

STUDY GUIDE

MEN AND MASCULINITIES

3 CREDIT COURSES

Course Code: 9171

Units: 1–9



**Department of Gender & Women Studies
Faculty of Social Sciences & Humanities
ALLAMA IQBAL OPEN UNIVERSITY ISLAMABAD**

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Year of Printing..... 2021

Quantity..... 1000

Printer Allama Iqbal Open University

Publisher..... Allama Iqbal Open University, Islamabad

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ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

The Gender and Women Studies with its interdisciplinary approach offers the students of Gender and Women Studies Department, Allama Iqbal Open University an opportunity to explore a variety of important topics by studying various courses. We would like to acknowledge the inputs of the members the committee of courses, unit writers, unit reviewers, and the writers who worked with me and their work is cited in the study guide.

Atifa Nasir
Incharge/Assistant Professor
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INTRODUCTION OF THE COURSE

Dear Students,

Welcome to the course men and masculinities (9171). This 3 credit hours course comprises of nine units. This study guide will introduce and familiarize you to the core concepts of the above-mentioned course.

Moreover, as you know masculinities studies is a vibrant, interdisciplinary field of study broadly concerned with the social construction of what it means to “be a man.” Masculinities scholars study the social role and meanings of masculinities. A vast majority of scholarship dealing with gender inequality focuses on women and the ways that they are structurally and systematically subordinated to men and disadvantaged. Scholars of inequality note, however, that there are two sides to inequality: disadvantage and privilege. Masculinities scholars study the various ways that men areas a group privileged, as well as focusing on the costs of those privileges and the ways in which not all men are granted equal access to them.

Masculinity refers to the behaviors, social roles and relations of men within a given society as well as the meanings attributed to them. The term *masculinity* stresses gender, unlike *male*, which stresses biological sex. Thus, studies of masculinities need not be confined to biological males. Masculinity studies is a feminist-inspired, interdisciplinary field that emerged in the last few decades of the 20th century as a topic of study. It deals with the diversity of identities, behaviors, and meanings that occupy the label *masculine* and does not assume that they are universal. Thus, scholars of masculinity often refer to masculinities in the plural to highlight the diversity of meanings, roles and behaviors consumed in the term.

The scholars of masculinity discuss men and masculinity as socially constructed. Rather than focusing on biological universals, social and behavioral scientists investigate the different meanings that masculinity and femininity have in different contexts. While biological “maleness” varies very little, the roles, behaviors, bodies, and identities that are thought of as “masculine” vary enormously.

This variation allows scholars to argue that masculinity is socially constructed. Scholars of masculinity come from diverse disciplines, and these various backgrounds illustrate the multiple levels of variation in masculinity. First, masculinity varies historically, what is thought of as masculine changes over time. Second, masculinity varies cross-culturally, conceptualizations of masculinity are culturally specific. Third, masculinity varies intra-psychically, what it means to be

a man changes over the course of one's life. Finally, masculinity varies contextually, even within a given society and time period, masculinity can mean different things to different people.

LEARNING OBJECTIVES AND OUTCOMES OF THE COURSE

1. To develop an awareness of masculinity as a concept
2. To examine various approaches to the study of men and masculinities.
3. To examine the concept of masculinity/masculinities in the cross cultural /national/local context.

How to Study:

For studying material, you need to follow the given instructions

- This study guide presents an overview. You are encouraged to study at your own by studying the suggested readings given under each topic for preparation of assignments / exams. Since, BS Gender & Women Studies aims to prepare a lot of social scientists and researchers in gender and women issues. Thereby, being a researcher, the more you will equip yourself by studying available online materials, the more you will be aptly fulfilling the role of a social scientist and researcher and will successfully complete your degree.
- If you spend one hour daily to study your course, you will be able to complete your course in eighteen, 18 weeks.
- As soon as you are assigned tutors, you start working on your assignments. Try to contact your tutors if you need to understand any topic, or call to GWS Faculty members (phone numbers are in your prospectus/on AIOU web) for guidance. Assignments are your personal notes, so always keep a copy with you before sending it to your tutor.
- In the mid/quarter of your study period, a workshop will be arranged for you, which is a compulsory component of your study. This workshop gives you more clarity about topics. You interact with your peers, internal and external resource persons in the workshop. Therefore, avail the best of information at the workshop and take notes of the lectures as well.
- Extensively use internet and Library for better understanding of the topics.

Tutors Guidance:

In distance learning system basically, the students have to study on their own. However, the university appoints tutors for the guidance of students. Part time tutors hold scheduled tutorial meetings online or in study centers established by the university. The students are required to regularly attend these scheduled meetings. Most probably in this course you will be assigned a correspondence tutor who not only checks your assignments but you are also encouraged to be in contact with the tutors for guidance regarding the course as it is convenient for

both of you. The Regional Office as well as your tutor will inform you about the appointment of the tutor.

Assessment and Evaluation

According to university system your performance in the course will be evaluated through two modes that are:

- Home Assignments
- Final Examination
 - You will be required to prepare two assignments for this course. The assignments are spread over course units and according to the schedule provided in your student kit and also on aiou.edu.pk Allama Iqbal Open University website. Each assignment is to be submitted through post and as well as /uploading online through AGAHI portal for checking.
 - The main objective of the assignments is to encourage you to study and appraise your performance. The tutor's assessment will guide you for the preparation of your next assignment.
 - The marks obtained in assignments add up to the final examination. The papers for final examinations are prepared, based on the complete course. The final examinations are held in specified examination centers¹. For passing a course, one has to pass both the components of assessment and final examination.

Best wishes for your studies

Atifa Nasir
Course Development Coordinator/
Course Coordinator

¹ Can be arranged online as per AIOU policy

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Unit 1

INTRODUCING MASCULINITIES: THEORETICAL PERSPECTIVES

**Written by: Atifa Nasir
Reviewed by: Aqleem Fatimah**

INTRODUCTION

Masculinity is a set of attributes, behaviors and roles associated with boys and men. Although masculinity is socially constructed, research indicates that some behaviors considered masculine are biologically influenced. This unit looks at masculinities as a concept of understanding as well as the influential factors that make boys into a masculine man. Feminist strands have their own explanation or this concept which are based on the critiques of the theories that have influenced the study of men and masculinities. This unit explains the relevant understandings that underpin the conceptualization of masculinities, its link with violence against women, relevant theories and feminist standpoints that shape this concept. This unit also briefly discusses diverse manifestation of masculinities in different societies.

OBJECTIVES

This unit aims at:

1. introduce definitions of masculinities
2. examine different theories that relates masculinities
3. shed light on different stands of feminism and their critiques on masculinities as a concept

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After reading the unit you will be able to.

1. define and utilize key and other relevant concepts that are pertinent to masculinities
2. debate theories related to masculinities
3. discuss how various strands of feminism conceive men and masculinities within feminist thought
4. understand different types of masculinities that shape the social structure of different societies
5. explore the link between masculinities and Gender-based violence

1.1 Understanding Masculinities

Masculinity (also called manhood or manliness) is a set of attributes, behaviors, and roles associated with boys and men. It is distinct from the definition of the biological male sex, as both males and females can exhibit masculine traits.

Let us first discuss the terms masculinity and femininity refer to traits or characteristics typically associated with being male or female, respectively. Traditionally, masculinity and femininity have been conceptualized as opposite ends of a single dimension, with masculinity at one extreme and femininity at the other. Masculinity is more or less the gender role ascribed to males. It is basically what society expects of a man, and basis upon which a patriarchy separates men from women. This gender roles includes attributes such as but are not limited to courage, independence, and assertiveness.

Femininities" and "masculinities" describe gender identity that we carry through our lives. We can say for understanding that identity is not some kind of inner nature, a stable and homogeneous core of an individual and it could be understood as the image and sense of oneself, which is a product of one's acts and the recognition by others. Moreover, it is a social relation and a process and cannot simply be obtained; it has to be constructed and reconstructed in a never-ending effort. The idea of a stable and whole identity is an illusion, but an illusion can work, and whether it does or not is a function of power.

Masculinity is a form of gender, variously defined as an identity, a social role, and a form of power and is typically, associated with men. In the socialization of masculinity, boys and men are encouraged to reject or avoid anything stereotypically feminine, to be tough and aggressive, suppress emotions (other than anger), distance themselves emotionally and physically from other men, and strive toward competition, success and power. In particular, anti-femininity is at the core of what traditional masculinity means. Boys and men are rewarded in a variety of settings such as schools, intimate relationships, the workplace, military, and prisons for adhering to these stereotypical expectations and often are punished or rejected for violating them.

conflict are to be expected. Since different masculinities exist in different cultures and also within cultures, we can say that norms concerning masculine behaviour are able to change, just like norms concerning feminine behaviour. They are also collective, meaning that they are sustained by groups and institutions (for example through workplace cultures). If they are dynamic and different masculinities exist, then moving away from more harmful versions of masculinity should be possible. Despite the notion that masculinity has undergone drastic changes in the past decades evidence indicates little change in hegemonic masculinity and boys and men are still supposed to be apathetic, aggressive, dependable, and not feminine.

The analysis of masculinity cannot be limited to 'typical male behaviour' or to male sexuality. Masculinity is not only a matter of individual identity but of the organization and representation of the social role expectation. Masculinity is hard to define as it seems to be everywhere and nowhere and certainly difficult to change and should not be limited to 'male behaviour' but has to encompass the whole of the social fabric. Masculinity is commonly understood as a form of identity, the real or normative gender identity of men. But gender cannot be isolated from the other dimensions of identity, for example, ethnicity or work; all these aspects of identity crisscross and overlap and are constantly combined in individual acts. This implies that there are no distinct models for different masculinities, nor is there a master blueprint of which all other masculinities are simply other versions. Instead the whole diversity of lived masculinities can be understood as specific realizations of a vague set of ideas and demands, images and stories that are defined as masculine, adapted to the concrete situation that an individual or group has to cope with. The first step in the new thinking about men and masculinity was the idea of 'male sex role'. This idea became popular in liberal-feminist discussions of the 'female sex role' which both criticized cultural stereotypes and supported social change. According to sex-role theory (we would discuss it in detail in later part of this unit) boys are 'socialized' to be masculine. They learn from the messages transmitted by family, school, and mass media, and try to follow to a social stereotype of manliness.

Though a vital step beyond biological determinism, the 'male role' approach has severe limits. It has difficulty in understanding inequality, power, diversity, and processes of change. The concept of 'socialization' is also a problem. It assumes that learners are passive, and so underestimates boys' active engagement with masculinity. Theoretical work on gender has decisively moved beyond the 'sex role' framework. There is increasing recognition that gender involves large-scale institutions as well as interpersonal relations. Gender involves power structures and economic relationships. Gender identities are plural, divided and may be unstable. Some gender processes operate at an unconscious level and some through impersonal processes in culture, such as language and symbolism.

In recent years there has been a great flowering of empirical research on masculinities (surveyed in Connell, 1995). The trend includes sociology, anthropology, history, social psychology, education studies, cultural studies, political science, and economics. Many of these studies have great sophistication and complexity, and are not easy to summarize, however, emerge from this body of research as a whole. The key concept for understanding masculinity is gender roles and stereotype. Gender roles are learned behaviours in a given society, community, or another social group. They inform behaviours, roles and responsibilities are perceived as appropriate for men and for women respectively. *gender roles, which* are shared expectations of behavior given one's gender. For example, gender roles might include women investing in the domestic role and men investing in the worker role (Eagly 1987). It is important to recognize that both men's and women's actions are influenced, controlled, or constrained by widely held beliefs and expectations about appropriate and inappropriate forms of behaviour.

Another concept is gender stereotypes, are shared views of personality traits often tied to one's gender such as instrumentality in men and expressiveness in women (Spence and Helmreich 1978). In most of cultures, stereotypically, men are aggressive, competitive oriented while women are passive, cooperative, and expressive. Early thinking often assumed that this division was based on underlying innate differences in traits, characteristics and temperaments of males and females. A gender stereotype consists of beliefs about the psychological traits and characteristics of, as well as the activities appropriate to, men or women. Gender roles are defined by behaviors, but gender stereotypes are beliefs and attitudes about masculinity and femininity. The concepts of gender role and gender stereotype tend to be related. When people associate a pattern of behavior with either women or men, they may overlook individual variations and exceptions and come to believe that the behavior is inevitably associated with one gender but not the other. Therefore, gender roles furnish the material for gender stereotypes. Gender stereotypes are very influential; they affect conceptualizations of women and men and establish social categories for gender.

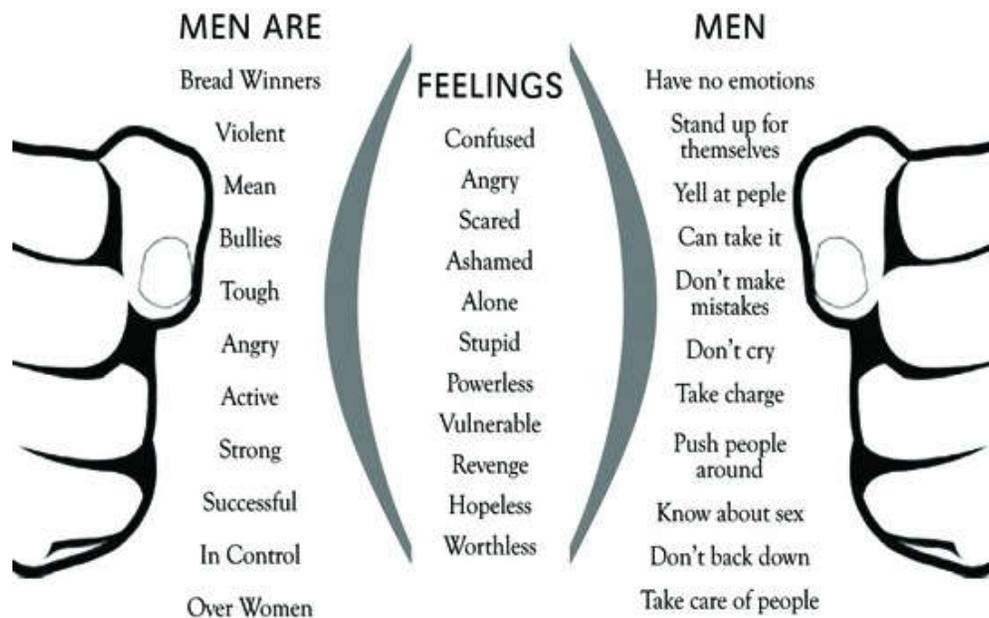
Self-Assessment Questions (SAQS)

1. Define masculinity
2. What is femininity
3. How masculinity and femininity are interrelated
4. What is the key concept of understanding masculinity?
5. What is stereotype?
6. Is there any difference between male sexual behavior and male sexuality?

Activity

1. Watch any TV serial and enlist the traits of masculinity as presented. What is the popular image of masculinity is advertise in our dramas? What are the 'Real man' characteristics presented in dramas that reflect in our society?
2. What kind of masculinity our TV and film media portray? Does it reflect in our society? write down a short essay?

1.2 Theories of Masculinities



There are at least three major theories that explain the development of femininity and masculinity. In all of these theories, a two-part process is involved. In the first part, the child comes to know that she or he is female or male. In the second part, the child comes to know what being female or male means in terms of femininity or masculinity.

1.2.1 Psychoanalytic theory

According to psychoanalytic theory, one's gender identity develops through identification with the same-sex parent. This identification emerges out of the

conflict inherent in the oedipal stage¹ of psychosexual development. By about age 3, a child develops a strong sexual attachment to the opposite-sex parent. Simultaneously, negative feelings emerge for the same-sex parent that is rooted in resentment and jealousy. By age 6, the child resolves the psychic conflict by relinquishing desires for the opposite-sex parent and identifying with the same-sex parent. Thus, boys come to learn masculinity from their fathers and girls learn femininity from their mothers.

Chodorow (1978) suggested that, in psychoanalytic theory mothers play an important role in gender identity development. According to her, mothers are more likely to relate to their sons as different and separate because they are not of the same sex. At the same time, they experience a sense of oneness and continuity with their daughters because they are of the same sex. Consequently, mothers will bond with their daughters thereby fostering femininity in girls. Simultaneously, mothers' distance themselves from their sons who respond by shifting their attention away from their mother and toward their father. Through identification with their father, boys learn masculinity.

1.2.2 Cognitive-Developmental Theory

The earliest theory of masculinity in modern psychology was built on psychoanalytic and personality theories that ascribed gender mainly to natural, inevitable biological forces. Gender identity theory argues that biological sex and gender are synonymous in healthy, well-adjusted individuals. Gender identity is unidimensional, such that greater masculinity means the person has less feminine identity, and vice-versa. Healthy, securely adjusted men identify, and display characteristics defined as masculine.

The mixture of gender and sexuality is noteworthy. Failure among men to demonstrate masculinity is understood to be problematic, a symptom of gender identity disorder or weakness. Personality tests such as the Attitude Interest Analysis Test that were designed to measure gender identity included assessments of specific interests and knowledge of the respondent that were believed to indicate an underlying gender identity.

Cognitive-developmental theory is another psychological theory on gender identity development (Kohlberg 1966). As in psychoanalytic theory, this theory

¹The Oedipus complex is a theory of Sigmund Freud and occurs during the Phallic stage of psychosexual development. It involves a boy, aged between 3 and 6, becoming unconsciously sexually attached to his mother, and hostile towards his father (who he views as a rival).

suggests there are critical events that have a lasting effect on gender identity development, but they are cognitive rather than psychosexual in origin.

1.2.3 Social Learning Theories

The most social of the theories of gender identity development are the learning theories. In the late 1970s, Bem (1981) advanced an alternative theory, known as gender schema or sex role identity theory. She argued that masculine and feminine identity and characteristics vary independently within persons. Consequently, individuals could have clearly masculine or feminine identities, or an androgynous combination of stereotypically gendered characteristics, or characteristics not identified with either gender (i.e., undifferentiated). The assessment used to measure sex role identity emphasized an individual's endorsement of personality traits that were defined by the either masculine or feminine. Androgynous individuals² were defined as those who rated themselves as having masculine and feminine characteristics.

In these theories it is the social environment of the child, such as parents and teachers that shapes the gender identity of a child. Here, the parent or teacher instructs the child on femininity and masculinity directly through rewards and punishments, or indirectly through acting as models that are imitated. Child imitates a rewarded model's thoughts, feelings, or behavior because it anticipates that it will receive the same rewards that the model received. Direct rewards or punishments are often given for outward appearance as in what to wear (girls and boys local dresses), object choice such as toy preferences (dolls for girl and trucks for boys), and behavior (passivity and dependence in girls and aggressiveness and independence in boys). Through rewards and punishments, children learn appropriate appearance and behavior. Indirect learning of one's gender identity emerges from modeling same-sex parents, teachers, peers, or models in the media.

Subsequent gender role theories emphasized more directly the destructive and harmful aspects of masculinity as well as the stress of fulfilling and of failing to fulfill the role expectations (Pleck, 1995). The general characteristics associated with this role comprise as traditional masculinity and include themes of antifemininity, success and achievement, independence, and toughness and aggression (Brannon, 1976). Beliefs about the normative characteristics that men should display in order to fulfill the male gender role constitute the dominant masculinity ideology (Smiler, 2004).

²Bem understood that both masculine and feminine characteristics could be expressed by anyone and it would determine those gender role orientations. An androgynous person is an individual who has a high degree of both feminine (expressive) and masculine (instrumental) traits.

1.3 Feminist Theorizing of Men and Masculinity³

Developed out of the women's liberation movement in the early 1970s, feminist scholarship emerged with the intent to understand the causes and impact of gender inequity by applying the concepts of domination, oppression, and exploitation to women's experiences and advancing anti-sexist theories and methods. Feminist theorists, therefore, sought to expose and problematize the construction and role of masculinity as part of understanding patriarchy and the dominant positioning of men. These strands of feminist thought played a critical role in masculinity studies in the academy nearly a decade later. In fact, Gardiner (2005) asserted, "Feminist thinking has been fundamental to the formation of contemporary men's and masculinity studies as intellectual endeavors, academic subjects, and social movements.

Contemporary writing on masculinity has provided emergent examples of a more thoughtful engagement with feminist theory, yet these approaches remain overwhelmingly limited and selective (O'Neill, 2015). However, the examination of men and masculinity has always been present in feminist theory (Robinson, 2003), and feminist scholars feel strongly that the study of masculinity would not have developed without feminism's direct contributions (Gardiner, 2005). Therefore, the women's liberation movement and its critiques of patriarchal constructions of masculinity are highly linked. To advance goals of gender equity, feminist scholars have taken varied and contested approaches to addressing masculinity, patriarchal power, and the potential for the structural transformation of gender (Gardiner, 2005). Feminist theory has examined men, patriarchy, and masculine characteristics predominantly as sources of power, domination, inequality, and subordination.¹ Various theories of inequality developed by feminists' challenge and reveal structures and discourses that reinforce explicitly or implicitly the centrality of men and the male identity of a hierarchical power and economic structure. Even where women are formally equal, feminists have sought to explain their ongoing real inequality in relation to men.

The 20th-century feminist theory is the concept of gender as a social construction; that is, the idea that masculinity and femininity are loosely defined, historically variable, and interrelated social ascriptions to persons with certain kinds of bodies not the natural, necessary, or ideal characteristics of people with similar

³The text is taken from an article Ashley M. Brown & Khaled J. Ismail on [www.academyforeducationalstudies.org/Journals/Thresholds/Feminist Theorizing of Men and Masculinity: Applying Feminist Perspectives to Advance College Men and Masculinities Praxis](http://www.academyforeducationalstudies.org/Journals/Thresholds/Feminist_Theorizing_of_Men_and_Masculinity:_Applying_Feminist_Perspectives_to_Advance_College_Men_and_Masculinities_Praxis)

genitals. In reaction to claims that women were irrational, weak, vicious, and sinful, the early defenders of women repeated a number of strategies. They claimed women were equal or superior to men, writing, for example, books about heroic, saintly, learned, and otherwise exemplary women. In another common strategy, they asserted equality less by raising the image of women than by lowering the image of men. Twentieth-century liberal feminism continued the tradition of seeking for women the privileges already enjoyed by men. Betty Friedan (1963) and the National Organization for Women (founded in 1966) believed that changing laws and educating people against erroneous prejudices would remedy gender discrimination, giving women equal opportunities with men to exercise individual choices in life. They sought gender equity through changes in law and childhood socialization.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQS)

1. How psychoanalytic theory explain masculinity?
2. Why Chodorow in her theory emphasize the role of mother for children?
3. What is cognitive -development theory in short?
4. How social learning theories play their role in children early years?

Through examining various strands of feminist theory, we hoped to find guidance to address our assumptions, intentions, and approaches. Therefore, we looked to liberal, radical, psychoanalytic, multidimensional, postmodern, and poststructuralist feminist theories and their relevant critiques to present varying approaches to examining men and masculinities.

1.3.1 Liberal Feminisms

Liberal feminism came out of 18th century Enlightenment thought and its associated ideals of liberty and equal rights (Mann & Patterson, 2016). “In reacting to claims that women were irrational, weak, vicious, and sinful, the early defenders of women repeated a number of strategies,” including claiming women as equal or superior to men or launching into an inquiry about the meaning of equality (Gardiner, 2005:36). Mary Wollstonecraft (2001), for example, argued that education must help woman exercise her mind so that she can “become the friend, and not the humble dependent of her husband” (P: 22).

Liberal feminist approaches were mainly defensive, and feminist authors of this era alternated between strategies that imitated and critiqued men as they look for equality with men’s power and rights. One of the most important contributions of liberal feminism was highlighting the distinction between sex and socially learned

gender to demonstrate that “gender roles could be socially transformed through conscious social and political action to bring a more egalitarian society” (Mann & Patterson, 2016: 49).

The sex-role theoretical approach adopted by liberal feminism describes women’s oppression as a result of socialized gender role expectations that place men in a dominant position (Pease, 2000). Thus, to advance gender equity, liberal feminist theories say that changing laws; rethinking childhood socialization; examining the gendering of the media, the state, and professions; as well as fostering education against prejudice could remedy gender oppression (Gardiner, 2005). Given this rethinking of gender, we must always see masculinity as located in a structure of gender relations. Thus, for instance, Schrock and Schwalbe (2009) argue that patriarchy, that is, the structure of gendered power, limits men’s capacity to take the position of the other and engage in an ethic of care ,an argument highly relevant to the construction of a culture of peace. Yet masculinity is not just a static ‘place’ in a map of gender relations. It is an active social construction, a pattern of social conduct that responds to the situations (e.g. differences of power, definitions of bodily difference) in which people find themselves.

Margaret Mead (1935) appealed to shifting the ways in which children are socialized, for instance, by arguing that “girls can be trained exactly as boys are trained; taught the same code, the same forms of expression, the same occupations” (p. 79). Liberal feminist also criticized as they often prioritizes reform over revolution, thus ignoring the centrality of patriarchal dominance across institutions in the oppression of women (Mann & Patterson, 2016).

1.3.2 Radical Feminisms

Radical feminist theories challenge the centrality of men’s power and its overarching oppression of women. Appealing to the interconnected nature of women’s oppression, radical feminists confront issues related to biological reproduction, sexuality, labor, rape, domestic violence, and sexual harassment and call for the transformation of social structures and individuals for women’s liberation (Ashe, 2007).

Strands of radical feminist theory specifically demand the dramatic transformation of men and masculinity. Viewing “men’s power over women is the most basic and important organizing principle of social life” (Pease, 2000: 13) and most pervasive of all oppressions, these theories portray men as oppressors of women and masculinity “as both an instrument and sign of their power” (Gardiner, 2005: 3).

Not only does radical feminist thinking argue for disrupting male-dominated institutions, but scholars also challenge the ways in which men maintain power through their individual practices. Across radical feminist theory, the gendered practice of men's violence serves as a primary focus of analysis and, in some cases, is even characterized as the very definition of masculinity. These feminists have taken up the theorizing of men and masculinity because "violence and its reduction cannot be adequately understood without an in-depth understanding of masculinities" (DeKeseredy & Schwartz, 2005: 363).

Theorizing masculinity from a radical feminist lens provides space for scholars to critically examine and analyze men's material practices to deconstruct their power (McCarry, 2007). By centering men's use of violence against women, radical feminism not only reveals its pervasive role in gender inequity but also creates a platform that necessitates men's transformation.

While radical feminist theorizing of masculinity plays a pivotal role in centering men's power in the oppression of women, these theories have also encouraged debate among feminist scholars. A common critique is that radical feminism subscribes femininity and masculinity as traits to female and male bodies, respectively. As part of this assessment, some radical feminists are accused of gendering perpetrators of violence as male and, thus, alleging that "all men are immutably violent simply because they are men" (McCurry, 2007: 405-406). Radical theorists heavily scrutinized for ignoring issues related to race, class, and global location by using a sisterhood framework to embody all women (Mann & Patterson, 2016). Other feminist scholars challenge radical feminism for expressing anti-male sentiments and, thus, harming feminist aims for gender equity.

Segal (1987), for example, expressed concern that radical feminist thought criticizing men for inborn greed and violence; she argued that radical feminism, by centering male violence, is giving up on men as they increasingly demonstrate the willingness to embrace feminist ideologies. Similarly, hooks (1998) asserted that the freedom adopted by radical feminism problematically excludes men from the movement.

Reuther (1992) agreed that the movement to dismantle patriarchal power must include men, so long as they are able to acknowledge the injustice of their own historical privileges as males and to recognize the ongoing ideologies and economic, political, and social structures that keep such privilege in place. It is evident that radical feminist theorizing is common with varying perspectives regarding men's oppression of women and effective approaches for disrupting

men's violence. While radical feminist theories problematically presume an absolute gender and sex binary, it is important to also acknowledge their contributions to uncovering masculine dominance in practices and institutions that had been previously deemed natural or commonplace.

1.3.3 Psychoanalytic Feminisms

Claiming that ending women's oppression cannot come from sociological factors alone (Mitchell, 1975), some feminist theorists turned to psychoanalytic thought to examine the unconscious formation of masculinity and its impact on both women and men. Mitchell (1975) explained this turn as rooted in the notion that dominant ideologies are so deeply embedded in women's unconscious that psychoanalytic approaches are necessary to understanding how these ideologies are internalized. Seeking to explain men's dominance of women and even other men, most psychoanalytic feminist analyses are grounded in object-relations theory. Chodorow's (1978) was the main proponent of this school of thought examining the formation of masculinity in men's development, Chodorow (1978) argued that the experience of being cared for by mothers leads to a psychology of masculine dominance and feelings of superiority to women (Pease, 2000). As boys experience the disruption from seeing their mothers as primary love objects, the insecure, "defensive and compensatory" construction of masculinity begins to develop from their need to reject her (Gardiner, 2005: 42).

Dinnerstein (1976) argued that this rejection of femininity serves as the basis for men's hatred of and violence towards women. Rubin (1985) further contended that this strand of thought can connect men's violence with their "inability to 'express emotions' and to meet the 'intimacy needs' of women" (as cited in McMahan, 1993, p. 677). Feminist scholars also confront men's dominance in the school of psychoanalytic thought itself. Psychoanalytic feminist theories not only advance our understandings of men's desire to subvert women through emphasizing men's insecurities and fears of femininity, but Cornell (1998) provided an analysis of the ways in which men are also impacted by the construction of masculinity. Arguing that masculinity sets impossible standards which men will always fail to meet, Cornell (1998) believed men will see the value of aligning with feminism in order to seek liberation from such restrictive expectations. The engagement of psychoanalytic approaches to understanding men and masculinity has divided feminist scholars. Radical feminists, in particular, have opposed this theoretical strand for serving as an ideological tool to manipulate women and uphold patriarchy and heterosexuality (Gardiner, 1992). While psychoanalytic theorists agree with claims that Freud was a sexist product of his time (Gardiner, 2005), they hold steadfast to the influence of

psychoanalysis on feminist thought. Chodorow (1978) argued, “Until we have another theory which can tell us about unconscious mental processes, conflict, and relations of gender, sexuality, and self, we had best take psychoanalysis for what it does include and can tell us” (P: 4). Psychoanalytic feminist theories also receive criticism for failing to address the multifaceted realities of social structures. Object-relations theory, for instance, centers the role of childhood socialization in boys’ internalization of masculine dominance without attending to theories of power (Ramazanoglu, 1992). Furthermore, unlike liberal and radical theoretical perspectives, psychoanalytic feminist theories do not offer any strategies for social transformation (Sprengnether, 1990). Liberal, radical, and psychoanalytic approaches predominantly present a historical and binary understandings of masculinity and patriarchy. As a result, men’s dominance is understood to be unchanging, fixed, and even rooted in biological determinism, thus oversimplifying structures of gender and power (Connell, 1994).

1.3.4 Multidimensional Feminist Theories

Since the emergence of feminist discourse, feminists of color and those influenced by Marxism have challenged the ways in which feminism perpetuates white, middle-class perspectives of women’s experiences and excludes voices of women on the margins (Gardiner, 2005). Multidimensional theories of feminism, viewed from lenses such as Black feminist thought, U.S. third-world feminism etc., acknowledge the interconnectedness of women’s oppression due to social location. Instead of viewing men as exerting universal dominance, this theoretical strand acknowledges a plurality of masculinities where “different masculinities stand in different relationships to power” (Ramazanoglu, 1992: 342). By examining the experiences of Black men, these theories articulate the shared oppression of Black men and women within white racist structures while also coping with the tensions between them. Multidimensional theories respond to these huge understandings. By situating masculinity in power environments (Wright, 2005), multidimensional perspectives explore a hierarchy of masculinities in which men hold varying levels of access to power.

The contributions of Black feminists and other feminists of colors interrupt previous theorizing of masculinity and have inspired further exploration of how men access differential power through the examination of race, class, sexuality, and other social identities. Ramazanoglu (1992) posited that the notion of multiple

and hierarchical masculinities has informed three theoretical guidelines in feminist thought:

- deconstructing how masculinity is practiced,
- seeing men as both oppressors and oppressed,
- and recognizing the ways in which men exercise power over one another.

Connell (2005) united these theoretical commands in her theorizing of men and masculinities. Arguing that recognizing more than one kind of masculinity is only a first step, Connell examined the power hierarchies between men through the concept of 'hegemonic masculinity.

1.3.5 Postmodern and Poststructuralist Feminisms

Emerging in the 1980s and 1990s, postmodern and poststructuralist feminism offer new methods for conceptualizing and analyzing gender. Theorists work to identify what has been neglected, silenced, or taken for granted about gender. In fact, instead of providing direct critiques of men, masculinity, and patriarchal power, postmodern and poststructuralist feminist theories name the consequences of investing in gender and assert that the dismantling of gender itself is the only way to eliminate gendered oppression.

Postmodernism and post structuralism theorize gender as socially constructed, discourse-dependent, fluid, negotiable, and created through repeated performances (Gardiner, 2005; Mann & Patterson, 2016). To effectively challenge the heterosexist power structures of gender, theorists critically examine how concepts, categories, and ideologies have been broadly invented. Anne Fausto Sterling (2000), for example, wrote *Should There be Only Two Sexes?* to demonstrate how the social construction of the male and female binary prevents us from acknowledging alternatives, such as people of ambiguous or multiple sexes. Lorber (1994) similarly argued that gender is used as a form of social control and calls for the validation of many forms of sexuality. Butler (1990, 2004), a prominent figure in postmodern and poststructuralist thought, scrutinized the ways in which gender is categorized and essentialized. Butler (2004) specifically argued that “discourse insists on binary of man and woman as an exclusive way to understand gender...[and] excludes other sex forms.

Butler (1990, 2004) theorized that gender is produced through performance and discourse. Foucault's conceptualization of discourse also underpins much of

postmodern and poststructuralist feminist theory. Connecting knowledge with power, discourse analysis provides a tool for examining how categories and concepts are used for power gaining including 'men' and 'masculinity'.

Self-Assessment Question (SAQS)

1. What is the stance of liberal feminist on masculinity in relation to gender?
2. What is the most significant contribution of liberal feminist to gender role?
3. What is main stance of radical feminist against masculinity?
4. Do psychoanalytic feminists believe in binary understanding of masculinity and patriarchy?
5. How post-modernist feminist describe gender?

