnel situation and repartition, vision and strategy statement of the company, gender diversity/equality reports describing and monitoring the extent to which the case company apply and measure the progress of its gender equality programmes, detailed brochures, booklets and internal material on the companies' related measures.

The field study generated data based on semi-structured interviews and addressed to 12 respondents, female and male executives (between 28 to 59 years old) across managerial hierarchies. Interviews lasted between 30min to one hour and were tape-recorded and then transcribed. The data were analysed using Ritchie and Lewis's (2003) qualitative analytic hierarchy as a guide, which broadly seeks to identify initial themes and concepts. In line with the aim of the study, I assigned data to those themes and then refined the themes by developing overarching concepts. For the identifying and labelling of different themes, NViVo was extensively used.

In qualitative research, which is based on the interaction between the researcher and the participants, reflexivity is a key issue because researcher bias may potentially shape the data collection process. I, therefore, was mindful of my own biases and preconception accumulated and internalised through my background within the automotive industry (the insider dimension) and my personal convictions (individual dimension) reinforced by the gained knowledge on gender, organisation and sociology (the researcher dimension). Due to this threefold position, I might have unconsciously brought into the reading and interpretation of results a mixture of the above-mentioned dimensions. I, however, do believe that by actively listening to the respondents, observing the overall setting, and systematically re-reading the data materials, I could

manage to go beyond my own perspectives. In fact, this threefold position enabled me to provide a multidimensional analysis, to "read through the lines" and to gain trust among the participants. Moroccan born, with a French upbringing, originating from suburban areas of Paris, studying abroad and finally working abroad for various German automobile makersover the last decades, I reflectively could bring forward the ways gende is enacted, rendering thus the interviewees' experiences visible.

Findings and Discussion

The case study essentially revealed two levels of concerted interventions, with different yet complementary impacts. This combination of organisational actions is in line with the theoretical principles elaborated by Ely and Meyerson (2000). Indeed, Ely and Meyerson's fourfold framework for gender equality change argues for a mixture of measures stemming from different frames.

The French company relies on actions aiming at "Creat(ing) Equal Opportunities" mainly ruled by anti-discrimination law and civil rights anchored in the French legal framework, and bound to the EU anti-discrimination law. In the recent years the company has introduced the notion of "diversity" as a key driver for company performance. This element from Ely and Meyerson's frame labelled as "Celebrate Differences" shifts the focus from eliminating difference to valuing "women's difference" and in particular their so-called inclusive and collaborative management style. It does not address the power of the masculine image that underlies most generally accepted models of occupations success, leadership, or managerial acumen. In addition, the French case company has developed a set of interventions initiated by the Corporate Social Responsibility (CSR) department in concertation with external entities. These external organs are (1) the syndicates, (2) governmental certification institutes and (3) academic networks. It is here interesting to note that there is no cleavage but a tight cooperation between researchers and practitioners. As a result, the various

stakeholders involved do not only prevent the deployment of one-sided and biased measures but enable the alignment of organizational structures with latest theoretical advancements in the fields of gender and critical management studies. These measures can be framed as "Revising the Work Culture".

The French company engages in a questioning of its processes, gender is acknowledged as the main organizing principle (Acker, 1990). Practically, this approach focuses on a broader and open communication to combat against gender stereotyping and masculine images prevalent in the automotive industry. It also directly intervenes in the educational institutions (i.e. high schools, university and engineering schools) and promotes women networking channels. These interventions are incremental and based on an ongoing process of inquiry, experimentation and learning led by Corporate Social Responsibility and Human Resources units. Hence, the company is designated after a demanding review process conducted by AFNOR (Association Francaise de Normalisation), the independent and leading certifying body in France. The French company under study was the first large group in 2005 receiving the label of "Equal Opportunity Employer" renewed since then on regular basis. Additionally, in 2011, the company signed a new agreement with all trade unions stipulating the assertive expansion of the gender equality scheme in three areas: supporting the integration of women in a traditionally male-dominated industry, guaranteeing gender equality in the company and improving women's access to senior management.

All interventions investigated are the outcome of the social consensus or "contrat social"; each decision concerning gender equality (and other social matters) is taken jointly with external partners, all trade unions and the state, meaning that each measure is not unilaterally conceived and applied, but multilaterally designed, enforced and monitored. Besides the interventions deployed to increase the number of women in management such as specific programmes aimed at women only, formal and anti-discrimination policies, the French company took the step to combat powerful and deep ingrained norms and stereotypes,

that still rule the male-dominated world of automotive. The case company undertook this step in light of the increasing number of women taking over decision-making positions, the shifting management strategies from authoritarian to inclusive styles.

This transformation towards a pre-supposed feminised managerial practice, matches the changing gender roles and expectations in the surrounding society, especially among fathers (Langvasbräten & Teigen, 2006). The male breadwinner is no longer the sole identity marker of men. However, structural obstacles remain; within the organisation, men managers must show absolute commitment to their responsibility by distancing themselves from families and care responsibilities (Colllinson & Hearn, 1994). For those who deliberately choose to "care", take benefit of parental leave, and display less focus on their career, the so-called gender-based devaluation is observed (Gärtner, 2012) as a form of discreet exclusion due to the work structure and culture in place. Hence, the context of hegemonic masculinity, in particular the managerial masculine values, constitutes a major obstacle to achieve gender equality for men and women. Hence, the dismantling of dominant discourse of masculinity underpinning managerial and organisational practices is a central component of the French company's strategy. Men are not only the target, but also catalyser or multiplier agent.

The French company designed a comprehensive and interactive campaign of sensibilisation addressing men's issues and interests. First, the communication material was conceived as a component of a series of open debates and lectures labelled Corporate Social Responsibility. The objective was to attract the masculine population of the organisation; historically every action labelled gender equality is wrongly and commonly understood as "women's issue". Second, the content of the campaign was conceived together with training and mediation practitioners on the one side, and academics of the growing field of masculinities studies on the other side. As a result, several series of communication campaigns (oral and written) were defined, revolving around the main gendered issues men encounter in their organisational

life: the normative expectation of extended availability, the conflicting and changing forms of parenting and the variable work-life balance measures.

Throughout the sessions, and addressing the above-mentioned areas, key obstacles impeding the full involvement of men in the gender quality project are named and discussed. Male employees are given the possibility to express their mixed feelings about gender equality at work, often viewed as negative discrimination against men, without fearing to be stigmatised in a post-equity context. Another important obstacle pointed out by men managers is the importance of peer opinion. For instance, they pointed how colleagues may interpret and give a negative meaning when one takes his full parental leave or when one takes advantage of teleworking conditions to support his wife with child rearing duties. Another typical attitude under the scruty of the peer group is the working hours and the culture of presentism deeply inscribe in French organisational life. In the end, these sessions casts light words on men's invisible privileges within the organisation and in the society. These actions are essentially discursive and raise the broader issue of the gender relations, not only in the organisation and but also home, where the traditional gendered roles prevail.

The interviews with men managers who have taken part to these open debates show that these male employees hold nuanced and more critical discourses against organisational practices. They locate the source of gendered attitudes in the societal expectations, early childhood education and the organisational system. While they manifest a greater empathy for women's struggles, they attempt to re-define the contours of masculinity in their workplace and beyond. Male respondents who participated in these open lectures expressed the positive feeling of "finally catching up attention" after decades of gender equality programmes aimed at women. Once the step of individual questioning was completed, the French company's strategy continued its course by mobilizing these newly won supporters to spreading the word and initiate discussion with other men, in other circumstances, in groups within and outside the organisation. For instance, after being invited in

women's networking groups, some of the interviewed men mangers merged their effort with female colleagues to create a gender diverse networking group within the company advocating for more gender diversity.

Conclusions

Taking into account that countries, organisations and individuals are at different stages of awareness and readiness to tackle the complex issues of gender equity, there is no one approach to achieving gender equity in management suiting all countries, organisations, or even business units within organisations. Alternatively, looking at how one organisation inscribed in a particular gender context elaborates responses to tackle gender issues may be insightful.

This case study focused on a particular organisational masculinity; namely the managerial masculinity and analysed how the gender equality programmes implemented in a French carmaker affected gender relations in management and especially among male managers. For this purpose, the paper utilised Ely and Meyerson's fourfold frame to categorise the various actions. It is difficult to delineate whether this strategy is endogenous to the French case; this constitutes the main limitation of the study, as it is a highly contextualised work. Fact is that the company integrated into its organisational response the shifting gender relations and attitudes in the French society and the comprehensive legal apparatus in place for gender equality and used all synergies possible to assess a powerful programme.

These aspects show the importance of context, contingent factors and the surrounding environment in general when designing any measure, for no action cannot be developed out of thin air, and function as a standalone element.

The process of involving men to improve gender equality in the French organisational setting was conducted following three crucial steps.

First, it inscribed the approach within the Corporate Responsibility Scheme to get out of the gender fatigue trap (Kelan; 2009) addressing thus the dominant yet invisible social group in the company: men.

Second, it initiated a targeted communication plan made of seminars and developed with practitioners and academics coming from the field of gender studies and specifically masculinities studies.

Third, it pursued the strategic dissemination of these ideas through men themselves among men and women in other platforms. These cascade measures operate mainly on the informal and individual levels, triggering active questioning of the prevailing gendered beliefs and traditional managerial practices and bringing about new and sharpen awareness of gender equality as an issue for both genders. Further research involving surveys or/and agent-based simulation to evaluate how the informal actions may affect the group level could be promising.

While these measures foster new thinking among male managers, it is important to simultaneously carry on these incremental changes, not only in organisational settings, but also "at home" where women still do the lion's share of house chores and child- rearing duties, preventing them to have the freedom of choice to pursue their career. Therefore, further research investigating life's stories of male managers is needed. Likewise, it is important to perform more longitudinal study to measure the impact over time of such measures.

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Performing fatherhood in Bangladesh: Changing roles, responsibilities and involvement of older and younger fathers

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Abstract

Fatherhood is an important component to ascertain men's virility all over the world. It is a complex, ongoing socio-cultural construction that different men experience in their own ways in diverse familial and socio- cultural setting. This article tries to initiate a discussion on how fatherhood is enacted across two generations of fathers and also tries to encapsulate their diverse fathering roles and responsibilities. The article is based on a qualitative study among 20 fathers from two different age groups who are currently residing in Dhaka. It is found that the fathers from young generation perform fatherhood differently than fathers from older generation because of their changed socio-economic context. Most fathers from older generations traced providing for children's education, health and other needs as the main responsibility of any father. Younger fathers perform fatherhood more on the basis of emotion rather than obligations. New fathers add in the contemporary culture of fatherhood is an aspect of compassion, emotionality and engagement which focus more on how they feel doing certain fathering roles rather what they really do. The article ends with an opinion that performance associated to fatherhood in urban Dhaka is changing. Though these changes are very small in number and slow in progression but embrace positive spirit of fatherhood.

Keywords: Fatherhood, fathering roles and responsibilities, emotion, change

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Bangladeş'te Babalık İcrası: Değişen Roller, Sorumluluklar ve İki Kuşak Babaların Katılımı

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Özet

Babalık, tüm dünyada erkeklerin erkekliğini anlamak için önemli bir etkendir. Farklı erkeklerin çeşitli ailevi ve sosyokültürel ortamlarda kendi yollarıyla deneyimledikleri karmaşık ve devam eden sosyokültürel bir konumdur. Bu makale, iki kuşak babalar üzerinden babalığın nasıl icra edildiğine dair bir tartışmaya ön ayak olmaya ve çeşitli babalık rollerini ve sorumluluklarını ortaya sermeye çalışmaktadır. Makale, Dakka'da ikamet eden iki farklı yaş grubundan 20 babayı içeren nitel bir çalışmaya dayanmaktadır. Çalışmada genç kuşaktan babaların değişen sosyoekonomik durumları nedeniyle babalıklarını eski kuşaktan babalara göre farklı icra ettikleri tespit edilmiştir. Yaşlı kuşaklardan babaların çoğu, çocukların eğitim, sağlık ve diğer ihtiyaçlarını sağlamayı bütün babaların temel sorumluluğu olarak görmektedir. Genç nesil babalar ise babalıklarını yükümlülüklerden çok duygu temelinde icra etmektedir. Yeni babaların modern babalık kültürüne kattıkları şey, belli babalık rollerini gerçekleştirirken ne yaptıklarına değil daha çok ne hissettiklerine odaklanan şefkat, duygusallık ve bağlılık boyutudur. Makale, Dakka kentinde babalık performansının değiştiği görüşüyle son bulmaktadır. Bu değişiklikler sayıca çok küçük ve ilerlemede yavaş olsa da, olumlu babalık ruhuna kucak açmaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Babalık, Babalık Rolleri ve Sorumlulukları, Duygu, Değişim

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F atherhood is an important identity for men to ascertain their virility all over the world. Like any other social identity, men experience fatherhood differently in different in contexts. It is a complex, socio-culture entity and continuously evolving in response to social-economic and cultural changes. When it comes to researches on families, researches focus mostly on construction and experience of motherhood, involvement and role of mothers in children's lives etc. Emergence of fatherhood as a research issue is comparatively a new phenomenon and only started after 1970s (Marsiglio et al. 2000). In the 1990s, more extensive and eclectic social science literatures on numerous aspects of fatherhood were produced (Marsiglio et al.2000). Many of these scholarly projects have substantiated with empirical data that the 'dominant motif' of fatherhood (Lamb quoted in Daly, 1995, p.22) and fathering roles have gone through many phases of transition. Profound demographic and socioeconomic transformations in the second half of the 20th century have significantly altered men's roles in the family. Theoretically, the concept of "new fatherhood" or 'intimate fatherhood' (Dermott, 2008) has emerged. There is a heightened expectation of men's family involvement as gender ideologies become more egalitarian. Women with young children are increasingly participating in labor market; the rise of marital dissolution rates and the increased geographic mobility due to globalization has changed the way fatherhood is perceived. While previously fathers were expected to be primarily an economic provider and an authoritarian moral teacher, the "new fathers" of recent times are expected to also provide day-to-day physical and emotional care to children as an equal partner of the mother.

In the era of vast globalization, the pattern of family, work and gender relation are changing in Bangladesh. Shaheen F. Dil identified in 1985 that women's position and roles in Bangladesh are slowly changing, and now there are substantial statistical and empirical evidence to validate Dil's argument. Bangladesh Bureau of Statistics (2008) shows that women along with men are entering the labor market in a large scale. Women's labor force participation has increased from 5.4

million in 1995-96 to 12.1 million in 2006-2007 at national level (p.85). Women are taking up jobs with professional, technical and managerial ranks in urban area. Though they are few in number, women with higher ranked jobs have challenged the traditional position of women in Bangladesh (Jahan 1995). Now women see wage employment as the means of improving their status within family and society. The literacy rate of women at national level has significantly improved over time starting from 28.5% in 1995-96 to 49.1% in 2006 (Bureau of statistics, p.123). Women's increased education and labor force participation have altered their position in household decision making. The divorce rate is greater than before both for men and women (Asian Development Bank 2001; World Bank, 2008) that is also significantly changing the intra-household relationship between men and women. The idea of nuclear family is emerging. The World Bank Gender Norms Survey (2006) showed that the attitude of young men and women's towards marriage and family are more liberal than their previous generation which not only instigate liberal marital relation but also encourage comparatively more equal gender roles for both men and women within the family (World Bank, 2008). Moreover, there are increased number of men who have begun to marry more educated women than them. It is identified by World Bank (2008) that over one-third of the younger women in Bangladesh are more educated than their husbands. In this case, my argument is that there is more likely to be a transition in ways the family roles are played out in Bangladesh and also in the ways men perform fatherhood.

According to archival researches, little systematic work has been conducted on fatherhood in South Asia specifically in Bangladesh. Ideologically, Bangladesh is governed by patriarchal rules (Mansoor, 1999; Karim, 2010) and the socio-economic and cultural environment is quite different. Therefore, it can be assumed that the experience of fatherhood in Bangladesh would be quite different than the western industrial countries. This paper tries to understand the context - specific experience of fatherhood of two generations of fathers in urban Bangladesh. It also initiates a discussion on how roles, responsibilities

and involvement of fatherhood vary across generations and times. First, I will try to identify and update multiple forms of fathering roles, responsibilities and involvement of different generations while considering the fact that fatherhood is a fluid identity (Dowd,2000; Marsiglio et al. ,2000), and practices related to fatherhood can be changed in and across generation and in an individual's lifetime (Dowd, 2000). To continue further, in the second section of this chapter I am going to comment on fathers' interpersonal relationship with their own fathers and wives and will also try to elucidate   the point that these interpersonal relationships have significant influence on a father's varied involvement with his children. Finally, in the concluding section, I will try to bring on the identity theory framework to highlight two points. Firstly, fathers have multiple and changing roles and responsibility and some of these roles are more salient than others. And secondly, empirical data in my research shows potential for change in fathering across generations.

The main objective of the article is to understand how men of two different generations perform fatherhood. Besides that, the specific objectives are as follows:

-To sketch different fathering roles and responsibilities across generations.

-To find out the main influencing factors for fatherhood involvement

Theoretical Framework

Theorization of how fatherhood is performed includes lots of sociological, psychological debates and discussions. As my theoretical route I have chosen to use a psychosocial perspective popularly known as *identity theory.*

Identity Theory

To analyze perception of fatherhood, I would like to use William Marsiglio and Ihinger-Tallman's conceptualization in William Marsiglio (1995) of **identity theory** stemming from the **symbolic interaction framework** that prescribes the construction of self and identity as   an ongoing social process which is formed and maintained through interaction with other. The identity theory was originally conceptualized by Manford Kuhn in 1960 based on George Herbert Mead's idea of 'self'. "The construction of certain identities depends on one's conception of identity and derives from the positions one occupies in the society. So, identity is linked to social structure through status and associated roles" (Kuhn quoted in Ihinger-Tallman et al, 1995, p.61). According to Marsiglio (1995b), identity theory helps to theorize the process of fathers' organization of the 'self', especially in regard to their parental roles and how this construction is likely to fluctuate in response to changing social/economic opportunities and constraints as well as cultural models of fatherhood and interpersonal pressures (p.16). Both Marsiglio (1995b) and Ininger -Tallman et al (1995) argued that the process of 'self 'construction is most likely to shift over time as individuals adjust to different life course events and engage in negotiations. Identity theory also highlights the notion that at any given point of time, fathers will have multiple statuses and potentially conflicting role demands, both as fathers and also as men. The multiple roles and identities fathers possess can be ranked in a salience hierarchy. It reflects, Ihinger-Tallman et al (1995) conceptualizes the term based on Sheldon Stryker and Richard T. Serpe (1982) theorization of 'salience hierarchy'. The location of an identity in the hierarchy is, by definition, its salience. According to their conceptualization, the hierarchical organization of identities is defined by the probabilities of each of the various identities within it being brought into play in a given situation. That means it is defined by the probabilities each of the identities have of being invoked across a variety of situations. The relative probability is that one of these roles/identities will be expressed in different situations

and chosen when conflicts between identities occur. The parental identity may become more salient than other identities of men depending on the context. The parental identity or status also has numerous roles associated with it, such as breadwinner, playmate, nurturer, moral teacher, and disciplinarian that may also be ranked in a hierarchical fashion and more likely to be reshaped and reinterpreted as one encounters new circumstances, challenges, or obstacles (Marsiglio, 1995b, p 85).

This theoretical framework will help to explore the way Bangladeshi fathers in particular experience fatherhood. This line of theorization also helps to make a reasonable assumption that Bangladeshi men who have become fathers in recent years, compared with the earlier generation of fathers, are more likely to experience fatherhood in a different way because of the changed familial, socio-legal, cultural and economic context. The parental role as fathers is also likely to differ within generations as the sole construction of their parental identity is more likely to change with time

Knowing the fathers better: Research design and methodology

This research has followed a qualitative research design. Qualitative methodology helps to capture the in-depth and complex meanings of fatherhood and subjective experience of fathers through interaction. I have conducted my research in Dhaka, the capital city of Bangladesh. And being the capital, Dhaka was always the center of most of the socio-economic changes and developments. In recent times, the city has experienced industrialization, migration, urbanization and economic boom, more than any other region of Bangladesh. Particularly this reason has encouraged me and provided the rationale to choose Dhaka as my main site of exploration.

Marsiglio (1995a) argues, social class has played and continues to play a vital role in shaping fatherhood experience and imagery. My main informants are 20 Dhaka city based middle-class fathers from two different generations and different family backgrounds. Also according

to my experience, in urban Dhaka, middle-class families have better access to education, formal employment, and socio-political decision making which positioned them in the forefront of any kind of social change. Purposive sampling method has been used to conduct the research. I have purposefully used my familial social network to select informants. I had made this deliberate choice for two reasons. First, these networks were most accessible and broad. Secondly, I wanted to talk to people, who I hoped would open up easily and would deliberately share their personal experiences and perception as fathers. I chose informants who were familiar but not very known to me. When it came to their experience within their families and the dynamics of relationship with their children, I had no previous idea about that. To differentiate between generations of fathers, I have decided to consider the age of their children. The fathers with one or more children above 25 years will be considered as older generation and the fathers with one or more children under 10 years of age will be considered as new generation. I have conducted 10 in–depth interviews with fathers from each generation. A semi-structured and open ended interview guide was prepared for all interviews.

Roles, Responsibilities and Involvement of Fathers

Fathers had very diverse accounts of the nature of their roles and responsibilities. Fathers occupy, and will continue to occupy, varieties of roles based on children's needs and their own contextual situations. After analyzing accounts of fathers from different generations, it was found that there is a difference of opinion among fathers across different generations regarding what should be the main roles and responsibilities as a father. Fathers from the same generation were also not in consensus on this point. Narratives from both generations are discussed below.

Narratives of older generation of fathers. Most fathers from older generations suggest providing for children's education, health and other needs is the main responsibility of any father. For older fathers,

providing for the family's financial needs remains the central pre-requisite for fathering fulfillment. Shahidul Alam Khan, a 65 year old a medical personnel and father of two grown up children expressed,

> A father's main responsibility is to provide his children with the best life they deserve...to ensure they have the best education and health to face the challenges of the practical world. To guide them morally as a father is the primary source to learn ethics by the children. And finally, teach them their duties as a good citizen.

