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MASCULINITY, VIOLENCE AND SOCIOECONOMIC STATUS IN INDONESIA

In qualitative interviews conducted during 2009/2010, 86 male interviewees frequently “explained” violence between men in Indonesia as resulting from low socioeconomic status. This paper is not about how violence actually happens, but about how it is explained by Indonesian men. We unpack the discursive assertions of interviewees, and first explore the cultural utility and validity of the “hydraulic pressure” model of male violence found popular in the Indonesian mass media. While some men used this simple model of explosive violence caused by pressure, others acknowledged the active choice of men in marginal economic circumstances to use violence. We then consider this range of explanations for the link between socioeconomic disadvantage and male violence through the lens of Messerschmidt’s “compensatory” thesis on violence and masculinity.

Keywords: Indonesia, masculinity, violence, unemployment, economic pressure

Rather than detailing how violence actually happens in Indonesia, we examine how it is explained by Indonesian men. Such an approach allows us to stand back from debates about the nature of violence and see how the link between masculinity and violence is made in everyday discourse, in a developing country with a troubled past (see Colombijn, 2005). In his account of violence, contemporary social theorist Žižek (2008, p. 1) invites us to stand back from the “fascinating lure” of what he calls “subjective” violence—crime and terror—in order to “perceive the contours of the background which generates such outbursts.” Low-level violence is ubiquitous in contemporary Indonesian society and continues to have a major impact on community, prosperity, health and wellbeing. It primarily involves men. Unpacking the underpinnings of male violence is a complex process with arguments often situated around notions of traditional male roles, socioeconomic status, and even cultural tolerance models. In this article we explore explanatory accounts of socioeconomic status as one contour of everyday social violence in In-

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donesia. In doing so we pay particular attention to the ways in which men understand violence in relation to masculine honor and respect.

In Indonesia there is a strong cultural understanding of gender as *kodrati*—pre-determined or destined by God, rather than *konstruksi*—socially constructed. Many therefore hold the view that violence is inherently part of male nature (Adian, 2001). Moreover, men from the higher and lower strata of society are often seen as behaving in accordance with the ancient dichotomy of aristocrat and peasant, which presumes a different male essence for each (Brenner, 1995). Since men from lower socioeconomic strata are considered to be in principle much less refined, they can be expected to explode in violence far more readily. While this is a common cultural viewpoint in Indonesia, we find that the agency of men to make choices about their involvement in violence is neglected in such thinking.

We embed our interpretation of interview data in a critical engagement with James Messerschmidt's (1993) thesis of the relationship between masculinity and violence, which does recognize men's agency in making a choice to be involved in violence. Messerschmidt argued that men want to achieve a legitimate masculine status, linked to the demonstration of independence, dominance, toughness, competitiveness and heterosexuality. In situations where the accomplishment of a legitimate masculine status is not available through conventional means, such as occupation, income and material ownership, engaging in violent or criminal behavior may gain marginalized men the respect and material benefits they want. The involvement of such men in a local culture where violence is normalized, consolidates and validates for each man his framing of self as powerful and deserving of honor and respect. Although Messerschmidt's (1993) thesis pertains to the USA, we maintain it is productive for our analysis of accounts by men of violence in Indonesia.

BACKGROUND

The study of Indonesian masculinities is reasonably well developed (for example, Boellstorff, 2004; Clark, 2010; Elmhirst, 2007; Harjito, 2002; Kurniawan, 2009; Nilan, Demartoto & Wibowo, 2011; Oetomo, 2000; Sunardi, 2009; Wilson, 2010; Wulan, 2009) and has covered a range of issues. Many such studies have focused specifically on masculinities in a particular region of the country and have demonstrated the diversity of gender constructions. For example, Nurul Ilmi Idrus has written specifically about traditional Buginese norms of masculinity in Makassar:

A man is expected to be brave [*warani*], so he can be the protector of his family, or family *siri*'; he is clever [*macca*], so he can be the role model; he is wealthy [*sugi*'], so he can maintain his family; and he is a religious leader [*panrita*], so he can guide his family. (Idrus, 2004, p. 37)

Similarly, in the ancient Javanese courtly tradition, the things that pointed to the position of the man who is ascribed honour included the quality of his: *karya*—work; *wanita*—wife/wives; *wisma*—house; *curiga*—*keris*, a ceremonial dagger (connotes battle status and capacity); *turangga*—horse (nowadays the means of transport such as a car); and *kukila*—cockfight bird (or the agent of aggression) (see Moertono, 1968/2009).