1.4 Types of Masculinities

Connell (1995) explored the historical origins of attitudes toward masculinity and looked back into 16th-century Europe and the changing social and religious climate to trace the development of individualism. She contended that industrialization, world exploration, and civil wars became activities associated with men and formed the basis for modern masculinity. Connell (1987, 1992, 1995) argued that gender has been constructed as part of each society throughout history, a view that is consistent with the belief that gender is something that people do rather than part of what people are (West & Zimmerman, 1987).

Definition of masculinity mostly takes cultural standpoints and have defined different perspective to categories the type of person who is masculine. For example, essentialists⁴ define masculinity on the equation of male and female and say that male is active partner and female as passive partner. Positivists⁵ emphasize the simple definition of men as they actually are. They describe the pattern of men' life in a given culture and call it as pattern masculinity. Normative definition of masculinity recognizes the difference and define masculinity is that men ought to be. Strict sex-role theory treats masculinity as social norm for the behaviour of men.

⁴Essentialism is the view that every entity has a set of attributes that are necessary to its identity and function. In early Western thought, Plato's idealism held that all things have such an "essence"—an "idea" or "form".

⁵Positivism is a philosophical theory which states that "genuine" knowledge (knowledge of anything which is not true by definition) is exclusively derived from experience of natural phenomena and their properties and relations.

Semiotic approach⁶ abandons the level of personality and define masculinity through system of symbolic differences in which masculine and feminine places are contrasted. Masculinities can be tied to hierarchies of power. Since there are many different types of masculinity in any given culture or society there will also be dominant and more power-sharing forms of masculinity. This means that masculinity might not be only be oppressive towards women but also towards men who do not conform to the dominant notions of masculinity. In this way dominant masculinity controls the lives of men as well as women. It is crucial that men understand this often invisible and subjugating principle of masculinity, so that they see that it has consequences for their own well-being as well.

There are some important types of masculinity that has been identified through the research work on men as under.

1.4.1 Hegemonic Masculinity

The concept of hegemonic masculinity has been used in gender studies since the early-1980s to explain men's power over women. The hegemonic concept of hegemonic masculinity explains that men are structurally related to women in a superior position and inherently benefit from this what Raewyn Connell called the patriarchal hegemony (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005). Raewyn Connell's concept of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1987) serves as an analytical instrument to identify those attitudes and practices among men that perpetuate gender inequality, involving both men's domination over women and the power of some men over other (often minority groups of) men. The concept has been widely used and debated, and over the years refined (Connell and Messerschmidt 2005), with the basic idea that hegemonic masculinity is 'a culturally idealized form' and 'is both a personal and a collective project. In a recent review, a 'usual' conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity is described as:

a set of values, established by men in power that functions to include and exclude, and to organize society in gender unequal ways. It combines several features: a hierarchy of masculinities, differential access among men to power (over women and other men), and the interplay between men's identity, men's ideals, interactions, power, and patriarchy. (Jewkes and Morrell 2018: 40).

⁶Semiotics is an investigation into how meaning is created and how meaning is communicated. Its origins lie in the academic study of how signs and symbols (visual and linguistic) create meaning. ... Viewing and interpreting (or decoding) this sign enables us to navigate the landscape of our streets and society.

In the 1990s, sociological theorists developed critiques of gender role theories of masculinity on the basis that they do not adequately incorporate an analysis of power into how the roles are created, enforced, and maintained within social systems. In this view, masculinity is intimately interwoven with the dynamics of power and privilege. As such, the terms ‘dominant masculinity’ or ‘hegemonic masculinity’ (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) are used to extend and sharpen the concept of ‘traditional masculinity,’ emphasizing that masculinity is diffused with both symbolic and material power in a society. Importantly, the majority of men do not possess the characteristics idealized in hegemonic masculinity, nor have access to the social, cultural, and material resources on which hegemonic masculinity is built. Hegemonic masculinity would not be an effective way for some men to consolidate and maintain power over other men. Consequently, men belonging to diverse groups and from varied geographic places and cultures perform masculinity in varied ways. Included within this diversity are masculinities among men who identify with different racial and ethnic groups, sexualities, and genders. Further, men manifest masculinities differently, and have different opportunities and capabilities to perform hegemonic masculinity, depending on their socioeconomic class, religion, body and abilities, age, and living context and environment (e.g., prison). Rather than being diverse, these positions of privilege intersect in dynamic ways to create unique, contextually specific masculinities. These diverse masculinities differ in terms of their correspondence to hegemonic masculinity and are defined by men’s race, class, sexuality, ability, age, and other symbolic and material markers of power.

Moreover, masculinities are multiple, fluid and dynamic. Hegemonic masculinity consistently represents anti-femininity, success and achievement, independence, and toughness and aggression as it is thought that manhood must be proven, and proven again, through symbolic and behavioral demonstrations to others so that men can get validation for manhood.

1.4.2. Collective Masculinities

Masculinities are sustained and enacted not only by individuals, but also by groups, institutions, and cultural forms like the mass media. Multiple masculinities may be produced and sustained by the same institution. Corporations, workplaces, voluntary organizations, and the state are important sites of action. Collective struggle, and the reshaping of institutions, are as necessary as the reform of individual life. Different cultures, and different periods of history, construct gender differently. In multicultural societies there are likely

to be multiple definitions of masculinity. Equally important, more than one kind of masculinity can be found within a given culture, even within a single institution such as a school or workplace.

1.4.3 Complicit Masculinity

Complicit Masculinity is a kind of masculinity in which a man may not fit into all the characteristics of hegemonic masculinity but do not do much to challenge it either. Since they are not challenging the systems of gender that are present in our societies, they do receive some benefits from being male⁷.

1.4.4 Marginalized Masculinity

Marginalized Masculinity is a form of masculinity in which a man does not have access to the hegemonic masculinity because of certain characteristics he has, for example, his race. However, men who have a marginalized masculinity still subscribe to norms that are emphasized in hegemonic masculinity including aggression, suppressing emotions such as sadness and physical strength. Men of color and disabled men are examples of men that experience marginalized masculinity.

1.4.5 Subordinate Masculinity

In subordinate masculinity, males who are seen as having a subordinate masculinity exhibit quality that are opposite to those that are valued in hegemonic masculinity such as physical weakness and exhibition of emotions like sadness. Unmanly /womanishly men are examples of men who exhibit a subordinate masculinity identity.

1.4.6 Toxic Masculinity

Toxic masculinity can be defined as an extremely narrow and repressive form of manhood, with the male becoming defined by and portraying strength through violence, aggression, status, and sex. Showing so-called “feminine” traits like crying, being emotionally vulnerable, or dressing in a way that challenges traditional norms is seen to take away from one's status as a man and undermines one's manhood. More often than not, toxic masculinity ends up enacting violence on women emotional and physical and is found to be deeply embedded in our

⁷Connell R.W. Hegemonic Masculinity: Rethinking the Concept. *Gender and Society*. 19.6 (2005): 829-859.

society as well as in the country's institutional and legal frameworks. The *Journal of School of Psychology* uses the following definition to explain toxic masculinity: "the constellation of socially regressive [masculine] traits that serve to foster domination, the devaluation of women, homophobia, and wanton violence". In modern society, people often use the term toxic masculinity to describe exaggerated masculine traits that many cultures have widely accepted or glorified. This harmful concept of masculinity also places significant importance on 'manliness' based on:

- strength
- lack of emotion
- self-sufficiency
- dominance
- sexual virility

According to traditional toxic masculine values, a male who does not display enough of these traits may fall short of being a 'real man.'

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQS)

1. How many types are of masculinities?
2. What is hegemonic masculinities
3. Define toxic masculinity ad its effects on society

1.5 Violence and Masculinities

Social ideas about masculinities and femininities often create a lot of harm. The roles, behaviours and attributes associated with masculinities are not only very different from those associated with femininities - they are also usually very unequal. In most societies, the roles, behaviours and attributes of masculinities are associated with greater social status, economic reward and political power than femininities. In most societies, children grow up learning about patriarchal masculinities, and get the message that masculinity is somehow superior to femininity, and that boys can expect greater privileges and freedoms than girls. Boys and young men may also often witness the harms that girls and women suffer because of patriarchal masculinities. Many boys and young men are directly harmed themselves by such patriarchal masculinities. This means that male socialization can often be very confusing for boys and young men. It teaches them about gender differences and inequalities between masculinities and femininities, and they can see the privileges and freedoms that come with masculinities. But they also see and often directly experience the many harms of patriarchal masculinities.

In most societies, this involves teaching boys and young men about patriarchal masculinities. But this is not a straightforward process as it looks. This process is briefly mentioned below.

1. ⁸*Male socialization Many people involved.* Many different people and groups are involved in male socialization. These include the family, the school, the peer group, the media, religion, and the world of work. Women as well as men are deeply involved in processes of masculine socialization, as parents, relatives, friends, sexual partners, and workmates.
2. *Part of the air that we breathe is highly organized.* In many ways, processes of male and female socialization are part of the air that we all breathe - we are constantly surrounded by messages from multiple sources about masculinities and femininities. But male socialization is also highly organized and intensive, for example in the rituals that many cultures still use to initiate young men into manhood, in gender-segregated schools, in military training, and in gender-segregated sport.
3. *Mixed messages about masculinities.* Across these different actors, boys and young men can get very different messages about and examples of masculinities. For example, young men can get mixed messages about “responsibility”. While their family and religious leaders may focus on young men taking on the responsibilities of being a husband, father and breadwinner as defining their masculinity, young men may also get other messages, from their peer group and from the media, that define masculinity in terms of men’s enjoyment of sex, drink and freedom from family responsibilities.
4. *Boys are not passive; they are active in their own socialization.* The way that male socialization is sometimes discussed suggests that it is simply a one-way process of instructing boys and young men in how to be men. But this is to forget that different and young men have their own and differing ideas about masculinities, not least because of the mixed messages discussed above. Conflict between the generations remains common in many societies, and not least over differences between how older people and younger people see the roles, behaviours and attributes that are expected of women and men.

⁸Self-Learning Booklet: Understanding Masculinities and Violence Against Women and Girls TRAINING,
https://trainingcentre.unwomen.org/RESOURCES_LIBRARY/Resources_Centre/masculinities%20booklet%20.pdf

Thus, male socialization is never a simple, one-way process but a continuing social conversation, and often argument, about the meanings and practices of masculinities.

Many cultures define specific characteristics to fit the patriarchal ideal masculine construct. The socialization of masculine ideals starts at a young age and defines ideal masculinity as related to toughness, impassiveness, heterosexism, self-sufficient attitudes and lack of emotional sensitivity (Wall & Kristjanson, 2005) Boys learn to be men from the men in their lives, from their own experiences navigating our social norms, and from the large social and cultural context. Boys live under intensified pressure to display gender-appropriate behaviors according to the ideal male code. Looking at the development of aggression throughout childhood, we know that not only do aggressive behaviors can emerge at an early age, they also tend to persist over time, without early prevention intervention (Broidy et al., 2003). The socialization of the male characteristics mentioned above also onsets at an early age making it a prime time-period for prevention intervention.

The possibility of negative effects of harmful masculinity occurs when negative masculine ideals are upheld. Primary gender role socialization aims to uphold patriarchal codes by requiring men to achieve dominant and aggressive behaviors (Levant et al., 2003). The concept of gender roles is not cast as a biological phenomenon, but rather a psychological and socially constructed set of ideas that are flexible to change (Levant & Wilmer, 2011).

Violence is just one of the ways in which boys and young men learn about and are trained in patriarchal masculinities. Growing up, boys and young men get messages from many different sources about what a “real man” should be, do and look like. In most societies, the dominant messages about what a “real man” is still emphasize the superiority of masculinity over femininity and the authority of men over women. In other words, a “real man” is still supposed to practice patriarchal masculinities.

1.5.1 From where/whom men and boys learn⁹?

1. *Family*: The family remains one of the most important agents of gender socialization, where boys and girls learn about patriarchal masculinities. Families the world over are changing, with many more female-headed households and ideas about men's natural authority as the "head of the household" no longer going unquestioned. Even so, boys and girls continue to grow up in families where women still do the bulk of the (unpaid) work in the home, despite the dramatic increase in the number of women also in waged employment outside the home. The family also remains a place of violence, where children from a young age too often both experience and witness violence.
2. *Schools*: Schools are among the most significant settings for the gender socialization of young people. Yet, schools are often where boys and girls learn early and often about patriarchal masculinities. Globally, girls still lag behind boys in school enrollment and completion. Curricula in most societies reinforce gender inequalities in their teachings on masculinities and femininities. Schools are also a setting for high levels of violence, perpetrated mainly by adult males and male students against both girls and boys.
3. *Peers*: Social psychology research consistently emphasizes the importance of youth peer groups in socialization processes that young people undergo. Young men's peer groups play a critical role in reinforcing ideas about and practices of masculinity to which young men feel they must conform. The sexual practices are bound up with patriarchal masculinities in the ways in which they use women as a means of claiming or demonstrating manhood.
4. *The media*: Research highlights the role that media industries (music, TV, radio, film, advertising and now the Internet) can play in socializing young people into patriarchal masculinities. They often show stereotyped images of aggressive, dominant masculinities and submissive and/or sexualized femininities. Information and communications technologies (ICTs), such as mobile phones and internet chat rooms, have dramatically increased access to pornography and are providing new methods and opportunities for sexual harassment, bullying, stalking and sexual exploitation.

⁹Taken from: Self-Learning Booklet: Understanding Masculinities and Violence Against Women and Girls TRAINING,
https://trainingcentre.unwomen.org/RESOURCES_LIBRARY/Resources_Centre/masculinities%20booklet%20.pdf

BREAKING FREE FROM BOYHOOD STEREOTYPES:

ACTION STEPS FOR PARENTS



INTRODUCTION

Boys receive—and absorb—harmful stereotypical messages about what it takes to “be a man” from an early age. 72% of young men in the US say they’ve been told that a real man behaves a “certain way”—they are self-sufficient, tough, stoic, attractive without effort, a risk-taker, and straight. If boys embrace these ideas, it can have long-term impacts: they may be less likely to have close, emotionally connected relationships; and more likely to have poorer mental health and to use violence later in life.

We all have a role to play in creating a gender equal, nonviolent future. We need all adults, including parents—and fathers in particular—to model vulnerability, connection, and respectful relationships.

TIPS FOR PARENTS AND ADULTS IN BOYS’ LIVES

1.

CHALLENGE YOUR OWN EXPECTATIONS OF HOW MEN AND WOMEN SHOULD ACT, AND MODEL THE BEHAVIORS YOU WANT TO ENCOURAGE.

If you feel that boys really should or shouldn’t do a certain thing because they are a boy, ask yourself, “Why?” The best way to show your son how to grow up to be a respectful, healthy, connected person is to model those qualities.

2.

CALL OUT HARMFUL STEREOTYPES WHEN YOU SEE THEM.

When you see narrow depictions of masculinity on screen, use it as an opportunity for discussion. If you see male characters bullying or being aggressive, ask, “Why is it that so many boys are shown bullying? How else could boys react in that moment?”

3.

TALK OPENLY ABOUT YOUR OWN FEARS, UNCERTAINTIES, AND DISAPPOINTMENTS.

In age appropriate ways, make it clear that you believe everyone has the right to share how they are feeling. Parents can model how to share difficult feelings, in healthy ways, communicating permission to a boy to do the same.

4.

ACKNOWLEDGE THE PARTICULAR CHALLENGES BOYS FEEL ABOUT BEING VULNERABLE, AND THE COURAGE IT TAKES FOR THEM TO BE OPEN.

In those moments when a child opens up to you, listen without judging, and help them to feel safe. Say, “I love you. You can always talk to me, even when you’re upset, hurt, or confused.”

5.

ENCOURAGE PERSONAL EXPRESSION WHEN IT COMES TO CLOTHING AND TOYS.

Allow boys to experiment with fashion and self-expression—as well as toys, games, and activities—that aren’t typically advertised to boys.

1.5.2 Masculinities and Violence Against Women and Girls

Male identity and masculine norms are undeniably linked with violence. Men and boys are disproportionately likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence, sexual violence, homicide, and violent crime, and likewise disproportionately likely to die by homicide and suicide. The connection between masculine culture and violence perpetration. In early childhood, violence and aggression are used to express emotions and distress. Over time, aggression in males shifts to asserting power over another, particularly when masculinity is threatened (Pellegrini & Bartini, 2001). Violence against women and girls is rooted in the “power over” beliefs and practices of patriarchal masculinities, and the greater political, economic and social power that men have as a result.

Because violence is about “power over”, particular groups of women and girls who are further disempowered by other forms of discrimination and socio-economic exclusion are often particularly vulnerable to violence. These include members of racial, ethnic, and sexual minorities; HIV-positive women; migrants and undocumented workers; women with disabilities; women in detention and women affected by armed conflict or in emergency settings. This violence of patriarchal masculinities feeds off and fuels other social inequalities, as can be seen in the use of sexual violence by men from majority/dominant communities against women and sometimes men in minority/ marginalized communities.

Male violence is also used to maintain men’s power over other men. Much of the violence that boys and men experience, whether being bullied in school or suffering violent induction rituals into male-dominated environments can be said to be gender-based, because it is about some men asserting patriarchal control over other men. Men’s experience of sexual violence, usually from other men, is severely under-reported. Men’s vulnerability to forced sex is associated with specific groups of men and boys (those who occupy subordinate positions in relation to other men), specific contexts (conflict situations) and specific settings (all-male institutions such as prisons and the military). Men are more likely than women to die as a result of male violence. Internationally, small arms, such as handguns, play a significant role in male-on-male violence and men’s gun violence is often sustained by cultures of aggressive masculinity. Guns continue to be symbols of male status and power and a means of demonstrating manhood, as well as being tools of male-dominated militaries.¹⁰

1.6 Self-Assessment Questions

Define the concept of masculinities in detail.

1. What are theories related to concept of masculinities? Illustrate your answer by giving examples from Pakistan.
2. What are the main factors that influence boys socialization when they are becoming men?
3. How the process of socialization of boys affected by patriarchal masculinity? Explain with examples.
4. What are different feminist strands of masculinities? Discuss with examples.
5. Discuss different types of masculinities in detail. How these types are related in Pakistani context? Illustrate your answer with examples.
6. Why masculinities are linked with VAW? Explain in detail with examples

¹⁰World Health Organization (2017). Violence against women. Retrieved from <http://www.who.int/news-room/fact-sheets/detail/violence-against-women>

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Unit 2

**MASCULINITIES AND
FEMINITIES AS CONCEPTS**

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INTRODUCTION

This unit talks about the definitions of femininities and masculinities as concepts of identity from feminist perspective. Moreover, it discusses the various characteristics of masculinities and femininities and the social examination attached to it. This unit enables students to distinguish the basic concept of sex, gender, gender stereotypes and the feminist's stances on them. The unit also provide opportunity to you to analyze how society describes and assigns gender roles according to the gender of the person. It will also look into the concept of patriarchy in detail which shape the social institutions and create gender inequality.

OBJECTIVES

This unit aims at:

1. introduce the concepts of femininities and masculinities
2. explain the various basic concept of masculine, feminine, gender, sex
3. informs about the different characteristics of feminine and masculine
4. discuss the various feminist standpoints on concepts like patriarchy and dual system theory

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After reading the unit, you should be able to:

1. describe the concept of sex, gender, masculinity, and femininity
2. discuss masculinity and its different forms
3. explain different feminine and masculine traits of individuals
4. understand the role of patriarchy as it shapes the society

2.1 Sex and Gender

Sex is biologically and physiologically determined based on an individual's anatomy at birth. It is typically, binary, meaning that one's sex is either male or female. While gender is a social construct. An individual's gender is their social identity resulting from their culture's conceptions of masculinity and femininity. Gender exists on a continuum. Individuals develop their own gender identity, influenced in part by the process of gender socialization. In simple words, sex is basically about the observable features, while gender has to do with habits inculcated in a person. Further, sex refers to the state of being either female or male. Gender is all about being masculine or feminine. It is important to note that the concept of sex is universal but that of gender is not universal; different societies have different outlook to gender.

2.2 Characteristics of Gender

As far as the gender is concerned, the following are some of the characteristics associated with it:

1. Where household chores are at play, the females tend to do more of them than males do.
2. The concept of gender came into common parlance during the early 1970s. It was used as an analytical category to draw a line of demarcation between biological sex differences and the way these are used to inform behaviors and competencies, which are then assigned as either 'masculine' or 'feminine'.
3. The purpose of affirming a sex/gender distinction was to argue that the actual physical or mental effects of biological difference had been exaggerated to maintain a patriarchal system of power and to create a consciousness among women that they were naturally better suited to 'domestic' roles.
4. In a post-industrial society those physiological sex differences which do exist become arguably. Ann Oakley's path finding text, *Sex, Gender and Society* (1972) lays the ground for further exploration of the construction of gender. She notes how Western cultures seem most prone to exaggeration of gender differences and argues that 'the "social efficiency" of our present gender roles centers round women's role as housewife and mother. There is also the more vaguely conceived belief that any tampering with these roles would diminish happiness, but this type of argument has a blatantly disreputable history and should have been discarded long ago.

Self-Assessment Question (SAQs)

1. Define sex and gender?
2. Enlist traits of gender

2.4 Masculinity

Masculinity is the set of social practices and cultural representations associated with being a man". The plural 'masculinities' is also used in recognition that ways of being a man and cultural representations of men vary, both historically and culturally, between societies and between different groupings of men within any one society. The feminist critique of masculinity as that against which women are defined as 'the Other' has a long history but writing on masculinities grew enormously from the 1980s onwards. In the words of one contributor, 'It seems as if every man writing a book on masculinities' (MacInnes 1998:4). In the literature on masculinities, evaluations of masculinity and explanations of the links between masculinity/ masculinities and those people defined as 'men' vary according to theoretical perspective.

In accounts drawing on the natural sciences, masculinity/masculinities are the result of physiological factors, such as hormones or chromosomes. Essentialism is also characteristic of populist 'celebratory' writing about masculinity, in which men are urged to reinvigorate their 'natural' masculinity. In place of essentialism, masculinities are argued to arise from the social contexts in which men live, from their positions in the various institutions and organizations of their society and/or in the context of the socially available discourses about gender. In accounts drawing on the natural sciences, masculinity/masculinities are the result of physiological factors, such as hormones or chromosomes.

- Goldberg (1979), for example, identifies the 'neuro-endocrine system' (the interaction of the nervous system with the hormone system) as the biological basis of masculinity/masculinities.
- Robert Bly (1991), for example, sees masculinity as being damaged by the conditions of modern society, and prescribes a remedy in the form of men-only retreats and bonding rituals. In contrast, from the more critical, academic perspective of the social sciences, masculinities are understood as a form of power relation, both among men themselves and between men and women.
- Connell (1995-2000) has developed a social scientific analysis of masculinities as part of his broader, relational theory of gender. For Connell, gender is the end-product of ongoing interpretations of and definitions placed upon the reproductive and sexual capacities of the human body. Masculinities (and femininities) can be understood, therefore, as the effects of these interpretations and definitions: on bodies, on personalities and on a society's culture and institutions. In Connell's account, masculinities occupy a higher ranking than femininity in the 'gender hierarchy' characteristic of modern Western societies.

- At the top of the gender hierarchy is ‘hegemonic masculinity’, the culturally dominant ideal of masculinity centered around authority, physical toughness and strength, heterosexuality, and paid work. This is an ideal of masculinity that few actual men live up to, but from which most gain advantage and so Connell calls the next level ‘complicit masculinity’.

Traditional Gender Stereotypes.

| <u><i>Feminine.</i></u> | <u><i>Masculine.</i></u> |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| <i>Not aggressive.</i> | <i>Aggressive.</i> |
| <i>Dependent.</i> | <i>Independent.</i> |
| <i>Easily influenced.</i> | <i>Not easily influenced.</i> |
| <i>Submissive.</i> | <i>Dominant.</i> |
| <i>Passive.</i> | <i>Active.</i> |
| <i>Home-oriented.</i> | <i>Worldly.</i> |
| <i>Easily hurt emotionally.</i> | <i>Not easily hurt emotionally.</i> |
| <i>Indecisive.</i> | <i>Decisive.</i> |
| <i>Talkative.</i> | <i>Not at all talkative.</i> |
| <i>Gentle.</i> | <i>Tough.</i> |
| <i>Sensitive to other's feelings.</i> | <i>Less sensitive to other's feelings.</i> |
| <i>Very desirous of security.</i> | <i>Not very desirous of security.</i> |
| <i>Cries a lot.</i> | <i>Rarely cries.</i> |
| <i>Emotional.</i> | <i>Logical.</i> |
| <i>Verbal.</i> | <i>Analytical.</i> |
| <i>Kind.</i> | <i>Cruel.</i> |
| <i>Tactful.</i> | <i>Blunt.</i> |
| <i>Nurturing.</i> | <i>Not nurturing.</i> |

2.4.1 Homosexual Masculinity

This form of masculinity includes a range of masculine behavior which does not fully match up to the macho ideals of hegemonic masculinity. The praxis integral to this enactment is not only to embrace same-sex love without abiding by the terms of heterosexual attraction (e.g. opposites attract) and but also expose how heterosexual masculinity is achieved and sustained by the forceful repression of same-sex intimacy be it sexual or not among men (especially in the context of a masculine subject desiring the “same” masculine other).

2.4.2 Masculinity Politics

At the bottom of the gender hierarchy are femininities. In Connell’s analysis, the social changes of the twentieth century (in the industrialized West) have undermined the gender hierarchy, and the position of hegemonic masculinity within it. In this context, masculinity politics have developed: ‘those mobilizations

and struggles where the meaning of masculine gender is at issue, and with it, men's position in gender relations.

- Connell goes on to identify the main forms taken by masculinity politics in Western industrialized societies, including masculinity therapy, such as called for by Bly (1991), gay liberation, and 'exit politics', in which heterosexual men actively oppose hegemonic masculinity. The theorizing of multiple masculinities by writers like Connell (1990) has led others to raise questions about the meaning of masculinity as a concept.
- MacInnes (1998) for example, points to the vague, confused, and contradictory definitions of the concept present with in much of the masculinity's literature. If masculinities are so varied and fluid, then what is it that makes them recognizably masculine? MacInnes suggests that, in fact, many writers on masculinities 'smuggle in' to their otherwise social constructionist accounts an assumption that it is only biological men who possess masculinity. MacInnes himself argues that masculinity does not exist as the property, character trait or aspect of individuals but should instead be understood as an ideology about what men should be like, and this is developed by men and women in order to make sense of their lives.
- One example is the work of Speer (2001) which shows how, in talking about sport and leisure, young men draw on a range of particular cultural models of masculinities and in the process give shifting, gendered, accounts of themselves.

In his more recent work, Connell emphasizes that masculinities are not simply equivalent to biological men. In other words, 'masculine' bodies, behavior or attitudes can be the social practices of people who are otherwise defined as 'women'. For Connell, then, masculinities are a concept that 'names patterns of gender practice, not just groups of people. Elsewhere, he insists that masculinities cannot be understood only as discourses, since 'gender relations are also constituted in, and shape, non-discursive practices such as labor, violence, and sexuality, childcare and so on' (2001).

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. What is your understand of masculinity?
2. What is meant by homosexuality?
3. How Connell define masculinity?

2.5 Femininity

In simple words, femininity is about qualities or attributes regarded as characteristic of women is called femininity. The quality or nature of the female sex: the quality, state, or degree of being feminine or womanly challenging traditional notions about femininity and masculinity. Femininity is partially socially constructed, being made up of both socially defined and biologically created factors. This makes it distinct from the definition of the biological female sex, as both males and females can exhibit feminine traits.

Femininity (also called womanliness or girlishness) is a set of attributes, behaviors, and roles generally associated with women and girls. Femininity is socially constructed; research indicates that some behaviors considered feminine are biologically influenced. To what extent femininity is biologically or socially influenced is subject to debate. It is distinct from the definition of the biological female sex, as both males and females can exhibit feminine traits.

2.5.1 Characteristics of Femininity

Traits traditionally cited as feminine include gracefulness, gentleness, empathy, humility, and sensitivity, though traits associated with femininity vary across societies and individuals and are influenced by a variety of social and cultural factors. Traits such as nurturance, sensitivity, sweetness, supportiveness, gentleness, warmth, passivity, cooperativeness, expressiveness, modesty, humility, empathy, affection, tenderness, and being emotional, kind, helpful, devoted, and understanding have been cited as stereotypically feminine. The defining characteristics of femininity vary between and even within societies.

1. Femininity as a social construct relies on a binary gender system that treats men and masculinity as different from, and opposite to, women and femininity.
2. In patriarchal societies, including Western ones, conventional attitudes to femininity contribute to the subordination of women, as women are seen as more compliant, vulnerable, and less prone to violence.

2.6 Gender Stereotypes

These stereotypes influence traditional feminine occupations, resulting in micro aggression toward women who break traditional gender roles. These stereotypes include that: Women have a caring nature, have skill at household-related work, have greater manual dexterity than men, are more honest than men, and have a

more attractive physical appearance". Occupational roles associated with these stereotypes include:

1. Midwife, teacher, accountant, data entry clerk, cashier, salesperson, receptionist, housekeeper, cook, maid, social worker, and nurse.
2. Occupational segregation maintains gender inequality and gender pay gap. Certain medical specializations, such as surgery and emergency medicine, are dominated by a masculine culture and have a higher salary.
3. Leadership is associated with masculinity in Western culture and women are perceived less favorably as potential leaders. However, some people have argued that the "feminine"-style leadership, which is associated with leadership that focuses on help and cooperation, is advantageous over "masculine" leadership, which is associated with focusing on tasks and control. Female leaders are more often described by Western media using characteristics associated with femininity, such as emotions.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. Define femineity.
2. What are characteristics of femineity?

2.7 Patriarchy

Patriarchy means rule by the male head of a social unit (a family or tribe)". The patriarch, typically a societal elder, has legitimate power over others in the social unit, including other (especially, younger) men, all women, and children. However, since the early twentieth century, feminist writers have used the concept to refer to the social system of masculine domination over women. Patriarchy has been a fundamentally important concept in gender studies, leading to the development of a number of theories that aim to identify the bases of women's subordination to men. A patriarchal society consists of a male-dominated power structure throughout organized society and in individual relationships. Power is related to privilege. In a system in which men have more power than women, men have some level of privilege to which women are not entitled. The concept of patriarchy has been central to many feminist theories. It is an attempt to explain the stratification of power and privilege by gender that can be observed by many objective measures.

A patriarchy, from the ancient Greek *patriarches*, was a society where power was held by and passed down through the elder males. When modern historians and sociologists describe a "patriarchal society," they mean that men hold the positions of power and have more privilege: head of the family unit, leaders of social groups, boss in the workplace, and heads of government. In patriarchy, there

is also a hierarchy among the men. In traditional patriarchy, the elder men had power over the younger generations of men. In modern patriarchy, some men hold more power (and privilege) by virtue of the position of authority, and this hierarchy of power (and privilege) is considered acceptable. The term comes from *pater* or father. Father or father-figures hold the authority in a patriarchy. Traditional patriarchal societies are, usually, also patrilineal titles and property are inherited through male lines.

2.7.1 History of Patriarchy

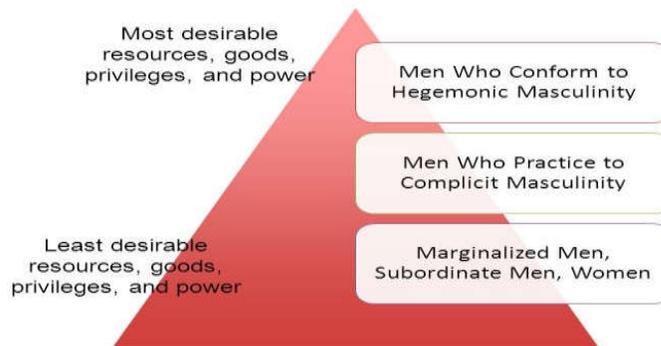
Patriarchy is a social system that came into being approximately 10–12 thousand years ago. It is largely recognized to have coincided with the advent of agriculture (*see the note at the bottom for an edit*). It's far from being the only system we've ever had or an inevitable one. In fact, for most of human history, we've lived very differently.

The origins of patriarchy are closely related to the concept of gender roles, or the set of social and behavioral norms that are considered to be socially appropriate for individuals of a specific sex. Much work has been devoted to understanding why women are typically thought to inhabit a domestic role while men are expected to seek professional satisfaction outside of the home. This division of labor is frequently mapped onto a social hierarchy in which males' freedom to venture outside of the home and presumed control over women is perceived as superior and dominant. As such, rather than working to destabilize the historical notion of patriarchy, much literature assess the origins of patriarchy or a social system in which the male gender role acts as the primary authority figure central to social organization, and where fathers hold authority over women, children, and property. It implies the institutions of male rule and privilege and entails female subordination.

Though less popular in modern academic circles, there has been a traditional search for biological explanations of gender roles. Before the nineteenth century, this conversation was primarily theological and deemed patriarchy to be the "natural order. This took on a biological trope with Charles Darwin's ideas about evolution in *The Origin of Species*. In this work, Darwin explained evolution from the biological understanding that is now the accepted scientific theory. Biologists such as Alfred Russel Wallace quickly applied his theory to mankind. To be clear, though, the line of thought called Social Darwinism, or the application of evolutionary principles to the development of human beings and our social practices, was never promoted by Darwin himself.

With the popularization of the idea of human evolution, what had previously been explained as a “natural order” for the world morphed into a “biological order.” The modern term for using biological explanations to explain social phenomena is sociobiology. Sociobiologists use genetics to explain social life, including gender roles. According to the sociobiologists, patriarchy arises more as a result of inherent biology than social conditioning. One such contemporary sociobiologist is Steven Goldberg, who, until retirement, was a sociologist at the City College of New York. In 1973, Goldberg published *The Inevitability of Patriarchy*, which advanced a biological interpretation of male dominance. Goldberg argued that male dominance is a human universal as a result of our biological makeup. One evolutionary sociobiological theory for the origin of patriarchy begins with the view that females almost always invest more energy into producing offspring than males and, as a result, females are a resource over which males compete. This theory is called Bateman’s principle. One important female preference in selecting a mate is which males control more resources to assist her and her offspring. This, in turn, causes a selection pressure on men to be competitive and succeed in gaining resources in order to compete with other men.