Other older fathers agreed partially with this statement. The main point is that financial provision is a component, like other form of care, which emerges from the particular characterization of fatherhood by older fathers. Earning money primarily is about being able to give children opportunities (Dermott, 2008). Among these opportunities the most important for middle-class Bangladeshi father is to provide for children's education. Not only education, health is another significant concern for older fathers. Taking caring of children's health is significantly important for a lot of fathers. Emphasizing his own experience as a doctor father, Abul Kalam Azad, age 66, pointed out that,

> Being a doctor, my responsibility started the day my wife conceived. As you know, for doctors, health comes first. So, my main responsibility was to ensure my children's good health. Of course, after health, ensuring good education for my children is the second priority.

Some of these fathers talked about the importance of providing the children good schooling which includes not only formal education but also ethical and moral upbringing. Their role as teachers, moral guide and disciplinarian was heavily emphasized by most fathers. Michael Lamb (1987) identified four distinct roles fathers played in different historical periods. These roles include their role as moral teacher, breadwinner, sex role model, and more recently, as nurturing fathers. Though Lamb's findings do not necessarily help one to understand fathering practices in Bangladesh, his suggested fathering roles as

moral teacher, disciplinarian and breadwinner are also prevalent in Bangladesh. For example, 67 years old Romoni Mohan Devnath, who is a banker and a part time university teacher, delineated these roles quite explicitly. According to him,

> [...] Main responsibility of the father is to ensure proper schooling. That includes both private and public schooling. Private schooling includes teach them discipline, manner and ethics, moral and religious norms and regulations. And the public schooling means ensuring they get good education from a good school. I must say I am a failure in this regard...I made the financial contribution to make the schooling process smooth but I was always physically absent in the whole process.

Manosh Chowdhury and Saydia Gulrukh (2000) have tried to describe a fundamental middle-class phenomenon among urban middle-class families. In marriage and family, men and women share two very distinct roles. Men keep the family going by earning and women perform family duties. Men's role as a provider and bread earner is a highly valued middle- class ideology which significantly influences men performance as fathers. Not only that, Chowdhury and Ahmed also mentioned that education is a middle-class capital based on which the middle-class claim their authority in urban Bangladeshi society. So, I am assuming older fathers stressing highly on providing for education is just a middle-class value - laden pronouncement.

As mentioned before, fathering involvement may change in one's lifetime. Related to this argument, another very interesting point came across in the interviews. Most men were keen to emphasize on transition to more involved pattern of fathering, sometimes the role shifts to that of the role of social fathering with the passage of time. Fathers who have identified themselves as less involved fathers in their early age, claimed to be better fathers as they grew older. Communication with their own children improved in a lot of ways. Nazrul Islam, a professor in a government engineering university and a 70 year old proud father of

one grown up daughter has articulated this point quite clearly. According to him,

> I was only a biological father when my daughter was very young. Then when she became a little older like around 2-3 years old, I became his teacher, playmate and moral guardian. Then when she was in her teenage I was his protector. Now when she is around her late 20s I am her best friend. We talk about a lot of things we didn't use to talk about earlier. Now, I know I am more accessible and communicative than before.

As fathers grow old their duties and financial obligations towards children start to decline which let fathers devote more time to their families. In interviews, some of the older fathers mentioned about taking care of grandchildren in their free time. Somehow, fathers try to make up for their absence by practicing social fathering towards their grandchildren.

Narratives of younger generation of fathers. The Younger generation of fathers has come up with rather varied accounts on fathering roles, responsibilities and practices. Some of them echoed what the older fathers mentioned as their prime roles and responsibilities. as fathers. For younger fathers, providing still occupies. A major place as part of their identity. 43 year old Anisur Rahman, father of a 6 year and a 2 year old sons expressed,

> I think , a father's main responsibility is to give infrastructural support ...what I mean is to build a strong base for his children...to invest financially on their better education, living, health, teaching them moral standards, ethics, discipline them to teach good manner and behavior...these are very important.

Some of the younger fathers acknowledged some other roles which they thought were equally important besides providing, disciplining and

moral upbringing. For example, Iftekhar Taimus, age 39, who is a busy private service holder explained,

> Providing is the most efficient way to play a father's role. We all want our kids to have better education. It does not come for free. I think as a father one should give ones children the opportunity to be a full human being. But providing does not end with providing money only. It has other dimensions too. Providing quality time is also important. I have a very demanding job which does not give me lot of time to engage with the kids but I try my level best to listen to them...discussing the many things they need to know, sometimes helps my son finish his homework, but that's very rare. I want them to feel my presence. I am their provider dad on the weekdays and a playmate on the weekends. I guess with time my roles and responsibilities will change.

Esther Dermott (2008) suggested that "some of the scholars in fatherhood claimed that the current ideals of fatherhood no longer have, as central elements, the roles of disciplinarian, educationist and moral authority. These have been replaced by a focus on the nurturing elements of parental care, especially engagement with children in leisure activities and the carrying out of practical childcare tasks" (p. 27), which could be reflected in some of the younger father accounts. Taimus mentioned how his roles as a playmate and listener are equally important in fulfilling his other fathering roles. Though he said he was not available for daily child care tasks, but his urge to make his presence felt by the children is crucial to how he performs the fathering activities. Though very small in number, there were young fathers like 37 year old Reza Mahmood, a university lecturer who plays active role in daily child care too. He identified major gender norms which promote men's providing as the most celebrated fathering and masculine attribute and designated women as the sole caretaker of the children. According to him,

> The main problem in Bangladesh is that men as fathers do not expect to do a lot of things. If one provides financially well, that is enough. If I don't share any household chores or child rearing activities- that is because I am busy with more important work. It is a socially established norm. If women do not do their share of child care, that makes them very bad mothers. I guess no woman will take that. But if one has a working wife like mine, then we need to think beyond socially sanctioned norms. I don't have classes every day. So, I take care of my children whenever I am home. I feed them, give them bath, play with them, pick them up from school, and help them do their homework... everything. I become their mother. I know many of my colleagues who do   the same for their kids. It is a practical need. Someone needs to be with the kids.

In nuclear families like Reza Mahmud's and others, where both the partners are working full time, fatherhood practices are more flexible. I would like to argue that fathers are more involved in childcare because of practical reasons. It is not a strategic attempt out of gender consciousness rather a practical situation where parents are in an inevitable situation to alter and share their regular roles as a father and mother. Women's increased labor force participation has started to contest fathers' role as sole provider. As Ralph LaRossa (1988, 1997) clearly underscored that the change in forms of fatherhood does not mean that the most prominent ones of the former are to be discarded. Now, fathers find themselves in more complex situations as they are aware of changes around them but find it hard to incorporate in their day to day fatherhood performance due to lack of socio-legal sanction and construction of masculinity.

Younger fathers' accounts mostly elucidate the potential for change in fathering practices. Some of the young father pointed out their readiness to become fathers by highlighting their own experience. Among young fathers, Rezwanul Karim, age 40, was most vocal on this

issue. He was also advocating for his generation of fathers who are more inclined to fulfilling fathering expectations. He stated:

> It's quite a regular phenomenon in Bangladesh that women to go for doctor visits alone or with another woman from the family, during pregnancy. In most cases, it is her mother, mother-in-law or sisters. But, now we try to accompany our wives. I went to every doctor she visited "so that I could know the update of my baby. Once I didn't want to go with my wife and she seemed very upset. So, I tried not to miss any gynecologist's appointment with her. I knew every detail of my daughter.

Like Rezwanul Karim there were other fathers who were involved in prenatal care of their partners to show their mutual support towards their partners in particular. Young fathers also claimed that they were more involved when it came to taking care of their sick children. Reza Mahmud, Manosh Basu and Rezwanul Karim had experience of their first child being severely sick just after birth. All of them said they were capable enough to handle sick infants. Rezwanul Karim mentioned being there for his daughter Mayan for the entire eighteen days she was hospitalized. Manosh Basu noted,

> Being a doctor I am more aware of infant's sickness and adoptable to these kinds of situations. My wife was so upset that she felt sick as well. It was a difficult situation for me to handle. I passed sleepless nights taking care of my daughter. Except for baby feeding, I did everything when my first daughter fell sick. Now, whenever any of my daughters is sick they will ask for me. I feel attached …

Involvement in prenatal care and children's sickness was more common in younger fathers than fathers of older generation. This small but significant style of involvement was the highlighter to show the change among younger fathers.

Influence of 'Significant Others' on Fathering Involvement: Relation with own Father and Wife

I t is argued that the most powerful influence on fathering practices and involvement is one's experience in the family while growing up (Taylor and Behnke, 2005). In four generations study, John Snarey (1993) showed that men's relation with their fathers is a significant factor in their own practice and involvement - related fatherhood. Later, Taylor and Behnke (2005) validated this argument among Latino fathers living in the USA - Mexican border. Nacy E. Dowd (2000) claimed that a father's involvement is strongly correlated to the relationship of the partner. My empirical data also showed that my informant fathers across generations are profoundly affected by these two factors which are considered as the 'significant others'. Each of the above mentioned factors, interacts with fathering and influences men's choice of roles related to fatherhood as most salient.

Relation with father. Fathers' accounts showed that there are positive and negative impacts of the relationship with their own fathers. Across generations, my informants either want to rework and reshape the model their own fathers provided or they simply idealized their fathers as role models. For older fathers, it is rather a very distant picture and they could hardly describe their relationship with their own fathers. Older fathers mentioned their own fathers to be very detached from their own children. For this generation, their own fathers were not there to discipline them, rather their mothers used father's image as a symbol of authority. This image is used to reinforce father's presence and authority to discipline them. All older fathers, who were interviewed except Shahidul Alam and Wakef Hossain, described their fathers as very authoritative and the most influential man in their families. Older fathers' lack of committed relationship with their own fathers reinforced the deficient model of fatherhood. Moffazel Haque, a71 year old retired customs officer, quite sadly talks about his absent father.

> I really can't remember anything of my father. We were lot
> of brothers and sisters living in the same home and it was

always chaotic…Whenever any of my brothers or sisters wanted to talk to my father, I only remember my mother saying, 'let him (my father) have some peace. Tell me what you need and will arrange it from your father'. I left home at a very early age to pursue my education. So, I never shared any bond with him. I did not know what fatherhood was until I became a father myself.

Only Shahidul Alam gave vivid description of his relationship with his father. He mentioned his father to be a better dad than him. Most of his fathering practices are influenced by his relation with his father. He idealized his father as a model all his life. He said,

My father was a very strict disciplined man but he spent a lot of time with us. It's not that he was my best friend with whom I could share my entire secret. He used to sit with us every evening to help us out with our homework. I remember him standing all evening in the corridor if any of us (we four brothers) was late getting back home. He was the person who encouraged us to read lots of other books besides our academic ones, and he was the person who said I was allowed to elope with my girlfriend if her family did not accept me as a son in law…We knew he loved us and I always wanted to be like him…very disciplined yet caring.

Younger fathers were more precisely talked about this point. They also clearly identified the fact that they perform fatherhood differently than their fathers. Some of the younger fathers completely disapprove the way their own father acted out fathering practices and expressed the urge to perform fatherhood tasks completely differently from their own father. 40 year old Sajjadul Islam Noyon is one of them. He noted,

I have learned what not to do as a father from my relationship with my father. He was very ruthless and arrogant. I was physically beaten up a lot by him. I didn't know why he was always angry and trying to teach us manners and etiquettes. I never wanted to have him as my

father. Now, I know it's not just him but probably every father of that time thought father-son relationship should not be open. It should be a relationship of respect, fear and authority. My daughter calls me by my name. She knows already that it's easy to communicate with me and there is nothing to be scared.

Like Sajjadul Islam, most of the young fathers shared a distant bond with their fathers. Sometimes it was only a relationship of authority and their fathers were   very occupied with their own things. Some of them mentioned that their fathers had their own world which was inaccessible to their children, and fathers were not available even when they had spare time to spend with them. Some did mention that the restrictive relations with their fathers made them improve themselves as fathers and according to them they are more sympathetic /understanding fathers. "All of the men who had been detached from their own fathers placed great importance on always 'being there' for their children" (Naomi Rosh White, 1994,p.122). Iftekhar Taimus is one of them. According to him,

> My father was   like   any father of his time….very serious and strict kind of a person. I guess being part of the armed forces made him even more demure. He was the man of the house and used to make all major decisions of our lives. From which school should I study to what I should   be in life…everything? I wanted to be in the armed forces but I was persuaded to take up a different profession than my father's. He sent me to USA to get an engineering degree. In my early years there was distance between us. I used to be very afraid of him. When I started to go to the university, the distance started to decline. Now, from my experience with my father, I exactly know what not to do with my children. I may not give them a lot of time but I make sure they know that their baba is there whenever they need him. I really need to feel wanted and closer to them.

The fervor to do things differently than their own fathers point out generational shifts in construction of fatherhood ideals and practices (Miller, 2011).

Relationship with wife. The level of father's involvement is strongly correlated with the father's relationship with his wife/ child's mother (Dowd, 2000). Though Dowd's argument was made in American context, it can also be used to explain my empirical narratives of fathers across generations. Almost all fathers from both generations agreed with the particular argument. Older fathers emphasized the necessity of a healthy marital relationship for children's healthy psychological growth. In interviews, one point came out clear that mothers play an important role in defining father's image for their own children. Not only are that, for older fathers, their wives the key persons to keep their fathering authority intact within family. Abdul Kalam Azad stated,

> Being a doctor, I couldn't give much time to my children when I was a junior attendant. But my wife made sure that my children became well-mannered and disciplined. Whenever they were a little unruly or not performing well in their exams, my wife used to remind them that if their father came to know what they were doing he wouldn't be very happy. I was always there to discipline through my wife.

Ishii-Kuntz et al study (2004) of Japanese fathers elaborated on similar issue. It is found that despite men's physical absence, their authority is symbolically used and reinforced by the wives to discipline their children.

Younger fathers pointed out some other aspects of having a healthy relationship with their partners. Nafis Anwar, age 36 with a successful career in Uniliver Bangladesh mentioned,

> My partner encouraged me to be a better father. Our marriage is based on mutual love and understanding. If not completely, I try to meet her expectations.

Younger fathers involved themselves with children because of their mutual understanding and commitment towards their wives and the quality of marriage they share as couples (Doherty et al., 1998). Younger fathers mentioned their wives being supporters of active engagement with the children. Manosh Basu noted,

> I used to have work-related appointments on weekends but my wife continuously reminded me that when our child is born I can't work on weekends because that is family time. I try to stay at home on most weekends because my daughters love being around me and my wife is happy too.

Rezwanul Islam identified another very crucial point related to this issue. He said,

> My wife wants me to be a certain kind of man. Not necessarily I approve of all her demands but asking to be a better father is a valid one. Being a better father not only helps me bond with my daughter but also help me meet my wife's expectations.

Delineating marital pattern of my informants will make it apparent that except for Anisur Rahman, all younger fathers had opted for love marriage whereas, and it is completely the opposite for older fathers. Among older fathers, only two got married based on mutual understanding. Other than these two, all marriages were arranged. It is well apparent that the increased instances of marriages based on love and understanding before marriage has a positive impact on couples which not only helped younger men to be better partners but also, to some extent, a better father. There is no way to claim that older generations of fathers have fewer compatible marriages but most arranged marriages are based on obligation to form a family rather than on mutual choice and understanding.

Discussion

I t's evident from narrations of older fathers   that the roles they play and pattern of their involvement is out of their right as a father. All rights come with certain obligations and responsibilities. Rights which are given by religious laws and prominent fatherhood discourse both helped older men to consider providing as their salient role identity related to fatherhood.   Fathers from younger generation are not performing roles which are completely different from that of the older fathers. Provider role is still the most important in the hierarchy of fathering roles. But younger fathers perform fatherhood more on the basis of emotion rather than obligations, especially when their partners have full- time job and a co-earner in the family. What new fathers add in the contemporary culture of fatherhood is an aspect of compassion, emotionality and engagement which focus more on how they feel doing certain fathering roles rather what they really do. Younger fathers do it differently than previous generation. It is just how they feel doing the same old thing with lot of compassion and quite open in expressing that emotion through physical gestures. Able to be there for their own children is quite a big concern for a lot of young fathers. Partners of these fathers acted or act as the 'significant other' as identity theory describes to influence fathering attachment and performance. Young mothers positively inspire and engage new fathers which were missing in the earlier generation. Though the social situation has changed in many ways, the middle-class ideal of having a successful job has not changed yet in Bangladesh making it harder for   many men in both generations to fit in to the new nurturing model of fatherhood.

It should be mentioned that if the new generation of fathers see and perform fatherhood differently that is not because they have become heavily gender sensitized or they have started to believe in gender equality, rather, it is propelled by multiple factors like more nuclear families, women's increased labor force participation, exposure to new kinds of ideas of fatherhood and, last but not least, the awareness of positive outcome that increased involvement could bring. Fathers from

the older generation have involved themselves when it concerned about the whole family. One to one communication or building relationship with children was not idealized as prominent feature of the family or fatherhood identity. Distance and respect was core to father-child relationship. Socio-economic changes have propagated some modifications` in fathering roles and involvement which are still very small.

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Annie Proulx's *Wyoming Stories*: Deconstructing Hegemonic Masculinity in the American West

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Abstract

The myth of the Wild West has inspired men for over a century to follow and live out the example of the long-gone virile cowboy. The romanticized cowboy myth, however, bears a dangerous dark side, since it not only spreads all-American values but also fuels frustration and fear amongst men through its inherent demand for conformity. Annie Proulx has taken up the challenge of denouncing the truth behind the myth of masculinity with her short story collections Wyoming Stories, claiming that the virile cowboy cult is not a natural necessity in the American West but only a construct that has been falsely universalized. Proulx thus presents us an alternative American West, revealing the bleak reality behind the façade of contemporary cowboy devotees.

The following paper will begin with a brief discussion on the importance of masculinity in the western genre, as well as an introduction to the figure of the cowboy to reveal the great impact both, the genre and the figure, had and still have on the American mindset. Moreover, engaging with gender theory, this paper will as well take a closer look at the idea of gender as a construct, which will facilitate the subsequent analysis of the deconstruction of masculinity in two of Proulx's short stories, i.e. "Brokeback Mountain" and "The Mud Below" from her 1999 short story collection *Close Range*. Especially the questions of the construction of masculinity, the results of a failing malehood and systems of reassuring ones manhood in the American West will be closely analyzed.

Keywords: American West, Gender, Masculinity, Cowboy

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Annie Proulx'un *Wyoming Stories*'i: Amerika'nın Batısında Hegemonik Erkekliğin Yapısökümü

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Özet

Vahşi Batı miti, bir yüzyıldan fazladır, erkeklere kayıp yiğit kovboy örneğini izlemek ve yaşamak için ilham vermektedir. Bu romantikleştirilen kovboy mitinin, karanlık ve tehlikeli bir tarafı da vardır; sadece Amerikan değerlerini yaymaz, tanımına içkin uyum talebi nedeniyle, erkekler arasında hüsran ve korku da yaratır. Annie Proulx, Wyoming Stories hikaye kitabıyla, yiğit kovboy kültünün Amerikan Batı'sının doğal bir gerekliliği olmadığını ve yanlışlıkla evrenselleştirilen bir kurgu olduğunu ortaya koyarak erkeklik mitinin arkasındaki gerçeğin kötü taraflarını açığa vurma çabasını üstlenir. Proulx, çağdaş kovboyluk hayranları gösterisinin arkasındaki kasvetli gerçekliği ortaya çıkararak alternatif bir Amerikan Batı'sı sunar.

Bu makale, western türünde erkekliğin önemi üzerinde bir tartışma ve kovboy figürüne giriş ile başlayarak, hem bu türün hem de figürün Amerikan zihin yapısı üzerinde geçmişten günümüze gelen önemli etkisini gösterecektir. Ek olarak, bu makale, toplumsal cinsiyet teorisi ile bağlantılı olarak, bir kurgu olarak toplumsal cinsiyet fikrine yakından bakacak ve Proulx'un 1999 tarihli kitabı *Close Range*'deki hikayelerinden ikisinde, "Brokeback Mountain" ve "The Mud Below"'da, erkekliğin yapısökümünün analizini kolaylaştıracaktır. Özellikle erkekliğin kurulumu, güçten düşen erkekliğin sonuçları ve Amerikan Batı'sında erkekliği tesis etmenin sistemleri üzerine olan sorular analiz edilecektir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Amerikan Batı'sı, Toplumsal Cinsiyet, Erkeklik, Kovboy

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When talking about the mythical American West, one is often simultaneously referring to American masculinity. The myth of the Wild West has indeed inspired men for over a century to follow and live out the example of the long-gone virile cowboy. The romanticized cowboy myth, however, bears a dangerous dark side, since it not only spreads all-American values but also fuels frustration and fear amongst men through its inherent demand for conformity.

American writer Annie Proulx has taken up the challenge of denouncing the truth behind the myth of masculinity with her short story collections *Wyoming Stories*, claiming that the virile cowboy cult is not a natural necessity in the American West but only a construct that has been falsely universalized. Proulx thus presents us an alternative American West, revealing the bleak reality behind the façade of contemporary cowboy devotees.

The following article will begin with a brief discussion on the importance of masculinity in the western genre, as well as an introduction to the figure of the cowboy to reveal the great impact both, the genre and the figure, had and still have on the American mindset. Moreover, engaging with gender theory, this essay will as well take a closer look at the idea of gender as a construct, which will facilitate the subsequent analysis of the deconstruction of masculinity in two of Proulx's short stories, i.e. "Brokeback Mountain" and "The Mud Below" from her 1999 short story collection *Close Range*. Especially the questions of the construction of masculinity, the results of a failing manhood and systems of reassuring one's manhood in the American West will be closely analyzed.

The Western, A Male Genre

The western genre is not only frequently considered the most American of fields but has also ever since its beginnings been consistently deemed one of the most virile and masculine genres there ever were. The mythological western thus became the epitome of maleness and has long-since provided a refuge –as both a geographic

space and a romanticized idea– for American men to become qualified in what is considered an ideal masculinity. Maleness in the west is, however, not an open category. It is therefore not accessible to a variety of marginalized and racial male identities but speaks merely about the "inevitable white male hero" (Johnson, 1996, p.255) who has become the naturalized focus of the imaginary history of the American West. Even today, the western has not lost its influence. Its tremendous impact can still be seen in the way it influences not only the American male identity but furthermore how it "inform[s] configurations of power and politics from Hollywood to Washington, D.C., and has been exported by U.S. media to far corners of the globe" (p. 258).