On a more contemporary note, Long (2007) found young men from Riau province who participated in beauty pageants were highly competitive in any contests that

gained them *prestasi*—the status of a winner. Winning proved the superiority of their Malay identity in the context of high in-migration by other Indonesian ethnic groups. Elsewhere in Sumatra, Elmhirst (2007) found that young village men left behind when women migrated for work became “tigers and gangsters,” resorting to threats of violence, seeking to “assert themselves as modern masculine subjects in unexpected and sometimes threatening ways. At issue is how young men can challenge the fact that they have been ‘left behind’, culturally, economically and geographically” (p. 236).

Although Elmhirst’s work proves the exception, the link between masculinities and socioeconomic status in Indonesia has not been well-documented. Below, we examine the broader scholarly work on: Indonesian masculinities; socioeconomic status, marginality and opportunity, violence and masculinities; and, issues surrounding deprivation and socioeconomic status in Indonesia.

Indonesian Masculinities: Diversity, Difference and Communalities

As indicated above, Indonesian masculinities are diverse and temporal in character, shifting across local communities and regions of the archipelago. Certainly the five cities in our study: Jakarta, Pekanbaru (Riau), Solo, Makassar and Mataram, are each distinctive in terms of ethnicity, economic activity and relative wealth. Each city shapes the particular forms of masculinity for men living there, and also the kinds of violent interactions that might take place even though, over the past 350 years, colonization, authoritarian rule, modernization and urbanization in Indonesia have reshaped the gender order towards greater cultural homogeneity (Peletz, 1995). Moreover, as Peletz’s (2009, p. 2) broad study of gender in Southeast Asia demonstrates, there are “numerous commonalities ... that have long underlain the striking diversity of the region,” including “kinship/gender” and “sexuality.” It is valid then, to speak in general terms of the social construction of gender for men in Indonesia. Speaking broadly of Indonesian masculinities, Kurniawan (2009) points out in a men’s issue of *Jurnal Perempuan* (Women’s Journal) that Indonesian social norms require a man to demonstrate he is *mampu*—capable, able:

Ciri khas jenis maskulinitas ini adalah adanya peran penguasaan terhadap sumber daya ekonomi, seperti lapangan pekerjaan [A typical characteristic of normative Indonesian masculinity is the demonstrated capacity to control economic resources, such as income from paid work]. (Kurniawan, 2009, p. 41)

Since there is such emphasis on the demonstration of *mampu*, the man who appears to be *tidak mampu*—not capable—feels a great sense of *malu*—shame—and fears losing *harga diri*—self respect. In such circumstances, a man may “*melakukan tindakan kompensasi*”—carry out compensatory actions—especially *kekerasan*—violence and dominating others (Kurniawan, 2009, p. 43). The same author draws our attention to the fact that compensatory aggressive behavior by men with few resources is tolerated and even excused in Indonesian society because it has been normalized over the centuries by the “*dogma maskulinitas tradisional*”—traditional dogma of masculinity—that justifies male violence (Kurniawan, 2009, p. 43). As a consequence, male social violence is an everyday, “routine” phenomenon in many communities (Murshed & Tadjoeddin, 2008, p. 1). The residual effects of 300 years of Dutch colonization, resistance against the Japanese invasion, the subsequent war

against the Dutch for independence, and the late twentieth-century struggle for democracy, are all further important factors that shape this phenomenon.

The relative position of men in religious and inherited status hierarchies are also important discourses of differentiation in masculine identity across the nation. The status of a man relative to marriage and family relations remains a key signifier of masculine legitimacy. A recent study of masculinities in five Asian countries, including close neighbor Malaysia, demonstrated that the family is still of prime importance in men's lives and "honour and being in control" are important in defining masculinity (Ng, Tan, & Low, 2008, p. 354). These claims also hold true in Indonesia. Indonesian gender scholar Dede Oetomo (2000) has described the hegemonic image of Indonesian masculinity as follows:

Men always acting as heads of families and as breadwinners, operating in the public sphere, and not being responsible for the upbringing of children or the sharing of household work. In the area of sexuality, one would infer a thinly disguised 'legendary' heterosexual promiscuity of men as initiators and dominators in heterosexual intercourse. (p. 57)

Sunardi (2009) points out that prior to the end of the New Order¹ in 1998, men were under pressure to be "strong males" (p. 464) as an expression of national character.