Hegemonic Masculinity and Patriarchy



These sociobiological theories of patriarchy are counterbalanced by social constructionist theories that emphasize how certain cultures manufacture and perpetuate gender roles. According to social constructionist theories, gender roles are created by individuals within a society who choose to imbue a particular structure with meaning. Gender roles are constantly toyed with and negotiated by actors subscribing to and questioning them. Since the feminist movement in the 1970s and the flood of women into the workforce, social constructionism has gained even greater traction. Patriarchy is the most elemental essence of society that has existed since the dawn of time and certainly since recorded history more than 5000 years ago (French, 1985; Lerner, 1986). Societal values are governed by the single overarching ideology of patriarchy that is known to reach back formally 5000-7,000 years (von Werlhof, 2007). Most anthropologists would

agree, regardless of their stance on issues such as the universality of male dominance, that an entirely different order of male dominance became associated with the rise of the large and populous agricultural states organized in terms of classes. The patriarchal systems that emerged brought women for the first time under the direct control of fathers and husbands with few cross-cutting sources of support. Women as wives under this system were not social adults, and women's lives were defined in terms of being a wife. Women's mothering and women's sexuality came to be seen as requiring protection by fathers and husbands. Protecting unmarried women's virginity appears to go along with the idea of the domestication of women and an emphasis on a radical dichotomy between the public and the private sphere.

For most of human history, people lived together in small bands, subsisting as hunter-gatherers, sharing nearly everything as part of their survival strategy. Anthropologists are of the opinion that there is still this wider perception that hunter-gatherers were more macho or male-dominated. Patriarchy appeared with the emergence of agriculture when people could start to accumulate resources, that inequality emerged. Although there is a substantial element in patriarchal systems of males having power and primacy over females, it is fundamentally a dominance hierarchy, one which detrimentally affects men also, particularly those who are not at the peak of the hierarchy.

In other words, although it is difficult for many people to readily hold this idea that patriarchy is not about men as individuals, *per se*. In fact, women may play a significant role in maintaining the social system of patriarchy as well, in part by helping to enforce the rules of the so-called "man box."

According to Glickman and others, the Man Box is a set of rigid expectations that define what a "real man" is. A real man is strong and stoic. He doesn't show emotions other than anger and excitement. He is a breadwinner. He is heterosexual. He is able-bodied. He plays or watches sports. He is the dominant participant in every exchange. He is a firefighter, a lawyer, a CEO. He is a man's man. And whether or not we'd actually want to spend any time with him, we all know who he is.

This "real man," as defined by the Man Box, represents what is supposedly normative and acceptable within the tightly controlled performance of male masculinity. He dominates our movies and television. He defines what we expect from our political leaders. He is the archetypal sports star. He is our symbol for what is admirable and honorable in world over. And if he happens to get aggressive, belligerent, and violent sometimes, well, that's just the price of real masculinity.

Patriarchy has carried out a process of cultural socialization that has normalized male domination, violence, and control in human relations (including modern

democratic societies), leading to an inability to potentially conceive of more successful social systems to organize human behavior (French, 1985; Lerner, 1986). Patriarchal power is absorbed and deeply embedded into the psychological fabric of humankind. We become unwitting hosts of its effects and co-collaborators in its action whether male or female.

The roots of patriarchy and violence lie in the long distant historical past, tens of thousands of years ago, where hominid survival in a hostile environment was dependent on genetic physical strength and animalistic prowess. It was a world where the dominant natural social reality was violence and death that were a necessary daily experience as pre-humans fought to survive. Aggression and violence were hard-wired into early societies in order to exist and thus there are few examples of groups who peacefully co-existed and survived (Lerner, 1986). Those that did were often conquered by violent and aggressive tribes and disappeared from the social and anthropological landscape. However, as humankind evolved and stabilized into more secure social units, the aggression and violence became internalized rather than extinguished through more pastoral existence. This destructive evolutionary pattern continues to-day.

Passive and peaceful cultures throughout history have been victimized by those who revered power and control. Unfortunately, aggression and violence are the great levelers, preventing more peaceful, often more highly developed, and democratic species from surviving. French (1985) points out that it took millennia for patriarchy to gain domination over the minds of people, but it has now spread to all corners of the globe.

But patriarchy is a militant ideology. To revere power above everything else is to be willing to sacrifice everything else to power. Many cultures accepted such a morality only with reluctance, but power worship is contagious. If a worshipper of power decides to extend his power over your society, your choices are between surrendering and mounting an equal and opposite power. In either case, the power worshiper wins-he has converted your society into a people who understand that power is the highest good. Over the millennia, patriarchy spread to all corners of the planet, and only a couple of tiny societies still exist that appear not to have been influenced by it. (P:18-19).

Humans also soon learned that some things could only be accomplished collectively, and that survival depended not only on an individual's capacities but often on the collective capacities of larger groups of people working in concert. Humankind was an increasingly social but inherently violent species. As social communities of beings with shared interests in survival grew, nomadic existence progressed to more stable and efficient agrarian subsistence, which allowed communities to create more enduring social entities. However, this did not stop

the propensity for violence. Banding together still meant a collective massing of potential for even greater violence directed toward any- one outside of the group. Fear was still a powerful social motivator. Through- out this process the dominance and influence of patriarchal male values and behavior permeated early social development based on physical violence, power, and force and continued to dominate human experience long after the need to survive had passed.

As Learner (1997) points out

In its earliest form patriarchy appeared as the archaic state. Long before its formation in the 2nd millennium B.C. gender had already been created and defined. Gender, the different roles and behavior deemed appropriate to each of the sexes was expressed in values, customs, and social roles. During the long period that led to the establishment of patriarchally organized archaic states, gender definitions became institutionalized in laws, the organization of hierarchies and in religion(P:67).

2.8 Feminist Critiques of Patriarchy

Feminist theorists have expanded the definition of patriarchal society to describe a systemic bias against women. As second-wave feminists examined society during the 1960s, they did observe households headed by women and female leaders. They were, of course, concerned with whether this was uncommon. More significant, however, was the way society *perceived* women in power as an exception to a collectively held view of women's "role" in society. Rather than saying that individual men oppressed women, most feminists saw that oppression of women came from the underlying bias of a patriarchal society. Feminist have many critiques on the patriarchy as a concept and social system. There are three of the most important theories in which patriarchy is a central concept are those commonly labelled as

- Radical feminist,
- Marxist feminist
- Dual systems theory'.

2.8.1 Radical Feminist

In 'radical feminist' analyses, patriarchy is regarded as the primary and fundamental social division in society. According to Millet (1997) in some radical feminist analyses, the institution of the family is identified as a key means through which men's domination is achieved" (P23). In other radical feminist accounts of patriarchy, the control men have over women's bodies is regarded as important. For Firestone (1971) "inequalities between women and men are biologically based, with the different reproductive capacities of women and men being especially important" (P:78).

In other radical feminist analyses, it is masculine control over women's bodies through sexuality or male violence in the form of rape that is regarded as being of central importance (Rich 1980; Brown miller 1976).

2.8.2. Marxist Feminist

In a further grouping of feminist analyses, often labeled as 'Marxist feminism', patriarchy is argued to arise from the workings of the capitalist economic system: it requires, and benefits from, women's unpaid labour in the home. The subordination of women to men in society therefore tends to be regarded as a by-product of capital's subordination of labour. According to Barrett (1988) "Class inequality is argued to be the central feature of society and is seen to determine gender inequality"(P:45).

2.8.3. Dual Systems Theory

A third grouping of feminist perspectives gives theoretical priority to two systems, capitalism, and patriarchy in the explanation of patriarchy. Often referred to as 'dual systems theory', this perspective in many ways represents a synthesis of Marxist and radical feminist accounts of gender relations. Indeed, the dual systems approach can be seen to have emerged out of the critiques leveled at Marxist theories, which may over-emphasize class and capitalism, and the critiques leveled at radical feminist theories, which may over-emphasize patriarchy and/or biology.

1. In some versions of dual systems theory, capitalism and patriarchy are understood as interdependent, mutually accommodating systems of oppression, whereby both systems structure and benefit from women's subordination (Hartmann, 1979).
2. While patriarchy has long been important in feminist analyses, it has also been the subject of considerable debate. There are a number of criticisms commonly leveled at interpretations of gender relations that make use of the concept of patriarchy.

2.8.4 Interpretations of Patriarchy

1. First, such interpretations have been said to display a tendency towards a historicism (in other words, a failure to acknowledge or account for historical variations in gender relations).
2. Second, theories in which patriarchy is a central concept have been criticized for their reductionism (in other words, reducing the explanation of the basis of patriarchy to one (or two) factor(s), such as biology or capitalism or the family).
3. Third, patriarchy encourages a rather limited conceptualization of gender relations, as occurring only between women and men. Consequently,

theories in which patriarchy is central tend to under-acknowledge the full extent of gender relations: involving relationships between men and men, women, and women as well as between men and women.

4. Fourth, and elatedly, theoretical accounts using the concept of patriarchy have been criticized for a tendency towards universalism (in other words, for failing to recognize cultural variations, in their assumption or suggestion that relations between women and men are the same the world over). Example: In black feminist critiques, it is argued that analyses of patriarchy that fail to fully examine and theories racism are flawed and incomplete: women's subordination can only be eliminated if the system of racism is challenged, alongside those of patriarchy and capitalism.
5. Fifth, theories employing the concept of patriarchy have been criticized for their abstract structuralism (in other words, a tendency to over-emphasize, or to reify, structures while failing to recognize fully the role individual agency plays, both in the ongoing creation of gender inequality and in resistance to it).

2.8.5. Walby's Theory of Patriarchy:

In her theory of patriarchy, Walby (1990) claims to have overcome the earlier problems of reductionism, a historicism, universalism, and the tendency to lose agency in social and historical processes. For Walby's:

1. Patriarchy is a system of social structures and practices, in which men dominate, oppress and exploit women.
2. Walby's identifies six structures of patriarchy (household production, paid work, the state, male violence, sexuality, culture) that together are argued to capture the depth, pervasiveness, and interconnectedness of women's subordination.
3. Her theory of patriarchy also allows for change over historical time. Walby's argues that, in Britain during the twentieth century, patriarchy changed from the 'private' form to the 'public' form. Private patriarchy is based around the family and the household and involves individual men exploiting the labour of individual women. Women are largely confined to the household sphere and have limited participation in public life. In public patriarchy, women are not excluded from public life but face inequality and discrimination within it, for example, in paid work.
4. For Walby's, the feminist movement was a key factor in bringing about the change from private to public patriarchy, via the struggle for the vote, for access to education and to the professions, to have legal rights of property ownership, rights in marriage and divorce and so on. However, patriarchy itself was and is not defeated.

5. Walby says that it has merely changed its form so that now, as she puts it, rather than being restricted to the household, women have ‘the whole of society in which to roam and be exploited’ (1990: 201).

2.8.6 Criticism on Walby’s Reformulation of Patriarchy

Although an improvement on earlier theories, Walby’s reformulation of patriarchy has itself been subject to criticism. For instance, Anthias and Yuval-Davies (1992), criticize Walby for her treatment of the relationship between gender and other forms of social inequality, especially class and ‘race’. They argue that Walby’s theory portrays capitalism, patriarchy and racism as systems that are, to a large extent, separate and independent of one another. The implication is that class and race are merely extra layers of oppression faced by some women. For Anthias and Yuval-Davies (1992), this does not adequately account for the fully fused nature of the relationships between patriarchy, capitalism, and racism, nor for the way that class and ‘race’ make for a qualitatively different kind of gender inequality.

Pollert (1996) argues that (as in earlier formations of patriarchy) Walby’s theory of patriarchy conflates explanation and description. In other words, instead of identifying the origins of patriarchy or the root of its perpetuation, Walby’s theory tends toward a circular argument where the explanation for the system of patriarchy are the features of patriarchy itself. To this extent, then, Walby’s attempt to overcome the weaknesses of patriarchy as an explanatory concept is unsuccessful. At most, Walby can be said to have developed a more elaborate description of patriarchy, but not an explanation of why it exists or how it is perpetuated. For these reasons, there is a growing consensus that patriarchy should be abandoned as an explanatory concept or theory and that it should only be used as an adjective, to describe relationships or institutions where men dominate women. Rather than attempting to reformulate patriarchy as an explanatory concept, various writers have advocated an alternative approach to gender theorizing, one which ‘encourages a focus on the specifics of social relations, rather than on homogeneous social systems’.

2.9 Self-Assessment Questions

1. Explain the different concepts of sex and gender?
2. “Masculinity is the set of social practices and cultural representations associated with being a man”. Explain.
3. Critically examine the concept of Patriarchy.
4. Explain Walby’s theory of Patriarchy.
5. Briefly discuss the three theories of Patriarchy.
6. In some radical feminist analyses, the institution of the family is identified as a key means through which men’s domination is achieved.” Explain.

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Unit 3

**STRUCTURES, INSTITUTION AND
PROCESSES**

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INTRODUCTION

This unit intends to highlight social institutions, especially class and politics with relevance to masculinity. Moreover, the power structure that exist in every society is shaped by the gendered norms and practices. The feminists have critiqued on the theories and perspectives that seek to understand how structures of power, inequalities are produced and reproduced through socially constructed binaries. The unit will shed how class and politics structures impact masculinities in society.

OBJECTIVES

The unit aims to introduce you to;

1. institutions and social activities are regulated in any society
2. hegemonic Masculinity and Foucault
3. definition of class and its link to masculinity
4. perspective of men and masculinities with reference to politics

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After reading the unit, you should be able to;

1. discuss how institutions regulate themselves in societies
2. explain how Class and masculinity are interlinked
3. elaborate the impact of masculinity in politics
4. how Foucault and Gramsci define institutional power and masculinity

3.1 Masculinities, Institutions and Social Activities

In the social sciences, social structure is the patterned social arrangements in society. Social structure is sometimes defined simply as patterned social relations those regular and repetitive aspects of the interactions between the members of a given social entity. Even on this descriptive level, the concept is highly abstract: it selects only certain elements from ongoing social activities. The larger the social entity considered, the more abstract the concept tends to be. For this reason, the social structure of a small group is generally more closely related to the daily activities of its individual members than is the social structure of a larger society. Social life is structured along the dimensions of time and space.

Institutions are primary sites for the reproduction of gendered, classed, racialized, and sexualized inequalities. Everyone does not have access to the same institutions the same schools, the same hospitals, marriage, etc., because often times these institutions differentiate between and differentially reward people based on categories of gender, class, race, ability, and sexuality. For example, think of the city or town you grew up in. There may have been different schools located in different areas of the city, in neighborhoods that differed in the class and race composition of the people living in those neighborhoods. Perhaps there was a school located in a predominantly middle-class neighborhood and another school located in a neighborhood of predominantly working-class people of color. Perhaps there were also private schools that required high tuition rates. Schools located in different neighborhoods will have different amounts of resources books, computers, the ability to pay teachers and staff, etc. Those students who live in the middle-class school district will benefit from a well-funded public school, while students who live in the working-class school district will be disadvantaged from the lower amount of funding of their school district. Meanwhile, students who attend the prestigious private school will most likely already be economically privileged and will further benefit from a well-funded school that surrounds them with students with similar class backgrounds and expectations. These students will most likely benefit from a curriculum of college preparatory classes, while students in public schools are less likely to be enrolled in college prep classes limiting their ability to get into college. Therefore, the same race and class inequalities that limited access to the middle-class, predominantly white neighborhood school will give those privileged students greater chances to enter college and maintain their privileged status. In this way, race, and class privileges (and disadvantages) get reproduced through institutions.

Institutions shape, and are shaped by, culture. Culture is a system of symbols, values, practices, and interests of a group of people. Culture is shot through

with ideology, which can be understood to be the ideas, attitudes, and values of the dominant culture. It is important to note that “dominant culture” does not describe the most numerous groups within society. “Dominant culture” typically describes a relatively small social group that has a disproportionate amount of power.

Specific social activities take place at specific times, and time is divided into periods that are connected with the rhythms of social life the routines of the day, the month, and the year. Specific social activities are also organized at specific places; particular places, for instance, are designated for such activities as working, worshiping, eating, and sleeping. In any society there is a more or less regular division of labour

These are social structures that have attained a high degree of resilience. They are composed of cultural-cognitive, normative, and regulative elements that, together with associated activities and resources, provide stability and meaning to social life. Institutions are transmitted by various types of carriers, including symbolic systems, relational systems, routines, and artifacts. There are certain characteristics of institutions which are discussed as under

Institutions operate at different levels of jurisdiction, from the world system to localized interpersonal relationships. Institutions by definition connote stability but are subject to change processes, both incremental and discontinuous.

Institutionalization is the process of developing or transforming rules and procedures that influence a set of human interactions. Institutionalization is a process intended to regulate societal behavior (i.e., supra-individual behavior) within organizations or entire societies. At least three actions in the process can be distinguished: (1) rulemaking or installment, (2) rule adaptation, or developing best practices, and (3) rule change, or replacing old rules with new ones.

Institutionalization is a human activity that installs, adapts, and changes rules and procedures in both social and political spheres. It affects the interactive behavior of individuals and organizations as well as of political entities (e.g., states).

3.1.1. Process of Institutions

In sociology, institutionalization (or institutionalization) refers to the process of embedding some conception (for example a belief, norm, social role, particular value or mode of behavior) within an organization, social system, or society as a whole. The term may also be used to refer to committing a particular individual or

group to an institution, such as a mental or welfare institution. The term may also be used in a political sense to apply to the creation or organization of governmental institutions or particular bodies responsible for overseeing or implementing policy, for example in welfare or development.

As a sociopolitical phenomenon during the period of the industrial revolution in Europe many countries went through a period of "institutionalization", which saw a large expansion and development of the role of government within society, particularly into areas seen previously as the private sphere. Institutionalization is also seen as being an important part of process of modernization in developing countries, involving again the expansion and improved organization of government structures.

Mainstream institutions often privilege and reward the dominant culture. The sociologist Pierre Bourdieu (1984) argues that institutions value certain types of culture and reward people who have those types of culture. Therefore, different social classes have different types of cultural capital assets that are not necessarily economic but promote social mobility. For example, students who attend public schools in middle-class districts or private schools often have access to more language courses, arts courses, and extracurricular activities skills, knowledge, and experiences that colleges value greatly in their admission decisions. Schools in less economically privileged districts often have fewer of these options. In this way, culture is not an even playing field, and not everyone has equal access to defining what types of symbols, meanings, values, and practices are valued by institutions. Those groups of people with greater access to mainstream institutions those who have been born into wealth, have a greater ability to define what types of culture will be valued by institutions, and often have access to the cultural capital that mainstream institutions value.

The interaction between culture and institutions creates social structures. Social structures are composed of

1. socially constructed ideas, principles, and categories and
2. institutions that distribute material resources to stratified groups based on socially constructed ideas, principles, and categories. Additionally,
3. they shape or structure experience, identity, and practice. Social structures are relational, in that they function to stratify groups based on the categories that underlie those groups allocating both symbolic and material benefits and resources unequally among those groups. "Symbolic resources" are the nonmaterial rewards that accrue to privileged groups. An example would be the way in which employers often assume that employees who are fathers

are more responsible, mature, and hardworking, and deserve more pay as opposed to their childless peers or to working mothers. In this example, the sex/gender/sexuality system is a structure through which employers as gatekeepers of advancement through institutions of work privilege heterosexual fatherhood. The effect of this is the reproduction of the symbolic privileging of heterosexual masculinity, and the unequal allocation of material resources (salary and wage raise, advancement opportunities) to married men with children. Unmarried men without children do not receive the same symbolic and material rewards nor do married women with children. In this sense, structures limit access to opportunities: educational opportunities, employment opportunities, and opportunities to move up in social class standing.

In the words of Kang et al (2017) there may be a tendency to think of “structures” as unchangeable and monolithic entities, our definition of structure does not make such an assumption. In our definition, social structures are made possible by their reliance on socially constructed categories that is, categories that change through time and place. Furthermore, while social structures can be said to structure experience and identity, people are not passive observers as the history of labor struggles, struggles for self-determination in former colonies, the civil rights movement, and feminist movements have shown, people fight back against the institutions and dominant cultural ideas and categories that have been used to oppress them. Even though socially constructed categories have typically been used to stratify groups of people, those same groups of people may base an activist struggle out of that identity, transforming the very meanings of that identity in the process. For instance, the phrases “Black power” was created by Black liberationists in the late 1960s to claim and re-frame identities that had been disparaged by the dominant culture and various mainstream institutions. This history of resistance within the crux of overarching structures of power shows that people have agency to make choices and act. In other words, while structures limit opportunities and reproduce inequalities, groups of people who have been systemically denied access to mainstream institutions can and have exerted their will to change those situations. Therefore, structure and agency should not be

viewed as two diametrically opposed forces, but as two constantly interacting forces that shape each other¹¹.

3.1.2. Hegemonic Masculinity and Foucault

Although Foucault does not directly address social psychology, feminism, or hegemonic masculinity, his work has inspired discourse within these fields. But as a critical thinker, he had a unique capacity for reframing discourses, and an acute ability to deconstruct traditional readings of history. He took an interest in the use of language and explored how discourses form and enforce social norms. For Foucault, an individual 's thoughts are limited by the unconscious rules of her social and historical aera. Therefore, many of Foucault' s writings are dedicated to exploring how social contexts limit the range of thinking of those who are living at a particular time and place. As mentioned above, Foucault 's work has been used by a wide array of theorist from diverse fields of study. The concept of hegemonic masculinity is one such theory. However, it was made popular by Connell in his 1971 book, *Gender and Power* (Messerschmidt, 2012).

Since its conception, the theory of hegemonic masculinity has provided a foundation for more than a few social psychological investigations. Like all interesting theories though, it has received serious criticism (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).Connell (1987) agrees with Foucault that all identities are socially constructed and non-essential. He applies this idea to gender and argues that because masculinities are socially constructed, it is within the realm of possibility to change them (Moller,2007). This view may be seen as empowering because it grants men the opportunity to adopt more-desirable forms of masculinity. However, this view can also be seen as oppressive because it suggests that some forms of masculinity are problematic and should be replaced by better ones (Moller, 2007).Despite this paradox, Connell 'sargument is worth examining as it uses the work of Foucault. In his theory of masculinities, Connell draws on Gramsci's(1971) conception of hegemony, which suggests that the bourgeois is able to maintain control over other social classes by propagating a

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belief in the normality of their ideologies. Analogously, Connell (1987) argues that men sustain their dominance over women by propagating certain forms of masculinity. For Connell, this process also guarantees and enforces the subordination of non-conforming men. Using Foucault's idea of regimes of truth, Connell (1987) maintains that socially constructed masculine identities emerge from *gender regimes* found in different cultures at different times. To elaborate, he puts forward the notion that some masculine identities become dominant (winning *styles*), and men have no choice but to engage with them. He suggests that men benefit from the winning style of masculinity regardless of whether they conform to or resist them.

For Connell (1987) it is not the most common form of masculinity that contribute to the oppression of women) and common man) but it is the most socially authorized from. To elaborate, he notes that the concept of hegemonic masculinity doesn't describe real men but refers to a social ideal that serves to keep men in dominant roles. From this perspective the dominant masculine symbols like Rambo offers a man a form of masculinity that they will never embody but will support their position of power.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

What is social structure?

What are the characteristics of social structure?

How Foucault thoughts can define masculinity and power?

3.2 Masculinity and Class

Class is one of a number of social hierarchies or systems of social stratification that have represented core elements in sociology. Other systems include slavery and caste and feudal systems, and these are usually seen as being distinct from class relationships in that they are associated with particular historical or geographical areas. Class stratification is seen as the form most closely associated with industrial and capitalist societies, although elements of other systems may also be present. In addition, there are hierarchies that can overlap and coexist with any of these particular systems of stratification. These can include gender, age, and generation, as well as race and ethnicity, some more recent analyses would argue for the inclusion of hierarchies based on sexualities and forms of ability and disability.

All these sets of differences have some features in common. They are relational in that the various elements (working class, slave, women, black, etc.) cannot be

considered apart from other, usually opposed, elements. They refer to some kind of hierarchical organization and inequalities of power. They are structured in such a way to a greater or lesser extent, exist outside individuals and persist over time. And they are, again to varying degrees, seen as significant distinctions in the societies in which they exist. Class has sometimes been seen as a particularly British obsession, and this in part relates to its historical position as the first industrial capitalist society, a point recognized by Marx and many of the early socialists.

Questions about the relationships between different social hierarchies developed in the last part of the 20th century, and one of the more heated sociological debates has revolved around issues of class and gender, more specifically about whether women have been marginalized in traditional class analysis. Joan Acker (1973) claimed that the relative invisibility of women in class analysis was a case of “intellectual sexism”; John Goldthorpe (1983) presented that the individual or the “family” should be treated as the unit of class analysis.

As was so often the case when gender was discussed, the focus was almost wholly on women and their marginal position within traditional class analysis. As such, the debate could be seen as part of the wider feminist critique of conventional social science and the way in which, whatever the topic, women were either marginalized or stereotyped. What was not explored in the course of the debate was the position of men within class analysis.

Within class analysis, there are a range of qualifications and distinctions, some of which have a particular relevance when it comes to considering the relationships between masculinity and class:

- *Objective and subjective understandings of class.* This is the distinction between the categories that are established in class analysis and the way in which class is actually understood and experienced by individuals or, indeed, whether the term class has any meaning at all.
- *Class in itself and class for itself.* This well-known distinction, deriving from Marxist analysis, contrasts class as a category, a mode of distinguishing and classifying people and class as the basis for some form of collective action. This entails the development of some form of class consciousness, an awareness of some shared fate, and collective experiences, together with some understanding of the possibilities of challenging or even changing the class system.
- *Class and Status.* Although, strictly speaking, this takes us beyond class analysis, it is important, as several popular and social-scientific

understandings of class contain elements of both. Roughly speaking, class in this instance refers to the unequal distribution of life chances; status refers to the social distribution of honor or prestige. It could be argued that the popular and widely used distinction between upper, middle, and working contains elements of both class and status.

- *Class as based on individuals and class as based on families or households.* This is a distinction with particular relevance for a gendered analysis of class (Curtis, 1986). Much class analysis takes individuals as the units and then aggregates them. However, several sociologists have argued that the family or the household should be the unit of analysis, although the matter becomes complex once one moves away from assuming that the class position of a household is determined by the class of the main (male) breadwinner (Morgan, 1996).
- *One final distinction deal with the historical location of the idea of class.* The Communist Manifesto famously begins with the words “the history of all hitherto existing society is the history of class struggles” (McLellan, 1988: 21). Much of its actual focus, however, is on classes under capitalism. Sociological analysis has tended, explicitly or implicitly, to limit the idea of class to capitalism and post capitalism. Thus, there is a distinction between an almost timeless notion of class divisions, popularly outlined in terms of the “haves” and the “have nots,” and one that is much more historically situated and identified with modernity.

3.2.1 The Masculinities of Class

There is one further distinction that should be made before continuing with the analysis. We may see that men as holders of class power. Thus, men will be found disproportionately located in the highest levels of political, economic, educational, and cultural organizations. In this respect, we may see men as centrally involved in class practices, as individual or collective class actors. But we may also see men involved in the central discourses about class power. Many of the key theorists of class have been men, and it is reasonable to suppose that their location in gender hierarchies is as important in shaping, if not in determining, their worldviews as their locations within a class system. Of course, in reality, this distinction becomes a little blurred, as discourses and practices are always closely related. Put another way, modes of understanding and researching class may reflect gendered perspectives just as the class practices themselves will also be gendered.

If we return to the key elements in the (broadly Weberian) model of class, we find strong connections between property, occupation, and masculinities. In the case of property, we find, historically, strong identifications between ownership of different kinds of property, family and family name, and inheritance and the male line. In the case of occupation, the connections are perhaps less strong, although it can be argued that most occupational titles have strong masculine connotations. Some occupational titles (e.g., policeman) are explicitly gendered, and popular speech still talks of sending for a “man” to come round and repair the central heating or the dishwasher. Other titles have strong historical and symbolic associations with prized masculine characteristics such as physical strength or group solidarity, coal mining and steel working, for example. Even fewer physical occupations, clerical workers for example, or bank clerks, initially were associated with “respectable” men until these occupations became feminized (Lockwood, 1958). The same is true for a whole range of professions, and many of these occupational boundaries were often fiercely defended against the incursions of women through the practices of trade unions and professional associations (Walby, 1986). We can say, therefore, that occupational titles and occupational boundaries were policed by the practices of men and that, insofar as occupation became a key indicator of social class, the identification of masculinities and class can be seen as having deep historical roots. The same is also true in terms of property, the other basis of class distinctions, where the links between property, class, and masculinity were often given legal underpinnings. This is not to say that women did not have occupations or property, but that male property and male occupations became the more dominant.

Another set of distinctions reinforced the masculine character of class: those between the public and the private. Conventionally, the terrain of class and class struggle is located in the public sphere, the sphere of employment, where the deployment of wealth and property and politics is easily seen. The public sphere was also the sphere dominated by men as they engaged in employment or class and political action. Women might be seen as backstage or “behind-the-scenes workers” in class struggles, their own class position reflecting that of their husbands (Porter, 1983). In some cases, they provided very obvious and significant support, but this was usually defined as “support,” secondary to the main action.

Drawing together the two last points, we have the development of the idea of “the breadwinner” and “the family wage.” Conventionally, or so it emerged from the early 19th century, the head of the household was a man, and he constituted the main or sole provider for his wife and children. It was on this basis that claims were made in terms of “the family wage.” In practice, the reality was much more

complicated, but the idea of the man as “provider” remains remarkably persistent in a wide range of modern cultures, right up to the present day (Hobson, 2002). It can be argued, in fact, that the idea of the provider is a major element in the construction of masculine identity; it is a moral as well as an economic category. Hence the devastating personal effects of unemployment that have been documented by many researchers over many years.

We may consider the contribution of the ideological construction, which sees men, in contrast to women, as effective actors. This is partly because the public sphere, as outlined earlier, is not simply different from the private sphere but is also seen as being, in many ways, more significant than the private sphere. The elevation of the economy and the spheres of war and politics are accompanied by the downgrading of the domestic. Thus, public statues celebrate warriors and statesmen, and the large-scale heroic canvas is given greater significance than the miniature or the still life. On the one side there is risk and danger, the possibilities for heroic achievement or spectacular downfalls; on the other side there is the routine and the everyday (see Morgan, 2003).

Finally, we need to emphasize the distinction between production and reproduction, which some writers see to as a key to understanding the masculinization of class. O’Brien (1981) in particular, recognized the contribution to class analysis made by Marx and Engels, but she also demonstrated how the Marxist tradition tended to focus on labor and production and played down reproduction. Indeed, it could be argued that, within Marxism, reproduction tended to be seen in more metaphorical terms (stressing the reproduction of class relationships) rather than as something to do with gendered relationships (O’Brien, 1981).

It can also be said that class contributed to both a unified sense of masculinity and more diffused, perhaps more conflictual, models of masculinities. On the one hand, we have the identification of men, all men, with the public sphere, the sphere of production, which contained those areas in society where the action was. Many men, whatever the amount or source of their income, could identify with the provider role and the sense of moral responsibility that this implied. But at the same time, class experiences and practices pointed to different ways of being men, different ways of being constituted as effective social actors. These differences could be polarized between “them” and “us” or become embodied in a range of finer distinctions, such as those between “mental” and “manual,” “skilled” and “unskilled,” or even workers in different departments or offices. Other masculine themes that might be woven into class analysis are notions of collective solidarity (traditionally associated with the working class) and

individual achievement and risk taking, associated with the classic bourgeoisie, or the middle classes. Yet again, we can contrast a sense of masculinity that derives from having authority or control over others and the solidarities.

Representations of class struggle and class differences traditionally drew from masculine imagery. Although the rhetoric might refer to “working people,” the representations of the working class frequently included masculine symbols (such as the hammer or clenched fists) and emphasized collective solidarity. At the very least, such representations of solidarity dissolved gender differences in a large class identity and frequently went further than this to convey collective, embodied masculinity. The language was the language of struggle, of class war and conflict. Representations of the opposition also deployed masculine, if negatively valued, images of wealth and luxury.

Media representations of industrial disputes in the latter part of the 20th century frequently seemed to play on these understandings. On the one hand, we have the raised arms of the mass meeting; on the other, we have men in suits, more individualized, leaving or entering cars or making public statements in an abstract language of rationality (Philo, 1995). Management, on the other hand, was presented as dealing with some of the key issues in the national economy. However valued, both sets of representations drew on different strands in the construction of masculinities, and it could be said that the class struggle was represented in terms of these contrasting versions.

3.2.2. Masculinity and the Working-Class Context

Understanding masculinity as both socially constructed and relational involves looking at how masculinities are defined and maintained in different cultural contexts, and how other categories of difference such as race and class might intersect. As Connell (1995; 2000) notes, masculinities are sustained through collective social practices that take place in a range of institutions, both constraining and facilitating social action by embodied agents (Martin, 2004). These situated practices and embodied performances of gender, grounded in history entail opportunities and constraints and a ‘plethora of meanings and expectations, actions/behaviours, resources, identities and discourses’ (Martin, 2003: 344). Martin draws attention to the ‘twin processes’ of gendered practice, as a ‘class of activities’ available ‘culturally, socially, narratively, discursively, physically’ (Martin, 2003: 354) to men and women in specific situations, and the practicing of gender that entails individual representations and bodily performances. This captures the notion that, as West and Zimmerman (2002) also

maintain, gender performances take place in particular institutional contexts so that institutions, as purveyors of gendered narratives (Ashcraft, 2006).

As McDowell (2003) points out, social categories such as class, race and ethnicity are also major factors in the social construction of masculinity, interacting with gender to produce varied and unequally valued positionalities. This highlights the relational processes involved and the complex and often contradictory ways in which categories may intersect. An intersectional approach directs attention to how multiple and interlocking identities engender experiences within specific, contextually based relations of power and how individuals engage in or disengage from these processes (Holvivo, 2010). This demonstrates both a fluidity and fixity of normative constructions of difference in that gendered and classed practices are partly constituted through enduring social relations of power.

3.2.3. Feminist Observations on Masculinity and Class

Generally, the concept of class is used in the analyses of social divisions based on the unequal distribution of economic resources. People are grouped into different classes according to their relative position in an economically based hierarchy. In contemporary class analysis, a person's occupation is often used as an indicator of their class position, not least because of the relationship between level of occupation and level of pay. There is broad agreement that classes are based, at least to some extent, on the differential distribution of economic resources. For example, in the classic Marxist sense, classes are defined in terms of their relation to the means of production being either workers who own nothing but their labor power or capitalists who directly own the materials, machines and settings through and within which productive activity takes place.