Seeing that the western genre indeed was born at a time in which manliness was put into question, it has from its outset served for the promotion of a mythical dominant masculinity. As a matter of fact, the end of the nineteenth century was a time of great changes in the US, which introduced a plethora of issues able to shake certain wide-spread ideals shared by many Americans. Amongst others, the American population was confronted with "[the] Post-Civil War society, the closing of the frontier, the perceived loss of opportunity for the self-made man, in competition with the large number of new immigrants arriving on American shores, unstable economic conditions, [or] the middle-class woman's movement" (Bordin, 2014, p. 27). Naturally, all of these arising questions challenged "middle-class men's claims on public power and authority" (p. 27), and thus asked for a savior to restore the public's belief in the guiding forces of American virility. In these troubling times the western genre gained immense popularity and with it a new American hero was introduced, namely the western cowboy.

The Cowboy Myth

The cowboy was an evolution in a succession of American role models –including the backwoodsman and the pioneer– and ultimately gained the status of the ultimate American folk hero whose lasting legacy can still be felt today. Equally important to realize is the fact that the choice of the cowboy as the all-American hero is a rather

peculiar one, seeing that the cowboy reality was everything but noble or romantic. In general, cowboys led a violent, monotonous, and strenuous life. Moreover, cattle herding was a seasonal job, which was badly paid and which allowed no comforts one could find in civilization. Novelist Wallace Stegner once summarized the cowboy lifestyle as being a hardship due to "the prejudice, the callousness, the destructive practical joking, the tendency to judge everyone by the same raw standard" (as cited in Hine, 2007, p. 129). Besides, etymological research has proven that indeed the cowboy was regarded as a low-grade American citizen by his contemporaries, since in the 1880s the word "cowboy" was commonly associated with drunkards, cattle-thieves, or little outlaws (Bordin, 2014, p. 30). What is furthermore quite curious is the fact that about one-third of all rambling cowboys were African Americans, Mexicans, and even Indians – a detail that nowadays is often completely disregarded.

Nevertheless, the cowboy reality also provided positive and empowering values that were filtered through time and elevated to the point of myth. These values, as Richard Slotkin (1992) argues, "have acquired through persistent usage the power of symbolizing that society's ideology and of dramatizing its moral consciousness" (p. 5). Accordingly, despite all the hardship of cowboy existence, Stegner applauded the values that an idealized cowboy could embody: "They honored courage, competence, self-reliance, and they honored them tacitly . . . . Practicing comradeship in a rough and dangerous job, they lived a life calculated to make a man careless of everything except the few things he really valued" (Hine, 2007, p. 129). Eventually, the mythical cowboy inherited many of these traits while at the same time developing into a rather ambiguous character.

Although the archetypical western hero represents all of the above-mentioned treasured American values, he also embodies a rugged tendency to violence. In fact, he is often portrayed as a loner, a rowdy, as uneducated, stoic and as a rough gunman (Robertson, 1980, p. 161). However, the cowboy's tough traits are a necessity: not only do they enable him to survive in the harsh and violent landscape of the

imaginary West, but, more importantly, since the cowboy's violence usually serves a greater good, in most cases it is also justifiable. This is to say, that the heroic journey of the cowboy is commonly linked to the establishment of progress in the American West. Violence thus serves to institute civilization in the western wilderness. Consequently, society always comes above the cowboy's personal ambitions (Robertson, 1980, p. 164). In sum, while the cowboy is never integrated in society, he is always at the service of society as such.

After all, the importance of the mythical cowboy in the construction of an American standard of masculinity is paramount, especially in the American West, where the cowboy myth is still lived out on a daily basis. Due to the fact that the myth has always "symbolized independence from women and domesticity, while it provided an authoritative and authoritarian hero who was tough, always right, and always had the last say, as in the patriarchal tradition from which he derived" (Bordin, 2014, p. 32), the mythical cowboy has from the beginning served as a source of empowerment for any male American citizen.

Deconstructing Traditional Masculinity

As becomes evident from the previously described process of mythologizing the cowboy cult, the cowboy identity as such is not a natural, but rather a constructed one. Nevertheless, many American individuals have adopted it as a given form of self-expression. Moreover, this identity also has the power to reaffirm and invigorate another construct, namely the myth of masculinity.

Curiously enough, the western genre has always enjoyed a revival and growing popularity in times, in which dominant masculine ideals and values seemed to be threatened or put into question. The genre thus holds the power of reverting its audience to a time, in which "independent masculinity had unquestionable relevance" (Bordin, 2014, p. 42). Certainly, the humiliating loss of the Vietnam War is one of the most evident and greatest traumas in terms of a failing masculine ideal, which was followed by "inconsistencies in the function of fatherhood,

competition in the workplace, new standards of sexual conduct [...] new ideals for the male body, and the internalization of feminist ideologies by a new generation" (p. 34). These changing gender paradigms slowly shifted masculinity into passive roles that were commonly associated with the female gender. Masculinity was therefore seen as failing.

In addition, major changes in gender perception emerged during the 1960s, when several individuals did not feel represented by the "all-white, heterosexual, middle class intellectual elit[ist] [discourse]" (Skodbo, 2007, p. 38). This means that the image of the untouchable norm of white male heterosexuality especially lost its claim for universality during the Civil Rights Movement, when discourses shifted to minority struggles concerned with race, gender, and class (Arosteguy, 2010, p. 120). The white male entered a crisis, in which he was left out of the conversation until he returned in form of a wounded and victimized body. White masculinity, which had become invisible due to its claim to universality and self-evidence, eventually opened up to enter the field of analysis when being represented as fragile or deteriorating. The birth of gender and queer theory, a respectable academic form speaking for the ones left out of the official historical discourse, therefore not only helped to elevate alterity into the public consciousness, but also made the masculine standard tangible for questioning.

At the expense of a slight digression, it is of importance to address Judith Butler's theories on gender identity in order to get a better understanding of the constructed nature of gender as well as of masculinity. Judith Butler has played a paramount role in revealing the importance of gender subversion in order to reveal its artificiality, best described in *Gender Trouble*. Butler's main claim lies in the assertion that sex and gender are in no way naturally connected to the physical body, but that the notions of gender are social and cultural constructs (Skodbo, 2007, p. 5). This means that genders "can be neither true nor false" (Butler, 1999, p. 174). Thus, gender belongs to the realm of performativity, i.e. the repetition of diverse cultural and social acts and discourses, which reassert the gender identity of individuals in certain social contexts:

> In other words, acts and gestures, articulated and enacted desires create the illusion of an interior and organizing gender core, an illusion discursively maintained for the purposes of the regulation of sexuality within the obligatory frame of reproductive heterosexuality. (p. 173)

Butler also criticizes the unifying of gender into two categories, i.e. male and female, which firstly supports the maintenance of the so-called two-gender system and further serves the perpetuation of the standard "compulsory heterosexuality" (Butler, 1999, p. 42). In short, the gender system is an excluding one; while promoting heterosexual men and women, all other "deviant" forms of sexuality or gender are rejected. After all, through interpellation, i.e. ongoing reinforcing acts of naming by authorities in order to force upon individuals certain character traits, a two-gender system has been able to be fostered and moreover has turned into a self-evidence (Skodbo, 2007, p. 39-40). However, the system itself is not unchangeable but does leave room for acts of subversion. As interpellation and performativity are never-ending processes and genders are indeed only "produced as the truth effects of a discourse of primary and stable identity," (Butler, 1999, p. 174) the identity-naming process is open to re-signification and re-contextualization and thus can be reversed through repetitive counter-acts that broaden the possibilities of embodying gender.

When considering the performativity of identities, the ideal of excessive masculinity encouraged in the American West can itself be perceived as a construct. In turn, the idea of the cowboy, which is based on specific gendered characteristics, succumbs to similar scrutiny. In other words, by deconstructing the supposedly stable cowboy identity, it becomes apparent that subjecting an entire demographic living in the American West to a hypermasculine ideal represents nothing but a mere fantasy. Yet, as above mentioned, there are ways of countering these reductive notions: both the cowboy myth as well as the idea of male dominance have been perpetuated in the western framework through ongoing repetitive acts of affirmation. Consequently, as interpellation functions in opposite ways, repeated acts of subversion offer a possibility

of changing the hegemonic gender system.

Annie Proulx and the Necessity of Alternative Forms of Western Masculinities

T he need for these so-called counter-acts has been rising especially with regard to the western genre which refuses to adapt to the changing times in the American West and prefers to grasp on to an imagined past and its mythical depictions of masculinity. The dilemma in terms of western mythology lies in the fact that, firstly, the mythical West never existed the way it is presented in popular culture and, secondly, the times in which the western takes place can never be recuperated in any way. Even though the complex reality of the American West differs tremendously from the imagined one, in the general American public mind, the "discursive apparatus of white masculinity has not been dismantled, and the 'American West' still exists as a sort of happy hunting ground for Anglo virility" (Johnson, 1996, p. 257). For this reason, the myth represents a danger as its power and influence have become stronger than the one's of actual history.

Especially when it comes to western masculine ideals depicted in popular culture, one encounters an enormous array of restrictions for marginalized groups – be it men, who do not fit into the framework of dominant masculinity, or women, who have been silenced and trapped into specific gender roles all along. Male archetypes of excessive masculinity in the west therefore lead to conformism, repression and struggle. Thus, a re-definition of masculinity is needed to break the standard and to broaden the ideas and possibilities of what is thought of being "manly."

One writer who has indeed helped in denouncing the various ways in which the western male ideal can have restraining effects on an individual is Annie Proulx. In fact, Proulx has devoted her trilogy *Wyoming Stories* to the life in the West, or more precisely to the life in Wyoming, the cowboy state. Instead of a romanticized West defined by the open range of opportunities, the West in Proulx's *Wyoming Stories* is a place that is very much closed in terms of social values, opportunities

and defined by harsh lives and narrow prospects in regard to gender, identity and sexuality. What one encounters in this West is a clinging to certain myths instead of a facing of reality, which, as will be shown, to some extent brings the downfall of the characters in Proulx's short stories. Story after story we are introduced to the brutal, unstable and violent lives led in Wyoming, in which myths cannot be upheld.

Nevertheless, despite the poor living conditions, many of the characters do still refuse change to happen. Instead, they are presented as trying to replicate the lives of their ancestors; an undertaking that several individuals find impossible to put into practice, as the land or their social position does not provide any support to do so. Hence, there is a constant gap between what these characters "have hoped for and who they thought they were and what befell them" (Rood, 2001, p. 11). Yet, despite all, in many stories the personal dilemmas of Proulx's characters are not necessarily their own wrongdoings, but it is shown that there are simply no available alternatives for an improvement of their lives.

Naturally, the sparse resources of the landscape and the fragile economic condition contribute heavily to the difficulty of establishing a stable existence in Wyoming. However, the power of myth and of having to and wanting to adapt to certain idealized standards plays as much of an important role. Especially the myth of excessive cowboy masculinity is still of paramount significance to men living in the American West. The idea of a cowboy, though, is not necessarily linked to cowboys as such anymore: as the traditional workspace of cowboys was locked when the open range was turned into a closed range, the mythical cowboy ideal was adjusted to the changing times. As seen in Proulx's stories, the rugged cowboy myth is thus a flexible one and can stand for any western archetype, be it a rancher, a farmer, or any type of rodeo cowboy.

Failing Masculinities in Annie Proulx's *Wyoming Stories*

Proulx's Wyoming is filled with western male archetypes desperately trying to hold on to past ideals of masculinity, which, in turn, have been long lost and are almost impossible to live up to. Thus, Proulx's male characters show constructed, fluid masculinities that reveal the performativity of gender as well as the problematic maintenance of the image of manliness. As a result, the struggle of upholding male standards only brings anguish to those with different masculine experiences. In the following, two short stories by Annie Proulx will be closely analyzed in order to demonstrate that the frustrations of a failing masculinity can befall any man in Wyoming, seeing that the western model of masculinity is a utopian vision almost impossible to achieve.

Brokeback Mountain

One of the stories that address the dilemma between wanting to fulfill certain societal expectations and not being able to do so due to certain innate desires, is the short story "Brokeback Mountain." The story deals with two high school dropouts, Ennis Del Mar and Jack Twist, who meet in 1963 while tending a herd of sheep on the fictitious Brokeback Mountain. Throughout this summer, the two men engage in a love affair. Yet, in a denial of their homosexual desires when in public, both struggle to come out of the closet in their own way while also embracing their true selves when they are together. Indeed, the time spent on the mountain becomes a pivotal point in their lives that influences the rest of their stories. Although both men marry and raise a family, they start their affair over again and begin meeting each other secretly once or twice a year until 1983 when Jack tragically dies.

Throughout the story we see instances in which the two protagonists try to hold on to a dominant ideal of masculinity that a homosexual man cannot be a part of, as homosexuality is seen as the ultimate failure in terms of masculinity. Although gender identity and sexual orientation are very complex and fundamentally different parts of one's identity, in this context they are understood as being attached to one another and as inseparable. If one of these features fails, the other

one does too. More precisely, in misogynistic Western cultures the stereotyped perception of homosexual men has been that gays are failed men since they are supposedly prone to femininity. A gay individual thus poses a certain discomfort to heterosexuality: "The gay man is a threat to the macho man, since he reveals explicitly that which the macho man must suppress as deeply as possibly: his need for the love of other men, and the possibility of taking the feminine role" (Horrocks, 1994, p. 91).

By introducing homosexuality into the virile western genre, the constructive aspect of masculinity as such can be perfectly underlined, while it can be proven that many other forms of masculine experiences can and do in fact coexist. After all, "the connection between homosexuality and traditional masculinity within a single character results in an endangering relocation, which discusses the boundaries of what has been conventionally considered the limit between 'normal' and 'deviant' behavior" (Bordin, 2014, p. 59). It is of importance to note that historians believe that in 19th century western reality, male-male sexual relationships amongst isolated cowboys were indeed quite common. However, these acts were not publicly discussed and remained an accepted secret amongst the men involved (Patterson, 2008, p. 108-9). Again, this shows how the constructed cowboy identity radically differs from actual historical facts.

If one considers the cowboy characteristics discussed in section 2.1, Ennis Del Mar could be perceived as a paramount example for the ideal of cowboy masculinity: Ennis is a loner, a man of few words, "a high school dropout country boy[ ]" (Proulx , 2006, p. 284) – hence, as uneducated as the mythical cowboy – and a gunman with a "muscular and supple body" (p. 286), who "[sho]ots a coyote just first light" (p. 288). He is self-reliant, rough and violent and does not shy away from getting himself into fights. The notorious cowboy stoicism is as well present in the character of Ennis, best represented by his catchphrase, "if you can't fix it you got a stand it" (Proulx, 2006, p. 301). Even the fact that Ennis has no steady working position mirrors the cowboy myth, as "[o]rdinarily, in story and reality, the cowboy worked for someone else" (Robertson, 1980, p. 161) and "the cowboy was usually without a future"

(p. 164). Right from the beginning of the story, we see him in yet another time of transition, as the ranch he worked at is shutting down and he "has to be packed and away from the place that morning" (Proulx, 2006, p. 283). Thus, superficially speaking, Ennis entails many of the aspects of the mythological cowboy. Likewise, Jack has molded his life according to the cowboy standard. He as well takes up herding jobs and moreover tries his luck as a rodeo star. Nevertheless, Jack's personality, while still embodying the masculine standard, fails to fully represent the cowboy ideal. This is best visible when looking at the characters' roles on Brokeback Mountain.

While on the mountain Ennis and Jack experience a completely new way of living out their masculinity. In this segment, to some extent, Annie Proulx recreates typical gender roles within the homosexual couple – that is, if one was to adapt the relationship of the two men to artificially constructed male/female gender roles. Hereby it is important to realize that while sexual orientations are not defined by particular behavioral or gendered norms, traditional gender expectations are nonetheless often erroneously transferred to same-sex couples. After all, "gay men who exhibit feminine behavior are associated with passive homosexuality and are the ones who embody the stigma of subordinated masculinities, while those who perform as 'straight gays', increase their masculine capital, dilute doubts about their homosexuality, and defend themselves against discrimination" (Aguila, 2014, p. 141-2). Naturally, these generalizations are at odds with the diversity of identities found in both sexual orientations.

Accordingly, having perhaps internalized these notions, at first Ennis is perceived as playing the male part of the relationship, while Jack's role is more feminized. That is to say that the duties on Brokeback Mountain reflect on the domestic role, represented by the camp tender, and the patriarchal role, symbolized by the herder. Ennis turns out to be a better herder while Jack prefers to stay in the "inferior" position of the camp tender. Ironically, the two men are tending "lower-rate" sheep instead of cattle, already signaling that the lovers are not fulfilling the superior cowboy example to its fullest.

In fact, Jack's behavior throughout the short story is mostly described as closer to feminine behavioral expectations and thus he is unable to live up to the male ideal. This can be seen in the fact that Jack accepts the receptive role during sex. Even though the sexual partner who is penetrated in intercourse should not necessarily be perceived as either subordinated, passive, or as taking up a feminine role, this erroneous notion is still widely spread (Aguila, 2014, p. 142). The feminization of the character is as well mirrored in his "verbal fluency [, which] is another characteristic that is usually marked as feminine in westerns" (Bordin, 2014, p. 83). Jack is also presented as being able to open up to Ennis about the way he feels for him and about wanting to build a shared future:

> 'Try this one,' said Jack, 'and I'll say it just one time. Tell you what, we could a had a good life together, a fuckin real good life. You wouldn't do it, Ennis, so what we got now is Brokeback Mountain . . . . I'm not you. I can't make it on a couple a high-altitude fucks once or twice a year. You're too much for me, Ennis, you son of a whore-son bitch. I wish I knew how to quit you'. (Annie Proulx, 2006, p. 309)

Ennis on the other hand prefers to keep his feelings to himself, so as not to have to confront the fact that deep inside he might indeed be gay. Jack's premature death furthermore enhances the idea of his fragility and of being incapable of surviving in the virile space of the American West.

Naturally, Proulx's characters are not constructed as one-dimensional prototypes and hence the binary relationship of the two characters, expressed through the idea of traditional gender roles, will be deconstructed as the story unfolds. If one takes a closer look at the actions and decisions the men take throughout their lives, it becomes evident that Jack indeed embodies more values connected to the mythical cowboy than Ennis. Above all, Jack's character speaks of courage, while Ennis stays rather passive in his life. Out of a desperate need for love and affection, Jack is the one who initiates contact to Ennis after four years of being apart, as he reveals in the following words: "Why I'm here. I fuckin knew it. Redlined all the way, couldn't get here

fast enough" (Proulx, 2006, p. 297). Unlike Ennis, Jack plans to break out of his "own loop" (p. 300) during the story by suggesting building a life together: "Listen. I'm thinkin, tell you what, if you and me had a little ranch together, little cow and calf operation, your horses, it'd be some sweet life . . . . I got it figured, got this plan, Ennis, how we can do it, you and me" (p. 300). Despite knowing the hard facts about being an openly gay man in Wyoming, he nevertheless is up to taking the risk and facing adversity in the name of living a more fulfilled life with the man he loves.

Ennis, however, denies any possibility of a shared future, as he is too afraid of the consequences: "It ain't goin a be that way. We can't. I'm stuck with what I got, caught in my own loop. Can't get out of it. Jack, I don't want a be like them guys you see around sometimes. And I don't want a be dead" (Proulx, 2006, p. 300). This confession is followed by the telling of a traumatic childhood experience, in which Ennis' father showed him the mutilated corpse of a gay man who had become the victim of a hate crime. His shame and terror of possible violent consequences eventually force him into isolation; his fear prevents him to take constructive actions in his life and further distances him from his family and loved ones. Jack on the other hand, is able to be a father to his son and to support his family by helping out in the family business. Seeing that Jack also fathers a son instead of two daughters, as Ennis does, furthermore complies with the expectations of a man and the idea of having an inheritor of ones own masculine achievements. Ultimately, the great problem these two characters pose is the question of how to define western masculinity: is it expressed through a rugged outward appearance and certain skills, as in Ennis' case, or rather through specific cowboy values that Jack represents?

While the two men publicly try to keep up a heteronormative lifestyle by marrying and raising children, their same-sex desires never fully dissipate. They thus can be considered as having failed in fully reproducing the masculine ideal. Since manhood implies heterosexuality, every attempt to build up a virile façade will fail as the characters are indeed aware of their true inner feelings. Ennis' double negation "I'm not no queer" (Proulx, 2006, p. 291) thus gains an ironic double meaning,

seeing that one negation cancels out the other. He will always remain a "queer" despite all efforts of covering up his true identity. In conclusion, "Brokeback Mountain" gives us a perfect example of the power a constructed myth can hold over individual lives. By clinging on to an imaginary reality, the two lovers simultaneously become the perpetuators and victims of the cowboy myth and hence get caught in their "own loop."

The Mud Below

The gradual construction of identity is even further denounced in Annie Proulx's "The Mud Below." The story introduces us to the obsessive rodeo cosmos of Diamond Felts. Although he comes from a long line of ranchers, Diamond Felts grew up protected from the ranching and rodeo world, since his mother, Kaylee Felts, disapproved of the bull riding circles, as "rodeo's for ranch boys who don't have the good opportunities [her son does]" (Proulx, 2006, p. 55). At the beginning of the story we experience how Diamond has internalized his mother's opinion, seeing that "Diamond considered rodeo classes the last resort of concrete-heads who couldn't figure out how to hold a basketball" (p. 51). Also, Diamond is described as a rather nervous and insecure teenager; "rapping, tapping, nail-biting, he radiate[s] unease" (p. 47). Indeed, having been bullied for his height throughout his teenage years, his insecurities stem from his short stature which cannot live up to the ideal of a big, masculine man. Furthermore, he is "[a] virgin at eighteen – not many of either sex in his senior class in that condition" (p. 47-8). Diamond blames his virginity and his lacking manhood on his physical body, as all his attempts to find a sexual partner can only "go wrong in the forest of tall girls" (p. 48). The trauma of lacking specific masculine traits will eventually influence crucial decisions in Diamond's life and lead him to turn his identity upside down by embracing a completely new one. The description of Diamond's adaptation of mythological cowboy mannerisms brilliantly shows the performativity of gender.