According to Wieringa (2003), the New Order militaristic State until 1998 was "built on an excessively masculine power obsessed with control" (p. 72). Clark (2010) maintains that "the authoritative, masculinist and monolithic discourse of the Suharto [New Order] era was intolerant of any perceived threats to the heteronormative social order" (p. 15). In official New Order discourse, the role of a woman—*kodrat wanita*—was to be a wife and mother; modest, docile, focused on home and hearth (Robinson, 2001; Utomo, 2005). The role of a man—*kodrat pria*—was to be a husband, father and provider (Nilan, Donaldson, & Howson, 2009). The term *kodrat*, like *kodrati*, implies a deterministic discourse of gender (Adian, 2001) in which the nature of men, like women, is a fixed essence.

Socioeconomic Status in Indonesia: Poverty, Marginality and the Rhetoric of Opportunity

Indonesia is the fourth most densely populated country in the world. 45% of the population of almost 240 million now live in urban areas and compete for income opportunities. The GDP growth rate since 2008 has been 5 to 6.5% (Suryadarma & Sumarto, 2011, p. 158), indicating some radical changes in the nature of work. For example, less than 40% of the labor force is still engaged in agriculture, 13% work in industry and almost 50% in services (Badan Pusat Statistik [BPS], 2010, pp. 19–25). Men from a poor background, with little education, struggle to find any kind of income in urban slums. Yet significantly, it seems to be not so much poverty *per se* that is linked to male violence in Indonesia, but failure to generate sufficient income—unemployment or underemployment—in the local context of unequal distribution of wealth and opportunity (see Tadjoeddin, Chowdhury, & Murshed, 2010; Urdal, 2006).

In this paper, socioeconomic status is treated as both a *discursive and rhetorical practice* and a *concrete reality* (in relation to education, income, life changes, social capital and so on). That is, we do not seek to measure socioeconomic status here but

rather view it as a perceived location of a person in the socio-economic hierarchy. This status hierarchy is largely articulated around such things as occupation, educational attainment, income, possessions and type of dwelling (see Erikson & Goldthorpe, 1992; Graetz, 1995). In Indonesia, like many rapidly developing countries, there is a sharp contrast between the living conditions of those with high socioeconomic status and those with low socioeconomic status. For example, Indonesia was ranked a lowly 124 of 187 countries in the 2011 Human Development Report (United Nations Development Program [UNDP], 2011), despite the strength of its rapidly developing economy. While the official unemployment rate is just over 7%, this conceals the fact that there is widespread underemployment and even wider participation in the informal labor sector (BPS, 2010, pp. 19–25) where wages are very low. Consequently, in 2010 13.3% of the population were living below the national poverty line equivalent to around US\$1.50 per day. Poor and near-poor Indonesian households are highly vulnerable to economic stress (Suryadarma & Sumarto, 2011, p. 166).

Yet as Farid (2005) points out, even today it is uncommon to see much acknowledgement that prevailing economic inequalities shape the different life chances and opportunities of rich and poor in Indonesia. The New Order government strongly promoted the idea that Indonesian society was fundamentally egalitarian, where all citizens could prosper if they worked hard enough. So the fact that one man was poor and another rich was likely to be “ascribed” to a “status steeped in history” (Farid, 2005, p. 170). In other words, the feudal past was the touchstone for explaining why one man in Indonesia would struggle to support his family while another lived in extraordinary luxury. Ancient feudal kingdoms of the archipelago drew a sharp distinction between aristocrats and peasants (Maulana & Situngkir, 2009). In Java, for example, aristocratic masculinity was celebrated as *halus*—refined, courtly and highly controlled—while peasant or lower class masculinity was constructed as *kasar*—“impolite, rough, uncivilized” (Geertz, 1960, p. 232)—and likely to react violently. As Wulan (2009) demonstrates, even today members of Javanese aristocratic families, including young boys, are expected to show far more refined behavior than people of peasant origins, who are thought to remain prone to outbursts of rough, uncivilized behavior throughout their lives. So it is assumed that an Indonesian man from a privileged background will behave in an orderly, peaceful manner because such behavior is expressive of high status masculinity, while a man from a background of poverty will exhibit toughness, emotional volatility and physical aggression because of his peasant origins. These ideas came through strongly in our interviews. They echo public rhetoric (Colombijn, 2005). In public accounts of male violence in Indonesia it is difficult to disentangle cultural notions of inherited privilege, gender and status from the facts of socioeconomic status.

Masculinity, Violence and Low Socioeconomic Status: Is There a Link?