However, the concept of class is a highly contested one. For many years within the various disciplines of the social sciences, social inequality was predominantly understood, if not equated with, class inequality. Crompton (1996) explains in her review of traditions in class analysis, much of this research grouped men (and their families) into classes according to the man's position in the occupational or employment structure. Analyses were then conducted of, for example, the changing class structure, poverty and inequalities in wealth and income, class mobility, class consciousness and political action. Since the 1970s, however, a number of related developments have undermined the pre-eminent position of class analysis within sociology.

Firstly, the economic and social changes of the post-war period have led some to argue that class is no longer the primary form of social inequality, nor source of social identity, nor basis for political mobilization (for example, Paluski and Waters 1996). The restructuring of the labor market, unemployment, and the rise of flexible working, together with increased political mobilization on the basis of gender, ethnic or other interests have contributed to a shift away from a primary concern with occupationally determined class analysis.

Secondly, feminist writers have criticized class analysis for its tendency to ‘ignore gender relations’ (Walby 1990: 8) and developed an argument as housewives constitute one class and men as husbands constitute another by virtue of their different relations to the patriarchal mode of production for its resistance to incorporating the direct role played by gender, and other forms of social inequality in structuring of class.

Thirdly, the emergence of postmodern or poststructuralist perspectives has undermined faith in the validity of groupings based on class. In focusing attention on difference and diversity, these approaches encourage a concern with the local and the specific, and so ‘undermine all notions of collectivities, such as classes’ (Bradley 1996: 3) as existing other than at the level of discourses. Elaborating on feminist critiques of class analysis usefully illustrates the impact of the above outlined developments on the study of class and gender.

Initial feminist critiques of class analysis attempted in various ways to use conventional Marxist-derived class and related concepts in order to theorize gender that women inequality. For example, as outlined by Walby (1990) Delphy developed an argument as housewives constitute one class and men as husbands constitute another, by virtue of their different relations to the patriarchal mode of production. Firestone located men and women in different ‘sex-classes’ on the basis of their relations to the means of reproduction. Such efforts to reconceptualize class away from conventional economic indicators to incorporate explicitly gendered inequalities, have themselves been subject to a range of criticisms.

Other feminist writers directly criticized class analysts for their lack of attention to gender in the definition and measurement of occupationally determined class. For one thing, major British studies such as that by Goldthorpe (1969) used all-male samples. Although at the time, this marginalization of women’s experiences

was barely recognized by the early 1980s writers such as Goldthorpe (1983) began to respond to feminist and other criticisms directed at conventional class analysis. Bradley usefully summarizes the defense of the conventional position on class and gender: It was argued that women took their class from husbands or fathers, that to include women would make it difficult to compare findings with other studies which had also omitted women, or that since women's social roles were primarily domestic, occupational class was not relevant to women.

A more fundamental problem with conventional class analysis is argued to derive from the occupational classification schemes used to determine a person's class. The problems have been discussed Crompton and Scott(2005) as they explain, that problems arise because the occupational structure 'bears the imprint of other major stratifying factors, most particularly gender, race, and age, that are difficult to disentangle from those of class' (2005).Therefore, gender segregation in paid work means that occupational classification schemes are indicative of gender inequalities as well as 'purely' economic inequalities.

Yuval-Davis (2006) have cautioned against thinking about gender and 'race' merely as additional layers on top of class. For Anthias and Yuval-Davis, 'race' and gender make for a qualitatively different kind of class inequality and are not 'additions' to it. Anthias (2001) proposes theorizing class as one of three primaries 'social divisions' in modern society, along with gender and ethnicity. Each involve distinctive relations of differentiation and stratification and, together, provide the formation of both life conditions and life chances. In her account, Anthias(2001) expands the concept of class beyond the merely economic, arguing that 'class is not in fact an economic relation per se but a social relation which involves forms of social organization and cultural modes of expression related to production and consumption processes' (2001).

This approach can also be found in Skeggs's (1997) ethnographic study of a group of white, working-class women. Skeggs (1997) argues that, in the understanding of power relations in modern societies, class and gender must be regarded as 'fused together'; class cannot be understood without reference to gender and vice versa. In her analysis, Skeggs (1997) used Bourdieu's model of class as being comprised of varying forms of 'capital', including economic capital, cultural capital, social capital, and symbolic capital. For her, this framework offers the greatest explanatory power to understand the intersections of class and gender (1997: 7).

Understandings of class as a concept, therefore, have shifted from a rather narrow concern with class location as the primary structure of inequality and source of identity within an economically stratified hierarchy to a broader, more flexible understanding in which class is but one of one of several ‘dynamics of inequality’ (Bradley 1996) and resources for identity especially gender and race, which are in constant interplay with one another.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

What is meant by class?

How masculinity and class is related?

What is masculinity and working-class context?

3.3 Studying Men and Masculinities in Politics

Parliaments around the world are male dominated. Tackling this simple statement implies tackling at least two issues: that of male dominance and that of parliamentary representation.

Simple as it may seem, the specific and critical study of men and male power is nevertheless still uncommon, especially outside the field of gender studies. The field of critical studies of men and masculinities has provided several useful starting points, which can be used for a research endeavor that wishes to embark on problematizing male dominance. First of all, a critical study of men must distinguish itself from a mainstream study of men. Most research in political science as well as in other scholarly fields is still undertaken with the male sex being the implicit norm. The critical study of men is something different. It is closely connected to feminist studies and was born in the women’s liberalization movement (Hanmer, 1990). Carrigan argues that the sex role research of the 1950s and 1960s did start to problematize the male gender, but that it did not put enough emphasis on the issue of power. In the men’s movement of the 1970s, it was even commonly argued that men in general would gain from women’s liberation (Carrigan et al. 1987). This notion is naive at best, and at worst dishonest. The liberation of women must mean a loss of power for most men; and given the structuring of personality by power, also a great deal of personal pain. (Carrigan et al. 1987: 80).

Masculinity studies have sometimes simply been placed alongside studies of femininity, something that Hanmer (1990) criticizes. The study of men, she argues, must be seen in relation to the feminist pursuit of improving the conditions of women. If not, studies of femininity and masculinity alike will be

reduced to mere identity politics when they should go beyond individual experiences and focus on social structures and relations between and within the two sexes (Hanmer 1990). Hanmer summarizes the differences between women's studies and the study of men:

[W]omen's studies involve the recognition of social powerlessness, not just victimization, but survival, under difficult and unequal conditions. [...] The study of men involves the recognition of the use and misuse of social power that accrues to the male gender, of recognizing benefits even when none are personally desired. (Hanmer 1990: 29)

Thus, the 'understanding of how men gain, maintain, and use power to subordinate women' (Hanmer 1990: 37) is certainly an important contribution if we want to fully understand the barriers women face when attempting to enter traditionally male arenas. Of course, as Hanmer goes on to say, all women and all men do not have identical experiences of this social powerlessness or privileges. Gendered patterns of expected behavior are both historically and culturally specific (Hanmer 1990). The study of intersectionality¹² has also brought to our attention the many other factors that simultaneously interact to affect the identity and the power position of any individual, such as ethnicity, religion, age, sexuality, or class (McCall, 2005).

3.3.1. Political Masculinities¹³

In contrast to the construction of men and masculinity in populist political discourse, we suggest elaborating a concept of 'political masculinities' that can inform critical gender research. In order to facilitate cross-, inter- and multi-disciplinary dialogue, Kathleen Starck and Birgit Sauer (2014) propose a broad definition of political masculinity, which

encompasses any kind of masculinity that is constructed around, ascribed to and/or claimed by 'political players'. These shall be individuals or groups of persons who are part of or associated with the 'political domain', i.e. professional politicians, party members, members of the military as well as citizens and members of political

¹²The interconnected nature of social categorizations such as race, class, and gender as they apply to a given individual or group, regarded as creating overlapping and interdependent systems of discrimination or disadvantage.

¹³Excerpt taken from the research article of Marion Löffler, Russell Luyt & Kathleen Starck (2020) Political masculinities and populism, NORMA, 15:1, 1-9

movements claiming or gaining political rights. (Starck & Sauer, 2014:6).

This broad definition of political masculinity has served as a foundation for a growing body of work, fostering dialogue between a wide range of disciplines, on topics as diverse as political masculinities' involvement with, and associated tensions in, prevention of violence against women initiatives in the United Kingdom (Burrell,2020) political masculinities in parliamentary debates during Austria's period of postwar nation-building (Löffler,2019) the Indian state's intervention, along with the role played by both state and non-state political masculinities, in practices of sex selection and the political masculinities of pro-feminist men involved in an Israeli high school gender equality intervention program(Schwartz,2020). These, and other studies, have contributed toward developing the concept of political masculinity or masculinities.

Starck and Luyt (2019) recognize that the original definition particularly speaks to masculinities that are more overtly, or easily recognized, as political (e.g. professional politicians). Yet they stress the importance of including individuals, groups, practices, or representations of those whose impact on or within the political sphere is less easily identified (e.g. citizens, media tycoons, global businessmen/women). This allows us to scrutinize the dynamics of interactions between a wide range of 'political players' and masculinities, an indispensable focus for analyzing change in gender relations.

Political masculinities are crucial in the reproduction of power relations. However, the concepts of gender and masculinities include dimensions of power. Masculinity is therefore always political. While gender and masculinities are inextricably political concepts in the production and reproduction of power, it is argued that the concept of political masculinities holds particular use in 'instances in which power is explicitly either being (re)produced or challenged' (Starck & Luyt,2019: 435). Marion Löffler demonstrates that masculinities exist as a symbolic resource that is flexibly drawn upon by political actors in governments to further their political advantage. Luyt and Starck (2020) reaffirm their belief in the usefulness of considering the extent to which power is operating explicitly through masculinities. For example, how Putin's representation and performance of manly and powerful masculinity became the object of homophobic ridicule in the 'liberal' media discourse in the USA, which in turn reaffirms the superiority of heterosexual masculinities.

3.4 Self-Assessment Questions

1. Discuss the link between masculinities, institutions and social activities in detail.
2. Explain the main points of class analysis that describe masculinity and class.
3. Explain the perspective of masculinity of class in detail.
4. Describe the feminist critiques on masculinity and class.
5. Discuss the role of masculinities studies and politics. Is this has been a neglected area for research?
6. Define Political Masculinities. What is your understanding of this perspective?

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Unit 4

**MASCULINITIES, VIOLENCE AND
POWER RELATIONS**

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INTRODUCTION

The evolution and social constitution of masculinities are intimately linked to violence and to warfare as an organized field of violent practices. This unit explores the mutual influences between violence, war and masculinities, the forms these have taken in different social and cultural contexts and the implications for masculinity research. This unit also intends to look at the role of men in stopping violence against women working in various social organizations. Moreover, the relationship between men, masculinities and changing of power dynamics is also part of this unit that will enable students for exploring the connection among men, contemporary masculinities and gender-based violence.

OBJECTIVES

This unit aims at:

1. introduce the concepts of masculine norms and its link to violence
2. explain why war is linked with masculinities
3. inform about masculinity and changing power relations

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After reading the unit, you should be able to:

1. describe the link between masculinity and violence
2. explore the connection of war and men
3. discuss the changing power relationship and manifestation of masculinity

4.1 Masculine Norms and Violence: Making the Connections

Male identity and masculine norms are undeniably linked with violence, with men and boys disproportionately likely both to perpetrate violent crimes and to die by homicide and suicide. While biology may play a role in shaping a tendency toward certain forms of violence, the “nature” of men and boys is not the sole predictor of their violent behaviors or experiences. Rather, boys and men are often raised, socialized, and/or encouraged to be violent, depending on their social surroundings and life conditions.

Why is it that men and boys are disproportionately likely to perpetrate so many forms of violence, as well as to suffer certain forms of violence? To add a new dimension to the complex answer, this report explores “masculine norms”, messages, stereotypes, and social instructions related to manhood that supersede and interact with being born male or identifying as a man as crucial factors driving men’s violence. It combines a review of academic and grey literature with program evidence and input from expert reviewers across several fields of violence prevention, making the connections between harmful masculine norms and eight forms of violent behavior:

1. Intimate partner violence
2. Physical violence against children (by parents or caregivers)
3. Child sexual abuse and exploitation
4. Bullying
5. Homicide and other violent crime
6. Non-partner sexual violence
7. Suicide
8. Conflict and war

The eight forms of violence discussed below all have enormous global prevalence, are marked by disproportionate patterns related to gender, and are rooted in some part in masculine norms. While the full report presents global prevalence data in additional detail, this executive summary focuses specifically on the links between masculine norms and each form of violence.¹⁴

4.1.1 Intimate Partner Violence

Multiple studies confirm that rigid norms regarding gender, gender roles, family, and marriage – together with men’s childhood experiences of violence –

¹⁴Brian Heilman with Gary Barker (2018). *Masculine Norms and Violence: Making the Connections*. Washington, DC: Promundo-US.

contribute to men's use of violence against female partners. When men believe that they are not – or are not perceived to be – “masculine enough,” they may also use intimate partner violence as a way to overcompensate or conform with gendered expectations. Violence within the childhood home can contribute to children accepting violence as a “normal” part of intimate relationships, playing a role in the often-observed intergenerational transmission of intimate partner violence. As new research has explored, it is not only the acts of violence that are transmitted from one generation to the next, but also the patriarchal systemic hierarchy, reinforced through violence, in which women and children are subordinate to men (Namy et al. 2017). Transforming patriarchal, violent gender norms is essential to mitigate the influence of childhood experiences of violence and as an overall prevention strategy. Additionally, the stress, challenges, and loss of masculine identity caused by various forms of social oppression can multiply risk factors for both men's perpetration of intimate partner violence and women's victimization, as well as change the likelihood of women pursuing formal justice-system responses to this violence.

4.2. Physical Violence Against Children (By Parents or Caregivers)

Violence against children includes a wide range of behaviors, from corporal punishment to more extreme manifestations of physical violence to acts of emotional abuse and neglect. It can be a mechanism by which parents' police the gender performance of sons and daughters, among other uses. Violence within the childhood home is a primary means by which children see, learn, and internalize the hierarchical power imbalances between and within genders. As decades of research into the intergenerational transmission of violence have demonstrated, children who witness or experience violence in the home are significantly more likely to perpetrate or experience domestic violence as adults, compared to those whose childhood homes were violence-free. In interaction with the individual characteristics and life experiences of caregivers and children, three compelling factors underpin violence against children:

- a. poverty and structural inequalities that shape care settings
- b. cultural and social norms related to childrearing practices and the acceptability of corporal punishment and other forms of violence against children; and
- c. gender norms and dynamics specifically views that boys need be raised to be physically tough and emotionally stoic, while girls are seen as fragile, inferior, and/or subordinate to boys and men.

4.3 Child Sexual Abuse and Exploitation

Given the preponderance of evidence that perpetration of child sexual abuse is a nearly exclusively male behavior, more research into gender norms and masculine norms as a root cause of this violence is needed. Much of the sexual-abuse literature, including multiple meta-analyses, points to “antisocial orientation” or “antisocial behavior” as a major predictor of sexual assault and of recidivism among prior offenders (Hanson and Morton-Bourgon 2005). The markers of “antisocial orientation” sometimes but not always – resemble the harmful masculine norms addressed in this report, suggesting that some of what scholars have labeled “antisocial” may in fact be at least partly socially created and reinforced. Patterns and perpetration of child sexual abuse present an important opportunity to apply a “gender lens,” particularly a focus on harmful masculine norms, in future research. In terms of child sexual exploitation, gender norms that associate manhood with heterosexual prowess and with access to, and control over, the bodies of women, girls, and boys contribute to male perpetration. Trafficking of persons and specifically the sexual exploitation of children is also related to masculine norms. Additionally, any understanding of the root causes of child sexual exploitation must go beyond the individual trafficker or consumer of sex; wider social acceptability of trafficking and the objectification of bodies also plays a role.

4.4 Bullying

Masculinities are often at the root of men’s perpetration of bullying. In a 2017 study in the United States, United Kingdom, and Mexico, young men who held the most inequitable gender attitudes were significantly more likely to report both perpetrating and experiencing verbal, online, and physical bullying (Heilman, Barker, and Harrison 2017). Research suggests that bullying behaviors often share common root causes: the perpetrator’s desire to demonstrate power and control over the victim and the use of bullying to enforce gender conformity. Additionally, bullying can provide a pathway to achieve or maintain social status within group settings such as schools and workplaces. Children who are exposed to contexts and relationships with extensive conflict, hostility, and abuse are more likely to perpetrate bullying, a finding similar to other forms of violence for which there is intergenerational transmission. Hostile family and educational environments have been consistently found to be risk factors for bullying. Additionally, physical location, social context, and age intersect with and normalize boys and men’s perpetration of bullying. For instance, in school contexts, boys’ physical aggression is often legitimized as “boys will be boys,” whereas the same behavior by girls raises questions.

4.5 Homicide and Other Violent Crime

Men and boys often use crime in various ways to demonstrate or prove their achievement of a certain form of masculinity. Added to the fact that crime statistics consistently show that men disproportionately perpetrate violent crime and often target male victims, research points to an entrenched cycle of violence linked with masculine gender identity – that is, of men who perceive that they have few other ways than violent crime to “prove their manhood” (Crowther-Dowey and Silvestri 2017). Men’s disproportionate likelihood to perpetrate homicide and violent crime is not biologically driven. Rather, these patterns are overwhelmingly driven by masculine norms, social dynamics, and life conditions. Research strongly suggests that it takes systematic cruelty and inhumanity, often disseminated and exacerbated by the reification of harmful masculine norms, to create men who kill. Fighting with one another or fighting with men or boys more marginalized than themselves, allows men to achieve multiple elements of a harmful definition of being a “real man” at once. Researchers have also studied how extreme trauma, humiliation, and shaming are nearly always part of the making of men who kill, as well as how the effects of particularly difficult childhoods and damaging relationships distort a human propensity not to kill other humans.

4.6 Non-Partner Sexual Violence

A 2012 synthesis of approximately 300 qualifying studies concluded that gender-inequitable masculinities, or inequitable gender norms, are among the top causal factors of rape perpetration (Jewkes 2012). Perpetration of sexual violence can serve as a tool for men and boys to prove their manhood, achieve the social status of a “real man,” and establish power over others. Sexual violence can also be used as a tool to regulate the gender performance of women, girls, and other men and boys. As with other forms of violence, being a victim of violence as a child is linked with a significantly higher likelihood of men’s perpetration of sexual violence as adults. Global data also suggest complex, multidirectional relationships between educational achievement, income level, and sexual violence perpetration, making broad generalizations impossible. In some settings, male unemployment a threat to men’s social status and the hierarchy of power between men and women – may also lead to a rise in sexual harassment against women.

4.7 Suicide

Globally, men are almost twice as likely to die by suicide as women are (World Health Organization 2014). Harmful gender norms likely lie at the root of suicidal

ideation and suicide. Societies that “gender” the heart such that men are told to cut off their inner lives, to repress their emotions, and to be hard-shelled workers, protectors, and lone providers contribute to a crisis of connection among men. The act of suicide may also be constructed as a masculine or masculinized action, which may explain why men are more likely to use more immediately fatal means such as firearms when attempting suicide. Data show that men are more likely to complete a suicide than women are; suicide attempts that are not fatal may be construed as a call for help, a demonstration of emotional vulnerability that entails a loss of status, or loss of socially enforced “manhood,” for men. Research on the risk factors for suicide is limited and difficult to obtain, but data suggest these risk factors include financial stress, mental health issues, alcohol abuse, and physical health issues associated with chronic pain. Other factors include stigma associated with help-seeking, trauma (sometimes related to war and conflict), and loss of livelihoods (World Health Organization, 2014). Access to adequate healthcare, support services, and social support from family, friends, and neighbors is particularly essential in curbing men’s suicidal ideation and behavior. Yet, “gendering” of the heart and men cultivated emotional isolation often mean that men are unlikely to pursue formal healthcare or even to seek help and support from family and friends when they need it.

4.8 Conflict and War

Men are disproportionately likely to die in armed conflict compared with women and involvement in militaries or militias is also decidedly male. Young men’s social exclusion, rather than their inherent nature or their number, may lead them to violent behavior, some scholars suggest. Research shows that some men partake in “destructive, and sometimes violent, illicit, or criminal behavior” out of an effort to achieve social recognition as a “real man” in cases of extreme social and economic exclusion. At the same time, states, militaries, and rebel groups exploit the gendered vulnerabilities of male youth to violent ends. While there is a growing body of literature on conflict and gender, most analyses of conflict and war still do not consider (or may even take for granted) that war, conflict, and militaries are extremely male-gendered destructive forces. Military/militarized culture is rooted in a gendered hierarchy in which the masculine is valorized at the expense of the feminine. Additionally, objectification, dehumanization (including feminization of enemy combatants), and “othering” are central to creating male soldiers willing to kill. Clearly, masculine norms are not the only factor driving war and conflict. Every conflict has its own specific dynamics and historical context (Alison 2007). Specific factors across contexts, however, have been linked with the overwhelming male or masculine participation in conflict. These factors include economic frustration (drawing upon the social expectation that

men be financial providers), early exposure to violence, traumatic indoctrination, and the myriad ways that militaries are overly glorified in a given setting, among others.

In short, male identity and masculine norms are undeniably linked with violence. Men and boys are disproportionately likely to perpetrate intimate partner violence, sexual violence, homicide, and violent crime, and likewise disproportionately likely to die by homicide and suicide. These facts defy easy explanation. Why is it that so many forms of violence whether self-directed, interpersonal, political, and/or carried out in public spaces are predominantly perpetrated by men? Are men simply born more violent, carrying this tendency in their biology? Biology is not the largest driver of men's violence. While evidence does suggest that biology may play a role in shaping a tendency toward certain forms of violence, the "nature" of men and boys is not the sole predictor of their violent behaviors or experiences. Rather, the links between male identity and violent actions are best explained by a complex web of intersecting elements, including biology alongside social conditions, life circumstances, childhood experiences, political economy, gender attitudes, and more. In sum, boys and men are often raised, socialized, and/or encouraged to be violent, depending on their social surroundings and life conditions.

4.9 The Seven P's of Men's Violence

Another presentation of the components of harmful masculine norms underlying men's use of violence is Michael Kaufman's "Seven P's of Men's Violence" (1999)¹⁵ which explores how men's use of violence is linked with all seven of the following elements:

1. **Patriarchal Power:** "Male-dominated societies are not only based on a hierarchy of men over women but some men over other men. Violence or the threat of violence among men is a mechanism used from childhood to establish that pecking order."
2. **The Sense of Entitlement to Privilege:** "The individual experience of a man who commits violence may not revolve around his desire to maintain power. His conscious experience is not the key here. Rather, as feminist analysis has repeatedly pointed out, such violence is often the logical outcome of his sense of entitlement to certain privileges."
3. **Permission:** "Whatever the complex social and psychological causes of men's violence, it wouldn't continue if there weren't explicit or tacit

¹⁵<https://www.lakilakibaru.or.id/wp-content/uploads/2014/10/Kaufman-7-Ps-of-Mens-Violence.pdf>

permission in social customs, legal codes, law enforcement, and certain religious teachings.”

4. **The Paradox of Men’s Power:** “The very ways that men have constructed our social and individual power is, paradoxically, the source of enormous fear, isolation, and pain for men ourselves. If power is constructed as a capacity to dominate and control, if the capacity to act in ‘powerful’ ways requires the construction of a personal suit of armor and a fearful distance from others, if the very world of power and privilege removes us from the world of childrearing and nurturance, then we are creating men whose own experience of power is fraught with crippling problems.”
5. **The Psychic Armor of Manhood:** “The result of this complex and particular process of psychological development is a dampened ability for empathy (to experience what others are feeling) and an inability to experience other people’s needs and feelings as necessarily relating to one’s own. Acts of violence against another person are, therefore, possible.”
6. **Masculinity as a Psychic Pressure Cooker:** “It is not simply that men’s language of emotions is often muted or that our emotional antennae and capacity for empathy are somewhat stunted. It is also that a range of natural emotions have been ruled off limits and invalid.”
7. **Past Experiences:** “Far too many men around the world grew up in households where their mother was beaten by their father. They grew up seeing violent behavior towards women as the norm, as just the way life is lived.”

4.10 Harmful Masculine Norms: What are they and how do they work?

The research rests on five processes, central to gender theory, by which masculine norms shape the likelihood of men and boys experiencing or perpetrating violence. These processes play a role in all eight forms of violence discussed in this report

1. Achieving socially recognized manhood: Often at the core of masculine gendering is the demand that male-identifying persons must achieve and continually re-achieve their manhood.
2. Policing masculine performance: The process of withholding the social status of “being a man” is held in place by the continual policing of men and boys’ performance of gender.
3. “Gendering” the heart: Around the world, men are typically encouraged to refrain from showing emotional vulnerability and monitored to show only a limited range of emotions.

4. Dividing spaces and cultures by gender: Ideas about manhood and womanhood are also created and reinforced by dividing up spaces into those that may be considered “male” or “female.” Social spaces (and even “microcultures”) associated with men often become places where violence is rehearsed and reinforced.
5. Reinforcing patriarchal power: Violence is ultimately about processes that serve to reinforce power structures that advantage all men over all women, as well as particular men over other men.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. Describe seven P’s of men’ violence.
2. Explain the harmful masculine norms.

4.11 Men, Masculinities and Changing Power

Throughout the world, there are still strong social and cultural norms that perpetuate power imbalances between men and women. While men usually have more agency than the women in their lives, men’s decisions and behaviors are also profoundly shaped by rigid social and cultural expectations related to masculinity. Broadening the discussion about how gender norms affect both women and men helps us to better understand the complex ways that rigid gender norms and power relations burden our society, and to more effectively engage men and boys in reflections about inequalities and change.

In moving forward with efforts that engage men and boys, it is important to remember that change is not easy to achieve, particularly because challenging men’s notions of masculinity may in some ways be akin to challenging their notions of self. Men’s and boys’ motivation and capacity to change are often also dependent on the extent to which peer networks, media messaging, public policy, opinion leaders and other influences continue to perpetuate certain messages about gender norms. Indeed, the paths by which men and boys come to support and live out gender equality are multiple and sometimes conflicting, with some based-on self-interest, some on attitudes of protection (and thus potentially patriarchal), and others on a sense of gender justice and universal human rights. Our policies will be better informed, where men are concerned, if we understand these multiple paths rather than prescribe a single path to gender equality.

4.11.1. The State of Men and Gender Equality: Challenges and Advances

Understanding men’s attitudes, including how they have changed and their areas of resistance, is essential to moving these efforts forward. While gender inequality

is still pervasive around the world, there is evidence of significant, positive changes in men's attitudes related to gender equality. This section of the paper provides an overview of prevalent attitudes and practices, and the continuing challenges to engaging men and boys in several areas critical to advancing gender equality, as well as examples of initiatives that have led to measurable changes in men's attitudes, behaviors, and relations with others. The specific areas discussed are: gender-based violence, education, domestic work and caregiving, employment and income, and sexual and reproductive rights and health.

While there is increasingly widespread agreement that working with men and boys is a necessary part of achieving gender equality, there are also some continuing concerns regarding existing strategies and goals. There are two particularly salient areas that need to be addressed: the alignment of the work with men and boys vis-à-vis women's movements and efforts toward gender equality, and the increasingly visible backlash of organized groups of men who actively question and, in some cases, attempt to undermine the gender equality agenda. Many activists and organizations engaging men and boys actively seek to align their work with women's movements, but there is a need for greater reflection on the part of feminist men regarding their own gender-based power, and how to ensure that women's leadership and voices remain the backbone of feminist discourse in these shared spaces.

There is also a need for activists and organizations working with men to be vocal in their opposition to anti-feminist groups and movements. While these groups are a minority, they are visible in some settings, and sometimes actively seek to usurp the dialogue about gender relations and power inequalities.

Gender equality is about transforming the ways individuals experience and express power in their lives, relationships, and communities, and the power structures that shape the relations between women and men. It involves increasing individual autonomy and self-efficacy and ensuring that individuals have equal opportunities to make choices in their lives and to participate in key domains of society. Although gender equality is most often associated with the advancement and empowerment of women, it is a much broader enterprise that seeks to advance societies as a whole by ensuring that, as noted by the Special Rapporteur on extreme poverty and human rights, "all human beings can develop and make choices without the limitations set by stereotypes, rigid gender roles, and prejudices." To this end, moving toward gender equality also entails supporting individuals whose identities do not fit within the traditional gender binary. Although it is important to frame the significance and impact of gender equality broadly, we cannot lose sight of the fact that women and girls bear the brunt of

gender inequalities. Throughout the world, men's continued use of coercion and violence against women in private and public spheres, at individual and aggregate levels, is perhaps the starkest example of how these power imbalances affect women's lives and agency.

Within family settings in some developing countries, men still often have the final say regarding the use of household resources, women's and girls' health decisions, their physical mobility, and their access to educational opportunities. In many settings, men's unequal participation in family care work and household tasks continues to be a barrier to women's work-life balance and their economic and other public endeavors. At even broader levels, men are still the vast majority of leaders in government and the private sector and maintain control of policy agendas and investment decisions that shape women's access and opportunities (as they also shape the access and opportunities that low income and less powerful women and men have).

Gender inequalities are constructed and perpetuated by unequal and unjust power relations between men and women, as well as among men and among women. Truly transforming gender relations therefore entails addressing how rigid gender norms affect power relations between men and women as well as among men and among women. Looking at how women's lives as well as men's are shaped not only by gender but also by other power differentials based on age, class, ethnicity, nationality, caste, religion, sexual orientation, and other social identities helps get us past the limitations of binaries to better understand the many textures and realities of men's and women's lives. While men usually have more agency than women in their lives, men's decisions and behaviors are also profoundly shaped by rigid social and cultural expectations related to masculinity, as well as by power imbalances which have costs for both them and the women and girls in their lives.

Throughout the world, gender roles compromise men's health by encouraging them to equate being "manly" with various risky behaviors, from multiple sexual partners and alcohol consumption to the use of physical aggression and the unwillingness to seek health services or emotional support. In addition to the obvious implications for men's own health and well-being, these behaviors as in the case of unsafe sex and alcohol abuse have grave consequences for the women and children in men's lives.

For some men, the consequences of not conforming to certain masculine norms can also involve social ostracism and violence. Homophobia is a particularly salient and pervasive example of how narrow conceptions of manhood can shape

power relations between men. In many settings around the world, homophobia is a central organizing principle in male socialization and is used as a means to keep boys and men “in line”.

Further, while men as a group benefit from the association of masculinity and privilege and hold greater power than women, not all men are powerful. Many men, particularly low-income and minority men, are marginalized and subordinated by traditional power structures. The fact that many of the world’s poorest men are also disempowered in different ways from women compared to men with more income and better social positions is nearly always left out of gender analyses and discussions but is a central issue in terms of how men view their own sense of power, and whether they view themselves as allies or beneficiaries of gender equality. As Connell writes, “Class, race, national, regional, and generational differences cross-cut the category ‘men,’ spreading the gains and costs of gender relations very unevenly among men”. Men’s experiences of powerlessness are harmful not only for them but also for the women in their lives. Studies have found, for example, that men’s frustration with their perceived lack of power can lead them to adopt certain behaviors that give them a sense of power over others, including high-risk sexual behaviors and violence against female partners. In contrast, however, there are also many situations where groups of men who feel disadvantaged by the existing power structures see their interest as more closely aligned with the women in their communities than with other men. This reminds us that “men respond very diversely to gender-equality politics” and that power inequalities in gender relations must be considered in the context of broader power inequalities in society.

While it is important to acknowledge that rigid gender norms carry costs for men and boys, we also need to be careful about how we articulate these costs in the broader context of the gender equality agenda. In short, gender inequalities fall overwhelmingly on women and girls. At the same time, the lives of men and boys are affected by gender and gender-related power inequalities that interact with other social inequalities. Rather than negating each other, there is a need to accept and understand that both of these are true and related. In discussing the broad-reaching costs of gender norms, the intention is not to emphasize false parallels or equate men’s and women’s experiences of gender-related inequalities and violence. Nor is the intention to minimize men’s stake in gender equality to their own interests such that we detract from the fact that women’s struggle for gender justice is central to efforts for gender equality.

The key role of men and boys in achieving gender equality emerged as an issue in international discussions in the 1990s, most notably at the 1994 International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) in Cairo and the 1995 Fourth World Conference on Women in Beijing. The landmark documents that came out of the Cairo and Beijing conferences were driven by strong feminist movements and expressly recognized that women's empowerment and gender equality are central to achieving greater social justice, peace and security, and sustainable development. They were also significant for drawing specific attention to the need to work with men and boys in promoting women's empowerment and gender equality.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. What are the challenges that men may face from gender equality?
2. How power relations can be changed through men?

4.11.2 Activism to End Violence Against Women

Among the most visible and well-developed public efforts involving men's activism toward gender equality have been campaigns and movements to end the use of violence against women.

1. The White Ribbon Campaign (WRC) is perhaps the most widespread campaign led by men to end men's violence against women. Started in 1991 by a group of men in Canada, WRC encourages men to wear white ribbons as an expression of their public opposition to men's violence against women. WRC has since spread to more than 60 countries, using education, capacity-building, and media campaigns to reach and inspire men and boys to change
2. The Men's Action to Stop Violence Against Women (MASVAW) is a network of men and organizations working on gender issues, including gender-based violence, primarily in the north Indian state of Uttar Pradesh. Through workshops and advocacy campaigns, MASVAW raises awareness and recruits new activists who engage other men to bring about change. Since its founding in 2001, MASVAW has grown to include 500 individuals and nearly 200 organizations from 20 districts of Uttar Pradesh.
3. Dozens of examples exist of other such activism; a few examples of men's organized and on-going activism against gender-based violence and inequities include: ABAAD in Lebanon, which organizes national media campaigns to engage men in questioning gender norms and ending violence against women; In rural Burundi, where men who have recognized the harmful effects of violence against women travel to other nearby villages to share their experiences of change from violence to nonviolence (Wallacher

2012); *Association de Hombres contra la Violencia contra la Mujer* (The Association of Men Against Violence) in Nicaragua, which mobilizes men, particularly young men, to challenge the culture of machismo; and *Sonke Gender Justice's One Man Can Campaign* in South Africa and Sudan, which provides men and boys with materials, such as action sheets and video clips, to help them advocate against domestic and sexual violence and respond to HIV/ AIDS.