Despite Diamond's acquired disdain for ranching life, his memories of his grandfather's ranch are all linked to virility and a harsh, manly lifestyle: "[A]n expanse of hoof-churned mud, his grandfather turning away, a muscular, sweaty Uncle John in chaps and a filthy hat swatting him on the butt and saying something to his mother that made her mad" (Proulx, 2006, p. 49). When Diamond finally gets to ride a bull on the Bewd farm, for the very first time he experiences the rush of masculinity that has so far lacked in his life. On page 52 his emotions during this life-changing incident are described as "[a] feeling of power as though he were the bull and not the rider, even the fright, fulfilled some greedy physical hunger in him he hadn't known was there." In this lethal moment, the meager boy thus merges with the majestic animal and believes to have gained new physical powers his body was not able to offer before. Even after the ride, he still feels as if "his life had doubled in size" (p. 53), and with it his manhood grows, while his bodily insecurities shrink. As Diamond wants to stay on the virile "adrenaline wave" (p. 53) bull riding provides, he decides to restructure his life and re-invent his identity by conforming to the image of true virility in the American West, i.e. the cowboy myth.

The great transformation the once meager boy goes through becomes most visible when he returns to see his mother after having spent two years on the road: "Diamond extended his fingers, turned his carefully scrubbed hands palm up, palm down, muscular hands with cut knuckles and small scars, two nails purple-black and lifting off at the base" (Proulx, 2006, p. 59). Not only has his outward appearance become more rugged but, much to the displeasure of his mother, he has also adopted rodeo slang. Instead of a "fucking pie" (p. 60), virile Diamond now prefers "a cup of real blackjack" (p. 60) and purposefully retains a certain body odor since "[a]ll rodeo cowboys got a little tang to em" (p. 63). Later on, he even "adopt[s] a wide-legged walk as though there was a swinging weight behind his thighs" (p. 69). The use of the conjunction "as though" in this sentence underlines the absurdity of his performance. By all means, his transformation has also served as a form of juvenile rebellion to liberate himself from the clingy care of his mother. Losing

her patience, Kaylee Felts confronts her son with the artificiality of his new identity and exposes the mythical idea of the cowboy as an act far from reality:

> Cowboy? You're no more a cowboy than you are a little leather-winged bat. My grandfather was a rancher and he hired cowboys or what passed for them. My father gave that up for cattle sales and he hired ranch hands. My brother was never anything but a son-of-a-bee. None of them were cowboys but all of them were more cowboy than a rodeo bullrider ever will be (Proulx, 2006, p. 64).

Besides the heightened self-esteem Diamond's reconfigured personality provides, he also acquires a new charm for girls. While his first experience with the opposite sex begins with a rather innocent car ride, during which "one of the girls pressed against Diamond from shoulder to ankle the whole way" (Proulx, 2006, p. 57), he soon turns the possibilities of sexual intercourse into a personal vendetta: "He dived headlong into the easy girls, making up for the years of nothing. He wanted the tall ones" (p. 69). Still being haunted by his past, Diamond uses women as "a half-hour painkiller" for a quick rush to empower his self-worth. Particularly the conquering of tall girls offers a certain vengeful satisfaction, since he declared these girls as scapegoats for his lack of sexual possibilities and thus his lacking masculinity during his teenage years. Diamond ends up raping his colleague's girlfriend, accepting all possible negative consequences that will follow in order to get the rush he is looking for. For Diamond, the female body thus serves as a playground to let out his bottled-up frustrations.

As becomes apparent from Diamond's behavior, violence is seen as an important means to prove his masculinity. Indeed, cultural critic Richard Slotkin argues that in western mythology, a certain regeneration of the American man can be achieved through violence (1992, p. 12). Although violence is present in the mythology of various cultures worldwide, the issue Slotkin perceives in the American framework is that "history is translated into myth" (p. 13) and that myth is ultimately used as a guide. In order to improve his manliness, the once timid and

insecure Diamond as well turns towards violent acts. As has been shown, his violence is especially turned towards women. Furthermore, Diamond also uses violence against his own body to enhance his virile look. The practice of rodeo is a significant weight on a man's body and gradually destroys it. However, due to the fact that the body is injured, it is also made tough through violence (Arosteguy, 2010, p. 121).

After all, in "The Mud Below," just as previously in "Brokeback Mountain," the superficial transformation towards a more "manly" identity might serve as a temporary tourniquet but never really stops the interior bleeding that past traumas have caused. Despite the virile shell Diamond has adopted, his past insecurities remain and thus he has to find stronger and new ways of conquering them. Especially the neglect he experienced from his mother and the absence of a father figure in his life have left an urgent necessity for approval in him. This becomes especially apparent when Diamond expresses what rodeo means to him: "Here's to it. Nobody sends you out to do chores, treats you like a fool. Take your picture, you're on t.v., ask your wild-hair opinion, get your autograph. You're somebody, right? Here's to it. Rodeo. They say we're dumb but they don't say we're cowards" (Proulx, 2006, p. 80). Interestingly, for a "little clapping that quickly died" (p. 46), Diamond accepts all the negative aspects that are part of a rodeo cowboy's lifestyle, i.e. the "busted spines and pulled groins, empty pockets, damn all-night driving" (p. 80).

Apart from denouncing the image of the cowboy as a tool in constructing an artificial masculine identity through physical and behavioral changes, the short story goes a step further by presenting living descendants of cowboys, whose masculinities are as well deteriorating and questioned. Firstly, there is Leecil Bewd, Diamond's friend, who grew up on a farm amongst bull riders and "troublemakers" (Proulx, 2006, p. 50) and followed into the footsteps of his family tradition by becoming a bull rider. However, as the story evolves, unlike Diamond, Leecil faces the harsh truth of holding on to a lifestyle that no longer brings revenue, with all its "travelin, traffic and stinkin motels… [and being] [t]ired and sored up all the time" (p. 58). After their father's

death, the Bewd boys are eventually left with a two million dollar debt in estate taxes and decide to sell the family ranch. Leecil himself becomes a failure in terms of the mythical cowboy ideal, having given up the hard life and having lost all his connections to his family's past. Leecil also serves as an example for how maintaining a lifestyle that can no longer exist only brings disappointment to one's life.

The fragile nature of the seemingly unbreakable male becomes even more apparent when one takes into consideration the passage in the rundown bar towards the end of the story. Here, Proulx recreates a textbook example of a traditional scene in a cowboy saloon. The regulars of the bar are described as "crazy" (Proulx, 2006, p. 78) and dangerous people, who gamble and swear. The setting itself resembles a typical western scenario with its "plank door, pocked with bullet holes in a range of calibers" (p. 78). The inside of the bar is "crusty," the counter filled with "[b]ottles, spigots, and a dirty mirror" (p. 78). With the help of these descriptions, Proulx immediately connects these men to the mythical idea of the Wild West. They hence appear to be the true descendants of the old world and thus the epitome of virility. As soon as these men get drunk, however, they show a softer, emotional side, as they talk about "babies and wives and the pleasures of home" and even "cr[y] a little" (p. 79) – all aspects connected to the feminine and traditionally not associated to the cowboy standard. Herewith, not only is the cowboy myth revealed to be a charade but, moreover, the idea of an absolute masculinity is proven to be nonexistent.

In the end, Diamond fails to see the torment that his chosen lifestyle bears and is unable to understand that the masculine ideal he is seeking does not exist in the world he inhabits. Nothing can break his believe that rodeo riding is the only lifestyle that will bring him pleasure. He continues living a fantasy even after visiting Hondo Gunsch, a former bull rider, who could represent Diamond's possible tragic future. Curiously enough, Hondo became an invalid at twenty-six, when "his horse threw a fit in the chute, went over backwards, Hondo went down, got his head stepped on" (Proulx, 2006, p. 67). The formerly celebrated rodeo hero, gracing the cover of magazines, has lost all his independence

and with it his manhood, now leading a pitiful and patronized life. Instead of the tangible crippling reality of rodeo life that is right in front of him, Diamond, however, only sees the picture-perfect magazine dream world Hondo was once a part of.

Disciplining the Male

Throughout the presented stories one encounters situations in which men discipline other men in order to keep up the ideal of excessive masculinity as the only and dominant form of expressing one's manhood in Wyoming. Through so-called "'regimes of masculinity' between men" (Arosteguy, 2010, p. 124) –which one can link to the idea of interpellation, discussed in section 3– the patriarchal power in Wyoming can be stabilized. What is created to keep out any "deviant" forms of masculinity, is a binary vision of the world, i.e. *us* against *them*; us being the hegemonic masculine ideal, whereas them are any "deviant" forms that need to be suppressed (Arosteguy, 2010, p. 124). Homosocial bonds amongst men, or rather an unspoken male solidarity, help to keep any unwanted forms of masculine expression away from every day life:

> In other words, there are certain activities, often homophobic or misogynist, that work to consolidate male bonds and normalize masculinity so that patriarchal power structures can continue, acting on those gendered bodies who threaten to disrupt a heteronormative white male patriarchy. (Arosteguy, 2010, p. 124)

This means that through these disciplining acts –which every man should follow and enact if necessary–, men among themselves control and condition each other to fit into the framework of dominant masculinity.

In "Brokeback Mountain" these disciplining acts become very apparent through the role of patriarchal figures, representing the old and expected ways. Ennis (as well as Jack) has been conditioned from an early age on to understand how to behave as a male. Ennis is an orphan and thus grew up without a father in his life. However, while still around

the family farm, his father made sure to educate his sons in accepted masculine behavioral structures by showing them examples of the *other*. He thus takes Ennis to see the mutilated corpse of a gay man, teaching him the ideal of masculinity and what not to be. Ironically – or tragically – Ennis becomes exactly what his role model warned him about. The internalized homophobe teachings of his father will thus haunt him for the rest of his life, as has been previously shown. Interestingly, from the scarce facts Proulx provides about Ennis' father, one understands that his father himself never fulfilled the male myth to its fullest. He failed as a rancher and as a family patriarch, "dr[iving] off the only curve on Dead Horse Road leaving [his children] twenty-four dollars in cash and a two-mortgage ranch" (Proulx, 2006, p. 284).

Jack finds himself in a similar situation. He is an aspiring rodeo rider, always living in his father's shadow, who once "had been a pretty well known bull rider years back but kept his secrets to himself, never gave Jack a word of advice, never came once to see Jack ride" (Proulx, 2006, p. 289). Jack's father as well disciplines his son through violent acts. To punish his son's lack of toilet-training and to reaffirm his phallic patriarchal power, Jack's father beats him and urinates on him. It is in this moment that Jack realizes that unlike his father he is circumcised and thus he understands that his father "had some extra material that [he] was missin"(p. 315). The missing piece of masculinity will trouble Jack for the rest of his life; he will never reach the ultimate masculinity that he sees represented by his father. Again, just like in the case of the Del Mar family patriarchy, Jack's father as well turns out to be unsuccessful as a man in life, ending up on a run-down, "meager little place" (p. 313).

In a similar way, Diamond's brother Pearl is policed from early childhood on. In "The Mud Below" Diamond encounters a man named Sweets Musgrove who gets underneath a car in order to repair it, "with his baby and pulling at the truck's intestinal wires" (Proulx, 2006, p. 57). After Diamond expresses his shock, Musgrove answers: "I rather have a greasy little girl than a lonesome baby," showing that even girls to some extent need to be "manned up" and adopt masculine ideals in Wyoming.

Having grown up without a father figure, Diamond remembers the incident and begins influencing his brother Pearl. By sending him bull riding-themed shirts and contradicting his mother's teachings, he believes to harden his little brother, yet without any graspable results.

The policing of masculinity, as a matter of fact, is a lifelong act that even includes adults. Accordingly, "Brokeback Mountain" presents us the voyeuristic Aguirre who watches the two lovers in intimate moments of proximity while on the mountain. He as well plays the policing role of the patriarch, as the following year he refuses to rehire Jack due to his "abnormal" masculinity. Even the overly masculine Diamond is sardonically reminded to "[c]owboy up" (Proulx, 2006, p. 83) by a doctor in a brief moment of fragility. Men are thus continuously being policed as a reminder to adapt to a dominant idea of masculinity. Almost all of these instances show how traumatic and dangerous these acts of disciplining can be for young boys, but also for grown men; leading from lifelong traumas up to premature deaths.

The disciplining effect achieves its great impact by playing with various fundamental fears. Certainly, there is the previously discussed fear of failing masculinity that each of the characters dread. Furthermore, men also fear social exclusion, seeing that a lack of manliness can lead to bullying, as in Diamond's case, or the social and professional shunning that Jack experiences when he is refused the job on Brokeback Mountain. Likewise, a man needs to adapt out of a fear of physical violence. This is especially visible when examining the character of Ennis, who is terrified of hate crimes and thus prefers to lead a closeted life. Having been traumatized as a child after seeing the corpse of a homosexual man, Ennis believes that there is no other fate for a gay man in Wyoming than a cruel death. So, whenever Jack suggests building a life together, which implies a possible coming out, Ennis makes clear that he "do[es]n't want a be dead" (Proulx, 2006, p. 300). After being informed about Jack's death, Ennis immediately links Jack's fate to a murder, although Jack's wife, Lureen, never mentioned such thing. There is simply no other way Ennis can imagine a homosexual man to die in the West. A violent death will thus always come as a disciplinary act. All of

these fundamental fears eventually lead to the necessity of adapting to the dominant image of manhood in order to fit into a uniform society that shuns difference.

Conclusion

Despite the different lifestyles the discussed characters lead, all of their lives are dictated and molded by the same oppressing myth. As has been shown, the myth of excessive masculinity in the American West as represented in Proulx's work causes nothing but fear, pain, and frustration. Interestingly, in fact there is no such thing as a 'pure' masculinity and thus any living person is unable to embody it. Masculinity is merely a performative construct, a utopian idealization that forces Western citizens to adapt to certain ways of living. At the same time, it helps to keep up and stabilize the status quo of male patriarchy.

Naturally, the myth first and foremost has been developed and divulged by the media, especially by literature and Hollywood. However, it has subsequently been internalized and kept up by American society as such. As has been discussed in section 4.4, American men amongst themselves play an utmost important role in maintaining and perpetuating the socially required gender roles. The idea of interpellation Butler addresses thus does not only refer to the general idea of gender as such but can also be extended to identity building processes. This means that dominant models for identities are maintained through continuous and repetitive acts of reaffirmation.

Yet, as previously mentioned, these ongoing acts of reassertion can be tackled by alternative repeated counter-acts. While it is a long and tough fight to change a mindset that has been so strongly copied during over a century, there is nevertheless hope that things might gradually be transformed. Indeed, this is the importance of the writing Annie Proulx has dedicated herself to. It is of paramount necessity, though, that these re-written "histories . . . match the narrative power of that old frontier tale" (Neel, 1996, p. 105). Given that Proulx's subversive stories have gained an immense popularity, as has been the case of "Brokeback

Mountain", they might ultimately sink into the public mind and eventually broaden the discourses on the possibilities of embodying gender in the American West.

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The Wild Man and the Shepherd. Hegemonic Masculinities and the Definitions of Trauma in *The Hurt Locker* (2008) and *American Sniper* (2014)

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Abstract

Although one could not escape the ubiquitous comparisons to Kathryn Bigelow's *The Hurt Locker* while reading reviews for Clint Eastwood's latest war movie (*American Sniper*), the impressions both films leave are quite different. Despite the apparent similarities regarding protagonists, settings and narrative structure (we follow a soldier of a special unit making tours in Iraq while coping with PTSD), the differences regarding box office results and the films' interpretations are undeniable. And nowhere is this more apparent than in the conception of trauma. While real-life Chris Kyle was a public, yet polarizing figure of war-related experiences and an example of how to deal with and conquer (!) one's own trauma to regain a "normal" life according to hegemonic ideals of US-masculinity, his counterpart in *The Hurt Locker* (William James) was not just perceived to be an adrenaline junkie, but was actually blamed to produce a disrespectful image of professional soldiers and their masculinities. In the few cases James' trauma is accepted, his PTSD is reduced to a small number of scenes (e.g. scenes at home and in the supermarket) while ignoring his traumatic disposition (death drive, latency, compulsive repetition) or interpreting it as mere thrill-seeking behaviour, thereby constructing a narrative of "cold" masculinity around

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him. In sharp contrast, Eastwood links Kyle's trauma to positive attributes (especially the (fatal) wish to protect his family (represented by his comrades)) and constructs his narrative in the vein of a (successful) revenge story, thereby establishing a legitimized form of trauma and a gender appropriate reaction to it. Considering both the nature of trauma as a highly biased and political construction favouring some experiences over others and the problematic nature of the traumatic male body in the context of hegemonic masculinity, the question of legitimized forms of trauma and one's reaction according to gender identities becomes quite relevant. Therefore, to address the complex relationship between gendered codes, the legitimate understanding and reading of trauma and its portrayal in trauma discourse, this paper attempts a culturally and historically contextualized reading of *The Hurt Locker* and *American Sniper* to analyze concepts of legitimate and illegitimate trauma in contemporary USA, their narrative constructions, and their interconnections with hegemonic masculinity.

Vahşi Adam ve Çoban: *The Hurt Locker* (2008) ve *American Sniper* (2014) Filmlerinde Hegemonik Erkeklikler ve Travmanın Tanımları

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Özet

Her ne kadar Clint Eastwood'un son savaş filmi America Sniper'ı izleyenler film hakkındaki yorumları okurken Kathryn Bigelow'un The Hurt Locker'ı ile ilgili yapılan kıyaslamalardan kaçamasa da, her iki filmin de bıraktığı izlenimler birbirinden oldukça farklıdır. Kahramanlar, mekân/zaman ve anlatı yapısıyla ilgili belirgin benzerliklere rağmen (Irak'ta operasyon yapan özel bir birlikte görevli ve aynı zamanda TSSB ile başa çıkmaya çalışan bir askeri takip ediyoruz), gişe sonuçları ve film yorumları arasındaki farklar inkâr edilemez ölçüdedir, ve bahsi geçen farklılıklar en belirgin halleriyle travma olgusunda ortaya çıkmaktadır. Filme kaynaklık etmiş gerçek hayat hikayesindeki Chris Kyle, savaşla ilgili deneyimlere dair kamuya mal olmuş olsa da, kutuplaştırıcı bir figür haline gelmiş ve Amerikan erkekliğinin hegemonik ideallerine göre "normal" bir yaşamı yeniden elde etmek için kişinin kendi travmasını nasıl ele alacağına ve fethedeceğine (!) bir örnek iken, The Hurt Locker'daki meslektaşı (William James) sadece bir adrenalin bağımlısı olarak algılanmakla kalmaz, aynı zamanda profesyonel askerlerin ve erkekliklerinin hoşgörüden yoksun bir imgesini üretmekle suçlanır. James'in travması yalnızca istisnai durumlarda kabul görür ve TSSB'si travmatik eğilimi (ölüm dürtüsü, edimsizliği , zoraki tekrarlar) göz ardı edilerek yahut sadece heyecan olarak yorumlanarak oldukça az sayıda

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sahneye (örneğin evde ve süpermarketteki sahnelere) indirgenir ve böylece etrafındaki "soğuk" erkekliğin bir anlatısını inşa eder. Tam aksine, Eastwood, Kyle'ın travmasını olumlu özelliklere bağlar [özellikle (silah arkadaşları tarafından temsil edilen) ailesini koruma isteği] ve anlatısını (başarılı) bir intikam hikayesi şeklinde inşa eder, böylece meşrulaştırılmış bir travma biçimi ve buna uygun bir toplumsal cinsiyet tepkisi oluşturur. Meşrulaştırılmış travma biçimleri ve kişilerin toplumsal cinsiyet kimliğine verdikleri tepki sorunsalı, hem travmanın doğası hem de diğer bireylerle paylaşılan deneyimleri destekleyen çok taraflı bir politik yapı olarak, travmatik erkek bedeninin hegemonik erkeklik bağlamında problemli doğasını düşünmek açısından oldukça anlamlı hale gelmektedir. Bu nedenle, cinsiyetlendirilmiş kodlar arasındaki karmaşık ilişkiyi ele almak, travmanın resmi algısını ve okumasını ve travma söylemi içerisindeki tasvirine dikkat çekmek adına, bu makale günümüz Amerikasında meşru ve meşru olmayan travma kavramlarını, anlatı yapılarını ve hegemonik erkeklik ile olan bağlantılarını analiz etmek amacı ile The Hurt Locker ve American Sniper'in kültürel ve tarihsel olarak bağlamsal bir okumasını ortaya koymayı amaçlamaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: TSSB, travma teorisi, hegemonik erkeklikler, Irak savaşı filmleri, iyileştirici zaman

Though one could not escape the ubiquitous comparisons to Kathryn Bigelow's The Hurt Locker (hereafter: HURT) while reading the reviews for Clint Eastwood's latest war movie (American Sniper (hereafter: AS)), the impressions both leave are quite different. Despite the conspicuous similarities regarding protagonist, setting and narrative (we follow a soldier of a special unit making tour(s) in Iraq while coping with PTSD and leaving one's family behind), the differences regarding box office results and their interpretations are undeniable. And nowhere is this more apparent than in the conception of trauma. While even real-life Chris Kyle, author of the autobiography AS is based on, was a public, though polarizing figure representing how to deal with and conquer (!) one's own trauma to regain a 'normal' heteronormative life according to hegemonic US-masculinity, his counterpart in HURT (William James) was not just perceived to be an adrenaline junkie, but was actually blamed to produce a disrespectful and distorting image of professional soldiers, especially members of EOD-units, and their masculinities (Hoit, 2010; Nochimson, 2010). In the few cases James' trauma is accepted, his PTSD is reduced to a small number of scenes at home while, at the same time, ignoring his traumatic disposition (death drive, latency, compulsive repetition) or interpreting it as thrill-seeking behaviour, thereby constructing a narrative of 'cold' masculinity (Barker, 2011b: 157). In sharp contrast, Eastwood links Kyle's trauma to positive attributes, especially the fatal wish to protect his extended family and constructs his narrative in the vein of a successful revenge story, thereby establishing a legitimized form of trauma and a gender appropriate reaction to it.