As indicated earlier, men who appear *tidak mampu*—not capable—can feel a great sense of *malu*—shame. Within these circumstances men may choose to use aggressive behavior in order to gain income *and* status (see Barker, 2005; Cavender, 1999; Messerschmidt, 1993). This is especially so if the local milieu is one where toughness and physical capacity are valued. A good Indonesian example of such circumstances is provided by Guinness (2009) who observed young men over three

decades of *kampung* (poor neighborhood) life in Yogyakarta. During the mid-1990s, unemployed male youth “became involved in excessive consumption of alcohol and extreme violence” (Guinness, 2009, p. 118). They held drinking sessions at the village patrol post. Any young woman who passed was verbally harassed (see also Elmhirst, 2007). Drinking sessions often culminated in fights. Guinness (2009) concludes the *kampung* lads used drinking and fighting as a “way to assert a power that would be recognized, even respected, at least by their peers” (p. 140). The situation only changed for the better when employment became available nearby.

In their Makassar study, Nasir and Rosenthal (2009) found similar high alcohol use and violent quarrels among marginalized young men. With little hope of work they chose notoriety rather than shame and invisibility. Elmhirst (2007) found a similar kind of choice in a Sumatran village. Economically marginalized young men forcibly established their manliness in circumstances where they could not find “the kind of work that completes the trajectory into full manhood” (Elmhirst, 2007, p. 234).

Barron, Kaiser and Pradhan’s (2009) study of relatively stable areas of Indonesia confirm that economic factors are important in accounting for local violence. In such situations, men compare their own status unfavorably and take action to redress their perceived position of inferiority. The choice to pursue violence may express “an implicit admission of impotence” (Žižek, 2008, p. 69) when men feel themselves to be devalued. Žižek claims such incidents in the West often seemingly come from nowhere and may have no ultimate political meaning. However, in Indonesia such incidents are almost always about a political demand of some kind, usually economic, religious or cultural. And they represent choice. But choice is not often a part of how male civil violence is routinely explained.

Interpreting Violence? From Structural Determinism to Agency/Resistance

The definition of violence used in the project from which data are taken was as follows:

Any act—physical, verbal or emotional—that is intended to, or results in, harm to another person or group. For example, verbal abuse, harassment, bullying, intimidation, extortion, fighting, rioting, assault, rape, torture, manslaughter, murder.

Broadly speaking, explanations of violence in Indonesia can be categorized into those focusing on structural pressures/constraint—the explosive “hydraulic model,” and those focusing on expression/resistance (choice). Explosive pressure (corporeal and emotional) is frequently inferred in Indonesian public discourse about violence (Colombijn, 2005). For example, the common Indonesian term *amok* refers to a mob in a murderous frenzy (Colombijn), as if their bodies were possessed by a demonic force. Boellstorff (2004, p. 469) describes *amok* as a “masculine and often collective enraged violence” triggered by shame or threat. Men running *amok* are perceived to be overwhelmed by their powerful emotions, imagined as a “chthonic force” moving up through the body of the man (Nilan, Demartoto & Wibowo, 2011, p. 474). Economic privation and constraint builds up pressure that explodes into *amok* behavior (Colombijn). In such a model structure is emphasized over agency. The Indonesian media often depict male offenders as inexorably com-

pelled to violence—individual and collective, against men and against women—by economic pressure, which implicitly absolves them of responsibility for their actions (Kurniawan, 2009). Describing how economic stress causes male violence, our informants often linked the terms *tekanan/menekan* (pressure), *stres* (stress) and *emosi* (emotions). Economic stress is thought to cause powerful emotions to move up through the lower class male body, weakened by privation, to explode in violence.

In contrast, Indonesian masculinity scholars such as Kurniawan (2009) who follow Messerschmidt's (1993) argument favor a "compensatory" model of masculinity and violence, implying that men exercise agency in choosing the conduct of violence when they are constrained and inhibited by economic structures. If we see masculinity not as an interior identity, but as something men do and enact, then masculinity as a presentation of self must be performed and presented recurrently in any interaction in which a man is involved (Messerschmidt). Violence can then be seen as a resource—or "cultural repertoire" (Wilson, 2011)—when other resources are not available for accomplishing a legitimate masculinity in Indonesia. Men benchmark their own accomplishment of masculinity against that of other men (Connell, 1995), including achievement within the economic system. In economically marginal areas where masculinity is implicitly validated by public demonstrations of toughness and physical prowess, the exercise of violence can shore up a legitimate masculine identity in the local context (Messerschmidt). In Indonesian communities where there is a daily struggle for economic survival, gangs and criminal extortion networks offer choices to men (see Wilson, 2010).