4.11.3 Benefits of Gender Equality for Men

The International Men and Gender Equality Survey (IMAGES), a comprehensive household survey coordinated by Promundo¹⁶ and the International Center for Research on Women (ICRW) and carried out with more than 20,000 men in nine countries, found that men who support gender equality or have more equitable attitudes are more likely to report life satisfaction. Indeed, there is an ever-growing body of evidence that affirms that gender equality is not a zero-sum game.

Women's increased access to and participation in the labor market results in higher household incomes and less pressure on men to be sole or primary breadwinners.

Men who take on greater caregiving roles experience deeper connections with children and partners and are more likely to have better physical and mental health. Men's increased participation in children's lives also leads to more positive outcomes for children.

Refraining from violence allows men to enjoy more trusting and respectful relations with women, children, and other men.

Men with greater gender equitable beliefs and who more openly communicate with their partners report greater sexual satisfaction; and

Men's increased participation in household chores is associated with happier relationships, for the men as well as for their partner

While bringing benefits to the forefront can be an effective motivational strategy, we do not want to diminish men's ethical responsibility to change the system that gives them an unjust share of power. Efforts to engage men and boys in gender

¹⁶An institute of research which conducted research on men of different countries especially on Latin American and African countries

equality must also seek to evoke men's responsibility and sense of justice as members of a common citizenry and as human beings. Because gender equality benefits all humanity, it should be the aspiration of all humanity men and women. It is possible to highlight the benefits to men themselves of living gender equality and at the same time to appeal to the fact that gender equality is the right thing to do and support.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. Enlist the benefit of gender equality to men in Pakistan.
2. How men can participate in reaching gender equality?

4.12 Masculinities and War

Why is war so closely associated with men? Is it an expression of male nature or a product of culture? This survey of masculinity and war considers the proposition that men are predisposed to kill male outsiders, which led to war throughout our species' evolutionary history and selected for additional gender characteristics. Claimed support from study of archaeology, and mobile hunters is challenged, supporting the conclusion that war is a relatively recent development in our species. Earlier cross-cultural insight into gender-based role segregation is incorporated into a cultural materialist framework¹⁷, addressed to both the commonality that war is male and to the many exceptions and variations. A sex-based division of labor leads to socially defined men's work, which fosters masculine personalities.

Masculinity is culturally antecedent to war but is exapted for combat when war is present, and then powerfully shapes and is shaped by war. Ethnographic cases and ethnological statistics show that socialization for military masculinity is pervasive in war-making societies but variable in what masculinity means, and if and how women participate in war. The next section considers contemporary variations on military masculinities and their harmful impact on women. Finally addressed is why non-war killing is typically by men. War is a male practice, one of those obvious gender dichotomies that turns out to be not so binary. Much research related to this essential has raised the contradictions, the nonconforming women in war. Focus on masculinity itself is secondary to the focus on women. Within anthropology, the typically male character of war is implicit, a given. Gutmann's

¹⁷Cultural materialism is a theoretical framework and research method for examining the relationships between the physical and economic aspects of production. It also explores the values, beliefs, and worldviews that predominate society.

(1995) broad review of the anthropological literature found practically nothing addressing masculinity and war.

The most comprehensive compilation of scattered anthropological findings on war and gender comes from political scientist Joshua Goldstein. He examines and rejects ideas that the cross-cultural exclusion of females is due to innate biological tendencies. While differences in some fitness measures are real, many women are more physically capable of war making than many men. He sees the best explanations of gendered war roles as including “small, innate biological gender differences in average size, strength, and roughness of play [and] cultural molding of tough, brave men, who feminize their enemies to translate domination” (Goldstein, 2001). Key for him is “a tendency towards childhood gender segregation which I marked by boys’ rougher group play which works against the later integration of capable women into war fighting groups” (403).

4.12.1. Evolutionary Psychology

Many and varied hypotheses link a male desire for war and other evolved male tendencies (Berenson and Markovits 2014). The common ideas are that war was a way for men to obtain resources and mates and that war itself acted as a selection mechanism for other specific psychological traits in women and men.

A good example of this line of theory is VanVugt and colleagues’ (McDonald, Navarrete, and VanVugt, 2012) “male warrior hypothesis”. Men may possess psychological mechanisms enabling them to form coalitions capable of planning, initiating, and executing acts of aggression on members of out groups (with the ultimate goal of acquiring or protecting reproductive resources)” (671–673). The violence that flows from this evolved penchant hypothetically selected for other masculine tendencies they identify in contemporary psychological tests. Men are found more xenophobic and ethnocentric than women and more likely to dehumanize outsiders. Men more than women prefer group-based social hierarchies, leading to “social conservatism, racism, patriotism and the explicit endorsement and support for wars of aggression” (671–673). They more intensely associate with “their tribal groups” such as sports teams. Men are more motivated to support and defend the in-group and are more ready to cooperate against external threats. They are less inhibited about engaging in aggressive intergroup behaviors such as preemptive strikes. Corresponding war-selected behavioral predispositions are proposed for women.

Most studies offering similar views on the evolved character of human males claim support by what is seen as a consistent pattern of violence from

primatology, archaeology, and ethnology. Contrarily, my own and other research finds none of those support an inborn inclination to kill outsider males, but instead indicate a plastic, flexible nature that turns to war through a combination of culture and circumstances.

4.12.2. A Social Theory on War and Masculinity

The approach to war utilizes a modified version of Harris's (1979) cultural materialism, which categorized social phenomena into Infrastructure, Structure, and Superstructure. Infrastructure covers a population's demography and line with the physical environment through technology and associated labor, its modes of production and reproduction. Structure is patterned social life, economics, social organization from kinship to class, and politics. Superstructure encompasses belief and motivational systems.

Applied simplistically to the topic of war, Infrastructure accounts for what kinds of issues will be worth fighting over and basic parameters of how war can be fought. Structure determines if and how scarcity develops into a *casus bello*¹⁸, how allies and enemies are defined, and the processes leading to and through war. Superstructure provides cognitive orientation within the constraints already described, shaping perceptions and decisions to attack and the meaning of violence.

4.12.3. Contemporary Military Masculinities

The military builds men. The linkage between man hood and military service has existed for centuries and has been present across cultures. Notions of gender most commonly understood as masculinity and femininity are not innate to male and female sex, but rather are socially constructed. Gender roles and representations are highly dynamic, and their definitions are always fluctuating. Cultural norms and definitions change in response to societal, cultural, political and economic pressures and vary across space. Idealized masculinity hold hegemonic over other genders through it faces constant contestation from those who represent themselves in ways outside the mainstream.

The Great Depression brought a sudden shock to the standard of manhood which were largely dependent upon the economic stability of the 'self-made man' and his ability to provide for himself and his family (Kimmel,2011). The expansion of the military -industrial complex beginning at the start of the second world war

¹⁸an act or situation that provokes or justifies a war.

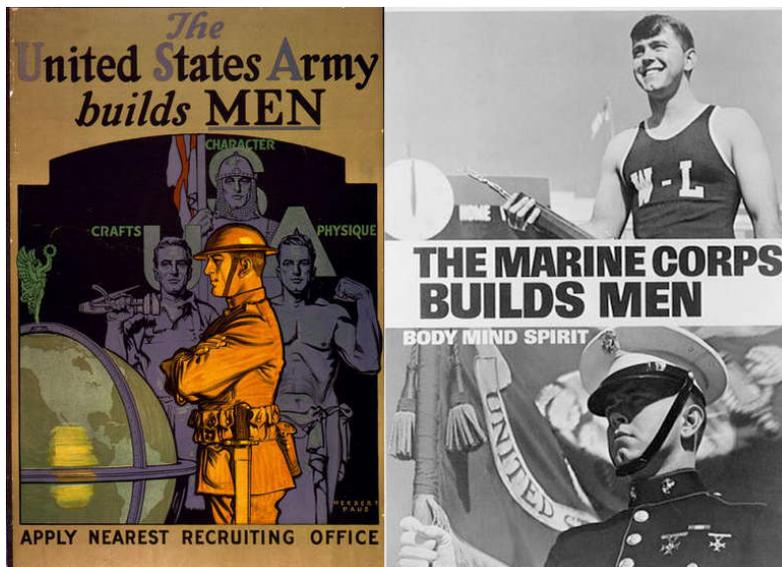
brought about new avenues and definitions for manhood all over the world. The war brought it with a growing economy and an immense need for soldiers facilitating possibilities for men to fill the masculine roles of breadwinner and soldier. Segal (1990) claims that there were at least two opposed faces of masculinity in the fifties. There was a family man content with house and garden, and there was the old wartime hero who puts freedom before family and loved ones. The former may exhibit a 'softer' image of masculinity than the latter, but both fulfill cultural expectations of what roles men should fill.

Notions of masculinity were present throughout society and culture an individual were inundated with positive and negative examples of masculinity all the time. Through it was certainly not alone in communicating ideal masculinity the military with its board reach and institutional power has a significant and growing impact on the norms of nations. The militarization of the nation had great influence in shaping the masculinities ideal of WWII and post war Eras in a number of ways including through training, shared experiences and the reputation men would receive from service.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. What Kimmel (2011) tells us about Great Depression?
2. What Harris (1979) theory of cultural materialism is about?
3. Explain social theory on war and masculinity.

Figure:<http://brandontlocke.com/projects/militarymasculinitycomplex/intro.html>



4.12.4. War and the Heroic Soldier Myth

The critical influence offered by the treatment of combat as a gendered standardizing believe is illustrated by gender and feminist theorists' identification, and critical deconstruction of a cultural figure of combat: heroic (combat) soldiers. In doing so, critical scholars are able to foreground the normative assumptions (and political commitments) included the apparently objective observations of the traditional literature. The conventional writers discussed at the start, advocated, and rely upon the idea of the heroic soldier. Dave Grossman's (1995) forwards statement of his normative position. Grossman in his book writes.

... read by countless thousands of warriors who are called upon by our nation to kill in combat. And it is the single greatest honor of my life to have been of service to these magnificent men and women...

Grossman neatly encapsulates the interrelation of combat, nation, and some form of elevation or glory (in his formulation it is 'magnificence') attributed to soldiers. Feminist scholars add gender to this link and deconstruct it as a site of gendered power rather than a 'common sense' 'good'.

As Levy (2003: 327) notes, it is "almost impossible to constitute a military identity (masculine or feminine) that does not relate to the identity of the warrior" or as Duncanson (2009: 64) describes it, the "warrior model". The existence of multiple masculinities (and femininities) in a military context, as noted above, should not distract from the structures of power asymmetry which they entail: "the hegemony of the warrior model is part of the reason that certain men dominate within the military, and why there is pressure on men to conform to this form of masculinity (Duncanson 2009: 65). The military is a space within which 'gender' and other axes of power and subordination – are made, learned, practiced and reproduced (Baaz and Stern 2009: 499) and 'combat' is a crucial conceptual anchor point for this gendering and all that it entails both in military training and during war. As Duncanson (2009: 65) describes, many accounts of military training demonstrate how gender informs this process, as all things 'feminine' are belittled, and 'manhood' is equated with toughness under fire (Belkin 2012).

Within this literature, the myth of the magnificent warrior is grounded in a heroic narrative of fight, an imagination of martial violence that is privileged, powerful and strongly normative. The heroic soldier myth may change (Cooper and Hurcombe, 2009: 103), but it remains persistent (Woodward, Winter and Jenkins, 2009), largely due to the grounding provided by war in the soldier's relationship with the institution. As fight is imagined involving elements of risk,

sacrifice, and violence on behalf of the group (Mackenzie 2015) the hierarchical elevation of the soldier over the civilian population is assured, despite changes in the ‘actual’ empirical practice of martial violence over time. As the heroic (combat) soldier “expands our own ego boundary joyfully into that of the nation”, warfare is therefore understood through the figure of the soldier (Woodward and Jenkins, 2012). The “legitimacy or otherwise” of war, and the overall political community, is thus affirmed or contested) through the lens of this figure (Millar 2016).

Significantly, the war imaginary that produces the ‘heroic soldier’ at an individual level and state-state ‘combat’, such that the heroic soldier is imagined as a miniature of the heroic state. The heroic soldier, foundationally constituted by combat, is therefore presented as an ideal of, simultaneously, masculinity and citizenship (Sasson-Levy, 2002). Christensen (2015: 355) identifies, ‘the soldier becomes a proponent for a whole society’s set of values’. Deconstructing the myth of the heroic soldier and its constitutive relationship between combat and masculinity is therefore key to the critical project of feminist and gender scholarship. If it seems to be common sense that soldiers are heroic, that they do a thing called war, and that this war is in some ways an elevated and special form of violence, then it is the job of critical scholars to unpack the assumptions, trace the political investments and the power relations that do powerful work both in military discourse and popular imaginary.

Eichler (2014:81-82) summarizes as across the world, men make up the vast majority of armed forces and state leaders engaged in war. But as feminist international relations scholars argue, this does not mean that men are innately militaristic, and, by corollary, that women are naturally peaceful. Instead, the link between masculinity and the military is constructed and maintained for the purpose of waging war. Militarized masculinity, at its most basic level, refers to the assertion that traits stereotypically associated with masculinity can be acquired and proven through military service or action, and combat in particular. ... At the core of feminist theorizing is the insight that these perceived gender differences are socially constructed rather than biologically inherent. ... While militarized masculinities tend to be defined in hierarchical opposition to women and femininities by reinforced unequal gendered relations of power, they must also be understood in their diversity and variability over time.

It may be concluded that masculinity is a flexible category but always connected to war when war is present. Within masculinity can be mixed and contrary themes, in both hegemonic and protest varieties, partly related to the specific demands of war making. It is “a fluid and shifting category and complex. This binary gender

opposition gives people a framework for thought, a reference point in a logic of contrasts, both between men and women and among men. Masculine is not feminine, and feminine is not suited for combat. In providing an elementary structure of thought, masculinity prepares boys growing into manhood to risk life and to kill (Hutchings, 2008).

4.13 Self-Assessment Questions

1. Discuss in detail the masculine norms and violence. How they are linked with each other?
2. Discuss the seven P's of men violence in detail and support your answer with Pakistani cultural context.
3. What are the challenges we talk about men and gender equality? Discuss.
4. Discuss the role and activism of men in violence against women.
5. What are the benefits of Gender Equality for men? Explain.
6. Why war is closely associated with men? Explain in detail.
7. Describe the social theory on war and masculinity and explain its link with heroic myth.
8. Describe war and heroic myth in detail
9. What is your understanding of contemporary military masculinities?

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Unit 5

MASCULINITY AND MEDIA

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INTRODUCTION

This unit addresses the representation of men and masculinity in the media. It covers topics such as hegemonic masculinity and its effect on media and media contents. This unit also looks at media stereotypes of masculinity and explores the ways that how children see masculinity portrayed in media. Drawing on the analysis of the different media researches, the unit concludes the ways through which hegemonic masculinities not only addressed, but can also be resolved through policy reforms at every level for each gender.

OBJECTIVES

This unit aims at:

1. explains how masculinity and media has impact on gender
2. elucidate the role of hegemonic masculinity and media
3. informs about masculinity and social consequences on men and women

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After reading the unit, you should be able to:

1. discuss the relationship between masculinity and media
2. describe the masculinities through hegemonic representation and its impact on the society
3. discuss the necessary steps that are necessary to combat effects of hegemonic masculinities in media

5.1 Masculinity and Media

Media is a big part of people's everyday lives. It influences both how we see ourselves and the world to some extent. There are many different types of media, for example: television shows, movies, the radio, newspapers, advertisements which are placed in random places and the internet. In these different forms of media, there are images of men and women, which are represented in different ways and with different characteristics.

The essential role of media in defining the masculinity is how a man is portraying in their relationship within family and at workplace. Families, friends, teachers, and community leaders all play a role in helping boys define what it means to be a man. Mainstream media representations also play a role in reinforcing ideas about what it means to be a "real" man in our society. In most media portrayals, male characters are rewarded for self-control and the control of others, aggression and violence, financial independence, and physical desirability.

In *Tough Guise: Violence, Media and the Crisis in Masculinity*, Jackson Katz and Jeremy Earp argue that the media provide an important perspective on social attitudes and that while the media are not the cause of violent behavior in men and boys, they do portray male violence as a normal expression of masculinity. In 1999, Children Now, a California-based organization that examines the impact of media on children and youth, released a report entitled *Boys to Men: Media Messages About Masculinity*. The report argues that the media's portrayal of men tends to reinforce men's social dominance. The report observes that the majority of male characters in media are aggressive male characters are more often associated with the public sphere of work, rather than the private sphere of the home, and issues and problems related to work are more significant than personal issues. Male characters are more likely to experience personal problems and are more likely to use physical aggression or violence to solve those problems.

A more recent study found similar patterns in how male characters were portrayed in children's television around the world: boys are portrayed as tough, powerful and either as a loner or leader, while girls were most often shown as depending on boys to lead them and being most interested in romance. These portrayals are of particular concern when it comes to young boys, who may be more influenced by media images than girls.

In the 2014 article *Media and the Make-Believe Worlds of Boys and Girls*, Maya Götz and Dafna Lemish(2014) note that girls generally pick and choose what media content to integrate into their imaginary worlds an approach the authors

summarize as “leave something out, take something in and dissociate from it.” Boys, on the other hand, tend to incorporate media content into their own imaginations wholesale, “taking it in, assimilating it, and then taking the story further.” According to Götz and Lemish (2014) “boys... dream themselves into the position of their heroes and experience a story similar to the one in the original medium.” The portrayal and acceptance of men by the media as socially powerful and physically violent serve to reinforce assumptions about how men and boys should act in society.

Various media analysts and researchers argue that media portrayals of male characters fall within a range of stereotypes read each other, as well as how they should treat women and children.

5.2 Hegemonic Masculinity in Media Content

The concept of hegemonic masculinity was formulated two and a half decades ago Connell (1987) to refer to those traits that various cultures ascribe to ‘real men’ and which not only set out such ‘real men’ from women and all other men, but also justify all men to generally be in a position of domination over women. On local and regional levels, hegemonic masculinity manifests itself in varying forms, and is constantly evolving, leading researchers to conceive the idea of multiple hegemonic masculinities. On a global scale, hegemonic masculinity is a representation of society’s ideal of how male behaviour should be. In reality, its function is to legitimate the social ascendancy of men over women in all aspects of life, which is evident in many societies all over the world. In addition, hegemonic masculinity also emphasizes superiority of ‘manly’ men over the ‘not-so-manly’ men. This social ascendancy is often portrayed through religious practices, the mass media, business and even through government policies and practices.

Hegemonic masculinity is not assumed to be normal in the statistical sense. Only a minority of men might enact it. But it is certainly normative in that it embodies the currently most honored way of being a man, it requires all other men to position themselves in relation to it and it ideologically legitimates the global subordination of women to men. (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005:832). A common misunderstanding of hegemonic masculinity is when the concept is used to refer to boys or men behaving badly, or to refer to the ‘alpha male’. While in some contexts the concept refers to men’s engaging in toxic practices including physical violence such practices are not always the defining characteristics. Cultural ideals of masculinity need not conform to the personalities of actual men or the realities of everyday achievements of men. Trujillo (1991) expanded the

definition of hegemonic masculinity by identifying five major features that defined when masculinity was hegemonic in US media culture. These are:

1. 'when power is defined in terms of physical force and control' (particularly in the representation of the body),
2. 'when it is defined through occupational achievement in an industrial, capitalistic society',
3. when it is represented in terms of familial patriarchy,
4. when it is 'symbolized by the daring, romantic frontiersman of yesteryear and of the present-day outdoorsman', and
5. 'when heterosexually defined' and centered on the representation of the phallus (P:291-2).

Brod (1987) argues that pervasive images of masculinity hold that 'real men' are physically strong, aggressive and in control of their work. Yet the structural dichotomy between manual and mental labour means that no one's world fulfils all these conditions. Manual laborer's work for others at the low end of the class spectrum while management sits at a desk. Consequently, while the insecurities generated by these contradictions are personally dissatisfying to men, these insecurities also impel them to cling all the more tightly to sources of masculine identity validation offered by the image system. 'For working-class males, who have less access to more abstract forms of masculinity-validating power (economic power, workplace authority etc.) the physical body and its potential for violence provide a concrete means of achieving and asserting manhood' (:14).

5.3 Representations of Hegemonic Masculinities in the Media

One key source of construction of hegemonic masculinity is the American movie industry, which feeds the global culture with an endless stream of violent male icons. Tens of millions of people, disproportionately young males, flock to theatres worldwide or rent videos of what Katz (2011: 261-262) calls the 'action-adventure' films of male icons such as Arnold Schwarzenegger, Sylvester Stallone, Jean-Claude Van Damme, Bruce Willis, Christian Bale and Matt Damon. Local or regional equivalents of the male icons created by Hollywood now dominate local and regional film and television industries in other parts of the world from India's Bollywood to Nigeria's Nollywood. Adding to this inventory of images are the music video industry and the widespread practice in advertising to stress gender difference, implicitly and even explicitly reaffirming the 'natural' dissimilarities of males and females. And then there are the inescapable military and sports symbolisms proliferate in all forms of media including video games, all enhancing the association of muscularity with 'ideal masculinity'. Gray and Ginsberg (2007:19) state that:

Women's rise in power has created a crisis in masculinity all over the world. In particular, in cultures in which the traditional male role as breadwinner and protector has declined and in which machine has replaced muscle, the pursuit of muscularity has become one of the few ways left for men to exhibit their masculine selves.

Thus, men have developed muscles not for their usefulness, but for their representation of masculinity.

By helping to differentiate masculinity from femininity, images of masculine aggression and violence including violence against women afford young males across class, race, and geographical boundaries a degree of self-respect and 'security' within the more socially valued masculine role. In addition, as microeconomic shifts have contributed to a decline in both employment and real wages for working-class males in many economies, images of violent masculinity in the symbolic realm of media and advertising function, in part, to bolster masculine identities that have increasingly less foundation in the material world (Katz, 2011:263).

In many parts of the world, magazine and television advertisements aimed at men are rife with advertisements featuring violent male icons, such as football players, big-fisted boxers, military figures, and leather-clad bikers. Men's sports magazines and televised sporting events carry millions of dollars' worth of military advertisements. And the past 20 years has seen a mushrooming of advertisements for products designed to help men develop muscular physiques - from weight training machines to nutritional supplements and services to enhance their muscles. These advertisements exploit men's feeling of not being big, strong, or violent enough by promising to provide them with the products that will enhance these qualities.

Young males confronted with generational crises everywhere find themselves on the receiving end of music videos produced by numerous male artists who perform working-class or urban 'rebel' masculinity that embodies all sorts of violent angers and resentments and seek validation in the defiance of mainstream social conventions. The subcultures associated with some of these genres of music from country music to rock, heavy metal, punk and hip-hop embrace blatant form of misogyny and some of them are associated with an ethos of rape and other forms of intimate violence against women. Still, advertisers worldwide have sought to use this 'young-men-with-in-your-face-attitude' in marketing of products to young males. Though the examples vary from one country to another, these young artists are often displayed with angry expressions on their faces,

wearing attires emblazoned with writings and/or other graphic depictions representing an overtly violent, aggressive, and nihilistic demeanor (Katz, 2011:263). The increasing global popularity of skateboarding, snowboarding, motocross racing and extreme sports culture has contributed to this growing reservoir of images of youthful rebel masculinity that is then packaged and sold to consumers.

Military and sports have always been a staple source of the symbolic image system of violent masculinity. Uniformed soldiers and players as well as their weapons and gear appear frequently in media content from computer games and magazines to movies and television, and in advertisements of all sorts. Advertisers, for instance, often use these signifiers in numerous creative ways to make their products appear manly. The images are characterized by exciting outdoor action scenes with references to ‘leadership’, ‘respect’ and ‘pride’. But for many young males, what these images are really selling to them is a certain vision of masculinity adventurous, aggressive, and violent that provides men of all classes a standard of ‘real manhood’ against which to judge themselves.

Self-Assessment Questions(SAQs)

1. How hegemonic masculinity effects media contents?
2. What is represented in terms of family in media?

5.4 Violence, Mass Media and Masculinity

In recent years we have heard many news where students open fire in school or markets and killed many people. Such a comment underscores the prevalence of violence generally and the proliferation of school-based youth on youth violence. Apart from school killings, there has also been an increase in murders committed by people who explicitly acknowledge the influence of media. For example, in another school shooting a 17-year-old French male stabbed a female while wearing a mask from the popular movie “Scream.” [In addition, more than 10 male teenagers have murdered friends and family members in North America and in Europe while wearing “Scream” masks or because of having watched the film numerous times (Webster, 2002).

Parents, educators, researchers and policymakers have sought to identify the root causes of this violence by looking at three separate, but overlapping areas: access to handguns, parental influence and/or the lack of parental influence and authority; and the media’s influence on young people. The American Academy of Pediatrics (2002) noted that media violence can often lead to aggressive behavior in children. Over 1,000 studies confirm this link and one study indicates that “by

the age of 18, the average American child will have viewed about 200,000 acts of violence on television alone” (Media Violence AAP Committee on Communications in Pediatrics, 1995, p.6). And though that is staggering, Anderson and Dill (2000) argued that the increasing construction of an active aggressive script in video games is more powerful at perpetuating violence than the passive violence experienced in viewing television or movies.

The causes and explanations of violence are complex and multi-layered and though various groups have clung to their respective explanations for the violence, researchers and activists have articulated the link between the consumption of media products by young people and their attitudes toward issues such as sex and violence (c.f. American Academy of Pediatrics, 1995). Indeed, media analyst Jackson Katz (1999) argued that “increasingly, academics, community activists and politicians have been paying attention to the role of the mass media in producing, reproducing and legitimating this violence” (P: 133). And it is perhaps no surprise to learn that males are the primary consumers of these violent images (Children Now, 1999). “From rock and rap music and videos, Hollywood action films, professional and college sports, the culture produces a stream of images of violent, abusive men and promotes characteristics such as dominance, power and control as a means of establishing or maintaining manhood” (Katz & Jhally, 1999:P E1).

Katz and Jhally (1999) made explicit the connection between school violence, the representation of violence in the media and the consumption of media as a mechanism for normalizing violence when they suggested that what the “school shootings reveal is not a crisis in youth culture, but a crisis in masculinity . . .the issue is not just violence in the media but the construction of violent masculinity as a cultural norm” (P: E1).Although the bulk of research on youth and adolescence has focused on factors (e.g., biology, cognitive, social, affective) that contribute to development and identity formation, there has been a shift toward examining the contexts (e.g., family, school, peers, leisure) that contribute to identity development.

While there has been an important shift in the research literature from viewing young people as a “problem” toward seeing young people as an “asset,” Beginning in 1989, the Search Institute, a think tank focused on youth development, helped to make this conceptual research shift by identifying assets that youth possess and that can be supported by adults to help young people become resilient and to aid in their emotional development. In 1993, Heath & McLaughlin’s groundbreaking work on identity and inner-city youth provided ethnographic data about the ways in which young people, especially those labeled

“troubled youth” (i.e., those living in troubled communities and troubled families), can be engaged in processes that promote youth development. Prior to this time, research on young people and adolescents had a decidedly pathological bent to it focusing on the deficits of youth, “problem” youth and those who did not easily fit into societal expectations of how young people should be and behave (Griffin, 1997). Many researches on youth for their violent behaviors describe, explain and attempt to predict individual behavior, do little to help us understand how young people’s identities are constructed ideologically through a variety of social contexts. Michael Kimmel (2000) makes the problem clear when he stated, “we call it ‘teen violence,’ ‘youth violence.’ Just who do we think is doing it girls? Imagine if the killers in schools were all black girls from poor families. The entire focus would be on race, class, and gender. Yet the obvious fact that these school killers were all middle-class white boys seems to have escaped everyone’s notice” (P:7).

Self-Assessment Questions(SAQs)

1. Watch your favorite drama and define how masculinity is presented in it.
2. Observe TV commercials and noted own how men are represented the advertisements

5.5 Globalization of Masculinity Stereotypes

Theorists (Beasley, 2008; Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005) posit that hegemonic masculinities can be analyzed at three levels:

1. Local: constructed in the arenas of face-to-face interaction of families, organizations, and immediate communities, as typically found in ethnographic and life-history research.
2. Regional: constructed at the level of the culture or the nation-state, as typically found in discursive, political, and demographic research; and
3. Global: constructed in transnational arenas such as world politics and transnational business and media, as studied in the emerging research on masculinities and globalization

New technologies have also allowed greater freedom for the media to create highly seductive images that transfix audience attention while avoiding critical interrogation. Social media and other internet-based technologies have increased the media’s powers of replication, amplification, and extension of stereotypes of masculinity across the globe. And as media consolidation shapes the uniformity of tastes in some forms of media, it is becoming increasingly clear that some of the once local models of hegemonic masculinity in specific regions of the world have achieved ascendancy on a global scale.

5.5.1. Popular Stereotypes of Male Characters



The report *Boys to Men: Media Messages about Masculinity*, identifies the most popular stereotypes of male characters as the Joker, the Jock, the Strong Silent Type, the Big Shot, and the Action Hero. The Joker is a very popular character with boys, perhaps because laughter is part of their own “mask of masculinity.” A potential negative consequence of this stereotype is the assumption that boys and men should not be serious or emotional. However, researchers have also argued that humorous roles can be used to expand definitions of masculinity.

The Jock is always willing to “compromise his own long-term health; he must fight other men when necessary; he must avoid being soft; and he must be aggressive.” By demonstrating his power and strength, the jock wins the approval of other men and the adoration of women. The Strong Silent Type focuses on “being in charge, acting decisively, containing emotion, and succeeding with women.” This stereotype reinforces the assumption that men and boys should always be in control, and that talking about one’s feelings is a sign of weakness. The Big Shot is defined by his professional status. He is the “epitome of success, embodying the characteristics and acquiring the possessions that society deems valuable.” This stereotype suggests that a real man must be economically powerful and socially successful. The Action Hero is “strong, but not necessarily silent. He is often angry. Above all, he is aggressive in the extreme and, increasingly over the past several decades, he engages in violent behavior.

5.5.2 Research on Boy’s and Girl’s Stereotypes

However, more recent research on girls and boys on television that asked what boys like in a character showed that male characters do not have to conform to

these stereotypes to be successful and, in fact, some boys actively disliked elements of these portrayals. While boys admired characters, who were able to master challenges and solve problems, and generally disliked characters they saw as victims, being violent or angry was not part of the characters' appeal. Rather, boys like seeing characters that solve problems through action of any kind, even in traditionally female activities such as cooking (which explains the popularity of shows such as Iron Chef among young boys). Characters also do not have to be portrayed as leaders or perfect heroes to appeal to boys: so long as they are portrayed as being problem-solvers, whether by "getting over" hurdles in the traditional way or by subverting challenges by "getting under" them. Moreover, boys in the study complained about media portrayals that showed them as being stupid, aggressive, violent, or criminal.

This research, and the Children Now study, both suggest that the media should take the opportunity to reach beyond these stereotypes and to present more creative, multi-dimensional male (and female) characters who overcome challenges without violence or aggression. A study conducted by the Amateur Athletic Foundation of Los Angeles reports that 98 per cent of American boys between the ages of 8 and 17 consume sports media. Since professional sports are virtually dominated by men from the athletes and coaches to the commentators and reporter's sports media have the potential to transmit powerful ideas about manliness and masculinity. Studies on gender and sports media find that sports commentary reinforces perceptions of "violent masculinity." By praising athletes who continue to play while injured, and by using language of conflict and war to describe action, sports commentary reinforces violence and aggression as exciting and rewarding behavior. Sports broadcasts focus heavily on violence in professional sports, often replaying and over-analyzing footage of graphic injuries, accidents, and fights. A 1999 Children Now study points out that conflict between players of opposing teams is often created or inflated to promote upcoming games.

The studies conclude that this focus on personal rivalry, conflict, and fierce competition reinforces the social attitude that violence and aggression are normal and natural expressions of masculine identity. However, there are encouraging signs that sport culture is beginning to change, such as the You Can Play project, which has enlisted NHL teams, sports broadcasters, and hockey stars to fight homophobia in hockey. In fact, in his analysis of gender in advertising, author and University of North Texas professor Steve Craig argues that women tend to be presented as "rewards" for men who choose the right product. He describes such commercials as "narratives of playful escapades away from home and family." They operate, he says, at the level of fantasy presenting idealized portrayals of

men and women. When he focused specifically on beer commercials, Craig found that the men were invariably “virile, slim and white” and the women always “eager for male companionship.”

Susan Bordo (2000) has also analyzed gender in advertising, and agrees that men are usually portrayed as virile, muscular, and powerful. Their powerful bodies dominate space in the ads. For women, the focus is on slenderness, dieting, and attaining a feminine ideal; women are always presented as not just thin, but also weak and vulnerable. These critics and others suggest that just as traditional advertising has for decades sexually objectified women and their bodies, today’s marketing campaigns are objectifying men in the same way. Research and anecdotal reports from doctors suggest that this new focus on fit and muscled male bodies is causing men the same anxiety and personal insecurity that women have felt for decades. In fact, Steve Craig (1992) in his analysis of gender in advertising, argues that women tend to be presented as “rewards” for men who choose the right product. He describes such commercials as “narratives of playful escapades away from home and family.” They operate, he says, at the level of fantasy presenting idealized portrayals of men and women. When he focused specifically on beer commercials, Craig (1992) found that the men were invariably “virile, slim and white” and the women always “eager for male companionship.” Advertising also contributes to the narrow range of roles for men through the aggressive gender-coding of toy packaging. Despite boys’ interest in cooking and the popularity of shows such as Iron Chef among young boys, for instance, few makers of cooking toys have made any attempts to offer their products in gender-neutral packaging. This is important because once boys and girls reach school age, they begin to prefer toys they see as being “right” for their gender, and to reject toys associated with the other gender even if they had previously played happily with those same toys. If we want to provide both boys and girls with a wide range of possible roles, we need to make sure our homes and classrooms include toys that allow them to explore those roles.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. What is globalization of masculine stereotype?
2. What are popular male stereotypes?