Considering the problematic nature of the traumatized male body in the context of hegemonic masculinity, the question of legitimized forms of trauma according to gender identities becomes even more relevant. For example, Tarja Väyrynen (2013) described the state's necessity to "prioritize[…] some male bodies and forms of hegemonic masculinity over others" during times of war. "The trained, powerful, and invulnerable male body invokes ideals of sacrifice," which

corresponds with clear hierarchies regarding gendered bodies: "heroic/abject, protector/protected, tough/soft". Therefore, Väyrynen recognizes the appearance of the traumatized male (militaristic) body as a moment of societal anxiety due to a momentary "access to a disruptive corporeality" (139-140) contrasting idealized masculinity. Similarly, Christopher Gilbert (2014) discusses discursive interferences produced by images of wounded and traumatized veterans due to their inability to remain and retain "proper [militaristic] bodies". "They are no longer images of self-control, obedience, or ferocity," i.e. figures of hegemonic militaristic masculinity. Due to the frequent effeminacy of "sick, weak, or wounded" male bodies, "injured returning soldiers are, in part, emasculated." (148-149) Thus, both raise an interesting question: How can a wounded body be accepted as traumatized while still embodying ideals of militaristic masculinity? Albeit photographer Michael Stokes (2015) recently staged the bodies of male veteran amputees in the vein of a hardened, sacrificing masculinity, the psychological repercussions of trauma seem to complicate the very notion of masculine efficiency fetishized by Stokes, thus, making it harder to visualize traumatized soldiers in the context of hegemonic masculinity. At the same time, trauma has been "used […] to substantiate heroic counternarratives that repudiate victory […] culture" (Farrell, 1998: 171) in US-discourse since the Vietnam War, which is quite apparent in the context of US-American wars in the early 21st century and their representations on screen: Aside from concentrating on humanitarian efforts (Krewani, 2011a: 172; Žižek, 2010), the inclusion of PTSD seems to be a major strategy to shift the focus away from a politically critical stance and towards personal tragedies experienced by US-American soldiers (Barker, 2011b: 32; Maseda & Dulin, 2012: 22; Westwell, 2011: 31).

So, in spite of the notion of trauma taking "place outside the parameters of 'normal' reality" (Laub, 1992: 69), trauma itself is neither an ahistorical nor a universal concept (Craps, 2014: 49) but a highly biased and political construction favouring some experiences over others (Barker, 2011b: 84). Though some authors have already commented on the gendered nature of trauma discourse (Goldman,

2009: 993; King, 2012: 10), there are very few texts focussing on the process of gendering traumatized reactions. For example, in his seminal study Post-Traumatic Culture, Kirby Farrell (1998) outlines three "principal modes of coping with traumatic stress: social adaptation and relearning, depressive withdrawal or numbing, and impulsive force (berserking)." (7) Interestingly, the first thing Farrell does to elaborate is to gender them: Female withdrawal and numbing, male berserking – no relearning. Though, several pages later, he describes the male protagonist in Leaving Las Vegas (1995) in the manner of his "personal numbness" (279), thereby alluding to a more complex relationship between gender and one's reaction to trauma, the author swiftly constructs the numbness as a façade "to contain his rage" (280). In contrast, Jonathan Shay (2003) locates a direct link between both states arguing that numbness is accompanied by the loss of fear leading sometimes to berserking (53).

Therefore, there is a complex relationship between gendered codes, the legitimate understanding and reading of trauma and its portrayal in trauma discourse. To shed some light on these issues, this paper attempts a culturally and historically contextualized reading of HURT and AS to analyze concepts of legitimate and illegitimate trauma in contemporary USA, their narrative constructions, and their interconnections with hegemonic masculinity.

Synopsis

Kathryn Bigelow's 2008 war movie, HURT, follows an EOD-unit consisting of Sanborn, Eldridge, who copes with the loss of the unit's former leader (Thompson), and said leader's replacement, William James, who seems to be traumatized by previous missions in Afghanistan. In the manner of a true (traumatic) backstory wound, neither James nor the movie (can) explicitly state what happened, but his behaviour and personality are shaped and informed by the events preceding HURT. Instead, the movie focuses on the tension-filled transition of leadership structured by several encounters with hostile

forces on the one hand, and his distant relationship with his family on the other, which ultimately culminates in him volunteering for another tour in the end.

Based on Chris Kyle's autobiography of the same name, Clint Eastwood's AS follows the so-called "deadliest sniper in US-history". After a major twenty-minute long flashback showing Kyle's childhood, training as a Navy SEAL, and the beginning of his marriage, the movie focuses on his several tours in Iraq contrasted with short stays at home to illustrate his estrangement and traumatized state of mind: On the battleground, Kyle functions somewhat like a machine; at home, he shows easily identifiable signs of trauma (e.g. anxiety, dissociation). After his fourth and last tour, he begins helping veterans coping with mental and physical illnesses until his sudden death. Though Kyle's murder at the hands of a veteran he tried to help is not actually shown, the movie climaxes in the footage of the real-life funeral service held for Kyle and ends in minutes of reverent silence while the end credits play.

Gazing at rooftops and bodies

From the very first scene (0:00-0:10), Bigelow showcases a typical approach to directing modern war zones by focussing on the overwhelming nature of the battle situation (Barker, 2011b: 32). Shot simultaneously with four camera-units, Bigelow explores her set by simulating the constant threat an EOD-unit faces. According to her, the Iraq War "[i]s not a ground war, it's not air-to-ground, it's basically a war of invisible, potentially catastrophic threats, 24/7. There is no place that is off-limits, there is no downtime for the soldiers […]. [T]he entire 360[-]degree environment […] [is] a potential threat" (Bigelow with Dawson, 2013: 143). Akin to Raya Morag's (2009) description of traumatization in Vietnam War cinema (155-156), Bigelow illuminates the stressful war experience by constructing it around bombs, IEDs, and other (deadly) fragments left by an otherwise invisible enemy. Today, cinematic soldiers are constantly struggling with their desperate desire to get an overview of the scene. This is especially true in the context of satellite

pictures used in films such as Black Hawk Down (2001), Body of Lies (2008), and Zero Dark Thirty (2012). Once representing the militaristic logic of territorial conquest (Krewani, 2011b: 326), they are now a painful reminder of the impossibility to gain that very position (Straw, 2011: 60). Accordingly, the very first image we see in HURT echoes this notion: While we are hearing Arabic voices, the screen shows the point-of-view shot of a bomb disposal robot for some time (0:00). Instead of an establishing shot (or any further information of our whereabouts), we constantly gaze at the sandy ground. Though we leave this position twenty-seconds later, the confusion does not end here. People are running in every direction, some are walking, some are arguing with soldiers, while the camera can neither stay steady nor focus on any part of the scene but is frenetically zooming in and out. Even the robot seems to change course more than once due to the scene repeatedly ignoring the 180-degree-rule of classic editing (0:00-0:02). Consequently, one cannot make any sense of the scene. Considering the importance Bigelow puts on cinematic geographies (Bigelow with Smith, 2013: 78), this approach to setting a scene is essential and symptomatic for the whole film. That is especially true for the soldiers' reaction to the situation: constantly and nervously watching the roof-tops, they are trying to find a safe spot for just one moment but cannot.

Therefore, any tangible and symbolic device utilized by the soldiers is constructed to distance them from the overwhelming and uncontrollable situation at hand. From the robot's remote control and its monitor to the sexualized translation of the technical act of defusing a bomb (calling it "momma" and describing the tools used as their own genitalia (0:02-0:03)) (Koch, 2012: 130-131) and the continuing verbalization of one's own position in regards to the IED (0:06-0:09), each action seems like a desperate attempt to gain an imagined control over the situation, while the constant gazes to the rooftops betray their performed confidence. Especially Thompson's, the group leader's own death (0:10), just moments after he claims that they "will be okay" (0:04) behind the Humvee, contradicts this self-assured attitude. Even the scene of him describing the outcome of the explosion shortly before his death

seems eerily off. Despite being the first long shots of soldiers and scenery after the fast-paced editing of the preceding minutes, there is no way to identify the bomb and its relation to the men. Nonetheless, Thompson claims to anticipate how the bomb will detonate, namely "in a beautiful umbrella pattern" (0:03), while he is gesturing as if to orchestrate the spectacle. His choice of words is especially interesting because of the similarities it shares with Judith Butler's observation (1992) regarding the shift in militaristic language in the 1990s: by "calling the sending of missiles 'the delivery of ordnance,'" the discourse "figures an act of violence as an act of law [...] [to] wrap[.] the destruction in the appearance of orderliness" (11). In the same vein, by describing the explosion as "a beautiful umbrella pattern", the uncontrollable destruction is reconfigured in the "appearance of orderliness," which is immediately contradicted by Thompson's own death. Like the other acts, they are just coping mechanisms to gain an imagined control of the battleground.

And at this point, James and his traumatization come into play. In his study, Martin Barker (2011b) pointed to the chilling effect James' presence has on the frenetic camerawork. For Barker, his calming presence actually makes him a role model to illustrate how to "overcome" one's PTSD, that is "by having James absorb it into his personality" (163). To drive this point home, Barker insists that James "has just forgotten how to be its victim, and thus becomes a poster-boy of Iraq war generation." (157) By this curious choice of words, Barker does not just deny James his own vulnerability but defines a legitimized form of PTSD in the context of male militaristic behaviour corresponding to one's own effectiveness on the battleground. James "is what soldiers need to be, ought to try to be." (Barker, 2011a: 41) Similarly, Guy Westwell (2011) locates James' heroism as an antidote to media coverage of the Iraq War and compares HURT to World War Two propaganda (24). Again, it is his effective manoeuvring around the battlefield that seems to inform this kind of problematic heroism and masculinity. Referring to Slavoj Žižek's (2010) pivotal text about HURT's victory over James Cameron's Avatar (2009) at the 82nd Academy

Awards, Westwell (2011) points out that, by emphasizing rescue missions, the movie can bypass any questionable militaristic conduct (i.e. torture and other atrocities) "to reclaim […] a certain conventional model of male, soldierly behaviour." (24) In both cases, the authors concentrate on a hegemonic notion of militaristic masculinity effectively dealing with an extraordinary situation that is constructed by the usage of steady (extreme-)close-ups of James' face, eyes, and hands (especially his fingers) while defusing bombs. Though I partially agree with Barker's analysis that, in these instances, the camerawork keeps strangely calm, those moments are continuously intercut by stressful gazes from and at the unit from the outside (e.g. 0:34-0:43). There is an obvious disjunction between James' experience of the scene (unbroken focus on the target) and the one his comrades have, yet throughout the movie, the field of vision and, in extension, the unit's own safety are precarious. This is best understood by looking at the death scene of a military psychiatrist accompanying them. After successfully defusing one of the most complicated IEDs in the movie, the unit is waiting for the psychiatrist's return in the Humvee. Shot from its backseat, the camera focuses on the silhouetted soldiers looking at the approaching psychiatrist when he blows up right in front of their (and our) eyes (1:27). Though James may disregard safety protocols on many occasions, such as setting off a smoke grenade to obscure visibility (0:18), not reporting his position (0:19), and refusing to wear a protective suit (0:34), all these actions do neither enhance nor worsen the precarious situation they are in but only make its precarious nature more obvious, so that James can pursue his death drive.

James' carefree and self-destructive reaction is akin to many accounts by veterans who emphasize their short life expectancy while stressing that they are not suicidal. In his now-famous book Achilles in Vietnam, Shay (2003) is quoting a patient of his who circled the Boston red-light district in the hopes to confront a perpetrator, thereby channelling his own death drive in a somewhat legitimate fashion regarding his gender. Though him rescuing a sex worker from a rapist could be interpreted as a heroic expression of vigilante masculinity, he

knew that he only acted on his own desires (xvi). This is quite similar to the diegetic (a superior officer calls James respectfully a "wild man" (0:46)) and non-diegetic reading of James' behaviour. When Martha Nochimson (2010) criticizes leading actor Jeremy Renner's performance as John Wayne-ian because of its "reduced notion of masculinity", one wonders if we are supposed to celebrate this form of masculinity.

To that end, let us take a look at a pivotal moment in the relationship between James and his comrades. While celebrating a successful mission and the first time the unit clicked as a team, Sanborn demands to hit James once. James complies and takes off his shirt for Eldridge to draw a crosshair on his muscular body (1:14). At that moment, one can take a long look at his upper body and the wounds suffered on previous missions. Shot in a close-up, the right side of his torso is covered with dozens of little scars highlighted both by the direct light coming from the right and by the drawn crosshair. This is the literal translation of E. Ann Kaplan's and Ban Wang's (2004) trauma definition in another context. Namely, it is "engraved on the body, precisely because the original experience was too overwhelming to be processed by the mind." (5) Noticing the scars scattered all around his lower torso, Eldridge inquires about the incident, but instead of giving any straightforward answer, James jokingly accuses his mother of dropping him as a baby (1:14). The traumatic wound literally visualized on his skin is emphasized by the crosshair on his body but, at the same time, not addressed due to the incapability to translate the traumatic memory into a narrative one. After Sanborn's blow, James retaliates and begins riding Sanborn in an explicitly sexual manner while calling him his "bitch" (1:15). At first, the scene seems to be a stereotypical male bonding exercise often seen in war and comrade movies. Since homoerotic undertones are obscured by marking the eroticizing gaze "not by desire, but rather by [...] aggression" (Neale, 1994: 18), as Steve Neale put it in his pivotal text "Masculinity as spectacle," the scene can be read in the context of warmth existing between soldiers in homosocial groups. But the scene takes a fast turn for the worse when Sanborn pulls a knife to hold it at his comrade's throat. Interestingly, instead of pulling

back, James gets cheerfully closer to Sanborn and his knife, as if to kiss at least one of them while breathing suggestively (1:15). With the lighting coming from the background, James' face is obscured by dark shadows and thereby somewhat othered, while Sanborn's confused reaction is highlighted. This clear shift of identification is quite important, since it deviates from the most typical racialized cinematic lighting favouring white skin as the "norm" (James) while obscuring faces of black actresses and actors (Sanborn) (Dyer, 2008: 99-101). At this very point, the normally accepted homoerotic tensions end and the scene shifts from eros (pleasure principle) to thanatos (death drive). Thus, both the problematic notion that James "has forgotten how to be [...] [a traumatized] victim" and his status as a role model for this very reason must be seriously questioned. As I pointed out by referring to Shay's patient, James' actions may be read as heroic, but one cannot integrate it in a concept of hegemonic militaristic masculinity regarding modern US-cinema because he lacks both the compassion for his family and his comrades due to this very traumatic disposition and death drive, as I will try to elaborate by shifting my focus to AS.

In sharp contrast, every move cinematic Kyle does is somewhat informed by his love for family and comrades. Because of the ubiquitous nature of the trope of being attacked from all sides, as I have described above, I would like to point to two major strategies found in AS to cope with this specific situation. First, although there are similar suspicious and frightful looks at the rooftops of Baghdad (e.g. 0:01; 0:46; 1:23), Eastwood's direction diverges significantly from Bigelow's by locating Kyle in a superior, if not otherworldly position from which he has complete control and sight of the battleground. Similar to the staging of James, Eastwood uses tight, concise shots to emphasize Kyle's precise movements and effectiveness while mostly showing us the battleground mediated by his binoculars or rifle scope (e.g. 0:01-0:03; 0:29-0:31). Thereby, the cinematic experience is somewhat disjointed – but in a quite different manner than seen in HURT. For example, while we are looking at a man carrying a weapon, we hear the shot of Kyle's rifle moments before we actually witness its impact. The scope is a means to

elevate a person above the others and a means to produce truth, thereby dispersing any ambiguity that plagued the protagonists in HURT. If Kyle takes a shot, Eastwood stages it to convince us that it was a righteous call. When a widow claims that her deceased husband was carrying a Quran (0:32), we know he wasn't because we have seen the AK-47 he was handling (0:30). This otherworldly position is not the fatal imagination of control we have seen in HURT, but a panoptic one. Others may not act as if they are constantly being watched (Michel Foucault's definition of the panopticon to describe the workings of modern society), but Kyle gained a godly position that is more akin to Jeremy Bentham's original concept: A position from where everyone can be seen, or, in the case of the movie, from where Kyle can act out his fatal desire to protect everyone and judge those trying to kill his extended family.

Early in AS, a comrade calls Kyle the "overwatch" (0:28), an angelic figure protecting every single US-soldier mirroring the simplistic morale matrix Kyle's father preached at the dinner table: In one of the very first scenes, he tells his young son that there are only three types of people: Sheep, wolves, and sheep dogs. The first do not know how to protect themselves, while the wolves "use violence to prey on the weak. [...] And then there are those who are blessed with the gift of aggression and the overpowering need to protect the flock." (0:05) Despite the peculiar choice of words hinting at a criticism of this seemingly outdated notion of masculinity (McDonald, 2015: 100), the whole movie is framed by this very speech. Not only do we hear it just five minutes into the movie, making it an essential tool to understand AS as a whole, but the idea of an "overpowering need to protect" appears to be at the core of Kyle's trauma. Though, at first, he seems to be hesitant and slightly regretful of his actions (highly gendered by the only deaths of a woman and a child to illustrate this point (0:26-0:28)), cinematic Kyle is not traumatized because of the lives he takes but because of the ones he cannot save. And here, the second visualization strategy comes into play: As I have mentioned earlier, the ambiguity of the situation in Iraq is radically downplayed. To highlight this, nearly every death of an US-American soldier can be traced to one totally othered and muted sniper

called Mustafa, thereby somewhat structuring the narrative by Kyle's encounters with him, as I will elaborate in the following section.

Working through vengeance and acting out repetitions

Considering Robert Eaglestone's stance (2014) to put the "structure of experience" at the very heart of trauma theory (17), "the inherently narrative form of" texts dealing with traumatic experiences "must acknowledge this in different kinds of temporal disruption." (Luckhurst, 2008: 88) Therefore, according to Roger Luckhurst, traumatic texts can be considered "anti-narrative" by design while, at the same time, "generat[ing] the manic production of retrospective narratives" to react to the "challenge to the capacities of narrative knowledge." (79) Thus, the manner how the narrative is structured is a major factor in the reaction to trauma and, as we will see, its gendering. Not only does the inclusion of the film-only sniper Mustafa "provide[…] a link between the different action scenes" and a "dramatically satisfying explanation of why Kyle keeps re-enlisting despite his wife and children" (McDonald, 2015: 100), but his presence also structures the experience of trauma, thereby tackling the loss of "all sense of meaningful personal narrative" (Shay, 2003: 180) that is so typical for PTSD.

Introduced by a comrade wondering about "this one sniper that's been hitting headshots from 500 yards out" (0:25), we see Mustafa constantly watching the troops, taking shots at them (0:31; 0:44-0:48), or in contact with enemy information networks (1:09). Every time someone jokes about his involvement in a situation, the camera makes sure to prove them right (1:16-1:17). One could argue that he is a figment of Kyle's imagination, the personification of the enemy to cope with trauma – especially considering that one superior officer told Kyle and his colleagues that the enemy sniper "can be whoever the fuck you need him to be" (1:33). Although this is somewhat contradicted by the presence of Mustafa on an Islamist television channel Kyle watches while being stateside (0:54), this image could be read as just another aspect of

this traumatic fixation due to Kyle staring at a switched off TV on another occasion (1:50). Either way, the structure of the narrative is mostly informed by the presence of Mustafa as the personification of danger lurking over his colleagues' heads – and this is especially true for Mustafa's death.

When two of his closest friends are killed by the sniper, Kyle decides to volunteer for a fourth and last tour (1:29). Because the only actual mission of this tour we experience is the one to kill Mustafa, the tour is directly linked to the compulsive need to avenge his fallen allies, thereby evoking associations to the "berserk state" defined by Shay (2003).

> During berserk rage, the [lost] friend is constantly alive; letting go of the rage lets him die. In addition to reviving the dead, revenge denies helplessness, keeps faith with the dead, and affirms that there is still justice in the world, even if this is manifested only in the survivor's random vengeance. (90)

Despite being a "militarily desirable consequence" (200) because the state often leads to volunteering and lowering one's threshold for violence, Shay calls it "ruinous" for the psyche, drastically changing it forever (98). Nevertheless, AS does not construct the killing of Mustafa as a "random [act of] vengeance", but as an important turning point of Kyle's trauma, putting it in a positive light. By staging it as an impossible shot while being cheered on by the last surviving member of Kyle's original unit, the film fetishizes the "hyperalert" nature of the "berserk state" that enables him "to see even the smallest novelty in the environment" (93). Though the audience cannot see the target that is "2.100 yards out" and even his comrades are questioning his sight ("[H]e can't even see that far out." (1:38)), the film makes sure to prove him right: A tiny glint can be glimpsed followed by a reverse shot of Mustafa to disperse any doubts. The scene even ends with a digital bullet traveling above the rooftops in slow-motion (1:39-1:40), hence visualising the death in a spectacularized manner not seen before.

Instead of merely imagining the inflicted justice, as Shay suggests, Mustafa's death is not just staged as a righteous kill, but as the suspenseful climax of the movie, so that Kyle can literally leave his rifle and his traumatic fixation (symbolized by Mustafa's corpse) behind in the devastating sandstorm following (1:47). By focussing on this highly gendered response to trauma and fetishizing it, the scene reminds one of Claire Sisco King's (2012) definition of trauma as "an experience that appears to belong only to men and to require the efforts of men to undo." (107) So, albeit Kyle will not be able to hang this specific "masculine rifle [...] on the wall above the feminine hearth", he works through his trauma in the vein of the Western narrative described by Richard Slotkin (1974). By gendering front(ier) and home, there is the necessity to engage in a dialectic relationship with the other, who the hunter / sniper will only come to know "in the act of destroying him. [...] With [his] vanishment, the dialectic of the hero's history ends" (563-564). Though, afterwards, Kyle still suffers from some symptoms (1:49-1:51), Mustafa's death is staged as an important turning point: Immediately after his kill and still on the battlefield, Kyle calls his wife (1:44), accepting his "voluntary exile" at "the feminine hearth" (Slotkin, 1974: 563-564). Just a few minutes later, for the first time, Kyle finds himself in a psychiatrist's office discussing his failure in rescuing everybody. As a solution, the psychiatrist suggests talking to other patients and, one moment later, we find him chatting with new-found friends who he "rescues" by serving as their role model (1:52-1:55). The trauma is overcome by reutilizing this fatal rescue wish he has been fixated on since the very beginning of the film at the home front.