METHODOLOGY

The data presented below comes from a mixed-method [name deleted for peer review]-funded project on [title deleted for peer review]². In Indonesia, 86 qualitative interviews with men from a range of socioeconomic and ethnic backgrounds were conducted in five cities. In each city, interviews with men were arranged using a "snowballing" research strategy (Atkinson & Flint, 2001; Berg, 2006). The advantage of the snowballing approach for this qualitative study lies in accessing possible interviewees who are linked to the first-approached informant through social links, and therefore might give a useful complementary account of the phenomenon in question. For our purposes such an approach was ideal since not all men we approached in the five cities might have been prepared to talk openly about violence. Some of the men interviewed were police and government officials, and a few were engaged in illegal activities, or ex-prisoners. Most though, were 'ordinary' Indonesian male city-dwellers, from prosperous to very poor. The youngest was 17 and the oldest was 67. The majority were married. The men were interviewed by male Indonesian postgraduate research assistants who had been coached in effective interviewing on sensitive topics. The recorded interviews were transcribed and coded in Indonesian. Quotes were excerpted and assembled under the coding categories, then translated into English by the first two authors. The anonymity of interviewees has been preserved. The informant code comprises letters to designate the city (J=Jakarta, R=Pekanbaru [Riau], S=Solo, MK=Makassar, MT=Mataram), and a number indicating the sequence of interview. For example S2 means the interviewee was the second person interviewed in Solo.

Fieldwork Sites

Interviews were conducted in the cities of Jakarta, Pekanbaru (Riau), Solo, Makassar and Mataram, providing coverage of some very different ethnic traditions.

Jakarta. One of the largest cities in the world, Jakarta is the economic powerhouse of the country but suffers from lack of housing, extraordinary traffic congestion and frequent flooding. There are striking extremes of rich and poor (Wilson, 2010). There is frequent civil violence, ranging from minor to major incidents (Tadié, 2006). It is a mixed ethnic context.

Pekanbaru (Riau). A clean, prosperous industrial city. The local economy of Pekanbaru depends on oil revenues, and most of Indonesia's petroleum is produced here (Chou, 2007). Malays are the dominant ethnic group but oil wealth attract economic migrants from all over the archipelago.

Solo (Surakarta). Often depicted as the heartland of Javanese courtly culture, Solo is witnessing growth in textiles and clothing manufacture. A high percentage of people live below the poverty line. The city has long had a reputation for civil and religious violence (see Nilan, Demartoto, & Wibowo, 2011). All but a tiny minority are Javanese.

Makassar. A thriving port city. For the numerically dominant Buginese and Makassarese ethnic groups family honor is vitally important and it is the traditional responsibility of men to defend it (Idrus, 2004). The city has a reputation for civil and religious violence, and brawling (Nasir & Rosenthal, 2009).

Mataram. The smallest and poorest city in the study. Economic activity is still based in agriculture, with tourism, local industry and services slow to develop. One-third of the city's population is estimated to live in poverty (Bennett, Andajani-Sutjahjo, & Idrus, 2011). The majority of inhabitants are indigenous Sasak people (Muslim), with a minority of Balinese (Hindu). Minor ethno-religious clashes often occur.

Interpreting the Interview Data

As indicated previously, the emphasis here is on the explanations provided by interviewees, rather than on the actuality of everyday male violence. Each man who spoke to us spoke from his own standpoint, whether from poverty or from a comfortable middle class existence. However, we have not searched for correlation between the type of account offered and the position of the man speaking about lower class and marginal men. Our initial appraisal of the 86 interviews indicated that such a search would not be productive, because there was no observable link between the background of the man speaking and the kind of discourse he produced. For instance, some men employed in the most menial jobs saw violence as a choice to be condemned, while some employed in middle class occupations implied it was understandable given the circumstances. We chose not to speculate about whether there was any relationship between the speaker and the men spoken about. Rather we chose to focus on the two main discourses that were produced, and beyond

that, on the detail of how violence as a choice for marginalized men might be understood.

RESULTS: DISCOURSES OF POVERTY AND UNEMPLOYMENT

The Causal Link in Men's Accounts

In designing the interview questions we encouraged participants to reflect on violence, and to talk about men who might or might not commit violence, rather than asking them directly about their own personal engagement in violence. The interviews began by inviting the men to talk about any male violence they had personally witnessed or experienced, in any way. We then asked why they thought male violence occurred and what kinds of men were most likely to get involved. These questions elicited accounts which almost always linked economic problems to violence, for example,

- Lack of work is the major reason that violence occurs (J6, 32, Bank Clerk, married, Muslim, Jakarta, August 3, 2010);
- Violence around where I live is done by men from the poorest level of society, unemployed (R3, 25, Petty Trader and motorbike racer, Muslim, single, Pekanbaru, August 8, 2010);
- Unemployment is the main reason for local violence. They don't have a job (MK6, 23, Motorbike Transport Driver, single, Muslim, Makassar, June 19, 2010).