5.6 Combating Dominant Masculinities

Some researchers, such as Brown (2012) has questioned the wisdom of the long-term use of masculinity as the underlying basis of appeals for military service at a time when women’s role in the military is expanding worldwide. In advertising and recruiting materials, Brown advises that militaries rely less heavily on

traditional iconography of a man's army (emphasis mine) and pay greater attention to international events, references to duty or citizenship and the increasing role of technology. Both stress the need to de-emphasize use of combat imagery that denotes a 'masculine realm of challenge, excitement, and brotherhood' in recognition that wars have expanded the military roles of women (Brown, 2012: 17). Other areas of actions that need to be explored by various actors include:

1. Public Policy

There is still much that governments can do about regulating the amount of violence to which young people, and especially young males, are exposed by better regulating the marketing, broadcasting and/or exhibition of such material to young audiences. Governments should be encouraged to formulate national policies that encourage sporting institutions to be more egalitarian along gender lines.

2. Scholarly Research

Research work is needed to examine non-fiction, non-entertainment portrayals of men such as those found in news coverage. Katz (2011) argues that this is especially important given that the criteria for 'acceptable' masculinities is likely different in fiction and non-fiction representations of men.

There is a need to identify institutions in society, other than media, where men and boys compete with and put down one another by feminizing each other and to design intervention tools.

3. Curriculum Development

Encouraging institutions of higher learning to intensify interdisciplinary studies in cultural, social, historical, political, psychological, economic, and artistic analysis that interrogates the constructions of masculinity in different communities at various times in history.

Encouraging media educators to develop curricula to instruct future media practitioners reporters, sportswriters, and sportscasters to avoid language and other symbolisms that maintain the status quo and instead to strive to 'de-masculinize' sports and military culture.

4. Media Industries Self-Evaluation and Improvement

Encourage media organizations to initiate or support programs to sensitize current media practitioners working journalists, sportswriters and sportscasters, producers, and directors etc. in recognizing and avoiding language, symbols and other representations that perpetuate hegemonic

masculinity, especially in writing and talking about sports, war, and military matters.

5. Community and Non-Governmental Organization Activism

Encourage and empower local, national, regional, and international media associations to lobby governments and media industries for the formulation of policies and production of media contents that de-emphasize representations of dominant masculinities within their jurisdictions.

Empower organizations to design and deliver community and adult education programs in modes of conflict resolution other than use of violence.

5.7 Self-Assessment Questions

1. Describe in detail how media represent hegemonic masculinity? Support your answer with examples.
2. Explain the different stereotypes of boys and girls enumerating Götz and Lemish research analysis.
3. What is meant by globalization of male stereotyping? Explain in detail.
4. Discuss the measures which are useful in combating dominant masculinities in media.

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Unit 6

THE MEANING OF WORK

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INTRODUCTION

Men have long been typecast in instrumental economically derived positions wherein masculinity and male identity center on work. In light of this centrality of employment and occupational status in the lives of men, unemployment might be seen as a providing a situation where masculinity is under challenge. This unit highlights the arena of the public work sphere where men recognize their identity with work. This unit also intends to examine the context of unemployed in which male may have a sense of placelessness.

OBJECTIVES

This unit aims at:

1. introduce meaning of work from masculine perspective
2. explain masculine identity in relation with work
3. feminize consequences of unemployment on men identity

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After studying the unit, you will be able to:

1. understand meaning of work from men' perspective
2. discuss how masculinity is considered central part of men' identity
3. describe the consequences of unemployment on sociocultural and mental life of men

6.1 Defining Work

Work is defined as the carrying out of tasks, which involves the expenditure of mental and physical effort, and its objective is the production of goods and services that cater to human needs. An occupation, or job, is work that is done in exchange for a regular wage or salary. In all cultures, work is the basis of the economy or economic system. The economic system for any given culture is made up of the institutions that provide for the production and distribution of goods and services. These institutions may vary from culture to culture, particularly in traditional societies versus modern societies. In traditional cultures, food gathering and food production is the type of work occupied by the majority of the population. In larger traditional societies, carpentry, stonemasonry, and shipbuilding are also prominent. In modern societies where industrial development exists, people work in a much wider variety of occupations. Among some people, men's work is considered to be the opposite of "women's work" and thus does not include activities within the home or with children, though "men's work" traditionally includes work that involves both (such as repairing appliances and disciplining children).

6.2 Conceptualizing Work and Gender

Although labour has occupied center stage in class analysis yet little consideration is given to how gender identities patterned work, and of the value of uncommodified labour, and even less of the embodied experience of work. Whilst gender analysis has addressed this gap it has tended to focus mainly on women, such that the impression is created, especially in WID-oriented writing, that in relation to labour, men are to class as women are to gender. This unsatisfactory dichotomy can be unsettled by thinking about women's class identities and men's gender identities, in their working lives. Are the ways in which work is defined and measured equally appropriate for women and men? Men's work, like men, has been largely unmarked, until the recent past, in development studies as elsewhere. Men were simply people, peasants, traders, landlords and work were defined as what they did. Definitions of work in the world have been framed in a particular historical context and only fairly recently, under the feminist critique in particular, have these been broadened to recognize the value of domestic work and other activities undertaken outside of the context of employment. The invisibility of women's work is a feature of census definitions, of concepts of work in social science, and also of folk definitions of work in many cultures (Wallman, 1979). But alongside the invisibility of women's contributions to livelihood production and reproduction, lies another lesser invisibility of male domestic labour, which may be minimized when it does not conform to cultural

ideals. For example, shows that men of the Sweeper caste in Benares hide themselves from public view when they cook or clean pots. Men who have to cook for themselves are mocked in many societies.

Are men unambiguous beneficiaries of the gender divisions of labour which typify rural south Asian households? The popular consensus which emerged from the attention to gender divisions of labour in the 1970s and 80s, although there was much careful work which argued for more complex interpretations of gender divisions of labor was that rural women worked harder than men, that women's work was controlled by men, and that women did not benefit from the products of their own labour in an equitable manner; in short, women were exploited by men through inequitable gender divisions of labour. Without denying the significance of structures of constraint, these accounts are weakened by a representation of rural working women as barely human in the absence of agency accorded to their acts, and by assumptions of an overarching and compulsive 'patriarchy'.

The reproductive risks, and associated ill-being, of women as a consequence of the work of biological reproduction, are indisputable. However, in relation to the daily livelihood work of agriculture, wage labour, domestic labour, and so on, there are some puzzles about how the popular images of overworked women connects to evidence of nutritional well-being. Body Mass Index (BMI) is a generally sound indicator of nutritional status, which reflects the balance of food intake and energy expenditure, including of course work, and thus one would expect to find that women's workload is expressed in low BMIs compared to men of the same households. Studies of adult laborer's and landless workers in India do not show this, and in fact it is men in their reproductive years who are most nutritionally challenged and vulnerable to excess mortality.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. What is the definition of work in men studies?
2. What is BMI? Explain.

6.3 Masculine Identity and Work

Masculine identity and work identity refer to how closely one identifies with male sex-role expectations and with one's job, career, and company. These subjects have successfully met societal expectations for men all are mid-level managers who are socially, maritally, and financially stable. Sociological analysis and recent studies of men indicate agreement about the centrality of work in the lives of men. Work is assumed to be a major basis of identity and of what it means to be a man. Ford in his work spoke of the male desire to prove oneself and

saw that the most legitimate way in our society to do this was through work. The relationship between work, home, and masculinity, constitutes a field in Bourdieu's understanding. The field we are investigating here then would be "a position in society" or more generally (self-)identity."

Work has been viewed as being strongly bound up with a sense of self. In response to questions such as "who am I" it was found that men were more likely than women to answer in terms of a particular occupational title. Workplaces seem to be the interpreters of male identities are given shape or meaning. Morgan suggests that paid employment, both as a means of making money and of getting out of the house is therefore likely to be an important anchor for traditional masculine identities (Morgan, 1992:99). Segal reiterates this view when she suggests that men's engagement in paid work is central to the social construction of masculinity (Segal, 1990:29). With the socialization of gender roles, it becomes obvious why there has been a strong connection between masculine identity and work. For centuries women and indeed children have been involved in the 'work sphere' but have so in much more a subordinated way than that of men. A good example of this was the way that women were less paid in comparison to men. Segal talks about how in the early 19th Century before the notion of the male breadwinner was spoken about men, women and children worked in factory production (Segal, 1990:298).

However, both from sociobiology and social constructionism there developed an ever-widening gulf between the private feminine sphere of the household and the public masculine world of the workforce. Men became stereotype in the public work sphere, whereas women were typecast in the private, domestic nurturing role, Men became the breadwinners and women the homemakers. Feminist analysis has criticized the way that the home is not often recognized as a workplace at all, domestic tasks failed to be acknowledged as work. Even though women are no longer typecast within the domestic sphere, and men no longer strictly within that of the public, in the age of modernity we have not seen any radical change in thinking of men and work. The notion of male-breadwinner received a variety of challenges in the second half of the 20th Century from economic restructuring which led to the decline of many forms of employment that had strong linkages with masculine notions of strength and physical labour. Another challenge was posed by women's entrance into the labour force and at different level provided clear challenges to the links between employment and masculine identity and finally unemployment returned to become an apparent permanent feature of the economic landscape

Historically, the association of masculinity with the provider role, though corresponding to all patriarchal view of masculinity, has been promoted all over the world. According to the gender representations prevalent in urban culture, this field is paradigmatically masculine, and though women may participate and are even encouraged to contribute to the household budget, from the masculine point of view (women may not agree) their contribution is codified as extension of their domestic duties or just as an additional help to support the family. In any event, work is not associated with the identity of the female gender. In other words, the fact that a woman works does not affect her femaleness and should she stop getting an income, neither she nor the others would question her gender identity. In the case of males, on the other hand, there is a narrow association between masculinity and work. That they be unemployed or that they do not earn money severely challenges manhood. To start earning money means and implies the acquisition of the status of adulthood, it is a prerequisite for establishing a family and the principal source of social recognition. Both the homosocial recreational activities and the domestic life of adult males are defined in terms of being workers. In other words, the time and energy that they dedicate to these will be subordinated to the pace imposed on them by remunerated work. Thus, for example, a father will dedicate to his children the time and spaces “allowed by” his work. Similarly, leisure time is defined as that in which he is free of work obligations. In fact, the role of the male in a household as well as the activities he carries out there are defined by the fact that he works outside so that when he is at home his functions are perceived to include basically the following: resting, recovering his strength, exerting authority and managing the family resources. Men may and should carry out domestic chores, but when they do this, it is perceived as help or as expressions of their personal tastes not associated to their gender and not as the contribution that corresponds to them as males within the domestic order. Work is also the masculine place par excellence because it is the space where the male meets his peers. As the areas for masculine socialization decline in adulthood due to the demanding domestic and work obligations that forces men to restrict their recreational activities, the place of employment progressively becomes the only homosocial setting. It is an environment that establishes a counterpoint with the home, the feminine space to which males do not entirely belong and in which they are in a subordinate position to the wife or the mother.

6.4 Work and Life Cycle

Men are required to meet standards of masculine performance, which vary over the life course in (inevitably) changing social and economic contexts. Strategies to establish an increasing degree of masculinity start early in life. At a young age,

having spending money is a masculine need. To earn an income enables a young man to participate in the exchange of mutual invitations, to participate in social activities and in other activities that allow him to obtain a place in the men's networks. Different interpretations on the meaning of this experience may be established and associated to social class differences. Middle class young people delay their insertion into the labor market because, as a rule, they attend university or a specialized academy. On the other hand, young people from popular sectors start earning money early in life since parents expect their children to start contributing to the family budget as soon as they finish school. Once they establish their own homes, they devote their cares to their own children. However, this transition is often difficult because the family of origin relies on the contribution of the young members to attain better living conditions and this contribution is interrupted when the youngsters move out to start a family. Therefore, it is not uncommon for a male to say that his mother and father objected to his establishing a home.

While during youth work opens the doors of masculine space by giving prestige, in adulthood the primary purpose of work is to provide sustenance for the family. The definitive insertion in the sphere of work occurs when they assume responsibility, that is, when they become providers for the family they establish. The arrival of the first child confirms this passage. From then on, responsible work marks the difference vis-à-vis the previous uncivilized and dangerous period when the incomes obtained at work were diverted for entertainment and adventure. Generally, urban men the ability to provide and be responsible for others (and therefore to hold authority over them) constitutes the landmark between work as a way of entering the masculine space and confirming masculinity, and work as the consecration of manhood. The latter entails not only the ability to produce and be accepted by the peers but also to provide for others. These representations may raise a point about altruism and self-interest. There could be a different 'male' version of caring since the significance of being a provider for men suggests that their well-being is highly dependent on their ability to support others and be able to sustain kin and marital relations.

6.5 Men's Work and Manliness

Despite its connections with the colonial enterprise (MacKenzie, 2015) hegemonic masculinities were not invented but occur in diverse historical and cross-cultural variants and settings. Forms of masculinity that are culturally exalted are specific to particular classes and groups. For example, in India hegemonic masculinity may be defined around high Hindu ideals that, however, have limited purchase in the lives of subaltern men. Subaltern masculinities may

be ultimately dominated by the super hegemonies of the Hindu elite and affect people's lives and actions. Amongst sweepers in Benares, it was observed that, in the company of caste Hindus, sweepers agree with dominant cultural ideals (by which their work is physically hard, degrading and polluting) but amongst other sweepers they exalt their own strength, passion and the power to pollute others.

What appears to be common to various ideas of manliness in the Indian context is that providing for a family is part of what it is to be a man. Manliness involves supporting a family, not alone certainly, and in poorer households women's work and wages make a considerable and recognized contribution to household income. But the responsibility may be felt to be on male. Is the frequently observed tendency for men to devalue women's work an act of domination, or of anxiety? Women's contributions may be devalued because they represent a threat to male pretensions to conform to cultural ideals of male provisioning; it is more comfortable to represent them as consumers. Furthermore, when upward social mobility occurs, the withdrawal of women from wage labour, and agricultural work, is commonplace. Both these phenomena might be better understood as responses by men to perceived threats to male identities as 'providers', rather than as solely the workings of a secure and controlling patriarchy. They indicate a need for a fuller recognition of how women's working lives are experienced through the engagement with local, and sometimes insecure, male identities.

Provisioning by poor men generally involves manual labour, since agricultural production is largely unmechanized, and wage work is either in agriculture or labor-intensive construction, road building, or other 'informal sector' work. Manliness does not involve manual labour for higher status Indians, who consider it degrading and a mark of inferiority, but amongst lower social groups strength is widely valued as an attribute of men. Physical size and strength were frequently mentioned qualities sought by women in prospective husbands for their daughters in a village study in Bihar and strong men find work as laborer's more easily. The strength of young males in particular is an especially valued attribute. In a research study of gender divisions of labour in a south Indian village, the biological differences between the sexes are culturally exaggerated, into high cultural valuation for men who do hard work and women who reproduce. It was observed that doing heavy manual labor is not doing what comes naturally for anyone; it is doing what comes hard. Here, 'male strength is culturally amplified, not only in the allocation of tasks, but in a code of masculinity under which an individual's worth is judged by his capacity for hard work.

We should avoid the assumption that manliness elaborates and values what is 'natural', for it may be more likely to celebrate what is most difficult for men to

achieve. Thus, hard labour is dignified whilst at the same time men seek ways to avoid it, creating a tension and a likelihood of failure by many men to live up to these cultural ideals. Both men and women have explicit discourses of work which assert value for the activities they do, and to this extent gender divisions of labour are not common. In the major agrarian cultures of south Asia it is likely that further research will confirm that men are somewhat more likely to be involved with effort intensive heavy labour, although women also have heavy tasks; that hard labour amongst nutritionally threatened groups affects well-being in significant ways; that women and men find different ways to escape the pain and discomfort of heavy labour; and that technological change is widely appreciated for the relief it brings from exhaustion and toil.

Another area of gender analysis that a consideration of men and manliness contributes to is the conceptualization of exploitation and equity in work relations. Men are seen as able to control women's labour in farming households whilst women lack an equivalent command over men's labour. This is understood as evidence for the inequity of gender divisions of labour. However, whilst men might occupy a clear controlling position in divisions of labour women may be able to use cultural resources to influence what work men do. Considering women and men's working relations as transactions with complex 'intersexual domination' over life courses is one such move¹⁹.

Self-Assessment Questions(SAQs)

1. How work and maleness is interrelated?
2. Describe role of work in men' life cycle.

6.6 Masculinity and Employment

Challenges to masculinity have come from a number of different social and economic forces including rationalization of the work force, the women's movement, and women's entry to the work sphere and also unemployment. Arising from these challenges came a certain crisis of masculinity where traditional and previously unproblematic notions of masculinity were now being seen as problematic. The concrete structure of traditional masculine identity was being shaken. In the 1970's the Feminist suggested that the traditional representations of masculinity were in desperate need of overhaul. Modern theorists no longer speak of masculinity in the singular, but of masculinities in the plural sense. Connell suggests that a single notion of masculinity and a 'male role'

¹⁹Excerpt taken from Cecile Jackson (1999) Men's work, masculinities, and gender divisions of labour, *The Journal of Development Studies*, 36:1, 89-108,

miss the complexities within masculinity and the multiple forms of masculinity (Connell 1995:72). Brittan (1989) further reiterates this view when he suggests that masculinities needs to be conceptualized in relation to their class, sexual and ethnic locations. Therefore, one needed to theories masculinity in terms of multiple masculinities and the multiple dimensions they embody.

Traditional discourses of masculinity construct the male as the member of the household who goes out and makes a living (Hood, 1996). Paid employment therefore is likely to be an important anchor for traditional masculine identities (Morgan, 1992). Through the socialization of gender roles, workplaces seem to be the crucibles from which male identities are forged or through which they are given shape and meaning (Morgan 1992). In light of the alleged centrality of employment and occupational status in the lives of men, unemployment on the other hand may be seen as a typical example of masculinity under challenge. Unemployment at least potentially provides a challenge to traditional masculine identities (Morgan, 1992). The impact of unemployment would seem to be a fruitful area for the exploration of masculinities, for it is here, one might assume that there is a major assault on one of the most fundamental pillars of male identity, that of employment and occupation. From the arena of the work sphere comes the concept of a sense of space. Having a job does not just refer to being involved in a set of social and economic relations, or the income received, it also has to do with being in a certain place for a fixed period of time, where a sense of place is constructed (Morgan, 1992). One of the most common patterns of discourses in the construction of masculine identities is that of the public masculinity, involved in the public sphere. The unemployed male was often left with a sense of placelessness (Morgan 1992).

In light of the alleged centrality of employment and occupational status in the lives of men, unemployment might be seen as a paradigmatic example of masculinity under challenge. Morgan(1992) felt that the impact of prolonged unemployment and redundancy would seem to be a fruitful area for the exploration of masculinities for it is here one might assume that there is a major assault on one of the most fundamental pillars of male identity (P:119). He suggested that this was a time when masculinity, reflected in the ability to provide comes to be called into question.

Due to the socialization of men in the public provider roles, we can say that unemployment at least potentially provides a challenge to traditional masculine identities. Griffin (1985) in her study of unemployed males suggested that unemployment could threaten the stability of a traditional masculine identity constructed around discourses such as bringing home a wage and freedom from

the domestic sphere (Griffin 1985:81). It was found that what was challenged and undermined by male unemployment was a particular form of hegemonic masculinity which rests on the provider or breadwinner discourse and that of public masculinity. Morgan (1992) believes there is some kind of circle linking ideas about the centrality of the male breadwinner role, responsibility and the linking of masculinity and unemployment, where unemployment creates a problem of male gender identity (Morgan 1992:100).

Many theorists have studied the alleged effect of unemployment on traditional masculine identities. From the above few examples, we might well assume that unemployment does indeed have a profound effect on men's perceptions of self-worth and self-identity. Unemployment has been seen by researchers in the 1930s as entailing challenges to masculinity, while these themes have persisted some variations have been introduced into their discussions. Studies of unemployment in the 1980s and 1990s show some continuity with the 1930s especially around the notions of male breadwinner role, however there is more willingness to see this as a complex ideological construction rather than a gendered inevitability. Accompanied with this is a greater interest in exploring the wider impact of unemployment on the gendered divisions of labour around the household. We must acknowledge that the male breadwinner model is a social construction with a long and complex history, yet the whole point about social construction is that it is real in its effects and needs to be taken seriously.

Morgan (1992) believes that in studies of men and masculinity and the breadwinner role that this role is often taken for granted, where we are being told something rather than it being shown (Morgan: 106). He feels that what emerges more often is more a question of assertion and assumption rather than hard evidence, suggesting that some research in giving support for the loss of the breadwinner status partially came for researchers' assumptions. As an example of this he cites Komarovshy's 1940 study, whose central topic of enquiry was that of the breadwinner hypothesis. In her study she emphasized that the breadwinner role was taken for granted by the 49 families in her study; stating that the unemployed man experiences unemployment as a threat to "the very touchstone of his manhood" (Komarovshy in Morgan: 107). Morgan believes that here there is something which is being told rather than shown. Another example of this is Beales and Lambert's work entitled *Memoirs of the Unemployed* (1978) a collection of essays written by long-term unemployed men and women. The editors revealed that they found a confirmation of the breadwinner issue, with the men claiming they felt useless for being unable to provide.

Studies of unemployment in the 1980s introduced new themes, one of which was that of female unemployment. Studies on unemployment have largely centered on that of men's experience of unemployment and threat to identity. With the centrality of men and work, assumptions prevailed that when work was no longer a part of a man's life then he was left with a certain kind of inadequacy and strongly bound up with a sense of self for men. Some studies for example if any differences between groups of full-time unemployed men and women. They found that differences within gender could be as great as those between gender. Yet it is still the case that the popular image or presentation of employment is in terms of the unemployed male and most of the discussions about the psychological and personal effects focus upon the male experience.

To 'be a real man' means to perform masculine roles in a specific cultural setting. Being a real man is related to doing 'real' work, which means blue-collar work. Although this type of heavy work is disappearing, the identification with that traditional type of worker is still very strong. When we look at the biographies, the workers' worries about the job crisis are less about securing employment, but about the status of their male identity. The men fear to lose their masculinity if they lose their jobs. What can be derived from this is that the breadwinner role as a major anchorage of masculine identity is not as predominant in society as some researchers believe it to be. As most research on unemployment has concentrated on men, there has been little to compare the male breadwinner thesis to or contest it for example women's experience of unemployment. Henceforth, assumptions of unemployment as major assault on men's masculine identity will still be assumed and portrayed. The male breadwinner idea assumed that men were the major providers for the family. Thus, research concentrated on the nuclear family, which in modernity is not the norm anymore.

6.6.1 Men, Unemployment and Health Issues

Unemployed men have a rate of depression twice that of unemployed women, and unemployment may double or even triple the risk of male suicide. Unemployed men experience a 20 per cent excess risk of death compared to the rest of the population. The number of healthy life years (a composite measure of the remaining years that a person can expect to live without disability) has a negative association with long term unemployment, but this association is only found in men. The reasons that unemployment affects an individual's health, and why men are more affected by it, are complex and will vary from individual to individual. Unemployed men are more likely overall than women to engage in risky behaviour such as smoking or being inactive. The psychological shock of becoming unemployed and the uncertainty of the situation will also play a part.

Some research also suggests that the strong cultural connection between work and masculine status means that the loss of employment may affect men's sense of well-being more adversely than it does women. Men are also much less likely to use health services.

Men from lower socioeconomic backgrounds with fewer skills and qualifications, and men who are working in unstable, lower paid jobs, also experience another form of poor health premium. People in such situations are less likely to work in jobs with preventative interventions such as proper health and safety practices, suitable sickness absence policies, or that implement legally required workplace adjustments for people with long term conditions or disability. This will not only make it more likely that someone will fall out of the labour market as a result of ill health but means that they are less resilient to the poor health consequences of unemployment. Poor health is an outcome of unemployment. Importantly, poor health is also a barrier to returning to and sustaining employment. It is therefore critical that this relationship is understood and addressed within back to work support. Factors introducing change in the field of male working-based identity like the increasing rate of female employment might lead to a perceived discrepancy between the normative ideal of a man and the individual selves but sometimes do shape the habitus. Men's studies have recently dealt with that kind of phenomena: restoration of traditional masculinities, an increase in health problems among men, and an increase in fitness programs providing new bodily reserves for masculinity performances, for example, particular sports seem to offer an arena where masculinity can be experienced and performed.

6.7 Self-Assessment Questions

1. Define work from men' perspective. How would you conceptualize gender and work and support your answer with examples?
2. How men' identity is liked with work? How is the notion of male - breadwinner is challenged?
3. Why men so much relate their identity with work? Support your answer with example from Pakistani society
4. Describe the lifecycle of men in relations to work? Why work is so important for their everyday life activities?
5. How maleness is connected to men work? Explain
6. What is the role of unemployment in men' life? What social threats they face when they are unemployed? Support your answer with examples.
7. What are the health issues men face when they are unemployed? How their cultural and social life is affected for being unemployed? Give examples.

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Unit 7

MASCULINITY AND SEXUALITY

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INTRODUCTION

Throughout the world, there are strong social and cultural norms that perpetuate power imbalances between men and women, while men usually have more agency than the women in their lives, men's decisions and behaviors are also profoundly shaped by rigid social and cultural expectations related to masculinity. Knowingly gender norms affect both women and men help us to better understand the complex ways that rigid gender norms and power relations burden our society, and to engage men and boys more effectively in reflections about inequalities and change.

Sexuality is an essential and integral part of all stages of human life, yet the topic is still taboo in almost every country. Talking about sexuality which is crucial for understanding sexual behavior, the growth and development of our bodies, how we experience our gender roles, what constitutes a healthy relationship and how to prevent health problems. This unit looks at how masculinity is influenced by culture, religion and media with a brief description of link of sexuality with masculinity. A detailed discussion is focused on the concept of health, including sexual health keeping in view of the cultural and psychological barriers which men in most of the societies face.

OBJECTIVES

The unit aims at:

1. introduce different perceptions related to sexuality and how they are influenced by cultural and social factors
2. highlight how toxic/harmful masculinity effect on the society
3. informs about theories of masculinity in the context of health
4. discuss how men perceive health and its cultural barriers

LEARNING OUTCOMES

1. conceptualize the different perspectives related to masculinities
2. explain about the toxic masculinity and its impacts on society
3. understand the theories of masculinities under the realm of health
4. describe men' definition of health and its social and cultural barrier

7.1 Human Sexuality²⁰

Human sexuality is about much more than pro-creation; indeed, it is central to culture. It can be argued that all of social organization rests on the recognition and regulation of two fundamental biological capacities: sociality and sexuality. And the biologically based sex drive and cultural responses to it both shape and are manifested in many dimensions of cultural belief, expectations, and behavior.

“Human sexuality” refers to people’s sexual interest in and attraction to others; it is the capacity to have sexual feelings and experiences. Sexuality differs from biological sex, in that “sexuality” refers to the capacity for sexual *feelings* and attraction, while “biological sex” refers to how one’s anatomy, physiology, hormones, and genetics are classified (typically as male, female, or intersex). Sexuality is also separate from gender identity, which is a person’s sense of their own *gender*, or sociocultural classification (i.e., man, woman, or another gender) based on biological sex (i.e., male or female). It is also distinct from *sexual orientation*, or one’s emotional and sexual attraction to a particular sex or gender. Sexuality may be experienced and expressed in a variety of ways, including thoughts, fantasies, desires, beliefs, attitudes, values, behaviors, practices, roles, and relationships. These manifests themselves not only in biological, physical, and emotional ways, but also in sociocultural ways, which have to do with the effects of human society and culture on one’s sexuality. Some researchers believe that sexual behavior is determined by genetics; however, others assert that it is largely molded by the environment. Human sexuality impacts, and is impacted by, cultural, political, legal, and philosophical aspects of life, and can interact with issues of morality, ethics, theology, spirituality, or religion.

7.2 Sexuality Across Cultures

According to Broudi (2003) throughout time and place, the vast majority of human beings have participated in sexual relationships. Each society, however, interprets sexuality and sexual activity in different ways. Human sexuality can be understood as part of the social life of humans, governed by implied rules of behavior and the status quo. The sociocultural context of society which includes all social and cultural factors, from politics and religion to the mass media not only creates social norms, but also places major importance on conformity to these norms. Norms dictate what is considered to be acceptable behavior; what is considered normal or acceptable in terms of sexual behavior is based on the norms, mores, and values of the particular society.

²⁰<https://courses.lumenlearning.com/boundless-psychology/chapter/sexuality/>

Different cultures vary in regard to norms, including how they understand and perceive sexuality, how they influence the artistic expression of sexual beauty, how they understand the relationship between gender and sexuality, and how they interpret and/or judge particular sexual behaviors (such as premarital sex, the age of sexual consent, homosexuality, etc.). Societies that value monogamy, for example, are likely to oppose extramarital sex. Individuals are socialized to these mores and values starting at a very young age by their family, education system, peers, media, and religion. Potard, Courtois, and Rusch (2008) claim that society's views on sexuality are influenced by everything from religion to philosophy, and they have changed throughout history and are continuously evolving. Historically, religion has been the greatest influence on sexual behavior in the United States; however, in more recent years, peers and the media have emerged as two of the strongest influences people.

7.3 Sexuality Throughout History

Sexuality has always been a vital part of the human existence. History shows an increase in the collective supervision of sexual behavior when agricultural societies emerged, most likely due to population increases and the growth of concentrated urban communities. This supervision placed more regulations on sexuality and sexual behaviors. With the advent of patriarchal societies, gender roles around sexuality became much more stringent, and sexual norms began focusing on sexual possessiveness and the control of female sexuality. How males and females were allowed and expected to express their sexuality became very different, with men having a great deal more sexual power and freedom. Different cultures, however, have established distinctive approaches to gender. Since the beginning of the industrial revolution, many changes in sexual standards have occurred. New artificial methods of birth control were introduced, leading to major shifts in sexual behavior. Social movements in the latter half of the 20th century, such as the sexual revolution, the rise of feminism, and the advancement of (LGBTQ) rights have helped to bring about massive changes in social perceptions of sexuality.

7.4 Culture and Religion

Most world religions have developed moral codes that have sought to guide people's sexual activities and practices. The influence of religion on sexuality is especially apparent in many countries today. Some religions view sex as a sacred act between a man and a woman that should only be performed within marriage; other religions view certain kinds of sex as shameful or sinful, or stress that sex should only be engaged in for the purpose of procreation. Many religions

emphasize control over one's sex drive and sexual desire or dictate the times or conditions in which sexuality can be expressed. Whether or not sex before marriage, the use of birth control, polyamorous relationships, or abortion are deemed acceptable, is often a matter of religious belief. Aspects of sexuality that are influenced by culture include values, such as decisions regarding appropriate sexual behaviors, suitable partner or partners, appropriate age of consent, as well as who is to decide what is appropriate.

7.5 Sexuality and the Media

Mass media in the form of television, magazines, movies, and music continues to shape what is deemed appropriate or normal sexuality, targeting everything from body image to products meant to enhance sex appeal. Media serves to perpetuate a number of social scripts about sexual relationships and the sexual roles of men and women, many of which have been shown to have both empowering and problematic effects on people's (especially women's) developing sexual identities and sexual attitudes.

7.6 Masculinity and Sexuality

Men's sexual identity has a profound impact on their lives and is intimately connected with masculinity. Most researchers have not addressed the socially constructed relationship between men's performances of masculinity and sexual identity. The "men's movement" emerged in the 1980's as a complementary counterpart to the feminist movement. It explored the different roles men play and identities that men hold. Like the feminist movement, it was not simply psychological. Works by writers such as Robert Bly, John Eldredge, Sam Keene, John Gray, and Robert Moore were also sociological, philosophical, political, and even environmental, spiritual, and mythological. The movement offered alternatives to traditional male role models exemplified by John Wayne and Gary Cooper. As helpful as the men's movement is, it seems more involved in advocacy than concerned with empirical research. Many authors promote their own specific views of masculinity rather than support an individual's search for his own masculinity.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. Describe human sexuality.
2. How media effect masculinity?
3. How man 'sexuality influence his masculinity?
4. What is the effect of religion on masculinity?

7.7 How Do Men Conceptualize Health?

How men conceptualize masculinity is an important determinant of men's health-related decisions and is the strongest predictor of men's health behaviours (Evans et al., 2011). Men are often stereotyped as being unwilling to ask for help, support, and health-related services. While to some degree this may be true, this notion also is an over-simplification. It is not that men do not value their health or recognize the importance of health, but men often do not think about their health until poor health impairs some aspect of their lives (e.g., sexual relationships, employment, physical activity) or roles (e.g., provider, father, significant other) that is considered a higher priority because it is associated with notions of manhood and the way men are defined by their families, friends, and communities (Brown, 2006).

Some men may define health based on diagnoses of illnesses or biological and physiological processes; however, Robertson (2006) found that men's definitions of health may be influenced by their perceptions of what it means to be a man. In his study of how men negotiate hegemonic masculinity and health, Robertson (2006) found that men related their perceptions of health to their general lifestyle and well-being (e.g., drinking and eating moderation), engagement in healthy behavior (e.g., regular physical activity, adequate sleep), and ability to fulfill socially important roles (e.g., provider, partner, father).

7.8 Social Determinants of Masculinity and Men's Health

Understanding the poor health status of men includes considering how masculinities and gendered social determinants of health (e.g., social norms and expectations of biological males of a certain age) shape men's lives and experiences, particularly through economic and environmental factors (Griffith, 2015). According to Crawshaw (2009) There is a tendency to blame men for their poor health behavior and not to consider the wider social and economic determinants of men's health or men's health behavior that we have included in research on racial disparities, inequalities, and women's health. Pease (2009) is of the view that all men do not benefit equally from the social, economic, and political benefits of being a man; many men are marginalized by race, ethnicity, sexual orientation, and class and unable to achieve aspects of hegemonic masculinity that may be achieved by their peers of other socially defined groups. Racism, segregation, economic discrimination, and other structural forces have limited the ways some men can define themselves in relation to hegemonic masculine norms (e.g., fulfilling the role of economic provider, moving their families into desirable housing and neighborhood

conditions, and accumulating wealth to pass on to their children and grandchildren).

Disproportionate poverty, likelihood of working in low-paying and dangerous occupations, residence in proximity to polluted environments, exposure to toxic substances, experiences of threats and realities of crime, as well as consistently worrying about meeting basic needs all differentially affect socially defined groups of men [Griffith, 2011]. Treadwell(2005) states that understanding the basis of poor status of men's health as well as premature death includes looking at multiple social determinants of health including poverty, poor educational opportunities, underemployment and unemployment, incarceration, and social and racial discrimination all challenging and influencing poor men, African American men and Latin American men, and their capacity to achieve gendered goals and maintain good health.