Therefore, the movie and by extension the shown trauma are structured by a clear definition of beginning (his father's formulation of the "overpowering need to protect"), middle (being traumatized by the conjunction of this compulsive need and being unable to fulfill it) and ending (destroying the personification of danger and reutilizing this fixated idea in his transition into civilian life). That way, the movie is akin to representatives of traumatic cinema during the period of classical cinema as described by Anna Martinetz in her historiographical study on

cinematic representation of war trauma. According to her, the pictures of this period "are shaped by an excessively obvious narrative style" to stress the causality of trauma and the possibility of its cure (Martinetz, 2012: 59). By arranging its narration in a chronological order (except for Kyle's first shot which literally "triggers" the major flashback portion), the explicitly structured experience of trauma is further emphasized in order to favour the notion of working through trauma along the lines of "curative time", thereby reproducing compulsory able-mindedness (Kafer, 2013: 27, 34). After working through it, it is done. There is no traumatic part left. Before the movie ends with Kyle's abrupt death, the film states, loud and clear, that he is obviously healed by showcasing him being a supporting comrade, a loving father, and a sexually active husband. These are all signs of him retrieving the pleasure principle and thereby returning to hegemonic masculinity in the interdependency of heteronormativity and compulsory able-mindedness (16-17). But ultimately, his death seals the deal. Not only does it showcase "Hollywood's fixation on the traumatic suffering and ritualized destruction of (mostly) white male bodies" (King, 2012: 2), but it allows AS to clearly end the narrative and get rid of any ambiguity regarding his remaining trauma.

In contrast, HURT is more obviously related to the "structure of traumatic experience" as described by Cathy Caruth (1995). According to her, the traumatic "event is not assimilated or experienced fully at the time, but only belatedly, in its repeated possession of the one who experiences it." (4; my emphasis) While one might interpret HURT's narrative structure as "the aimlessness of the invasion and occupation, and the circular, endless, and ultimately impossible task of imposing order" (Westwell, 2011: 23), I would like to suggest an interpretation that links this structure more closely to James' traumatic experience. Though there is an obvious arc of suspense, the film itself is structured by the constant recurrence of IED defusing scenes. While at first, the film seems to be formally structured by the days left in Iraq (starting off at 38 (0:13)), thereby implying an upcoming ending of tour and movie, HURT ends with James going back to Iraq for another cycle and starting the

countdown over, thereby mimicking his compulsive repetition and the "timeless" experience of trauma. At the end, while James speaks to his infant son and tries to explain his own fixation by using a jack-in-the-box (2:00-2:01), the movie clearly references the Fort-Da-Spiel (Gone-There-Game), Sigmund Freud's (2000) prime example to define compulsive repetition in Jenseits des Lustprinzips (Beyond the Pleasure Principle): After witnessing a one-and-a-half-year-old-boy throwing a wooden reel away and reclaiming it coinciding with his joyful exclamation fort (gone) and da (there), respectively, Freud interprets the compulsive need to repeat a traumatic event (here, the process of individuation) as an opportunity to regain an active role in an event one, otherwise, only experienced in a passive manner (224-227). Similarly, James is obsessed with objects "that almost killed" him. He collects these in a box because he is fixated on the idea of "hold[ing] something in" one's "hand that could have killed anyone" (1:13), including himself, thereby mirroring the joyful play with the wooden reel to gain an active role in the traumatic event. This link becomes even stronger if one considers that the boy's reaction in Freud's example is not just directed at his individuation but also at his father leaving for war (226). To quote Dori Laub: "The trauma is thus an event that has no beginning, no ending, no before, no during and no after." (Laub, 1992: 69) In this respect, James' (re)actions are more akin to acting out than working through, by definition, a cycle one cannot easily (if at all) escape.

At one point, HURT's narrative structure seems to shift focus away from the repetitive nature of IED disposals towards a more straightforward, gendered revenge plot akin to AS. After stumbling upon the corpse of an Iraqi boy he recognizes as the one he used to play soccer with (1:21), he tries to find the culprits. In this instance, James performs the script of hardened masculinity projected on him from the very beginning. At first, he forces a man to take him to the boy's parents at gunpoint, then he breaks into the home of the supposed parents (1:31-32), and, finally, he orders his unit into pitch-black darkness in the hopes of finding the perpetrators of a massive explosion he could not prevent (1:40-41). Nevertheless, in all cases, he fails to perform this particular

kind of masculinity. The innocent man takes him to a random house (1:32); there, he begins stuttering and bangs his head while escaping an Iraqi woman – aside from James' wife, the only other female speaking part in the film – who is rightfully furious with the intruder (1:33-1:34); and the search for perpetrators ends with Eldridge being shot in the leg (1:44). Although Barker describes the revenge scene(s) in a positive light (Barker, 2011a: 40), he misses the mix-up, that is at the core of this plot line: James mistakes the corpse for the Iraqi boy he knows. The revelation of him being alive (1:46) undercuts the importance of the cinematic trope of US-soldiers playing with Iraqi boys (Krewani, 2011a: 172) because, to James at least, they are interchangeable, making the vengeance during berserk rage truly random (Shay, 2003: 90). He can act as if he feels a deep connection to the boy and he can even try to avenge him, but this rings hollow because, as James states in his final conversation with his son, there is only one thing left he "really love[s]" (2:01). In contrast to AS, berserking does not lead James back to the pleasure principle but highlights his incapability to do so. In their account of cinematic portrayal of war trauma, Rebeca Maseda and Patrick Dulin (2012) praise the positive images of veterans' own "desire for reintegration into society." Most Iraq War movies "do not show veterans as outcasts [anymore] but as community members going back to their families" but, of course, "[w]ith the exception of The Hurt Locker" (21). By constructing the trauma in the vein of compulsive repetition, HURT cannot be included in today's trauma discourse due to its lack of a supposedly soft masculinity showing compassion for others, even though James' hardened masculinity is a blatant symptom of acting out trauma.

Conclusion

To address the complex relationship between gendered codes, the legitimate understanding of trauma and its portrayal, this paper analyzed how legitimized trauma representations are directly informed by hegemonic masculinity. Although both AS and HURT construct a traumatized masculinity that embodies the very self-

efficiency excluded from most other accounts of trauma, only Kyle is legitimized and widely accepted as a traumatized subject. By focussing on his love and compulsive need to rescue as the core of his traumatization, he shows a soft side that does not just allow him to occupy the position of traumatized but gives him the opportunity of a gender appropriate reaction to it (revenge), thereby overcoming his trauma ("curative time") and reinstating his hegemonic masculinity. In contrast, James is not recognized as traumatized and vulnerable subject because of the very reaction he has to trauma. By re-framing this behaviour in masculinizing narratives of hardened masculinity (stoicism, thrill-seeking, violent), such a reading easily obscures his self-destructive tendencies. Thus, the trauma definition shown in HURT is excluded from trauma discourse due to it not fitting its gendered dimension, banned to "the space of a wild exteriority", to refer to Foucault (1981: 61): a place where "truths" can be spoken, but do not have any impact on the discourse. In this way, James becomes the "wild man" he was never intended to be.

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RESEARCH-in-PROGRESS

A Gay Man in A Hypermasculine Kitchen:
An Autoethnographic Account

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Abstract:

This brief auto-ethnographic account explores the way hegemonic masculinity is confronted when a queer male inhabits a hyper-masculine space. Themes from the literature review such as gay aesthetics, masculinity insurance, and working class masculinity are intermingled with a symbolic interactionist perspective rooted in Goffman to describe key moments from a year spent in the back of a kitchen as a gay male. Where sociological work on kitchens leaves out a conversation of masculinity this research confronts this gap head on by approaching it with current research on masculinity especially as it mingles with a classed and queer identity. As an auto-ethnographic account this study is able to bring the subjects internal experiences into the academic field speaking with and back to the discourse on hegemonic masculinity directly as a research subject.

Keywords: Hegemonic masculinity, working-class masculinity, auto-ethnography, Goffman, stigma, gay, queer

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Hiper-Maskülen Bir Mutfakta Bir Gey:
Oto-Etnografik Bir Anlatı

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Özet:

Bu kısa oto-etnografik anlatı, kuir bir erkek hiper-maskülen bir mekanda bulunduğunda, hegemonik erkekliğin üstüne nasıl gidildiğini, onunla nasıl yüzleşildiğini ortaya çıkarmaktadır. Gey bir erkeğin bir restoran mutfağında çalıştığı bir yılın en önemli anlarını betimleyebilmek için, makalenin literatür taramasında ele alınan gey estetik, erkeklik sigortası ve işçi sınıfı erkekliği gibi temalar, Goffman'ın teorisine dayanan bir sembolik etkileşimci perspektif ile bir arada kullanılmıştır. Bu araştırma, mutfak üzerine yürütülen sosyolojik çalışmaların eksik bıraktığı erkeklik boyutunu ele almakta; bunu da konusuna erkeklik üzerine yapılan, sınıfsal ve kuir kimlik perspektifini içeren güncel çalışmalar üzerinden yaklaşarak yapmaktadır. Oto-etnografik bir anlatı olan bu çalışma, araştırma öznelerinin içsel deneyimlerini, hegemonik erkeklikle yürüttüğü diyalogu doğrudan bir araştırma konusu olarak ele alarak, akademik alana taşımaktadır.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Hegemonik erkeklik, işçi sınıfı erkekliği, oto-etnoloji, Goffman, dama, gey, kuir

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Theoretical Frameworks

Auto-ethnography according to Norman Denzin takes into account an often differentiated other (Denzin, 2014) making Erving Goffman's *Stigma* a great theoretical departing point for complicating hegemonic masculinity as it is, "...specifically concerned with the issue of "mixed contacts"-- the moments when stigmatized and normal are in the same "social situation," that is, in one another's immediate physical presence..." (Goffman, 1963, p. 12). The "subordinate" gay man and the "dominant" straight male collide under a hegemonic masculine ideal. Unlike studies which serve to identify the themes operating in a particular hegemonic structure this study aims to show at which points the hegemonic masculinity operating in contentious ways and how that hegemonic masculinity is challenged or ignored.

Goffman's *Stigma* as well as Thomas Scheff's extensions of Goffman in *Goffman Unbound* are the theoretical underpinnings used to make sense of the auto-ethnographic account where a gay man finds himself in a hyper-masculine kitchen both contesting and conforming to the fluid concept of hegemonic masculinities. As R. W. Connel and James Messerschmidt point out, "The idea of a hierarchy of masculinities grew directly out of homosexual men's experiences with violence and prejudice with straight men." (Connel and Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 846) While no violence occurred leftover prejudices and assumptions were apparent. The experiences derived by living with stigma as well as working to de-stigmatize a contested masculine self serve to speak in relation with research on hegemonic masculinity as well as to breathe life directly into the academic concept through lived experience. Thus the traditional literature review is best integrated into the narrative itself.

Methodology

A quick survey of the literature on masculinity studies reveals ethnography, participant observation, and qualitative interviews, often mixed, are the most frequently used. (Anderson, 2002; Bird, 1996; Bridges, 2014; McCormack, 2011; Morris, 2008; Nayak, 2006; Roberts, 2013; Satterlund, 2012) A personal auto-ethnography would provide a less frequently used methodology with its strengths and weaknesses. While an autoethnography is a personal account which by its nature limits the data set to one, autoethnographies have two advantages. Steven Roberts notes that interviews "...do not capture reality as it happens; they are an *account* of an event, even a representation." (Roberts, 2013, p. 674) An auto-ethnography is qualitative data as it is experienced by the subject. It is the researcher's stance that the content generated in this study is closer to the reality of the subject than what can be derived from interviews. This view departs from Denzin (2014) when dealing with the question of myself as a real person in the text. While I do understand the argument that "these languages [autobiographic account or autoethnography] are only devices, tools, or *bricolages* for creating texts" (Denzin, 2014 p. 12). I did my best at holding up the integrity of the lived experience.

Secondly, an auto-ethnography is powerful in its ability to define, react, critique, and otherwise complicate the concept of hegemonic masculinity as a broad theoretical tool. From this angle the subject, me, gets to speak directly to hegemonic masculinity as an academic field. The subject impacts the shift in culture on a microcosmic plane and interacts with the language used in academia. Researchers using interviews use the content of the subjects to speak to the field in ways which the subjects may or may not agree. The subjects interviewed do not engage in the academic discourse surrounding their identities. A view where subjects speak directly to the theories which describe them is imperative for social research.

Autoethnographies have nine basic assumptions as described by Denzin (2014). Those properties are "(1) the existence of others; (2) the influence and importance of race, gender, and class; [in this case sexual orientation is emphasized]; (3) family beginnings; (4) turning points; (5) known and knowing authors and observers; (6) objective life markers; (7) real persons with real lives; (8) turning point experiences; and (9) truthful statements distinguished from fictions." (Denzin, 2014, p. 7) The other emphasized here is the straight male in opposition to the gay male in a working-class context. Douglas Schrock and Michael Schwalbe found that men, "...to do their part in maintaining men as the dominate gender group and if they wish to enjoy the privileges that come from membership in that group – must signify possession of a masculine self." (Schrok and Schwalbe, 2009, 279 -280) The relationship between sexual orientation and class are highlighted while race is briefly mentioned where relevant. Because I am speaking from a position of white privilege even as a dishwasher a brief discussion of race focuses where this privilege played a role in my own masculine performance. Family beginnings are not elaborated upon other than how they feed into a classed masculine identity. I am a real person with a real life and this short auto-ethnography highlights a turning point for me because I quit my job and started a new one as a result of the continued homophobic discourse in the kitchen. Overall I do my best to formulate a truth as opposed to a fiction by integrating other studies on masculinity into my own story.

Short Auto-Ethnography:
A Gay Man in a Hyper-Masculine Kitchen

Scheff (2007) quotes "Goffman's favorite target was the idea of an individual self, standing alone, as if there were no social context." (Scheff, 2007, p. 5) A college graduate ends up yelling at his co-workers, stomping through the kitchen, slamming his clean dishes down, and taking walking breaks to cry. He yells at the sous chef for not telling co-workers to recycle and compost correctly. He asks, "Why the fuck does nobody care?" They carelessly throw their trash in the recycling. He

is a dishwasher at a new restaurant in downtown St. Paul. To his co-workers, his erratic and emotional behavior makes no sense. The sous chef, tired of his obnoxious bickering, chucks the trash back and says, "I'm tired of your attitude."

He is gay male with a degree in Sociology. What does that mean? The cooks and sous chefs in the kitchen know we live in a consumer society and realize we are facilitating the consumption of the hockey fans, theater goers, and concert attendees. We are the minions who prepare their food and have to deal with the carnage. My co-workers have the ability to appreciate the importance of dealing with what is left behind responsibly. They react to my suggestions of recycling as if I was asking them to do something taboo. Why do I feel the need to object? Is it because I am a rural to urban migrant, a gay Iron Ranger with a private university degree? I am likely perceived by my coworkers as a nut job who is soft-spoken and polite but loses his temper under pressure. It is almost certain they do not understand the sources of that pressure, which go well beyond the stress generated by the job.

This led to the following questions. What happens when overarching conflicting values come into contact? What happens when a once stigmatized identity begins to gain legitimacy in political, religious, and educational institutions? What does the effect of these changes look like in a working class environment? A gay man finds himself in the midst of a hyper-masculine world which respects his work ethic, states its open mindedness, and enjoys his charismatic personality while simultaneously dismissing his master identity through microaggressions. In one moment a line cook uses a high pitched gay voice to mock the ridiculousness of a late night order while politely holding the door for me, a gay man. I relate to those who have a high pitched "gay" voice. So politeness and respect, holding the door open, crosses paths with a tone of voice that signifies rejection. I often focus on the fact that it is not personal and that I am respected, so I let it slide but when the word faggot leaps from the executive chef's mouth I have to say something. He excessively apologizes, offers me a raise, gives me a steak, and tells me how much he appreciates me.

Unacknowledged Shame

When I started working at the restaurant I was mostly unaware that I was overcompensating masculinity. I simply did not know I was ashamed of being gay even though I was openly gay and out. In Goffman's terms, "Shame becomes a central possibility, arising from the individual's perception of one of his own attributes as being a defiling thing to possess, and one he can readily see himself as not possessing." (Goffman, 1963, p. 7) I was out of touch with my emotions and only wanted to prove that I could perform masculinity while simultaneously being skeptical having studied sex, sexuality, and gender during my undergrad. My relation to my own sexual orientation over time has been deeply ambiguous changing from the "closeted Jesus save me from my sins" phase to an unfiltered "condom in your face" activist days. This aligns with Goffman's theory on stigma where "the stigmatized person sometimes vacillates between cowering and bravado racing from one to the other," (Goffman, 1963, p. 7) My gay identity shifts allowing itself to regress into various forms of concealment to unabashedly open and this can happen on a whim in face to face contexts.

I have selected just a few examples of unacknowledged shame present as I prepared myself mentally for my position as a steward. The selected journal entries document the internal preparation for "the primal scenes of sociology" (Goffman, 1963, 13) "When normals and stigmatized do in fact enter one another's immediate presence..."

In August, just a few weeks before my first shift I write, "No mom my boyfriend does not have to know anything about you damn it, he does not have to know you or anyone in the family." This reveals a lot of anticipated pain due to anticipated rejection. While I am out to my family, I know that it would be difficult to bring a boyfriend to my family reunion on my mother's side. While they accept that I had come out, there had been a discussion about during which my aunt used the phrase, "loving the hater and hating the sin." My uncle disagreed with

her by making the point that the sin could not be separated from the sinner. Hating the sin is hating the sinner. Needless to say this is emotionally painful not to know the stance of my family. So I am concealing open expressions of love from all family. I go on to say, "my uncle has my views and my views are nothing like your views" which is the start of recognizing that I am dealing with a social illness concerning love, respect, and affirmation in my relationship with my family. This is the site of my own insecurity where shame can fester.

Again in the park on August 11th I write "How cute, two men holding hands in the park. I can hardly stop staring at it, bobbing my head up and down. They probably think I am homophobic but I'm just actively depriving myself of this possibility." In a sense I was inwardly homophobic and sometimes still catch myself with self-hatred. Why was I denying myself this possibility? Because it is difficult, there is homophobia to contend with and sometimes it feels easier to live without it by not acting upon it, keeping a distance. It is the shame that has seeped itself into me and there is a constant battle of renouncing shame and keeping it away while defending my difference.

Continuing to brace myself for my entrance into a male dominated space, I deny anything I perceive as feminine and therefore gay, including my own acts of creation. "I brought up a coffee table I made, [my mother] framed it as "interior design by Jacob Woods" which is not the type of representation I desired." It was painted abstractly with blue and white smears. It was made out of the window section of an old door that sat in our basement unused. I go on to write, "The construction of the piece is entirely masculine to me and this is the portion I would rather have recognized. I did receive praise from my brother which surprised me when I was proud of that having been struck with a feeling of admiration from someone I am envious of." This construction of masculinity is consistent with the finding of Edward Morris (2008) where "...boy's perceived nonacademic, blue-collar work such as woodworking or construction as more active and enjoyable." (Morris, 2008, p. 740) This desire to have my masculinity affirmed continued into my work experience as a dishwasher in downtown St. Paul. I rejected my

mother's input because the term "interior design" struck me as a gay male's profession or a woman's domain so I resented it due to repressed shame.

On September 1st there was some direct awareness of what my ego's needs were in pursuing this route while detesting it, "I think it is driven by this desire to torture myself. To stand in as a gay man doing the most masculine thing I could possibly imagine showing straight men that gay men can do some hard disgusting shit. It's an over-compensatory strategy." I followed this remark with "I used to intimidate insecure masculine men. I'm already getting off on it." I go onto describe how I physically objectified them sexually as a way to assert my orientation via aggressive masculine dominance. I also dismiss my brother's masculinity by leveraging my ability to withstand obscene hours of solitude considering him weak for letting a woman into his life. I used this as ammunition for making fun of his need for alcohol to express emotional phrases such as "I love you." This is weaved across an ongoing narrative of being cold to a male roommate I had a crush on. My absurdity, driven by taking on and acting out masculine narratives takes on an existential tone of mockery, "I am nothing but a dishwasher that sustains a bad faith, never truly being a dishwasher but instead imagining myself as Sisyphus happy with the repetition of the tasks." I go on to say that "I pose a threat and will need to overcompensate my masculinity in order to conceal my true value systems at work. My task will not require many human interactions I suspect." Which was absurdly naive and ultimately destructive of my own wellbeing.

My psychological makeup is not without context. When watching Game of Thrones I see the very things that I feel when I write, "How emotionally charged we all are, straight men using their bodies to negate my existence, my brother and strangers alike. White men are slowly losing their symbolic power and we enter the phase of the feminist revenge where men will be belittled by women and their tiny penises will be seized up by a thumb and pointer finger and in some cases a tweezers will be needed. I am the result of the world, born against my own will and placed in something which was never my own nor will ever

be my own and if I attempt to alter it in a way which takes away the symbolic control of white men we cannot be seen together in paradise, earth, or hell. We are all negating in our current arrangement a constant threat to each other's animalistic wills. We will pull and tug, finger and lick, spank and spit until we become united in full sexual bonds, enjoying our presence as twins in the womb of a manic God. This is why I must exercise to allow my physical strength and virgin youth appearance to deplore and confuse the men of the restaurant."

Denial: Laughing Off Microaggressions

These were the thoughts I used to brace myself for an already stressful workplace filled with penis jokes and homo jokes galore. In the kitchen with a gay man anything could be turned into a penis reference. Through a litany of penis references and high pitched voices I laughed instead of asking for the behavior to stop. I recognized that teasing was common in the workplace. Gary Alan Fine notes that, "Teasing is one measure that a workplace – or any social system – is harmonious. Teasing is a marker of community; its existence recognizes there is enough looseness or "give" in relationships that one person can make a joke at another's expense without the belief that those sentiments are real." (Fine, 1996, p. 120) While Fine leaves out the role masculinity has to play in interactions such as the server who drew a ketchup penis on my work space, Ava Baron confronts behaviors such as bananas used as penis references, in a historical look of working class masculinity. "Learning to "take a joke like a man" in certain contexts becomes a means of initiation into a male workplace fraternity. Only "real men" can laugh at themselves while being insulted." (Baron, 2006, p.153) I had to define for myself what was acceptable teasing and what was not. I found that behaviors and language that targeted my identity were a problem partly because I was insecure about my sexual orientation. I could take a joke, just not ones that were about that. This can be explored by looking at my own utterance "Do I really sound like that?" to someone using the high pitched gay voice with the clear intent

to mock my angry attitude. This response is rife with underlying driving forces and assumptions.