Poverty, financial stress, and lack of work were named as drivers of male violence. In many interviews violence was implied to arise from frustration at being *tidak mampu*—not able to demonstrate the expected productive economic role of a man.

Economic Impotence and the Potential for Violence

A large number of the men thought the daily struggle for existence renders poor men emotional and easily roused to anger, for example:

Poverty and unemployment clearly play a role in violence. Economic problems contribute to a high emotional state. It is the same for men who are hungry, they are more susceptible. (S2, 63, Local Government Member, married, Muslim, Solo, July 28, 2009)

When S2 mentions "susceptibility," he implies the weakened corporeality of the lower socioeconomic man which cannot readily resist the passage of violent emotions built up under the pressure of under-achievement. A similar implication was made in Jakarta:

There are fights and clashes among rival groups of men from the lower social class.... Such men find it so hard, their emotions tend to overwhelm them quickly and they tend to get into fights. (J13, 32, Soldier, married, Muslim, Jakarta, August 10, 2010)

Both explanations imply a force of emotion rising up in the body of the man weakened by economic privation and stress such that the surge cannot be denied.

The discourse of causal pressure takes as its starting premise that men from the “lower social class” have little to do because they have little or no work. Furthermore, they have little money and few life prospects because of lack of work. Men want to be respected, but economically marginal men have no legitimate place in the local masculine hierarchy, where men advertise their income and social status through material assets such as a house, a motorbike and a cell phone, for example. Pressure builds up in economically marginal men and violence is the outcome.

Men With Nothing to Do and Nothing to Lose

One university student we interviewed stated that “the man is without fear because he sees no future for himself” (SI, 24, University Student, unmarried, Muslim, Solo, July 24, 2009). A member of the security forces made a similar point, “if you’ve got nothing, if you’re a guy with nothing, then you just start punching right away” (MT16, 35, Security Police, male, Muslim, married, Mataram, June 18, 2010). Such comments expand our understanding of the way male violence is perceived. Like many others, these two interviewees imply there is nothing to hold back the violent conduct of a man with nothing to lose, and at least if he has a reputation for violence it is better than having no status at all. Choice does not figure much in these accounts.

Some interviewees mentioned alcohol as a catalyst for galvanizing the explosive flow of emotions:

Unemployment makes them stressed because they can’t get work. So they just sit around in a group drinking, with nothing to do. They become very emotional. A man can see his neighbor working and he asks how come you aren’t unemployed? (S12, 21, Factory Worker, unmarried, Muslim, Solo, July 27, 2009)

Groups of poor men in Indonesia drink cheap, locally distilled alcoholic spirit. In Solo for example, they drink *ciu*—30–40% proof alcohol—obtained from illegal street stalls. Once the men are *mabuk*—drunk—interactions can turn violent (see Guinness, 2009).

In S12’s comments above we do not know what happens to the imagined neighbor from that point. Beating him in an excess of rage (the explosive model) is one thing. Extracting money or resources from him with threats, or by force, is another thing altogether because this implies choice. Another interviewee asserted that men who have little to lose will sell their capacity to create violence—their cultural repertoire—for a price,

You can pay them to create violence instead. They can make a living out of mass riots. It’s a matter of people who are truly in need and can be readily influenced. (R1, 40, Private Sector Clerk, Muslim, married, Pekanbaru, August 3, 2010)

This comment illustrates conscious choice to carry out calculated violence as a means of gaining income. This is not the outpouring of explosive violence but a

chosen strategy that echoes Messerschmidt's (1993) thesis. That is, where the accomplishment of valid masculine status is not available through conventional economic means, engaging in violent or criminal behavior may gain marginalized men the material benefits they want. Explanations that recognized choice of violence were relatively rare though, compared to those that referred to the explosive "hydraulic" model.

Unemployment and Cost of Living

Unemployment is a relative concept in Indonesia. There is no regular government income support scheme despite economic growth and the cost of living steadily rising. Millions work in the informal sector, undertaking any activity to gain income. Death from starvation in Indonesia is rare. However, many people living at or below the poverty line do not get sufficient food or sufficient nutritious food, as pointed out in the interviews. The causal link with violence may seem straightforward, for example, "people who are hungry are highly temperamental. So when you have people who need food often you have a high level of violence" (R1, 40, Private Sector Clerk, Muslim, married, Pekanbaru, 3 August 2010). A politician from Makassar explained this:

If a man is poor then life becomes increasingly more difficult in the search for a better existence. He has to struggle to fulfil even just his own needs such as filling his stomach. Such a struggle is desperate and that's why poverty has the potential to lead to violence. (MK10, 34, Local Politician, unmarried, Muslim, Makassar, June 18, 2010)

This returns us to the logic of *nothing to lose* but this time choice is more strongly implied. An informant in Makassar also implied violence as a choice, "poverty is closely related to unemployment. Poverty drives a man to fulfil his daily needs by any method possible, including violent actions" (MK11, 40, University Lecturer, married, Muslim, Makassar, June 19, 2010). Similarly, "where the income is very low, or something like that, they conduct violence" (MT1, 24, NTB Takrow Champion, Muslim, unmarried, Mataram, June 24, 2010). The underlying assumption is that the option of violence is available to them:

If a community is poor, then it will be susceptible to disturbances of public order, susceptible to anarchy. People try to make their livelihoods! It is normal for a man to be determined to survive. (MT15, 37, Tourism Singer and Dancer, Muslim, unmarried, Mataram, 18 June 2010)

Here we glimpse the logic of poor communities where violence is not only a choice but the currency of coercion.

Financial Stress Breeds a Hard or Criminal Character

Some interviewees said the character of men changed under financial stress. They became harder and more inclined to use violence, "they are looking for money everywhere so as a result they become hard and violent men" (S12, 21, Factory Worker, unmarried, Muslim, Solo, July 27, 2009). Similarly, "the guys around here

have a hard character” (MT14, 34, Security Guard and Gang Member, Hindu, married, Mataram, June 17, 2010). This is not so much about lower socioeconomic resentment boiling over but violence as a means to an end:

A guy like that is accustomed to behaving that way. The first cause is hard difficulty in his life, such as no money, little education. That forms a hard character early on. So he always feels like he has nothing, and violence is the main way of getting satisfaction. Secondly, he is after material gain through extortion. (J2, 40, Ex-prisoner, married, Muslim, Jakarta, August 12, 2010)

Some suggested extortion is a job for such hard men: “the men have no work and they need money. They extort money with violence” (J5, 25, Bank Clerk, unmarried, Muslim, Jakarta, August 3, 2010). One member of a motorbike gang in Makassar emphasized that men in those gangs must prove their toughness:

The kind of guy that habitually gets involved in violence, well they are usually in a gang and there they form up a tough persona. Even just to get into a group like that they have to be hard men. (MK5, 19, Motorbike Gang Member, unmarried, Muslim, Makassar, June 21, 2010)

In these perceptions it is not just a matter of poor men becoming hard and tough as an instrumental reinvention of self. The underlying logic remains close to the theme of Messerschmidt’s original thesis (1993): violence or criminal behavior may gain marginalized men the material benefits and the status they want.

Compensatory Violence Boosts Masculine Self-Esteem

In agreement with Messerschmidt, Cavender (1999) described how the conduct of violence can provide a compensatory boost to the self-esteem of socioeconomically or ethnically disadvantaged men who feel locked out of rewards that accrue to other men from more privileged or high status backgrounds. Cavender’s claim resonates with some of the sentiments expressed by men in our interviews, for example, “their social status is unemployed. They feel really proud and satisfied when they commit violence” (R5, 26, Teacher, Muslim, single, Pekanbaru, August 6, 2010). As discussed earlier, a man gains honor and respect for being *mampu*. If he cannot achieve *mampu* then at least he can make others terrified of him. A man in Jakarta emphasized how the socioeconomic gap leads to feelings of shame and restriction which need to be redressed:

Those who do not have work have nothing to do and they become very sensitive about that, about the social gap between themselves and others. So in my opinion, if such men carry out violence then they are pushing the boundaries—maintaining their self-esteem. (J4, 45, Public Servant, married, Muslim, Jakarta, August 7, 2010)

An account from Makassar gives quite a detailed description of the difficulties faced by Indonesian men on the margins of the labor market, their possible reactions and compensatory behaviors:

Poverty and lack of work are primary reasons for violence. This causes men to experience disorientation. There is no clearcut activity for them to do so they seek out deviant activities and alternative ways of being and feeling. Any positive life ambitions become misdirected and finally become deviant. I can give you an example of this. I knew a man who was struggling to support himself because he was only a casual building worker. He was just on a contract and from week to week he did not know whether there would be work on any given day. However, on the other hand, he was off socialising with the local lads every other day, hanging about, drinking alcohol every night. (MK9, 32, Political Party Activist, married, Muslim, Makassar, June 23, 2010)

MK9's account implies that men's identity as men comes in great part from the meaningful work they engage in. The labor status of the man in MK9's example is insecure. He rarely works on the same site, with the same workmates. Instead he depends socially for his masculine status on a regular group of similarly marginal men with whom he socializes, drinks, and sometimes gets involved in violence.