Activity

Enlist the visible traits of masculinity you can observe in your family
Select an advertisement from TV and investigate what is the most significant characters is highlighted?
What is the most popular trait of masculinity portrayed Pakistani dramas on various Tv channels?

7.9 Masculinity as a Determinant of Health

Health researchers have identified gender as an important social determinant of health(Evens at et 2011) .More recently, researchers have begun to investigate how sociological theories of gender may influence men and women's health within the social context of their everyday lives (Griffith,2012). In 2000, the World Health Organization (WHO) acknowledged the need to pay greater attention to the shorter life expectancy of men and identified a lack of understanding of the role of 'masculinity' in shaping men's expectations and behaviours as a primary causative factor for the health disparity between men and women.

According to Carter at.et (2005)health promoting and coping behaviors are aligned with constructs related to traditional femininity (caring) and masculinity (stoicism), and health practices and behaviours may be understood as activities by which we construct our understanding of self and gender .Increasingly, literature reveals that being a woman is the strongest predictor of preventative and health-promotion behavior.

Women employ more effective coping strategies, are more likely to seek social support, and are more effective in the provision of support than men. Because health-promoting behaviors are linked with femininity, and risk-taking health behaviors are linked with masculinity, men's alignment with masculine ideals is theorized to contribute to the health disparity between men and women. The risk associated with masculinity by suggesting that men who fall short of achieving idealized masculinity feel stigmatized or marginalized and respond through socio-culturally defined compensating behaviors that place them at high risk of injury and illness. He adds that men will often prefer to face risk and physical discomfort rather than be associated with traits perceived to be feminine, such as vulnerability, dependence, and weakness. Furthermore, because illness is associated with weakness and vulnerability, we understand men's perception of illness and reluctance to seek treatment as the avoidance of femininity or perceived emasculating behaviors.

For example, prostate cancer generates intense emotions connected to a sense of loss in masculinity resulting from treatment side effects such as impotence and incontinence. As suggested by Oberst and James (2005) and Oliffe [2015] sexual dysfunction can have a more significant impact on men than the disease itself. In fact, men will avoid accessing cancer care for as long as possible, because not knowing is deemed preferable to knowing and undergoing weakening treatments. The relationship of masculinity to health is reciprocal in nature and most evident in situations when an illness or disease is specifically identified as 'feminine.'

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. How men define their health?
2. Why it is difficult for men to talk about their health issues?
3. What kind of social or cultural barriers stop men talking about their health?

7.10 Masculinity and Sexual Health

Sexual health is a big part of life. It can affect and is affected by other aspects of health. This includes physical, mental, emotional, and social health. Being in good sexual health means you are well informed, careful, and respectful to yourself and others.

By sexual health World Health Organization understands "a state of physical, emotional, mental, and social well-being in relation to sexuality; it is not merely the absence of disease, dysfunction or infirmity. Sexual health requires a positive and respectful approach to sexuality and sexual relationships, as well as the possibility of having pleasurable and safe sexual experiences, free of coercion,

discrimination, and violence. For sexual health to be attained and maintained, the sexual rights of all persons must be respected, protected and fulfilled.” (WHO, 2006).

Generally speaking, it is the local gender dynamics that influence the sexual health understandings of behaviours. Connell defines ‘hegemonic masculinity’ as ‘the configuration of gender practice which embodies the currently accepted answer to the problem of the legitimacy of patriarchy, which guarantees (or is taken to guarantee) the dominant position of men and the subordination of women’ (Connell, 1995: 77). masculinity is embodied, structurally positioned *and* ‘performed’ (Archer and Yamashita, 2003); secondly, masculinities are relational hegemonic masculinity is ‘a particular form of masculinity in hierarchical relation to a certain form of femininity and to nonhegemonic masculinities’ (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005), and thirdly; gender does not operate on its own but in relation to other social dynamics such as class, race and sexuality (Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005).

According to Courtenay (2009) the ‘social structuring of ethnicity, sexuality and class is intimately and systematically related to the social structuring of gender and power. Thus, efforts to improve sexual health and wellbeing the understanding of gender as ‘a way of structuring social practice’ and its involvement in and with other social structures must be studied (Connell, 1995:75). Therefore, link between structural factors and sexual health and wellbeing will be improved while tackling gender inequalities in equitable interpersonal relationships. In similar way, effective interventions that will improve gender relations and have a positive impact on sexual health. A complex picture of multi-level influences upon masculinity construction across the life course is formed. For example, gender norms within contexts of poverty are reinforced at a local level to create a gendered environment, which is taken on in individual behaviours and attitudes. For example, the double standard of sexual morality control over sexual activity on women is exercised through social disapproval and over married women through punishment of those who are unfaithful. Male sexual activity, on the other hand, is controlled by means of social encouragement to have many partners and sexual experiences. This control seems to be exercised through society’s norms, institutions, sanctions and group, family, and community behaviours. The meanings associated with sexuality appear closely linked to gender identity, kinship roles and norms governing procreation and the formation of families.

Couple of researches highlighted that improvement of understandings and practices of sexual health when tackle gender norms have more positive and equal

relationships. For men to attain the positive and intimate relationships, the masculinity norms must be shifted towards respect for gender equality. Demonstrations of sexual performance play a central role in the affirmation of masculine identity, according to the studies reviewed. For example, Pakistani men learn that being a man is associated with valued characteristics such as strength, protectiveness, courage, assertiveness, and a sense of power. On the other hand, a man is not considered a man if he has not proved himself. Sexual prowess is seen as an important way of proving masculinity, especially if a man lacks economic resources. Stories are told in adult male company that exaggerate knowledge about sex and sexuality. These physical and verbal symbols of prowess are mentioned most often by men as the most important ways they have of affirming and reaffirming masculinity. Throughout the information provided by men, there is a close, symbolic connection between masculinity and sexuality.

7.11 Theorizing Masculinity in the Context of Health

As Messerschmidt (1993:62) notes in regard to the study of gender and crime, a comprehensive feminist theory of health must similarly include men "not by treating men as the normal subjects, but by articulating the gendered content of men's behaviour". The following sections provide a relational analysis of men's gendered health behaviour based on constructionist and feminist theories, and examine how cultural dictates, everyday interactions and social and institutional structures help to sustain and reproduce men's health risks.

The discussion of power and social inequality is necessary to understand the broader context of men's adoption of unhealthy behaviour as well as to address the social structures that both foster unhealthy behaviour among men and undermine men's attempts to adopt healthier habits. Gender is negotiated in part through relationships of power. Microlevel power practices (Pyke, 1996) contribute to structuring the social transactions of everyday life, transactions that help to sustain and reproduce broader structures of power and inequality. These power relationships are located in and constituted in, among other practices, the practice of health behaviour. The systematic subordination of women and lower-status men or patriarchy is made possible, in part, through these gendered demonstrations of health and health behaviour. In this way, males use health beliefs and behaviours to demonstrate dominant and hegemonic masculine ideals that clearly establish them as men.

Hegemonic masculinity is the idealized form of masculinity at a given place and time (Connell, 1995). It is the socially dominant gender construction that subordinates femininities as well as other forms of masculinity and reacts and

shapes men's social relationships with women and other men; it represents power and authority. In most of the patriarchal societies today, hegemonic masculinity is embodied even in men of upper-class and economic status. The fact that there are a variety of health risks associated with being a man, in no way implies that men do not hold power.

Indeed, it is in the pursuit of power and privilege that men are often led to harm themselves. The social practices that undermine men's health are often the instruments men use in the structuring and acquisition of power. Men's acquisition of power requires, for example, that men suppress their needs and refuse to admit to or acknowledge their pain. Additional health-related beliefs and behaviours that can be used in the demonstration of hegemonic masculinity include the denial of weakness or vulnerability, emotional and physical control, the appearance of being strong and robust, dismissal of any need for help, a ceaseless interest in sex, the display of aggressive behaviour and physical dominance. These health-related demonstrations of gender and power represent forms of microlevel power practices, practices that are "part of a system that affirms and (re)constitutes broader relations of inequality" (Pyke, 1996: 546).

In showing or endorsing hegemonic ideals with health behaviours, men reinforce strongly held cultural beliefs that men are more powerful and less vulnerable than women; that men's bodies are structurally more efficient than and superior to women's bodies; that asking for help and caring for one's health are feminine; and that the most powerful men among men are those for whom health and safety are irrelevant.

According to Courtenay, (2009) that the resources available in most of the societies for constructing masculinities are largely unhealthy. Men and boys often use these resources and reject healthy beliefs and behaviours in order to demonstrate and achieve manhood. By dismissing their health care needs, men are constructing gender. When a man brags, "I haven't been to a doctor in years," he is simultaneously describing a health practice and situating himself in a masculine arena.

Similarly, men are demonstrating dominant norms of masculinity when they refuse to take sick leave from work, when they insist that they need little sleep, and when they boast that drinking does not impair their driving. Men also construct masculinities by embracing risk. A man may define the degree of his masculinity, for example, by driving dangerously or performing risky sports and displaying these behaviours like badges of honor. In these ways, masculinities are defined against positive health behaviours and beliefs. To carry out any one

positive health behaviour, a man may need to reject multiple constructions of masculinity may require the rejection of a variety of social constructions. When a man does experience an illness or disability, the gender complications are often great. Illness ``can reduce a man's status in masculine hierarchies, shift his power relations with women, and raise his self-doubts about masculinity" (Charmaz, 1995: 268).

In efforts to preserve their masculinity, one researcher found that men with chronic illnesses often worked diligently to hide their disabilities: a man with diabetes, unable to maneuver both his wheelchair and a cafeteria tray, would skip lunch and risk a coma rather than request assistance; a middle-aged man declined offers of easier jobs to prove that he was still capable of strenuous work; an executive concealed dialysis treatments by telling others that he was away attending meetings (Charmaz, 1995).

7.11.1 Theories of Gender

Previous explanations of masculinity and men's health have focused primarily on the hazardous influences of the male sex role. These explanations relied on theories of gender socialization that have since been widely criticized (Connell, 1995). The sex role theory of socialization, still commonly employed in analyses of gender, has been criticized for implying that gender represents ``two fixed, static and mutually exclusive role containers" (Kimmel, 2000: 521) and for assuming that women and men have innate psychological needs for gender-stereotypic traits. Sex role theory also fosters the notion of a singular female or male personality, a notion that has been effectively disputed, and obscures the various forms of femininity and masculinity that women and men can and do demonstrate (Connell, 1995).

From a constructionist perspective, women and men think and act in the ways that they do not because of their role identities or psychological traits, but because of concepts about femininity and masculinity that they adopt from their culture. Gender is not two static categories, but rather they are set of socially constructed relationships which are produced and reproduced through people's actions. It is constructed by dynamic, dialectic relationships (Connell, 1995). Gender is ``something that one does, and does recurrently, in interaction with others" (West and Zimmerman, 1987: 140). It is achieved or demonstrated and is better understood as a verb than as a noun (Crawford, 1995). Most importantly, gender does not reside in the person, but rather in social transactions defined as gendered (Crawford, 1995). From this perspective, gender is viewed as a dynamic, social structure.

7.11.2. Gender Stereotypes

Gender is constructed from cultural and subjective meanings that constantly shift and vary, depending on the time and place (Kimmel, 1995). Gender stereotypes are among the meanings used by society in the construction of gender and are characteristics that are generally believed to be typical either of women or of men. There is very high agreement in our society about what are considered to be typically feminine and typically masculine characteristics. These stereotypes provide collective, organized, and dichotomous meanings of gender and often become widely shared beliefs about who women and men innately are. People are encouraged to conform to stereotypic beliefs and behaviours, and commonly do conform to and adopt dominant norms of femininity and masculinity. Conforming to what is expected of them further reinforces self-fulfilling prophecies of such behaviour (Crawford, 1995). Research indicates that men and boys experience comparatively greater social pressure than women and girls to endorse gendered societal prescriptions Ð such as the strongly endorsed health-related beliefs that men are independent, self-reliant, strong, robust, and tough. It is, therefore, not surprising that their behaviour and their beliefs about gender are more stereotypic than those of women and girls (Levant, 2008). From a social constructionist perspective, however, men and boys are not passive victims of a socially prescribed role, nor are they simply conditioned or socialized by their cultures. Men and boys are active agents in constructing and reconstructing dominant norms of masculinity. This concept of agency the part individuals play in exerting power and producing effects in their lives is central to constructionism (Courtenay, 2009).

7.11.3. Health Beliefs and Behaviours

The activities that men and women engage in, and their gendered understandings, are a form of currency in communications that are continually endorsed in the demonstration of gender. Previous authors have examined how a variety of activities are used as resources in constructing and reconstructing gender; these activities include language (Crawford, 1995) work (Connell, 1995); sports (Connell, 1995) crime and sex. The manner in which women and men do these activities contributes both to the defining of one's self as gendered and to social conventions of gender.

Health-related beliefs and behaviours can similarly be understood as a means of constructing or demonstrating gender. In this way, the health behaviours and beliefs that people adopt simultaneously define and ratify representations of gender. Health beliefs and behaviours, like language, can be understood as ``a set

of strategies for negotiating the social landscape" (Crawford, 1995: 17), or tools for constructing gender. Like crime, health behaviour "may be invoked as a practice through which masculinities (and men and women) are differentiated from one another" (Messerschmidt, 1993: 85). In this regard, health actions are social acts and can be seen as a form of practice which constructs the person' in the same way that other social and cultural activities do.

The social experiences of women and men provide a template that guides their beliefs and behaviour (Kimmel, 2000). The various social transactions, institutional structures and contexts that women and men encounter elicit different demonstrations of health beliefs and behaviours and provide different opportunities to conduct this particular form of demonstrating gender. The social practices required for demonstrating femininity and masculinity are associated with very different health advantages and risks (Courtenay, 2009). Unlike the presumably innocent effects of wearing lipstick or wearing a tie, the use of health-related beliefs and behaviours to define oneself as a woman or a man has a profound impact on one's health and longevity.

7.12 Exploring Masculinities, Sexual Health and Wellbeing

There has been an increasing shift towards holistic definitions of sexual health, rather than a limited focus on sexually transmitted infections (STIs), blood borne viruses and unplanned pregnancies. However, the social determinants of health framework intersect that how masculinities in places influence sexual health and wellbeing. The important factors in social determinant include the importance of neighborhood and community level factors. Nonetheless, violence as one of the significant factors may become a priority because the sexual health provides a useful vehicle through which to convey the social embeddedness of behaviours which contextualized within social environment.

Immediate determinants of sexual health and wellbeing include, for example, individuals' knowledge of sexual risks; however, knowledge improvement is important for behaviour change. However, it is insufficient to effect significant change as influences upon sexual health which stem from factors beyond individual knowledge. At the distant level, poverty is a significant contributor to various forms of gender-based violence (Jewkes, 2002). By challenging dominant norms, change can occur that results in improved gender equity and reductions in sexual risks, violence, and coercion. However, structural factors that can influence sexual health and wellbeing (e.g., poverty) tend to go beyond specific domains of health (e.g., HIV prevention), and tackling such issues are commonly for governments to implement across policy fields; as such, interventions to improve

sexual health and wellbeing more commonly operate at community- or individual-level.

Data from the US National Longitudinal Study of Adolescent Health also found neighborhood influences upon earlier sexual initiation (Cubbin et al, 2005). Exposure to community violence has been associated with increased sexual risk behaviours (Sennet al, 2016). Communities in which violence in the family is acceptable experience increased likelihood of such violence (Pinchevsky and Wright,2012). These studies are examples from an evidence-base that has begun to point strongly towards the association between community violence, peer acceptance of norms as well as acceptance of certain sexual behaviours with sexual health and wellbeing outcomes within communities.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. How men sexuality and health are interrelated?
2. What are the gender stereotypes that restrict men to talk about their health issues?
3. How health beliefs effect man' masculinity?

7.13 Toxic Masculinity

Connell defines hegemonic masculinity as the dominant notion of masculinity in a particular historical context (Connell, 1987). In contemporary cultures, it serves as the standard upon which the “real man” is defined. According to Connell, contemporary hegemonic masculinity is built on two legs, domination of women and a hierarchy of internal dominance (Connell, 1987). Hegemonic masculinity is the stereotypic notion of masculinity that shapes the socialization and aspirations of young males. Today’s hegemonic masculinity in the many societies includes a high degree of ruthless competition, an inability to express emotions other than anger, an unwillingness to admit weakness or dependency, devaluation of women and all feminine attributes in men, homophobia, and so forth.

Hegemonic masculinity is conceptual and stereotypic in the sense that most men bend far from the hegemonic norm in their actual ways, but even as they do so, they tend to worry lest others will view them as unmanly for their deviations from the hegemonic ideal of the real man. In reality, there are many different forms of masculinity, even if forms of masculinity that do not match the hegemonic norm are subject to stigmatization and marginalization. The term toxic masculinity is useful in discussions about gender and forms of masculinity because it defines those aspects of hegemonic masculinity that are socially destructive, such as misogyny, homophobia, greed, and violent domination; and those that are

culturally accepted and valued (Kupers, 2005). After all, there is nothing especially toxic in a man's pride in his ability to win at sports, to maintain solidarity with a friend, to succeed at work, or to provide for his family. These positive pursuits are aspects of hegemonic masculinity, too, but they are hardly toxic. The subordinated masculinities that Connell contrasts with the hegemonic, and the pro-feminist alternative masculinities celebrated in the pro-feminist and antihomophobic men's movement, are examples of nontoxic aspects of expressed masculinities (Kupers, 2005). There is the caring man, there is the man who is in touch with his "feminine" attributes, and there is a father's dedication to his children. These are nontoxic aspects of masculinities.

Toxic masculinity is constructed of those aspects of hegemonic masculinity that foster domination of others and are, thus, socially destructive. Unfortunate male inclinations associated with toxic masculinity include extreme competition and greed, insensitivity to or lack of consideration of the experiences and feelings of others, a strong need to dominate and control others, an incapacity to nurture, a dread of dependency, a readiness to violence, and the stigmatization and subjugation of women and men who exhibit feminine characteristics.

Researches on adult males on toxic masculinity are entirely consistent with what is known about adolescent male development. Messerschmidt (1993) explains how young men use crime as a means of constructing the kind of stereotypic masculinity that helps them traverse their adolescence and win the acceptance of peers, as well as fathers, coaches, and other hypermasculine role models. Whether robbery, speeding, stolen car, doing a "drive-by" to prove one is enough of a "man's man" to be in the gang, bragging to other males about a sexual conquest or a date rape, or participating in a college fraternity gang rape, young males turn to crime and violence to prove their manhood. Middle class young men take part in illegal and unacceptable activities for a short time in their teen years and then, typically, move on to more socially accepted pursuits including graduation from college, beginning a career, and supporting a family, whereas low income youth and youth of color are much more likely to get trapped in a criminal life and spend time behind bars.

7.13.1 Glorification of Unhealthy Habits

Toxic masculinity glorifies unhealthy habits. It's the notion that "self-care is for women" and men should treat their bodies like machines by skimping on sleep, working out even when they're injured, and pushing themselves to their physical limits. In addition to pushing themselves hard physically, toxic masculinity discourages men from seeing doctors.

A 2011 study found that men who held the strongest beliefs about masculinity were only half as likely as men with more moderate beliefs about masculinity to get preventative health care.² Seeing a physician for an annual physical, for example, runs contrary to some men's beliefs about toughness. In addition to avoiding preventative treatment, toxic masculinity also encourages unhealthy behaviors.

7.13.2 Harmful Masculinities and their Consequences

Gender norms that uphold men's privilege over women harm women's and children's health and are harmful masculinities. Examples include:

- Behaviours that increase the likelihood of men's perpetration of violence against women and against children.
- Men's control over a woman's sexual and reproductive decision-making limits her access to life-saving health services including for sexual and reproductive health.
- Men's lack of, or limited, involvement in child care, unpaid domestic work and care giving has wider implications for the well-being of the family, placing a disproportionate burden of care work on women and depriving them of opportunities to earn an income and contribute economically to the household.

In turn, men and boys are also affected by harmful masculinities promoting ideas of "manhood" that are predicated on taking risks, being strong, not seeking help, feeling entitled, and exerting power or dominance over women. Such norms contribute to men's higher rates of road traffic injuries and deaths, homicides, smoking and alcohol abuse, unsafe sexual behaviours as well as men not seeking timely care for HIV or cardiovascular.

7.13.3 How Gender Norms Harms Men's health

Aggression and competitiveness, often encouraged whether on the sports field or in video games, can lead to excessive risk-taking behavior. "Unintentional injuries" is the third leading cause of death for men. These same behaviors can be precursors to "substance use and suicide." Men are more likely than women to abuse drugs and alcohol.

One study found that alcohol abuse was a way for a man "elevates or maintains a man's status in working-class social groups. "Similarly, the individualism and stoicism have a dark side. The more men believe in "traditional masculinity," the "less likely to visit a doctor when they are ill and, when they see a doctor, are less

likely to report on the symptoms of disease or illness” or use preventive health services. This reluctance is one reason why men die from cardiovascular disease at an alarming rate. Finally, traditional masculinity’s stoicism is often behind “a lack of emotional sensitivity,” both for themselves and others. This is one reason why men are less likely to share their experiences with depression, and in doing so, suffer intensely and in silence. Men are more likely to fail to have a purpose in life, a perspective that negatively impacts mortality.

7.14 The Ten Myths of Growing up Man

Psychologist Christopher Blazina (2019) tells a story about one of his counseling clients who finally said in frustration, “Can you tell me how I am supposed to be as a man?” Blazina (2019) explains that many men operate under a set of misunderstandings about what men are supposed to be. These misunderstandings are inadvertently taught and enforced mainly by men. Blazina (2019) sums up in what he calls the *ten commandments of growing up man*, myths that infused in our society.

1. There is only one way to be a man.
2. Fear the feminine.
3. Men must funnel all their feelings into sex or aggression.
4. Affection is always associated with sex.
5. Boy society is based on power, strength, and paranoia.
6. A boy needs a male role model or his sense of being a man is flawed.
7. If your father is rejecting, you must learn to please him.
8. If you don’t please your mother, you must marry someone like her.
9. Being a man is a 24/7 job.
10. A man must follow the commandments even if it causes him to be emotionally stunted or leads him off track.

These myths are contradictory, confusing, and demand that men conform to an unachievable standard that overlooks the nuances of men as individuals. Following the commandments, men generally concede that they can’t live up to society’s definition of masculinity. Blazina (2019) claims that once we recognize the way that the commandments dictate our lives, we can rewrite them to reflect our unique positive identities.

7.14.1. Provider, Protector, Progenitor

Blazina makes two core assertions. The first is that men and women are more alike than they are different. The second is that there is no one way to be a man. The feminist movement helped establish this fact for women. It now sounds

strange to ask what a “real woman” is. The same should be true for masculine identity, but as a society we still seem to have more rigid expectations for men. Blazina draws on anthropologist David Gilmore’s research into what is considered masculine across cultures. Gilmore groups traditional roles of males in most cultures under *the three P’s*: protector, provider, and progenitor. Masculinity is often defined within a culture as a man’s ability to achieve all three roles. The three Ps are not inherently destructive. However, they do cause boys and men to question whether they have what it takes to act in these roles. It can be assumed that these role standards as a checklist in which a man either succeeds or fails.

7.14.2. The View from Society as a Whole

Psychologist Roy Baumeister points out that men dominate both the top and bottom of the social ladder. The large majority of top CEOs, scientists, and politicians are men, but so are the majority of prisoners and homeless. Baumeister argues that

“The essence of how culture uses men depends on a basic social insecurity. This insecurity is in fact social, existential, and biological. Built into the male role is the danger of not being good enough to be accepted and respected and even the danger of not being able to do well enough to create offspring. The basic social insecurity of manhood is stressful for the men, and it is hardly surprising that so many men crack up or do evil or heroic things or die younger than women. But that insecurity is useful and productive for the culture, the system.”

7.14.3 Positive Perspective: Looking Forward

Blazina contends that a man’s identity must evolve as he ages. An athlete will need to redefine himself when his physical skills decline. A businessman will need to redefine his role when he retires. Additionally, Blazina (2019) recommends that we replace our notion of traditional male role models with the concept of *guardians*, male or female, who can support a boy’s development of a healthy, authentic sense of self. Boys and men need guardians throughout their lives as their roles and as they face new challenges in what it means to be men.

7.15 Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is human sexuality? How it is affected by religion, culture and media? Discuss.
2. How men define health? Discuss the social and cultural determinant of men health in detail.
3. How the sexual health is influenced by masculinity? Why is it difficult for men to talk about their health issues? Support your arguments with examples from Pakistani culture
4. How the theories of masculinities are influenced by gender theories, gender stereotypes and socialization theories? Present your point of view with examples.
5. What is toxic masculinity? Discuss its link with men' overall health.
6. Discuss the consequences of harmful masculinity on the society in detail. How gender norms harms men' health?
7. Explain the myths of growing up man with examples.

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Unit 8

MASCULINITIES IN FOLKLORE

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INTRODUCTION

This unit looks at folklore in general and defines its functions which play a significant role in cultural setting of many societies. As you may read in detail while studying the unit, Folklore an independent discipline and secondary of sister disciplines in the humanities and the social sciences. Folklore is the expressive body of culture shared by a particular group of people; it encompasses the traditions common to that culture, subculture or group. These include oral traditions such as folksongs, fairytales, folktales, proverbs, jokes and many more to the list . This unit explores men representation specially in two genres of folklore that are fairytales and proverbs in general. Moreover, the feminist critique on the traditional fairytales in relation to women stereotyped characters will give a comparative picture of men' portrayal in this genre. A brief account of men depiction in oral tradition is also part of this unit to provide you food for thought.

OBJECTIVES

This unit aims at:

1. explain definition and functions of folklore
2. introduce the presentation of masculinity in folklore genres
3. feminist critiques on folklore genres with reference to masculinities

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After studying the unit, you will be able to:

1. understand folklore and its functions
2. recognize feminist critiques on traditional fairy tales characters
3. identify how oral traditions play a part in cultural background of any society

8.1 Folklore

Folklore is a collection of fictional stories about animals and people, of cultural myths, jokes, songs, tales, and even quotes. It is a description of culture, which has been passed down verbally from generation to generation, though many are now in written form. Folklore is also known as “folk literature,” or “oral traditions.” Folklore passes on the information and wisdom of human experience from generation to generation. In this sense folklore is the original and persistent technology that gave us human culture in the first place by allowing us to build on our experience over the generations. Oral tradition is the original form of education, in which both social values and environmental knowledge are transmitted.

Folklore depicts the way main characters manage their everyday life events, including conflicts or crises. Simply, folk literature is about individual experiences from a particular society. The study of folk tradition and knowledge is called folkloristics. Although some folklores depict universal truths, unfounded beliefs and superstitions are also basic elements of folklore tradition. Folklore is the expressive body of culture shared by a particular group of people; it encompasses the traditions common to that culture, subculture, or group. These include oral traditions such as tales, proverbs and jokes. Folklore comprises traditional creations of peoples, primitive and civilized. These are achieved by using sounds and words in metric form and prose, and include also folk beliefs or superstitions, customs and performances, dances and plays. Moreover, folklore is not a science about a folk, but the traditional folk-science and folk-poet.

Bascom (1973) a folklorist and anthropologist discuss the anthropological usage of the term folklore that means myths, legends, folktales, proverbs, riddles, verse, and a variety of other forms of artistic expression whose medium is the spoken word. Thus, folklore can be defined as verbal art. Anthropologists recognize that an important group of individuals known as folklorists are interested in customs, beliefs, arts and crafts, dress, house types, and food recipes; but in their own studies of the aboriginal peoples of various parts of the world, these diverse items are treated under the accepted headings of material culture, graphic and plastic arts, technology and economics, social and political organization, and religion, and all are subsumed under the general term culture. There is, however, an important part of culture which does not fall under any of these convenient headings, and which is classed separately as folklore.

Folklore in all its forms, thus defined, is obviously related to literature, which is written; but folklore may never be written even in a literate society, and it may

exist in societies which have no form of writing. Like literature, folklore is an art form related to music, the dance, and the graphic anal plastic arts, but different in the medium of expression which is employed. There are many types or in folkloric term genres of folklore. One of the most popular folklore genres, oral folklore encompasses song, dance and all forms of "verbal art," including poetry, jokes, riddles, proverbs, fairy tales, myths and legends. Of course, many of these "verbal" art forms now exist in written form (e.g., fairy tales). But in the beginning, they were passed on orally. That's why many of them contain devices to help people remember them. One such device is repetition.

In simple words, folklore is like the long-term memory of human society. Human society cannot function and does not function without it.

While history and high art record much of what a society recognizes as "official" or "high" culture, Folklore hands down through time and across space the "unofficial" stories, songs, jokes, dances, proverbs, foods, clothes, turns of speech, and ways of making and doing things that we engage with every single day of our lives even when we don't know we are doing it. Folklore embraces all of the things that matter the most to us, to our loved ones, to our friends, and to our fellow community members, in all of the multiple forms in which "community" can be imagined. When societies, or parts of society, have collapsed at different points in history, oftentimes the most deeply important aspects that survive do survive because individuals have handed or orally passed that important aspect of living on from one person to another person. That transmission of unofficial, intimate culture represents the heart of folklore. When those things in society that are considered "too big to fail" do, in fact, fail, it's the interpersonal, intramural workings of Folklore in all its forms that ensure the survival of those parts of life that we love best. Folklore was passed down from earlier generations, who told the stories verbally. Each generation would then tell their own children, and these stories became part of a culture's tradition. The invention of the printing press allowed these stories to be published and shared with the world.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. What is folklore?
2. What is oral tradition?
3. What is verbal art?

8.1.1. Some Genres of Folklore

There are many ways for cultures to express their beliefs through folklore. Some populations use song and dance to tell their stories, while others tell larger-than-life stories about mythical heroes. Here are some types of folklore that you might know.

- **Fables and Folktales**
These are the stories of common people who learn lessons due to their mistakes or accidents they're involved in. For example, the story of the Ali Baba and forty thieves. Ali Baba gets his rewards for being honest and his brother could not.
- **Mythology**
Mythology is one of the most popular types of folklore. It involves explanations for everyday phenomena through the creation of gods and other powerful beings. For example, Hatim Tai who would give money and gold generously to the poor people.
- **Fairy Tales**
Fairy tales are stories that include fantastical elements, magic, and sometimes royalty. The most popular was written by Hans Christian Anderson and the Brothers Grimm. For example, "The Little Mermaid" and our local fairy tales
- **Folk Songs and Dance**
A folk song is a song into which a group of people has imbued their stories. These might be stories of everyday people or grandiose heroes. Our folksongs belong to every language with their folk music in which they are sung. Folk music, just like regular folk stories, can be inspired by real people, or people who very likely lived at one time. A folk dance is a traditional dance that's passed down from generation to generation. They are usually performed at important gatherings. For example, our provincial dances and other modified versions found in different places.

8.2 Functions of Folklore

Folklore validates culture, justifying its rituals and institutions to those who perform and observe them. Folklore is a pedagogic device which reinforces morals and values and builds wit. Folklore performs many social and psychological functions in every society and some of them are mentioned below.

1. The main purpose of folklore is to convey a moral lesson and present useful information and everyday life lessons in an easy way for the common people to understand. For example, folk tales sugarcoat the lessons of hard life in order to give the audience about how they should behave. It is one of

the best mediums to pass on living culture or traditions to future generations. Currently, many forms of folk literature have been transformed into books and manuscripts, which we see in the forms of novels, histories, dramas, stories, and sermons.

2. Folk literature is, not merely a carrier of cultural values; rather, it is also an expression of self-reflection. It serves as a platform to hold high moral ground without any relevance to present day reality. Instead, writers use it as a commentary or satire on current political and social reality. In the modern academic world, folklores and folktales are studied to understand ancient literature and civilizations.
3. Folklore serves to develop a flexibility of thinking and a critical consciousness about events and choices of action. Because the information transmitted in folklore is not transmitted as a fact or a single answer, but is open to listener interpretation, it helps develop initiative and creative problem-solving skills in those to whom it is
4. Folklore, and especially folklore as mythology, provides us with a sense of our place in the social and natural worlds, a sense of the meaning of our lives and actions. In other words, mythology functions as a kind of spirit quest, as a guide in our search for ourselves and our human possibilities in our individual journeys through life.
5. As noted, folklore is that tool which originally gave us human culture by transmitting the collected wisdom of human experience between generations. In this sense, folklore also functions as what can be called a time-binding device. The transmission of information in folklore serves to link the generations within a society. For example, folklore has a much larger time-binding dimension as well. When we hear a story two thousand years old, we are re-living a two-thousand-year-old history of the human psyche²¹.

SELF-ASSESSMENT QUESTIONS (SAQS)

1. What are the genres of folklore?
2. Enlist some of the functions of folklore
3. What we learn from folklore?
4. Why folklore is important to read?

²¹The psyche refers to all of the elements of the human mind, both conscious and unconscious. In colloquial usage, the term sometimes refers to a person's emotional life. For example, a person might say that trauma has damaged a person's psyche

8.3 Men Represented in Genres of Folklore

Masculinity has traditionally been associated with issues of power, social dominance, leadership, individual quest and martial aggressiveness while femininity is usually associated with passive attitudes such as endurance, sorrow etc. in folk literature, folktales of men and gods portray them self-reliant, adventurous, and brave. Moreover, they are also depicted as moneylender, miserly landowner, shrewd priest, and hypocrite saint are some popular characterizations of the villain in many folk tales. In some tales, they presented as hilarious tales of misers and their equally miserly wives are the mainstay of many tales. Folk heroes are often chieftains of small areas fighting valiantly against greater powers due to unjust taxation, encroachment of lands, perceived dishonor, or other factors. Whether the folk heroes win or end their exploits in tragedy, they become the objects of folk-worship and folk-cults as they are seen to be upholding values of right against might.

In many tales we hear of the common peasant or poor man who benefits greatly by his wife's cleverness. For example, *Ali baba and 40 Thieves* story, Qasim, a male character (Ali baba's brother) whose wife gives him advice for becoming rich as soon as possible with cheating. In contrast to tales of folk heroes, the poor peasant is usually incapable of initiating any action and relies on others to save him from fate. In some cases, it is his innocence that is often rewarded by kind fate as his greedy masters are punished by the same fate in humorous ways. Nevertheless, the masculinity of this innocent hero is never in question. Even in tales where the hero is dominated by a shrewish wife, very much in control of the domestic sphere, he manages to retain his masculinity somehow. Many folktales have male characters who though heroic outside fail to win the appreciation of his wife within the home.