One of those driving forces supports Scheff's (2007) interpretation of Goffman,

> "When anger has its source in feelings of rejection or inadequacy, and when the latter feelings are not acknowledged, a continuous spiral of shame/anger may result, which can be experienced as hatred and rage.
> Rather than expressing and discharging one's shame, it is masked by rage and aggression. One can be angry one is ashamed, and ashamed that one is angry, and so on, working up to a loop of unlimited duration and intensity. This loop may be the emotional basis of lengthy episodes or even lifelong hatred." (Scheff, 2007, p. 129)

This cycle of mine needed to be both acknowledged and stopped. This was intimidating because it meant I needed to confront the people that were higher up on the corporate hierarchy. It turned out that after gaining respect and identifying shame as a source of some problems most of my neurotic fears were not true for my location in St. Paul. At least in a state where men were starting to accept other gay men as equally significant I could tell others when they were bugging me and ask for specific behaviors to stop. It took me several months before I realized I was acting neurotic and could simply ask for certain problems to stop because my assessment of homophobia was morphed by a larger politically charged atmosphere. With an impending vice president that had allegedly stated, "If you like it in the crapper you get the zapper," I was justified in my fears given the national conversation. I had been harassed in for walking in Hutchinson, a town an hour away. Someone hollered from their car, "God hates fags." and again in the same town a week earlier, "Why do you walk that way?" Not to mention I had Charlottesville on my mind which while it targeted a Jewish identity more directly, the phrase, "fuck you faggots" was taunted. And what

about the Orlando night club? Why was I silent for so long? Why did I not push back?

While I shared the same frustrations as gay athletes I challenge two phrases used in Eric Anderson's study. The first is "failed to recognize their identities were being denied" and secondly "took part in their own oppression" (Anderson, 2002, p. 870). I reiterate the constant fear of violence that haunts every queers mind (Anderson, 2002). While gay athletes may have concealed statements that asserted their gay identity for other reasons, for me it was out of fear that if I pushed back something physical would happen. Like athletes who tolerated sex talk and sometimes participated, (Anderson, 2002) I listened to cooks talk about their sex life without asking me about mine. For me, these conversations highlighted my difference and oppression. This was just the opposite of a failed recognition. It strikes me as odd to partake in my own oppression, but rather I likely react to oppression in ways which I believe to best benefit my wellbeing. That includes safety. I most certainly did not fail to recognize what could and could not be discussed without awkwardness or consequence. While I cannot speak for those athletes interviewed, it's not without significance that the primary patrons of the restaurant were hockey fans with workers who all enjoy hockey.

With this tension between progress and stagnation, signs of empowerment and oppression, over time I took the view that this setting was on the side of progress and that there was room to work. This shift in perceptions of gay men as well as a shift in masculinity is noted in recent literature. In *Boys will Be Boys* by Steven Roberts points out how men in retail do not conform to the static character of masculinity presented in academia on working class men (Roberts, 2013). And in one of the more progressive manifestations of masculinity, which may not be progressive, Tristan Bridges found that men adopt a gay aesthetics to appeal more progressive than they actually are (Bridges, 2014). While Joshua Gamson argues cultural representation of queers has increased in problematic and economically motivated ways, (Gamson, 2005), this

increased visibility likely played into the ability to make positive change to homophobic discourse when it was present.

Challenging Homophobic Discourse by Redirecting Shame

I did not start challenging the social problems in my environment until April 2017 when I had a breakdown during an eight hour shift. All of my troubles in my personal life and my life at work seemed to mold into one problem, that of composting and recycling. I ended up overstepping the hierarchical boundaries and hollered at the sous chef for not supporting my recycling and composting efforts, and proceeded to take a walking break to cry outside. But what became increasingly obvious after this meltdown was a desire to affirm my masculine identity to the point of dismissing my own conflicting convictions about masculinity. Scheff (2007) writes "Members of a group who feel not accepted both by foreigners and in their own group are in a position to surrender their individual identity in order to be accepted, giving rise in the German case to the principle of blind loyalty and obedience." (Scheff, 2007, p. 129) This is not a process that goes unacknowledged internally, but is expressed overtly for its effects of appearing like one belongs.

During a stressful night the executive chef let the word faggot out of his mouth. At first I could not believe it and wondered if I should confront him. He did mumble, "that is politically incorrect" but it was not about PC culture. It was about respect. I understood what Fine had found when studying kitchens. "By expressing anger, one closes a frustrating event and reestablishes rhythm." (Fine, 1996, p. 69) Furthermore, "Anger is seen as a means of achieving temporal stability and coping with the behavioral reality of the kitchen." (Fine, 1996, p. 69) While the anger was justified there are a whole litany of curse words less damaging to me than this one.

The kitchen was just as full of mixed messages as society at large. Gay marriage is approved and then is followed by a hostile administration. In one moment I am loved and accepted at the same time I receive negative feedback on markers of gay identity. In May 2017 a

line cook held the door open for me while using a high pitched gay voice. Someone ordered a salad past ten pm when material for salads had already been put away. This voice mocked the customer yet I was there. While I understood that the voice was not directed at me I was still upset that I had to listen to a representation of a gay person. Of course it had to be a gay person that ordered that salad. Shortly after I asked the closing line cook if I could get some ice cream and he said, "Jacob, of course, you do not have to ask." he chuckled. This mixed message about my identity was again apparent with the chef's denouncement of an order when he said faggot.

The word was not directed at me. It was directed at a customer who could not hear it, and was said in a tone that conveyed annoyance. It was likely a response to the inconvenience of their order. The day before I had practiced sticking up for myself after a server made fun of my compliment on a woman's dress. Now I needed to have another conversation with my supervisor. While I heard him say "Dinner is on me" because I did the work of two, I was so upset by the word faggot that I did not want the food. I wanted a sincere apology.

Prior to this day I was overcompensating my perceived lack of masculinity in a space where "stigmatized and normal are in the same "social situation" (Goffman, 1963, p. 12). Anti-gay cues provoked my insecurities and I took those to be fuel for my raging fire. I wanted to prove my competence without having to address the issue head on. Thus the rage shame cycle or silence to violence cycle took over. I also had been interpreting these remarks as intentional for the purpose of getting me to quit but as I found out when discussing the word with chef this was simply language leftover from his upbringing. If this was true for other individuals I had confronted they were completely unaware of the emotional damage they were causing. When some said they did not mean anything personal by it they were probably being sincere. But it had to stop.

When I was offered food by chef a server said "now that is true love" but true love is about mutual understanding and Chef was not

understanding the full effect of his speech and the server may not have been present or may not have noticed the statement, attributing the same amount of importance to the word faggot as the words fuck or damn. When the rush was over and Chef's temper had subsided I asked if he had a moment to chat. He was continuing to thank me and offer moral support in light of the chaos that is doing the work of two. I asked that we go into the hallway to chat in private and said, "I overheard you apologize for using a politically incorrect word. I'm not sure which one it was. If you do not mind telling me, what was it?" He confidently but shamefully said, "Faggot". He admitted it which meant that I had room to work.

I explained to him the word had nothing to do with being politically correct and it was about respect. I had chosen the word respect because respect for co-workers/employees was emphasized in the kitchen. I avoided the term microaggression strategically as that was academic jargon. He interrupted, agreeing the word was derogatory. I went into talking about my early college days to reiterate my gay identity in the context of extreme masculine environments. I mentioned everyone up north had guns in the back of their trucks because they were hunters and when I did HIV and AIDS training for the gay alliance during my radical activist days I threw condoms at these men. When I said this out loud I was trying to convey fearlessness, bravery, and pride. I was trying to relate to his masculinity, him being a big buff man, while also showing that I have a life story driven by this one issue. While I did not say it, the word faggot invokes the negative impacts of living with this identity, an identity that has threatened my relationships to belonging to social institutions and communities my whole life. I did convey the pain when I acted out my feeling, "When I hear a word like that it really gets to me." I illustrated my point by letting my arms and backbone go limp and leaning forward, with my head down in a sad subordinate position.

He said that while it is no excuse, he was a redneck and had grown up using those words. I had grown up in this environment as well, hence the self-hatred and shame in the first place, "We all have a story to tell, I

get it." I mentioned that I respected his job, said it is a lot of pressure to work under and suggested that he replace the word faggot with something equally intense like the word fuck. He said, "I have kids and I should not be swearing at all." Before he left for home he apologized four times, said he would never use the word again and if he did I should take it to the general manager. He also said his wife was involved with an LGBTQIA friendly church and goes off on him when he tells racist jokes. He mentioned in another conversation he was once president of a rosary garden and plants hybrid tea flowers which is from an interview, "not a fact he often shares with the guys." This shows that under the logic of the gender binary he both somewhat guarded and comfortable with his feminine side or that he was trying to deploy a gay aesthetics where "men try to distance themselves from stereotypical masculinity" (Bridges, 2014, p. 70) to get off the hook.

This moment is academically rigorous in that it is what hegemonic masculinity should do. It should "...recognize social struggles in which subordinated masculinities influence dominant forms." (Connel and Messerschmidt, 879). This moment is where "subordinate" masculinity attempts to reform "dominant" masculinity. This moment challenges a discourse used to justify violence and hate speech. Here subordinate and dominant are put in quotes because my masculine reality regardless of its place on the hierarchy served to push back and effectively change the frequency of homophobic behaviors and discourse in the kitchen. This incident puts into question the idea of subordinate and dominant masculinity if only subtly. In short, was I really "subordinate" when I used my voice to speak to the "dominant" executive chef about his use of the word faggot when in context I was pulling twice the weight? Was not my execution of white working class masculinity, a Goffmanian bravado, as a gay male precisely why I was able question the presence of problematic language? To watch him babble in apologies when I called him out on it gave me the upper hand and resulted in a very expensive steak which I devoured with masculine delight. Was he still dominant then? In this moment I deflected and transformed a language's effects that could manifest as silence and shame into a moment of exercising

agency to confront the unquestioned homophobic discourse of the kitchen. This word "faggot" tries to shame the subjects to whom it is directed but because I have nothing to be ashamed of harming nobody, I have to redirect shame onto the actors by confronting them.

Working-Class Ethic and Values as Masculinity Insurance

Acting out a superb work ethic allowed me to challenge hegemonic masculinity which sustained my social and economic benefits in the restaurant. I found that my working-class work ethic, a working-class masculinity, served as a type of "masculinity insurance" (Anderson, 2002, p. 875) where exceptionally talented gay athletes get a pass in homophobic environments as winning is valued more than one's sexual orientation. In this case my ability to keep pace in the kitchen without complaint served as a masculinity insurance which could be used to curve homophobic discourse because my working class values and ethic overrode the gay aspect. Melvin Kohn's research as cited by Dennis Gilbert (2008) shows the relationship between parental values and occupational experience. "Kohn studied class differences in the values parents impart to their children." (Gilbert 2008, pg. 96) Working class parents value obedience, manners, "good student", neatness, cleanliness in their children. Their own values reflect strong punishment for deviance, stuck to old ways, people not trustworthy, and believe in strict leadership. Job characteristics have close supervision, repetitive work, and work with physical things. (Gilbert, 2008)

In another vein, this working class upbringing instilled in me a working class masculinity where I valued the muscular features I obtained from the labor itself. This is congruent with Baron (2006) where "...toughness, physical strength, aggressiveness, and risk-taking." are emphasized (Baron, 2006, p. 146). Physical toughness is again emphasized in Morris (Morris, 2008). While kitchen work did not pose significant risks to the body, cuts, burns, and physical pain were all common and tolerated without interfering with workplace output. In contrast to findings on masculinity in subjects in low status jobs

(Schrock and Schwalbe, 2009) I did not often reject commands and rules from the executive chef. I was mostly complacent with workplace tasks and found my masculinity aligned more with Roberts finding where men in retail obtained a sense of masculinity in that they had a job at all (Roberts, 2013) versus the amount of money made by it or whether or not it was manual labor. This was in part due to being labeled "lead steward" as the turnover for dishwashers was high. Due to the responsibility I had over "subordinates" where I had to "...make things happen and resist being dominated by others..." (Schrock and Schwalbe, 2009, p. 280) I had the tiniest sense of superiority which rested on class and raced relations. I do have a degree and am white and worked with the urban working-class mostly coming from east St. Paul. My coworkers were diverse and from interactions I derived more poor than I had been by the time I reached high school when my mother started working full time as a special education teacher.

Many of these insights are relevant to my upbringing. Having been raised using wood stoves we would spend many hours tossing wood into the back of trucks and hauling it to be stacked and piled. We worked with things and my uncle was the close supervisor valuing neatness. The wood had to be stacked flush with each other and each end piece carefully selected for the fortification of the sides so the piles would not fall over. It was very repetitive and there was no room for negotiation when conflicts came up. This reflects working class child rearing where Gilbert cites Kohn (2008) "parents [do] not focus on developing their children's language skills. They did not draw out their opinions or expect to be challenged by them." (Gilbert, 2008, p. 101) If I or any other child acted out or tried to disagree we were punished. Kohn as cited by Gilbert also found, "They disciplined their children with short, clear directives – sometimes coupled with physical punishment – which children generally accepted without complaint." (Gilbert, 2008, p. 101)

In the work place I would sometimes run out of my regular things to do and see that other things could still be done such as washing out the bottoms of the garbage cans. The fellow that brings us our linens, rags, and various cloths noticed that it was a slow day and that I was

working instead of "dicking around". He said to me that he told my supervisor about this and that not many people do that these days. I speculate that this perception of the lack of self-motivated action is a result of the millennial middle class ending up in unskilled labor after college. At any rate this action was something that was respected and among other things resulted in a successful request for a raise a few weeks later. The "linen man" said he put a good word in for me so I used that successfully to get a pay bump.

In short my work ethic and comfort with repetitive meaningless labor made it so my actions in the workplace were recognized as a valuable addition to the team. My conformity, manners, and attitude were all presented in an effective way. My effective conformity to the needs of the restaurant, such as not complaining, finding work to do when it was slow, keeping my work area clean, and doing what I was asked to do contributed to an overall value I could leverage in protecting the needs concerning my sexual orientation. I was a phenomenal worker and thus when I stated my needs or what should not happen to me or in my presence they were respected not simply because I had asked for these things to change but because the values instilled in me as a child and young adult were still playing out in a workplace that also valued them more than they unintentionally undervalued or rejected the deviation of my sexual orientation through language and action.

Conclusion

In conclusion it is necessary to point out interactions which were left out and could be explored in more detail. While there were many incidents that dealt with race, class, gender, and educational attainment, these were left out with the intent to focus on sexual orientation and working-class identity. My white privilege, my male body, and my bachelor's degree in Sociology both open up and close off certain areas of insight. I avoided commenting on moments where hegemonic masculinity in action focused on other people in the kitchen across gender, class, and race. While these moments are plentiful they

did not pertain to me and my experience and left them out accordingly. Furthermore a whole set of interactions between me and women could be elaborated on to show how working-class women reflect popular media such as Queer Eye For a Straight Guy and many others when presented with a queer male. This was also left out as I wanted to focus on my interactions with men.

Overall this auto-ethnographic account documents how shame can be either concealed or redistributed in a context where a queer male inhabits a hypermasculine space which provokes his identity. By acknowledging a progressive Twin Cities culture and leveraging a working-class masculinity, a type of masculinity insurance, homophobic discourse and behavior under the guise of joking can be successfully curved. The concept of masculinity insurance can be further developed and applied across other contexts outside the domain of sports when dealing with queer men. However this incident of masculinity insurance does not find that oppression goes unacknowledged but rather concealing markers of a gay identity serves to protect the best interest of the subject.

On a theoretical plane we find that because Goffman focuses on stigmatized identities across multiple identities ranging from amputation to stutters, blindness to queerness his breadth omits specifications that may be limited to particular identities. More specifically his ideas are limited and outdated on his insight to the ways in which a person with stigma responds to environments which exacerbate insecurities about one's identity. This auto-ethnographic account is an update to the question "How does the stigmatized person respond to his situation?" (Goffman, 1963, p. 9) A person can go through an intense mental bracing process when anticipating encounters with the very people who can most provoke a specific "shameful" identity. It also appears that the stigmatized's attempt to "correct his condition" is not only a "private effort" to master areas that are closed off to one's shortcomings. (Goffman, 10) This attempt to overcompensate one's perceived or actual deficiencies is a sustained effort that can occur not only "in isolation from current contact between normals and

stigmatized" (Goffman, 1963, p. 12) but in this case a year-long effort performed in front of those perceived to have the very ideal of what I perceived myself to lack.

Another useful concept is that of gay aesthetics. While gay aesthetics often serves to reinforce problematic elements of hegemonic masculinity, in the context of a sincere apology the posturing of a gay aesthetics performed in front of the offended gay male served to curve the damage of a derogatory term. The posturing of a gay aesthetics, planting tea flowers and having an LGBTQ progressive wife, was effective in calming the damage caused by the word faggot. While the word was a terrible slip the culprit had to remind himself of his own stance on progressive issues despite having a language which reflected his own rural redneck upbringing. Judging from Facebook interactions the executive chef who used this word is actually quite progressive often liking my own queer positive posts such as a rainbow colored dildo.

Lastly this account highlights the ways in which a version of hegemonic masculinity as it operates in the kitchen is confronted and challenged blurring the lines between dominant and subordinate masculinity. It shows that queer men and straight men are agents who are slightly more flexible in their ability and willingness to both challenge and curve homophobic discourse and behavior in the workplace even if those behaviors and statements led to a job change. Overall I found a willingness of straight men to hug, engage in vulnerable moments that acknowledged feelings, and to respect the boundaries of their co-worker where those boundaries were reasonable for the specific operation of hegemonic masculinity at that site. Perhaps the fact that their most efficient dishwasher left them because they insisted on singing Lady Gaga obnoxiously just to get under my nerves taught them a lesson. I know they spent more nights in the back washing dishes because the new dishwashers could not keep pace which meant the line cooks had to wash the dishes at the end of the night.

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BOOK REVIEWS

Türk Sinemasında Baba Temsili
Özlem Özgür

Babalık kurumunun erkeklik performanslarının tamamlanmasının kanıtı olarak öne sürülmesini ele alan Özlem Özgür'ün *Türk Sinemasında Baba Temsili* isimli kitabında, Delphi tekniği kulanılarak geliştirilen veri toplama yöntemi ile parametreler oluşturulmuş ve örnekleme dâhil edilen filmlere yönelik uygulama gerçekleştirilerek, nitel değerlendirmeler yapılmıştır.

Çalışmada, iktidarın erkekle eşleştirilmesinin belirleyicisi olarak ataerkillik, 'erkekliğin tamamlanabilmesi' için gerekli görülen aşamalar çerçevesinde irdelenmiştir. 'Erkek olmak' için gerekli görülen geçiş aşamaları, yani sünnet, askerlik, iş bulma, evlilik ve ardından çocuk sahibi olup babalık sıfatını kazanma, gelişim sürecinin toplumsal karşılıkları ile ilişkilendirilmiştir. Babalığın, "erkek bir ebeveyn ve onun çocuğu arasındaki biyolojik ve sosyal ilişkiyi ifade eden olgu" olduğu tanımından hareket eden çalışma, Türk toplumunun kültürel yapısındaki baba motifi ile Türk sinemasında baba temsilleri arasında nasıl bir ilişki bulunduğunu ortaya koyma amacını taşımaktadır. Bu doğrultuda kitapta; "Filmlerde babalık temsillerini yeniden üreten temel öğeler nelerdir?", "Filmler baba figürünün geçirdiği değişimlere ilişkin hangi temsilleri sunmaktadır?", "Filmler aracılığı ile babalığa dair temsiller ile ülkenin toplumsal, kültürel ve politik yapısı arasında nasıl bir ilişki bulunmaktadır?" sorularına yanıt aranmıştır. Buradan hareketle bu çalışmada, 1960-2014 yılları arasında çekilen ve amaca yönelik örneklem ile seçilmiş filmlerde babalığın temsil edilişi irdelenmiştir.

Sinemanın toplumsal yaşamda yer alan söylemleri temel ve yan anlamlarla perdeye taşımadaki başarısı, başta sosyolojik olmak üzere

birçok eleştiri yöntemi ile çözümleme yapılmasına izin vermektedir. Bu doğrultuda anaakım olsun ya da olmasın kültürel temsillerin sunulmasına aracılık eden sinema filmlerini irdelemek, şifrelenmiş anlatılarla toplumsal yapı arasındaki ilişkinin ortaya konmasını olanaklı kılmaktadır. Bu doğrultuda toplumsal yapıda babalık olgusunun temel belirleyicisinin "evin geçimini sağlamak" şeklinde algılanması, ekonomik iktidarı merkezine alan bir yapı sergiler. Buna paralel olarak babanın "koruyucu olma" özelliği de beklentiler arasına yerleştirilmiştir. Evin geçimini sağlayan ve ailesini koruyan babanın bu yapı karşısındaki kişisel/sosyal beklentisi ise, anne ve çocuklardan talep edilen "itaat" ve "uyum"dur. Bu noktalara hem toplumsal yaşamdaki hem de sinemadaki halleriyle dikkat çekilen kitapta, yıllar içinde gelişen babalık olgusu ile ilgili tanımlar ele alınmış, bu yıllara dair çalışmalardan örnekler verilerek genel çerçeve çizilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda mitolojiden psikanalize birçok alana atıfta bulunulmuştur. Genel olarak; kadın çalışmaları, eleştirel erkeklik çalışmaları, kamusal alan, özel alan, hegemonik erkeklik, mozaik erkeklik, androjen babalık, Couvade Sendromu, Atlas Sendromu gibi kavramsallaştırmalara dikkat çekilmiştir. Bu noktada ataerkil toplum düzenine geçiş ve babalık anlayışının otorite simgesine dönüşmesi, tek tanrılı dinlerde babalık algısı, dünya ölçeğinde değişen toplum yapısı ve babalık kavramı, I. ve II. Dünya Savaşı sırasında ve sonrasında yaşanan babalık krizi ve yeni yüzyılda babalığın ve babaların toplumsal yapıdaki durumu ile ilgili karşılaştırmalar, çalışma içinde yansıtılmıştır.