Ideal masculine behaviour seems to discourage expressions of love towards the wife or lover. The ordinary hero on the other hand seems to behave angrily towards his wife. This could be due to the presence of the joint family or the watchful eyes of the mother-in-law which discourage expressions of intimacy between the wedded couple. The husband does not seem to appreciate the wife when alive and on her death seems to casually take another wife.

Some prominent characterizations of men include the wandering saint, who can turn householder briefly, the young man from an ordinary family out on a heroic expedition, the folk hero and his friend on an exploit, the householder who outwits scheming moneylenders and the just king who goes through a period of suffering before reclaiming his power. On the villainous side are the greedy and

covetous moneylender, the scheming priest, lustful landowner, hypocritical ascetic forever seducing young women, the miserly rich man, and the angry husband. In both the characterizations of men their masculinity is always highlighted even where the situation is humorous. It is the great mystics and nobles of the various Sufi traditions who made fun of the social constructs of masculinity and femininity as irrelevant and obstacles to the inspired individual.

In the areas of love and mysticism both female and male mystics have rejected the imposition of socially gendered roles. Saints have always occupied a prominent role in folklore, as revered noble men who are outside society and a part of it at the same time. Human love provides a paradigm for divine love in many Sufi traditions, and folk versions of great love-tales are continuous with these traditions. For example, our folk love stories of Heer Ranjha, Sussi Punu, Laila Majnoon, Soni Mahiwal and many others. In Sufism, mystics have penned immortal lyrics celebrating God as the eternal lover and the aspirant soul as the eager bride or expectant lover. The most common example we can quote here is of *Heer Waris Shah* which portray love story of Heer Ranjha to divine love.

The mystic men significantly composed their lyrics in colloquial idioms and regional languages to reach out to ordinary people. Thus, folklore has been continuously enriched by this mystic stream and ordinary feelings are often clothed in the words of these traditions. On a earthlier level, folktales of passionate love or concealed love which can be considered immoral in our literature peopled by characters like the adulterous wife, the old go-between and the intrepid lover.

8.4 Men in Fairy Tales

A fairy tale is a story, often intended for children, that features fanciful and wondrous characters such as elves, goblins, wizards, and even, but not necessarily, fairies. The term “fairy” tale seems to refer more to the fantastic and magical setting or magical influences within a story, rather than the presence of the character of a fairy within that story. Fairy tales are often traditional; many were passed down from story-teller to story-teller before being recorded in books. fairy tales do not need to be written down to be legitimate. For example, stories of the tooth fairy, the boogeyman, sprites, and pots of gold found etc. If a story takes place in a magical land, with fantastical creatures who perform wondrous tasks, it is very likely a fairy tale. We can find fairy tales in every element of our culture. They are, in many ways, given life through popular culture. They appear in books, movies, music, and art. As the fairy tale is such a creative art-form, itself, it is understandable that it would appear in all creative mediums. With each new

interpretation or retelling of a fairy tale, we learn a little bit about the storyteller, the audience, the culture, and the time in which it is told.

Google image



While women's roles underwent significant transformations as fairy tales became popular in printed versions, men remained in economic, political, and familial control. The heroes of fairy tales appeared two-dimensional at best, rich and powerful but lacking in personality. They tend to be royalty, handsome, and ideal in every way. Yet they have very simple needs and emotions. They fall in love, generally at first sight, and are devastated if their ladylove is 'dead.' Even when their actions may be construed as controversial, they are never wrong. The Prince of a fairy tale is always right and always winning in the end. He gets his bride and a happy ending, regardless of the plot. Royals throughout Europe held a similar position. They were fated by God and were meant to be strong, diplomatic, and always right. By the eighteenth century, revolution was erupting in various parts of Europe. In France, the revolution called for 'liberty, equality, and fraternity.' Still, despite the movement for democracy, fairy tale ideals did not change. The hero was still the prince. The ideal man, according to fairy tales, is one who is always right and always wins, but shows no real cunning, foresight, or flaws. Thus, even as monarchies lost power across Europe in the late nineteenth century, their fictional counterparts remained all powerful, but intellectually unimpressive. In fairytales although plots vary in location or historic period, names of folktales consistently reflect cultural roles and expectations. Repeated motifs²² in folktales usually include jealous stepmothers, human and non-human interactions,

²²motifs to include concepts, phenomena, characteristics, powers, happenings, creatures, objects, and even short and simple stories. Baughman, Ernest Warren, *Type and Motif-Index of the Folktales of England and North America*, (The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1966) (also Indiana University Folklore Series, No. 20), p. xi.

neglected wives, the plight of orphaned stepchildren, contests of wit and physical stamina, ecological disasters, a threatening environment, human resilience, domesticated animals, domestic chores, community life, scarification of young girls, etc. The heroes are ordinary farmers, shepherds, stepmothers, husbands, and orphans, all of whom represent familiar social roles. Most of the stories tell how social hierarchies involve networks of meaning and expression that privilege particular interests and concerns to create cultural hegemony. Folktales portray males as visionary, responsible, courageous, and with inordinate power. Women come off as an alter ego. Even male children exhibit a perception that is lacking in adult females. Most folktales portray males in authority and as individuals who have power over death. In myth and reality, male privilege is founded on control “over the means of production, land, and cattle. Male interests prevail including, the choice of spouses, bride wealth, and living arrangements. As household heads, fathers protect families by their presence and ensure security in their absence. Folktales frequently portray women at work, rather than at leisure-oriented feasts and dance gatherings. In communities, women’s domestic chores such as child/elderly care, crucial to community welfare. However, men occupy the apex of authority structures. Communities relegate girls to domestic and child rearing roles, under the supervision of males and adult females. Females are confined to the domestic sphere and engaged in subsistence occupations: farming, collecting firewood, foraging for vegetables, fetching water, and raising children.

Folktales, in particular, have been viewed as key sites for gender construction. Psychologist Eric Berne (1972) noted the importance of one's favorite fairy tale when it is reinforced by cultural aspects, saying that the story becomes a kind of "script." For example, in Cindrella, the hero in fairy tales is never wrong. He is handsome and wealthy and generally reputed to be brave. However, in many fairy tales, he does not actually do much. He is simply the character who seems to cause everything to work out. Upon closer study, it is clear that the supporting actors are those who play the largest part in ensuring that the hero saves the heroine. Still, the fairy tales tell us that the Prince is the ideal. He is the man every woman wants. He is also the one who guarantees the happy ending needed for a fairy tale to be complete. Yet, he has virtually no personality. He rarely shows any emotions save ‘love at first sight’ or devastation upon seeing his love ‘dead.’ He has no ambitions, no goals, or even any friends. He is simply the person who arrives to rescue the heroine.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQS)

1. What is the significant role of men in fairy tales?
2. Why men are portrayed in stereotypical role in fairy tales?
3. What fairy tales tell us about?

Activity

Document any folktale from your family and friends. Write a small note on the salient traits of men characters narrated in the story.

8.5 Feminist Critique on Fairy Tales

Feminism focus on the social and cultural effects of fairy tales on a child's cognitive / socialization process, feminist critics like Maria Lieberman²³ reject the notion that fairy tales are “universal stories”, and argue instead that they familiarize girls to believe that passivity, calmness, and morbidity, along with physical beauty, will make them the ‘most desirable girls. Karen Rowe (1979) argues, “Fairy tales prescribe limiting social roles for women and continue ‘attractive fantasies’ of punishment and reward: passivity, beauty, and helplessness lead to marriage, discussing wealth and status, whereas self-aware, ‘aggressive’, and powerful women experience social disapproval and are either hated or killed” (P:23).

Feminists have argued that the ‘eternal truths’ in most tales are the story of women's suppression and disempowerment under patriarchy. According to feminists, biological differences between the two sexes may be unchangeable but the cultural ideology of gender roles is not fixed. Feminists never stop fighting for equal opportunity between the two sexes. They persistently assert that females do not necessarily have to breed “feminine” characteristics in them: qualities of being passive, docile, submissive, and loving and lovable for no apparent reason to support such attitude.

Feminists criticize fairy tales such as Cinderella and Snow White as anti-feminist. They argue that fairy tales instruct young girls that good girls just ‘wait for their prince to come’. These little girls learn that having an independent mind and a desire to gain personal freedom in a world controlled by men is essentially bad. All that they should do in order to get what they want is to become beautiful, gentle, and subservient. Any change they desire in life will come about if they perform their gender role properly. Feminists argue that the central character in Cinderella, Snow White, Sleeping Beauty, Rapunzel, Goldilocks, Little Red Riding Hood, and other very popular fairy tales are girls and so is evil personified in the semblance of witches, wicked stepmothers, and evil queens. Bound by their psycho-social limitations all female characters play their respective incomplete

²³The History of Gender Ideology in Brothers Grimm's Fairy Tales. Available from: https://www.researchgate.net/publication/310604246_The_History_of_Gender_Ideology_in_Brothers_Grimm's_Fairy_Tales [accessed Nov 27, 2020].

black or white roles. Through oral versions of the tales young impressionable girls are made to consider the dream of becoming a princess and to consider other women in their social lives as their direct enemies. The message that is brought home to girls through the depiction of women in fairy tales is: docility and powerlessness make girls attractive while pursuit of power brings ugliness and destiny for women. Unsurprisingly, comes the end of the tale and arrives an invariably handsome, loyal, rich, and always willing to marry the young woman – the dream suitor. The savior of a helpless, pretty woman is always a most desirable young man. According to feminists, this distorted picture of social relationships confuses young girls who damage their personal relationships in pursuit of a fairy tale life.

Feminist believe that a woman should have the choice of being what she wants: homemaker or a working woman. She should have the power to exercise her will to marry or choose not to. If men can challenge the most desirable ‘family man’s image’, women should also be able to make bold choices without any fear of failure: they should realize that choices are not inherently better or worse, and failure is more a socially constructed label that they can live without. All women need to do themselves is to respect the choice they would make without regrets. The retelling of fairy tales from a feminist perspective redefines the roles women should have in society. These tales establish female entity first on the evidence that a female mind functions the same way a male mind does and that human responses to emotional, physical, familial and social stimuli are invariably triggered by psycho-social agents that influence both the genders indiscriminately.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQS)

1. What is the main criticism of feminists in men’ roles in fairy tales?
2. What is the possible justification of men portrayal in fairy tales?
3. What are the reasons of men stereotypes role in the fairy tales?

8.6 Masculinity Presented in Oral Traditions of Folklore

Through oral traditions²⁴ knowledge of the society passes across generations without writing and help people make sense of the world and are used to teach children and adults about important aspects of their culture. Oral traditions guide

²⁴**Oral tradition**, also called **orality**, the first and still most widespread mode of human communication. Far more than “just talking,” oral tradition refers to a dynamic and highly diverse oral-aural medium for evolving, storing, and transmitting knowledge, art, and ideas. It is typically contrasted with literacy, with which it can and does interact in myriad ways, and also with literature, which it dwarfs in size, diversity, and social function.
<https://www.britannica.com/topic/oral-tradition>

social and human morals giving people a sense of place and purpose and includes folktales, myths, folk songs, popular sayings, and proverbs that enjoys a common element of social interaction among a wide range of social groups. The different types of the oral tradition reveal how masculinities are perceived, lived, or practiced at the local level, and molded or remolded in response to current socioeconomic shifts.

Chowdhry (2015) expresses few conceptions of masculinity presented in oral tradition in subcontinent cultural milieu. Masculinity in subcontinental background, is perceived and acknowledged in relation to women that is in their supposed inferiority and subordination to men. According to Chowdhry (2015) one of the most popular rural cultural beliefs among males maintains through proverb that *lugāī ādmī ki jūtī ho sai* (“woman is no better than a man’s shoe”) and that she is inferior to a man in morality, knowledge, and wisdom. In fact, in certain cases, even when the private reality is different, the public posture of a man’s dominance is culturally observed. For example, this “ideal” power equation is maintained and easily recognizable in public male-female behavior. For example, one can see that when a man walks three paces ahead of the woman. This behaviour confirms the portrayal of “submissive woman” a stereotype, not only walks behind her man but also carries the heavier load. This scene can be observed anywhere in rural areas.

If we talk about proverbs of Pushtoon culture living in KPK²⁵ in Pakistan, Noor (2015) reports in his research that most proverbs grant undisputed authority to men over women. However, masculinity is essentially a disputed terrain. Men’s violence against women is an essential part of patriarchy (Walby, 1990), and reflected in many Pushtoon proverbs. it is also a manifestation of masculinity (Connell, 1987, 1995) and according to some feminists, the basis of men’s rule over women (Brownmiller, 1976). The most common form of violence against women takes place in their families or at the domestic level, mainly within marital relations (Schular et al., 2008). Gender based violence against women in Pakistan takes many different forms, but the most common forms is wife-beating in Pakistan (Fikree et al., 2005). A proverb that says “A man who cannot handle his home cannot handle community affairs” sums up the ideal of masculinity which includes one’s ability to keep one’s house in order. This usually means disciplining women and children of the household, which often involves the threat or actual use of force.

Noor (2015) reports that wife beating is also the theme of a number of Pashto proverbs, however the most general proverb advocating physical violence is “Where there is a stick, there is discipline”. This proverb is used most often for

²⁵ Khyber PakhtunKhow

women and children but is applicable to all situations in which discipline is required. In relation to violence against women, a proverb is used which suggests that “Keep a woman’s stomach filled, and her face under a slap”. The proverb provides normative assumptions on respectable masculinity: the responsibility to feed one’s wife comes first; the right to beat her comes later.

Two more proverbs related to wife-beating are: “A man’s kick is the remedy for an unruly woman” and “If you cling to your (bad) habit, I will keep my stick”. These proverbs suggest that wife beating is the due right of men. It is also important to note that in violence-related proverbs, men are always the subject: men have either been projected as violent or they are instigated to use violence against women (and other men). Women have never been shown as active subjects; they are the object of violence. In the above proverbs, for example, the unruly woman is the obvious object of violence. Similarly, the you are in the second proverb refers to a woman and refers to man. The Pashto term “*zhaba wahal*” (meaning arguing) is especially used for women who argue with men of the house. This is the most common pretext and reason for homebased violence such as wife beating. A proverb especially used in this sense is “When the tongue goes on talking, the forehead goes on beaten up” which means that when a woman argues with men, she is bound to be beaten up.

A humorous Pashto folk song “He hit me again” in which women sing in chorus consists of a series of complains of a bad husband who beats his wife. The first two lines of the songs are: “May his house burn; today he hit me again, I will go to Peshawar to change my husband”. Women in this song criticize and make fun of the various pretexts for which a husband may beat his wife, such as for adding more salt to the broth. This shows that although women seemingly accept the patriarchal power, they do not do so without reservation.

In fact, at one time, the beating of a wife was considered such a normal activity for a man that no valid reason or cause was really needed to justify it. Because men wished to appear masculine, violence upon women almost achieved the status of a routine.

Although violence continues to be tolerated and considered normal in this region, the chronic wife beating summed up in the phrase “*uḥte lāt, baiḥte ghunṣā*” (“When up he kicks her; when sitting he hits her”) is no longer tolerated. The use of violence, an essential part of rural culture, remains very much an intrinsic component of masculinity and goes with its other attribute: a strong physicality. In the local popular culture, there is enormous emphasis placed on men possessing strong physical stature. The celebratory muscular description of an “ideal” male is commonly portrayed in various types of oral traditions.

According to Chowdhry (2015) the crucial part of a man's attractiveness lies in his physical strength. that enables him to exercise control over his land, which is central to his existence. In addition to its economic worth, the possession of land has value as power, both social and political. Apart from land, this possession and control includes animals, women, and other fellow men, especially from among the lower caste groups. A common proverb in the rural areas of Punjab been “*zar, zamān, zan, jhagde kī jar haiñ,*” (“gold, land, and women are the root of all quarrels”) and masculinity lies in keeping them safe and under tight control. Possession and control of land, money, and women are associated with *izzat* (honor), which is essentially male honor. For this honor, a strong body and physical strength is considered necessary to command, control, and possess his land, money, and women. If a male need to inflict violence to safeguard these “possessions” or his honor, it is not only accepted, it is reinforced. In other words, masculinity, and power exercising, firmly associated with physical strength, is essentially connected to violence.

There are two words in Urdu language used to describe masculinity. One is *mard* and the other is *mardāngī*. *Mard* is associated with power and used for a man who has status, land, purchasing ability, influence, and control, and is held in esteem. *Mardangi* on the other hand is generally associated with virility and sexual prowess. For a man, procreation or having children is the universal proof of his sexual prowess. it is not only women but also men who are expected to marry and reproduce for economic, social, and lineage purposes. Therefore, marriage and begetting children is associated with *mardāngī* in popular perception.

Activity

Collect proverbs from men and women of your area and classify them according to the stereotypical roles they assign to men and women.
Read a folktale and analyses how men are portrayed in them?

8.7 Self-Assessment Questions

1. Describe folklore and the function it performs.
2. How folklore play its part in socio cultural environment?
3. Describe in detail the feminist critiques on men representation of fairytales.
4. How men are depicted in oral traditions? Quote your answer taking example from Pakistani culture.
5. How folklore and culture are interlinked? Argue with examples.
6. What is meant by *mard* and *mardangi* in Pakistani culture?
7. How masculinity is presented in folklore? Explain with examples.
8. What is your opinion on feminist critiques on men portrayal in fairytales?

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Unit 9

**MEN, MASCULINITIES AND
DEVELOPMENT**

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INTRODUCTION

This unit intends to shed light on the relationship of men, masculinities and development. Examining masculinities with relation to development is important because it explains the role of masculinity in the development processes. The present unit also enable students to analyze the politics of masculinity within development processes, agendas, plans and policies that has widespread implications for the effectiveness of the policies, plans and programs meant to reduce gender equality. It also explains the ideas of maleness and expressions of masculinity within development field.

OBJECTIVES

The unit aims at:

1. introduce masculinity of development
2. shed light on the relationship of men, masculinities, and development
3. informs how do there exist politics of masculinity within development field
4. discuss the ideas of maleness and masculinity within development.

LEARNING OUTCOMES

After studying this unit, you will be able to:

1. examine the role of masculinities in the development process
2. explain how development politized masculinities
3. analyze the politics of masculinity within development realm
4. realize the ideas of maleness and expressions of masculinity within development field from a South Asian perspective.

9.1 Addressing Masculinity within Development

Over decades from Women in Development approach till the Gender & Development approach, men worked in the development field as practitioners and stakeholder. However, overall, all projects and plans that were made and implemented did not include men as a case to be studied because the men are considered as a problem. Because of this notion, men have not engaged them into the social processes and played their role as active participants to reduce inequalities.

The concept of engaging men and talking about masculinities emerged a few decades back upon realizing that taking about women's issues, planning projects for them while not studying the other group of human races would not solve problem of the inequality. Inequality can only be addressed or reduced if both men and women work together and on same lines. It is realized by scholars that talking against men did not relieve them and could not result in gender equal societies and communities. Therefore, there is a shift to talk about men, masculinities within development. Not all men are bad, not the masculinity, but there are many good men and good women who both collectively make societies better and solve issues of their respective cultures. They need to go hand in hand.

Addressing masculinity within development urge development practitioners to design upcoming projects and plans that make men realize their job to not indulge themselves in hegemonic masculinity "the ways of dominance, control or power". Interestingly, the result of the studies like Connell and Lee (1995) showed that not all men are involved in hegemonic masculinity, there are many women also. There are also dominant women who have masculine traits: dominance, control etc. So, what one needs to understand this, in each cultural context masculinity make it visible through various, different, or multiple ways. It is also realized that hegemonic discourse of both masculinity and femininity can be oppressive for any of them, men or women who do not conform to the given roles, behaviors, patterns of living etc.

Therefore, Gender & development requires involvement of both men and women while breaking a taboo that men can also call for women's rights. Similarly, women can also support men, the ones who do not share the same patterns or masculine traits. In addition, the awareness about masculinity and the masculine ways is essential to both men and women. This awareness will help them to reliant or unlearnt various behavioral patterns or socially accredited patterns as well. Another positive feature of addressing masculinity and especially hegemonic masculinity will help male members of the society to recognize that

they behave differently in different situations. This may help them to not be threatened or feel attacked when the women talk about hegemonic masculinity. There are many men who have embrace change and are ready to embrace it. So, such men are the need of Gender and Development because their involvement may help to find constructive ways through which men and women both jointly work for a cause without being considering men as their enemy.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. What is the need to address masculinities within field of development?
2. Are masculinities socially constructed practices, ideals and concepts? How do they bind men to adopt certain similar behavioral patterns? Explain.
3. Why some of the contemporary men are embracing change in their masculinized patterns of living? Write about your opinion.

9.2 Role of Masculinities in the Development Process

Masculinities are socially constructed practices, ideals and concepts that bind men to behave in a certain fashion within a community, society and context. Since the development, need individuals from various societies and communities to successfully participate in its processes. Therefore, it is required to address masculinities and the role of masculinities in the development processes.

Masculinities are enriched and embedded in cultures; however, these can be changed over time with a political will. Here development can play its role. However, development processes also are influenced by the masculinities both negatively and positively. Development processes calls to ensure gender equality. However, the men with their masculinized approach develop certain beliefs in which they consider that their privileges as men and the power they have are natural, normal and just. Thus, they perceive the desirable traits of men as never changing. Due to this approach, men do not share or willing to share their authority or powerful position because for many men around the world gender equality means win-lose situation. The masculinities thus come at times or prove many times as a hindering stone to achieve gender equality or sustainable development goals. However, various studies recently explain how intra-gender inequality exists between numerous forms of plural masculinities that give birth to relation of domination not only between different genders, but also between the same gender category. These studies also highlight the role of masculinity - not always negative, as it is perceived. It has many manifestations and forms and it does not always subjugate women but also one form subjugates the other within men. There are men who can play part in the development processes, but they could not do so. The reason is that the misunderstanding about all men as a

homogeneous or a unified category that necessarily subjugates the other uniform category of women.

Masculinities are constructed not only within familial interaction but are collectively constructed through interaction within communities or cultures. Thus, masculinities are, in fact, largely collectively constructed through interaction within cultures, groups and institutions (beyond individual families) such as classrooms, factories, the military, sports clubs and the mass media. In many societies and in many men in all societies, men believe that their privilege and power are natural, normal, and just simply the way the world works.

With their granted privileges and defined by what are deemed to be “desirable traits,” men believe that they have little reason to relinquish their authority or share their position. Men believe gender equality means losing some of their advantage. It is seen as a “win-lose” situation; a finite pie being more equally divided with a resulting smaller piece for them. They rarely see how they suffer as a consequence of their privileged status nor do they see benefits for themselves in a more equitable world.

Masculinities also conveys that there are many socially constructed definitions for being a man and that these can change over time and from place to place. The term relates to perceived notions and ideals about how men should or are expected to behave in a given setting. Masculinity and femininity are relational concepts, which only have meaning in relation to each other. Masculinities are configurations of practice structured by gender relations. They are inherently historical; and their making and remaking is a political process affecting the balance of interests in society and the direction of social change. The existing scholarship discusses, analyzes, and explains the role of masculinities in development processes. The scholars argue that men and the study of masculinities can play a positive role in the development processes, and can contribute in making them successful because the anti-men approach has treated men as the problem and classed them as those who are the hindering stone in the way to positive change. As a result of this approach, men were least realized as beneficial for development cause. They were given least space to come forward to play their role by changing their attitudes and behaviors for uplifting status of their counterpart women. This kind of approach has not only created issues for women but also made men to give least attention to the positive topics and issues. It also made men to feel negatively about how the women work and demand for their rights. The negative portrayal of masculinity “the hegemonic masculinity” (Carrigan, Connell & Lee, 1985) which requires men to conform to dominant ideas about being a man left men to stop valuing the positive attributes of them, while others thought of the masculine attributes as negative and authoritative.

As a result, not only men remain less participative in Gender & Development processes but Gender & development processes also provides little scope and room for the men related topics or issues to be researched, focused, or highlighted.

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. Are men a homogenous category? Do all men have toxic masculinity?
2. What is anti-men approach? Did it prove fruitful for the development?

9.3 Does Development Politicize Masculinities?

From the past few decades, the question on how development's gender agenda and processes are influenced by the men and the masculinities is posed. The researchers have found that the growing gender violence and the prevalence of HIV are very much related with men (Cornwall et al, 2011). So, to address the impact of norms of masculinity which cause both gender violence or HIV needs to be explored not only focusing men's internal and interpersonal aspects of lives but by highlighting the unjust effects of men's privilege in the worlds of politics and the economy. In this regard, the recent scholarship explains that the organization working with men on gender issues remain silent and avoid discussing gender injustice in public sphere i.e., pay, equal representation and work distribution.

In addition, the development agencies' role has also been a point of concern where they only took up some issues while ignoring others. In this way, they seek to pursue a very partial gender agenda and scare off working on those topics which make men scare off. According to McMahon (1993) "the field(development) itself has developed in a way that has retreated from a more critical analysis of men's attitudes and behaviors, neither politicizing the personal nor exploring the interpersonal dynamics of power and privilege within broader struggles for gender justice".

This is the major point of concern for many activists and feminists because they consider that that gender agenda has been depoliticized as it taken up by development agencies who stripped off the original concerns with inequitable power relations and reduced to interventions that are palliative rather than genuinely transformative (Cornwall, Harrison and Whitehead, 2007; Cornwall et al, 2011).

Interestingly, it is realized by the writers and researchers that many of the interventions and plans of development are masculinized in nature since they ignore how power as structural relation impact the individuals in the hierarchy

(Batliwala and Dhanraj, 2004; Wilson, 2008). The recent definitions of power within development explains it as something which can be acquired or bestowed, ignoring the gendered power relations which cause persistent gender inequalities and displace the broader social change for gender justice and gender equity (Chakarvati, 2008).

Thus, many scholars believe that the field of men and masculinities is already politicized, arising from a deeply political commitment to address men's abusive behavior towards women (McMahon, 1993). There are a number of ways by which the field of men and masculinities is politicized. Politicizing masculinities happens when it challenges the normative perspectives on men and on masculinity as well. It means to challenge the naturalization of gender binary in much work on gender and development (Cornwall, 2005).

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. Does development politicize masculinities? How and why? Explain.
2. What does it mean by the concept "Politicization of masculinities"?

9.4 The Politics of Masculinity within Development Realm

The politics of masculinities within development realm happens when it challenges the normative perspectives on men and on masculinities. The normative perspectives about men as bread earners, protectors and managers are important factors in the development field as discussed by gender advocates. These factors that lead towards relationship imbalances. Politicizing masculinities within development realm happens when it challenges various traits, characteristics of the men being known as manly.

Since 1970s, the advocates working in the field of gender and development highlighted that most of the societies are patriarchal because men exercise power over the women. This interdependency results in women's subordination, inequalities, and discrimination. However, these perspectives are so much discussed within development field that gender advocates stereotyped men as sole beneficiaries of development and women as the victims (Moghadam, 2005). Men are also stereotyped as the problem. This perspective was not only documented in the reports, conferences and significant platforms, researched over and over again. As a result, many international development actors subscribe to this basic premise. In this way, men exercise power over women that results in inequities, inequalities, discrimination, and the subordination of women. This has been documented repeatedly in thousands of research projects, reports, and conferences

over the last three decades (Moghadam, 2005). Following this, according to gender advocates, men have been the main beneficiaries of development.

This has led to stereotyped notions crystallized in the general notion of men as the problem and women as the victim. Virtually all the main actors in international development subscribe to this basic premise (Correia and Bannon, 2007) although it has so far mainly been reflected in the gender and development discourse. While it is recognized that many men and boys are changing how they view women, this change often goes hand in hand with traditional gender hierarchies and views on gender relations. Consequently, Correia and Bannon (2007) argue, it is time for 'mainstreaming' development. They contend: The impetus to address men's gender issues in development is unlikely to come from the gender community. The political capital invested in gender in terms of women and the mistrust and fear over male dominance will likely be too much to overcome. And while interest in men's issues will continue in specialized areas such as HIV/AIDS and reproductive health, actions are likely to remain marginal and tentative. Rather, the interest, drive, and energy to address men as men will likely come from the broader-based social development community with its focus on social exclusion and conflict and violence prevention or even the security sector in its quest to understand the root causes of conflict, violence and terrorism. (2007: 259).

Self-Assessment Questions (SAQs)

1. Who thought that men are problem and women as victim, and why?
2. What is meant by men-streaming development?

9.5 The Ideas of Maleness and Expressions of Masculinity within Development Field

Within development field especially the gender and development field the discussion on the ideas of maleness and expressions of masculinity provides an overview how in various development fields; i.e. education, health, wellbeing, economy or labor the maleness and/or masculinities has been treated as a problem, the root cause of all issues and inequalities for so many decades. It recently realized to transform those ideas about the maleness or masculinities. Recently, World Health Organization lay a gender transformative approach that addresses the root causes of gender-based health inequities through interventions that challenge and redress harmful and unequal gender norms, roles, and unequal power relations that privilege men over women.

9.5.1 Harmful Masculinities and their Consequences on Global Women

World health organization's website clearly mentions that there exist harmful masculinities that do not allow gaining 100% results of any intervention of engaging men. Some of the harmful masculinities are as follows

9.5.2 Perpetration of Violence against Women

The masculinities, which allow men to be violent with their wives, daughters, or other women of the family due to the socio-cultural norms and role distribution, result in violence against women. This violence is not only done individually, but is endorsed by social structures that give men the right to do violence in any form; physical, psychological etc.

9.5.3 Men's Control over Women's Bodies and Decision Making

Majority of the societies are patriarchal in nature and require women to submit to their husbands, fathers or even son. As a result, women's bodies, their decisions regarding sexual and reproductive health are not considered and taken into account. Men decide if he wants to have a child or not. In many countries of the world, women bear children even if they are not healthy. In many cases, even if a woman shares her husband that she does not want to have another baby, he does not bother for her health. As a result, mortality rate is on the peak. Similarly, there is a rich scholarship showing that women even do not go to doctor even for their daily or routine checkup or during any illness because men perceive they are just posing or pretending of their illness. Therefore, the men's control over a woman's sexual and reproductive decision-making limits her access to life-saving health services including for sexual and reproductive health.

9.5.4 Men's Lack of, or Limited, Involvement in Child Care

Another example of toxic masculinity, the harmful masculinity is men's lack of or limited involvement in childcare around the world. This is a crucial point to be addressed. In the recent times, when women are not only doing household chores but are carrying double burden by working outside, there is need to grab men's attention towards childcare. Childcare is a great responsibility and both men and women need to help each other to share the disproportionate burden from women's shoulder.

There are hundreds of such instances (discussed in the researches) that explain that the more the husband share the burden of the household, the more improves the wellbeing of the family. In many cultures, women are considered solely responsible for childcare, depriving them to take care of themselves also and helping their husband for income generation. As a result, husband being considering himself the sole food provider and dominant, does not seek for any assistance, share his worries being tied in the cage of manhood. This kind of manhood take him too to the higher risk of health issues, road accidents etc. Thus, Men's lack of, or limited, involvement in child care, unpaid domestic work and care giving has wider implications for the well-being of the family, placing a disproportionate burden of care work on women and depriving them of opportunities to earn an income and contribute economically to the household (WHO, BMJ Global Health 2019).

The WHO websites provide information that due to various ideas of maleness and manhood like taking risks, not seeking help, feeling entitled, exerting power or dominance over women, and proving as strong and powerful, men also face harmful effects on their health and social activity. Such norms and ways of living not only affect men's relationship but also contribute to higher rates of traffic injuries, smoking, use of alcohol or unsafe sexual behaviors.

9.5.5 Engaging Men for Development: Redefining Masculinities

Engaging men and boys are integral for realizing the goals of sustainable development and enabling societies to realize the post 2015 Development agendas. To do this man needs to be engaged to redefine masculine traits, roles or patterns instead of role reversal strategies. Some of the following shifts in men's perceptions are required or there is a need to make awareness campaigns or disseminate information through various media systems.

9.5.6 Shifting Normative Understanding of Men's Role

By shifting the normative understanding of men's role as the sole problem needs to be redefined and there is a need to explain that both men and women are important for each other to run the society's affair. So, in cases when a man of the family loses his job and having problem in finding a job, any female (sister, wife, mother) can help me or assisting him by earning. So, the normative association

about men as the sole bread earner needs to be redefined. However, this process needs to be done with care so that men will not get offensive or feel pessimistic.

9.5.7 Building Alliances Between Men's Work for Gender Equality the Women's Rights' Fields

There is also a need to create linkages between the work of men and boys who are already moving toward gender equality, in order to identify ways to support and accelerate the change that is already happening. In this way, building alliances between men and women's work will be easier.

9.5.8 Developing, Implementing and Monitoring Policies to Engage Men for Gender Equality

Another step that can remove the pollicization of masculinities in the GAD field is developing, implementing, and monitoring policies to engage men. Engaging men policies can be an important and influential factor or determinant to reduce gender inequalities because when men will be engaged for various interventions there will be more chances to get better results.

- Engaging men in the prevention of gender-based violence reduce violence against women and gender-based violence
- If development policies and plans engage men and boys concerning public space and women's visibility, thy can play role in making public spaces free of violence for women and girls
- Within judicial sector if male perpetrators or other men engage, they can help in implementation of gun control laws, control of alcohol sale and use
- Engaging men curricula within textbooks can encourage new lot to remove stereotypes and respect others.
- Fatherhood needs to be encouraged not as an authoritarian ruler but instead there is need to engage men to ask them to publicly support fatherhood-preparation courses and campaigns focusing on men's roles in the lives of children can address fathers' reported feelings of being unprepared for care giving, and help men perceive the benefits of greater participation in family life.
- Men are also needed to support women's economic empowerment because there mutual understanding about women's economic activity can provide countries with untapped skills, capacities, and strengths of women.

9.6 Self-Assessment Questions

1. What is meant by toxic or hegemonic masculinities? Why development field wants to get rid of these kinds of masculinities?
2. Is development field really politicizing masculinities? Write your argument by presenting a few instances.
3. Why there is a need to study masculinities within development? Why does it is important?
4. Write about the harmful masculinities explain by World Health Organization. What are the consequences of them? Discuss.
5. Why here is a need to engage men for development? What are the possible outcomes of engaging men for development?

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