Özlem Özgür'ün kitabında, Türk toplum yapısında Cumhuriyet öncesi ve sonrasında görülen babalık anlayışına da detaylı olarak yer verilmiştir. Çağdaş erkek imajı ve babalık rollerindeki değişim ile ortaya çıkan sinemasal temsillere değinilmiş, sonrasında yine yıllar üzerinden irdeleme derinleştirilerek, örneğin 1960'lı yıllardaki göç olgusunun toplumsal yapıda yarattığı dönüşümler, siyasal gelişmeler ve arabesk gibi konuların erkeklik üzerindeki etkisi ele alınmıştır. Ardından gelen farklılaşmalarla, günümüze ulaşan toplumsal yapıdaki erkek ve baba anlayışı, çeşitli yazarların araştırmalarından örnekler çerçevesinde aktarılmıştır.

Kitabın, *Başlangıçtan Günümüze Türk Sinemasında Baba Temsili* bölümü, Nijat Özön tarihselleştirmesine bağlı kalınarak yapılan bölümleme ile yıllara ayrılan dönemlerde, ülkemizde çekilen filmlerde baba karakterlerinin genel değerlendirmesine yer vermiştir. Söz konusu ilk dönemlerde görülen; vergi yükü, sansür, film yapım mazemelerinin pahalı ve zor elde edilişi, yabancı filmlerin ülkeye yayılması gibi sebeplere dikkat çekilerek, üretim ve seyir üzerindeki olumsuz koşullar hatırlatılmıştır. *Tiyatrocular Dönemi* ile *Sinemacılar Dönemi* arasında kalan yıllardaki baba temsilleri ise, genel olarak "evlatlarını kurtarmaya çalışan baba", "baştan çıkarılan baba", "hamile bıraktığı kadından doğan çocuğu kabullenmeyen baba", "başkasının çocuğunu kabullenen baba" gibi zıt kutupları örnekleyen filmler çerçevesinde genel değerlendirmeye tabi tutulmuştur.

Sinemamızın tarihselleştirmesinde temel olarak, popüler melodram filmlerinin karşısında, yönetmenlerin önemli filmlerini ürettiği ve auteur yaklaşım ile ilişkilendirildiği yılları işaret eden *Sinemacılar Dönemi*'ndeki baba ve babalık temsillerinde ise, *Kanun Namına*, *Vesikalı Yarim, Haremde Dört Kadın*, *Gurbet Kuşları*, *Şoför Nebahat*, *Yılanların Öcü*, *Gecelerin Ötesi*, *Susuz Yaz*, *Sevmek Zamanı*, *Kuyu* gibi önemli filmlere yer verilmiştir. Bu dönemde aynı zamanda melodram türünün seri filmlerinde de babalık üzerine filmin öykülerine ve karakterlere yönelik değerlendirmede bulunulmuştur. Burada, *Cilalı İbo, Ayşecik, Turist Ömer, Kezban, Küçük Hanımefendi* serileri erkeklik temsilleri açısından incelenmiştir.

1970'li yılların Türk sineması ise, Şükran Esen'in "Karşıtlıklar Dönemi" adlandırması çerçevesinde aktarılarak, bir tarafta Yılmaz Güney'in *Umut* filmi, Lütfi Ömer Akad'ın *Gelin*, *Düğün*, *Diyet* üçlemesi, Atıf Yılmaz'ın *Selvi Boylum Al Yazmalım* gibi ürünleri karşısında, komedi, arabesk, avantür, seks filmleri furyası ile geniş bir yelpaze çerçevesinde değerlendirilmiştir. Popüler filmlerdeki baba figürleri, *Ah Nerede, Mavi Boncuk*, *Bizim Aile*, *Gülen Gözler*, *Neşeli Günler*, *Sev Kardeşim* gibi çok izlenen yapımlar çerçevesinde özetlenmiştir.

12 Eylül darbesinin ardından gelen '80'li yıllar Türk sinemasında ise, genel olarak Nurdan Gürbilek'in yaklaşımıyla "hak etmediği acıya maruz kalan erkeklerin, kendilerini mağdur çocukların yerine koyduları bir dönem" olarak ele alınışına dikkat çekilmektedir. Bu dönem aynı zamanda, erkeklere dair önemli söylemlerin yer aldığı kadınlarla ilgili filmlerin arttığı yılları işaret etmektedir. Bu doğrultuda bölümde, dönemin önemli filmleri arasında yer alan; *At, Adı Vasfiye*, *Asiye Nasıl Kurtulur*, *Bir Yudum Sevgi*, *Teyzem*, *Fahriye Abla*, *Muhsin Bey*, *Sis* gibi filmlere değinilmiştir.

Son yirmi yıllık döneme damgasını vuracak olan önemli bir sinemacılar kuşağının ürün vermeye başladığı 1990'lı yıllar ve ilk on yılı ile 2000'ler ise, genel bir "erkeklik krizi" ve "baba yoksunluğu" olgularına dikkat çekilmesiyle tartışılmıştır. Çalışmada, bu dönem için, *Eşkıya*, *Tabutta Rövaşata*, *Yengeç Sepeti*, *Balalayka*, *Her Şey Çok Güzel Olacak*, *Hemşo*, *Kader*, *Mayıs Sıkıntısı*, *Uzak*, *Babam ve Oğlum*, *Pandora'nın Kutusu*, *Hayat Var*, *Gönül Yarası*, *Kabadayı*, *Propaganda*, *Yumurta*, *Gözetleme Kulesi*, *Bir Zamanlar Anadolu'da*, *Kış Uykusu*, *Çoğunluk* gibi filmlere yönelik genel değerlendirme yapılmıştır.

Kitabın araştırma bölümünde, Türk toplumunun kültürel yapısındaki baba motifi ile Türk sinemasında babalığa dair sunulan temsiller arasında nasıl bir bağ bulunduğunu betimlemeye yönelik nitel araştırma gerçekleştirilmiştir. 1960-2014 yılları arasındaki her on yıllık dönemden amaca yönelik olarak iki film seçilmiştir. Bu doğrultuda derinlemesine irdeleme yapılan filmler şunlardır: 1960-1970: *Vesikalı Yarim* (Yön.: Lütfi Ö. Akad), *Sevmek Zamanı* (Yön.: Metin Erksan); 1970-1980: *Gelin* (Yön.: Lütfi Ö. Akad), *Aile Şerefi* (Yön.: Orhan Aksoy); 1980-1990: *Teyzem* (Yön.: Halit Refiğ), *At* (Yön.: Ali Özgentürk); 1990-2000: *Yengeç Sepeti* (Yön.: Yavuz Özkan), *İki Başlı Dev* (Yön.: Orhan Oğuz); 2000-2014: *Kabadayı* (Yön.: Ömer Vargı), *Çoğunluk* (Yön.: Seren Yüce).

Araştırmaya katılan sekiz katılımcı ile gerçekleştirilen Delphi turları ile değerlendirme parametreleri oluşturulmuştur. Sonuç olarak 62 parametre saptanmış ve araştırmacılar, seçilen filmleri bu

parametrelere göre incelemişlerdir. Buna bağlı olarak filmlerdeki babalar şu başlıklar altında karşılaştırmalı olarak incelenmiştir:

• Sosyo-demografik özellikleri

• Annenin konumu ve babanın anne ile ilişkisi

• Babaların kamusal alanda yer alış biçimleri

• Babaların özel alanda yer alış biçimleri

• Özel alanda babalara ilişkin semboller

• Babaların aileye ilişkin sorumlulukları

• Ekmek parası kazanan kişiler olarak babalar

• Kuşaktan kuşağa aktarılan babalık anlayışı

• Babaların boş zaman etkinlikleri ve sosyal aktiviteleri

• Babaların toplumsal cinsiyet rollerini benimseme şekilleri

• Taciz eden üvey baba; babaların zayıf yönleri

• Babaların dini kabul ve yasaklarla ilişkisi

• Babaların sahip olduğu değerler

• Babaların toplumsal normları uygulama biçimleri

• Babaların duygu ve düşüncelerini ifade ediş biçimleri

• Babaların ailevi sorunlara ürettiği çözümler ve bu süreçte benimsediği roller

• Babaların aile üyelerinden beklentileri, olumlu ve olumsuz rol modeli olarak babalar

• Evlilik dışı yasak aşk ve babalar; babaların uyguladığı şiddet; babanın maruz kaldığı şiddet

• Meşrulaştırılan-mazur gösterilen baba şiddeti

• Şiddete teşvik eden baba

• Babalık rolünü üstlenen ikame babalar

- İkame babayı reddeden kadınlar

- Baba yoksunluğunun yarattığı problemler

- Baba olmayı kutlayan erkekler

- Erkeklerin baba olma durumuna yaptıkları vurgu

- Babanın çizdiği sınırları ihlal ederek erginleşen bireyler

- Babanın otoritesinden kaçmanın yolu olarak babaya benzemek ve baba olmak

- Çocuğun babaya uyguladığı şiddet-babanın katli; anneden kalan boşluğu doldurmaya çalışan babalar

- Toplumsal yapıdaki değişim ve dönüşümlerin baba temsiline yansıması

Çalışmanın sonunda, başlangıçta yola çıkılan varsayımların onaylandığı görülmektedir. Bu doğrultuda; "Türk toplumunda babanın, belirli dönemlerde değişim geçirse de aile içinde her zaman önemli bir figür olduğu", "Türk sinemasında her dönem baba temsilinin filmlerde bulunduğu" ve "Türk sinemasındaki baba temsillerinin toplumsal yapıda karşılığını bulduğu, bu doğrultuda sinemadaki temsiller ile toplum arasında ilişki olduğu" varsayımları onaylanmıştır.

Çalışma genel olarak değerlendirildiğinde, Türk sinemasının tamamına yönelik tarihsel altyapının oluşturulduğu, konu odaklı örnekler çerçevesinde erkeklik ve babalık temsilleri üzerinde detaylı inceleme gerçekleştirildiği görülmektedir. Türk sinema tarihi boyunca babalık figürünün olumlu ve olumsuz temsillerle filmlerde gösterilmesi, temel olarak 'ekonomik yeterliliğe sahip', 'güvenilir', 'koruyucu' baba temsillerinin olumlanması ve onaylanmasını işaret etmesi şeklindedir. Buna göre, elde edilen sonuçlarda da görüldüğü üzere; erkeklerin baba olması erkekliklerinin ispatı olarak görülmekte, farklı sosyo-demografik özelliklere rağmen benzer babalık anlayışı sergilemekte, ekonomik temelli görev düşüncesi öne çıkmaya devam etmekte, anne ile olan ilişkiler kısıtlı kalmakta ve demokratik olmayan şekilde gelişmekte,

kuşaktan kuşağa aktarılan babalık anlayışının doğruluğuna dair sorgulama yapılmamakta oluşu dikkat çekmektedir.

Bu bilgiler doğrultusunda, Özlem Özgür'ün kitabı *Türk Sinemasında Baba Temsili*, alanda çalışma yapmak isteyen araştırmacılar için genel değerlendirmeye sahip bir başvuru kitabı niteliğindedir. Kitap, konu odaklı yapısıyla kültür-baba-sinema ilişkisinin anlaşılır ve rahatlıkla yorumlanabilir bir örneğini ortaya koymaktadır. Bu açıdan, geçmişe ve bugüne yönelik değerlendirmeler ışığında, gelecekte Türk sinemasında gerçekleşecek baba temsillerinde kalıplaşmış rollere ya da olası değişimlere izin verilip verilmeyeceği üzerine düşünce geliştirmek, olanaklı hale gelmektedir.

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Contemporary Masculinities in the UK and the US: Between Bodies and Systems
Ed. Stefan Horlacher and Kevin Floyd

*C*ontemporary Masculinities in the UK and the US: Between Bodies and Systems offers promising and insightful discussions and qualitative data on a variety of topics in humanities particularly related to the Anglo-Saxon culture and literature. It stands out as a peculiar guide to understand masculinities in an age of rising authoritarianism marinated in a hypermasculine cultural and political discourse, a disillusioned search for an opportunity to *come out* (for men) of gender stereotypes, and a multiplicity of masculinities in public and private.

The book was edited by two prominent scholars , Stefan Horlacher from Dresden University of Technology and Kevin Floyd from Kent State University, Ohio, and published by Palgrave Macmillan in 2017 as a part of a series, Global Masculinities, co-edited by Michael Kimmel and Judith Kegan Gardiner. Among other books in the series, the book deserves a distinguished interest and attention with its deliberate focus on the variety of topics and perspectives and its noticeable preference for an internationality of authors.

There are 12 chapters in the book, including an introductory chapter penned by the editors, on distinct fields of humanities ranging from sociology to film studies, literature to sexualities and political science, enhancing the significance of the book considering the fact that the field of masculinity studies has been mainly dominated by studies especially in sociology, psychology and medicine. The book pays a tribute to the textuality and fictionality of masculinities in a rich

contextual frame with a deliberate focus on perceptions and operations of male bodies within larger and rather "abstract systems such as patriarchy, kinship, and even language (2)".

The introduction chapter that bears the same title with the book was written by Stefan Horlacher and Kevin Floyd to present an overall aims of the book. Providing a brief but insightful background of masculinity studies in the global North, Horlacher and Floyd directly addresses a need for "think[ing] of bodies and systems simultaneously and interdependently" and "think[ing] of the individual gendered self and society together" (5) in particular relation to masculinity studies. Indeed, one may argue that the gendered relation of body to society and larger networks of power has already been thoroughly and comprehensively discussed, however, as Horlacher and Floyd clearly promise the reader, "the theoretical design of this volume...goes beyond current analytical methods in masculinity studies by opening the concept of masculinity to new kinds of interrogation" (6-7) and by deliberately restricting the study to a certain time span and "nationally specific discourses of masculinity" (7).

Paul Higate's "Modern Day Mercenaries? Cowboys, Grey Men, and Emotional Habitus" presents a short but an overwhelming discussion of (mercenary) militarism and masculinities with particular references to a study conducted in the USA in 2011 "to elicit a deeper understanding of the British contractor's emotional habitus and focused on two British instructor's training of future contractors for work as armed Close Protection (CP) officers" (24). Relying on data derived from British participants and American contractors via face-to-face interviews, online and telephone interviews, and personal observations in Khabul, the article seeks to unravel the politics of mercenary masculinities as reflected by both American and British contractors through "their aptitudes, skills, patriotism, and loyalty...coopted into foreign policy initiatives they oppose" (33). Charity Fox's article, "Rugged Invidiualists and Systemic Coups: Imagining Mercenary Masculinities in *the Dogs of War* (1974)", perfectly elaborates the discussion that Higate had initiated. Fox analyzes Frederick Forsyth's cold-war novel *The Dogs of*

War (1974) (Higate already referred to that particular novel in his analysis of mercenaries) as "a prime example of the benevolent heroism attributed to mercenary masculinities… [t]hat serves a pedagogical function…[that] provide[s] meticulous details about globalized systems of commerce and war" (39-40).

Elahe Haschemi Yekani's "Privileged Crisis in the Wake of 9/11" scrutinizes notorious "crisis of masculinity" with particular references to Ian McEwan's *Saturday* and Oliver Stone's *The World Trade Center.* Yekani's argument is noteworthy in that crisis of masculinity is not perceived as a curse but a privilege, almost a blessing by men. For Yekani, "'crisis' seems to have become the predominant *mode* of narrating hegemonic masculinity" and "crisis narratives … include stories of failure, restoration, and processes of (re)negotiation" (59). However, she concludes, "crisis should not become the universal answer to the 'problem' of masculinity. Nevertheless, the re-privileging rise of male crisis narratives in times of cultural upheaval seems worth exploring" (60). She brilliantly exposes that the discourse of crisis inevitably generates a vantage point, a panic room, or a safe harbor where they can justify masculinity as a crisis-inducing machine. Wieland Schwanebeck's "Does the Body Politic Have No Genitals? The Thick of It and the Phallic Nature of the Political Arena" explores representations of phallus in popular culture and "offers a reading of The Thick of It (2005–2012), a contemporary British TV program set in the corridors of power at Westminster" (76). Providing a brief but insightful account of the meanings of phallus from Ancient Greek philosophy to medieval England and to contemporary continental philosophy, Schwanebeck deliberately focuses on indispensably political nature of body politics and male body as well as TV show's "critical outlook on the kind of masculinity performed in politics" (92).

Sarah L. Steele and Tyler Shores analyze a public campaign ""Real Men Don't Buy Girls" and its use of celebrities to discuss the extent to which celebrity-driven campaigns for raising awareness in gender equality are useful, in this particular case, "implicit social acceptance of child prostitution, and, thus, child sex slavery" (100). By placing

"supposedly desirable and socially sanctioned masculine roles" at the heart of the campaign, the author rightfully interrogates the efficiency and authenticity of such campaigns to create changes in the perceptions and real-life experiences of ordinary individuals. " 'Stand It Like a Man': The Performance of Masculinities in *Deadwood*" by Brigitte Georgi-Findlay presents a dubious portrait of a white male whose "power is never complete…never really in control, but [is] challenged by the pressures of a competitive marketplace and by the pragmatic strategies used by women and minorities (Jews, Blacks, and Chinese) to protect themselves and assert their human dignity" (126). Although the hypermasculine protagonist of Al Swearengen is depicted as the victim of his violent character and his victimization is used as an excuse of "his excessive use of violence against women" (128), Steele and Shores argue that Deadwood paradoxically presents a multilayered and contradictory presentation of masculinities to "understand the compromised nature of an American masculinity tied to the marketplace and to a history of violent acquisition and expansion" (128) and while "the men (and some of the women) of Deadwood may be able to reinvent themselves in the camp, they are also seen to be constrained by gender scripts that make them lash out compulsively against each other" (127).

In fact, James Baldwin's Giovanni's Room has already been widely elaborated in terms of queer masculinities but Velina Manolova's "'The Tragic Complexity of Manhood': Masculinity Formations and Performances in James Baldwin's Giovanni's Room" discusses the tragedy of Giovanni from quite a different and interesting perspective, that is, with reference to performativity of masculinity and complexity of masculine performances. Conducting a Butlerian reading of Baldwin and Giovanni, Manolova particularly emphasizes the crucial function of the sense of guilt in performing masculinities, especially ambivalent performances of masculinity. Manolova states that " Baldwin's ambivalent investment in the gender binary leaves the utility of the manhood ideal an open question, inviting the transformation of "the complexity of manhood" [1985, 678] into a more comprehensive conceptualization of the complexity of gender" (151).

Alexandra Schein, on the other hand, focuses on another marginalized representation of masculinities, Irish -American masculinities in recent movies and TV series. At the intersection of religion, class, ethnicity, and gender, Schein sheds light onto highly traditional working class Irish masculinities which reflect class and ethnicity affiliations signifying "a firm value system, steadfastness, integrity, and loyalty" "marked with misogyny, xenophobia, and racism" (159). Schein's analysis includes a variety of films and TV series such as *The Departed, The Boondock Saints, The Black Donnellys, Brotherhood, 25th Hour, The Gangs of New York, Blue Bloods, and Rescue Me,* which "support[s] [Irish men's] strong sense of good and evil and reaffirm[s] their plain politics and belief in male action" while "underscor[ing] their image as sacrificial heroes" (168). In the following chapter, Michael Kimmel contributes to the book with "White Supremacists, or the Emasculation of the American White Man", a study of white extremist males he had already explicated in his 2013 book "Angry White Men: American Masculinity at the End of an Era".

Katja Kanzler's "Law, Language, and Post-Patriarchal Malaise in William Gaddis's *A Frolic of His Own*" focuses on the long-neglected writer William Gadis and his novels with a particular emphasis on what she calls "post-patriarchal malaise" or "a white, middle-class man's sense of victimhood in postmodern American society" (202). For Kanzler, Gaddis's novel portrays "law as a systemic backdrop... to place at its center a protagonist who grapples with his own position in this world" and the protagonist, Oscar, " should be thought of in terms of a post-patriarchal malaise... developed in the novel, his idealization and efforts to claim the patriarchal legacy of his forefathers, operates as a demystification of the patriarchal masculinity that his Father and Grandfather ostensibly represent" (215). The final chapter of the book, Wall Street and Representations of Masculinity in Contemporary American Film and Fiction" draws the curtain with an analysis of "neoliberal theory, politics, and the invention of hypercomplex financial instruments" (220) in manufacturing a "crisis of masculinity". Ulfried Reichardt splendidly furthers the legacy of Glengarry Glen Ross with his

discussion of "transnational business masculinity" with references to a wide array of Wall Street stories such as Tom Wolfe's The Bonfire of the Vanities, Bret Easton Ellis's American Psycho, Oliver Stone's film Wall Street, Don DeLillo's Cosmopolis, and Martha McPhee's Dear Money, which might have been perfected with Martin Scorsese's *The Wolf of Wall Street*. Reichardt's article inspiringly explores the affiliation between money-craving capitalist business ethics and erecting the towers of toxic masculinity in neoliberal societies.

To conclude, *Contemporary Masculinities in the UK and the US: Between Bodies and Systems* fulfills its promises to provide a comprehensive, stimulating, and thought-provoking compilation of articles on masculinity and textualities of bodies and systems. Although the focus of the book is occasionally impaired by the diversity of topics and methodologies, Horlacher and Floyd successfully pave the way for further studies of masculinities and/in cultural studies and literatures. The readers of the book are also strongly recommended to two other books edited by Stefan Horlacher; *Taboo and Transgression in British Literature from the Renaissance to the Present* (with Stefan Glomb and Lars Heiler, Palgrave, 2010) and *Constructions of Masculinity in British Literature from the Middle Ages to the Present* (Palgrave, 2011) for a more detailed discussion of masculinity in literary studies, which, in my humble opinion, is vitally crucial to understand multifaceted and intersectional nature of masculinities on a global scale.

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Jacob Woods

Jacob Woods graduated from Hamline University with a bachelors in Sociology. His research interests include masculinity, symbolic interaction, queer studies, and social media. His current research is a content analysis on media surrounding the online subculture of adult baby diaper lovers. He lives in St. Paul, MN and is working to pay off his private loans at Target, another great place for sociological investigations to brew. In his spare time he loves reading, writing, and painting.

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