Some of the men we interviewed had a history of violence and incarceration. J2 gave an informative account of the cycle of violent reprisals that is characteristic of gang activity:

I was sentenced under Article 170 (Group Violence against a Person or Property). It was the same gang I was involved with. We beat up a member of the security forces. The reason we were forced to attack him was because he treated me so cruelly. Yeah sure he was a member of the security forces, and I had done wrong. Fine. OK. Slap me around a bit. But no. He crept up without warning and kicked me furiously. Slowly, after a few days, I felt I could not put up with it, I mean the arrogance of that policeman! (J2, 40, Ex-prisoner, married, Muslim, Jakarta, August 12, 2010)

As the example shows, Indonesian men who are gang members often fight other men over matters of honor (see Wilson, 2010).

DISCUSSION

We have assembled above a representation of discourses about the relationship between masculinity, material deprivation and violence in Indonesia, using male interviewees' explanations of violence. They readily provided examples and rationalizations that linked men, violence and socio-economic disadvantage, mapping out a "contour" of local male violence in Indonesia at the level of perception and explanation. Although the majority offered causal accounts of explosive violence resulting from pent-up economic frustration and resentment, some offered more nuanced accounts that acknowledged agency and choice. These more nuanced sets of understandings can be summarized as follows: First, men with "nothing to do" —unemployed—easily become emotional and volatile. Second, such men have "nothing to lose" in their desperate financial struggle and resort to a cultural repertoire of violence. Third, such men become "hardened;" masters in the art of violence and coercion. Finally, the conduct of violence boosts the self-esteem of men who have very little, but may lock such men into negative cycles of collective reprisal and attack.

We note that unemployment was mentioned far more often than poverty *per se*, possibly because poverty may include a job and some income. This returns us to the hegemonic ideal of Indonesian masculinity where a man is by definition the breadwinner and thereby the head of the family (Oetomo, 2000). If he has no work then he has no honor. His status position in the eyes of other men is questionable (Kurniawan, 2009).

Discourse produced by the interviewees on the link between masculinity, material deprivation and violence was voluminous enough to suggest this is the major way low-level violence between men is rationalized and understood, even where other sources of conflict—ethnic tensions, religious differences, land disputes—might also be present. This finding echoes the nature of public rhetoric about violence produced by politicians and the media in Indonesia. Such rhetoric plays upon community fears of a future outbreak of mass civil violence. The impression is that due to widespread economic inequality, Indonesia is a “pressure cooker” of violence just waiting to explode.

Yet, despite the strength of informant convictions on the matter, evidence of a simple relationship between socio-economic disadvantage and violence is not definitive. For example, a World Bank-funded study by Cramer (2010) of the link between unemployment and violence in developing countries found that “where it is possible to draw on estimates of unemployment, leaving aside their reliability, there are no obvious patterns linking unemployment and violent conflict.” Moreover, in the case of Indonesia after 1998, unemployment appeared to rise as participation in public violence fell (Cramer, 2010, p. 15). Similarly, a study of the link between horizontal inequality and violence at the district level in Indonesia (Mancini, 2005) found that local unemployment rates of male youth had no significant impact upon the likelihood of violent conflict. Ethnic diversity alone was not significant either. Rather, a number of factors combined to create local conditions for unrest and conflict. Notably, violence was more likely to occur in areas with relatively low levels of economic development and greater religious and/or ethnic polarization. Actions or lack of actions by government security forces are also instrumental. There is much evidence of continuing corrupt police brutality in Indonesia, especially directed at “criminal suspects living in poor and marginalized communities” (Amnesty International, 2009, p. 11). It seems that still, some kinds of violence between men are permitted to flourish while others are condemned and prosecuted (Colombijn, 2005).

To return to the arguments of this paper then, the popularity of the “socio-economic” explanation for male violence elides a whole host of other important contributing factors. It demonstrates the powerful influence of public rhetoric and predominant ways of thinking about violence in Indonesian society. More deeply, our interviewee accounts also imply the significance of honor and respect in matters of male violence. The concept of honor is important for our understanding because, as indicated earlier, honor is linked traditionally to a man’s wealth and what he possesses, either materially or symbolically. In the absence of income then, a man has no honor. We conclude that participant comments suggest men who conduct violence may feel disenfranchised and resentful because they are not gaining the much-vaunted benefits of Indonesia’s rapid economic growth. The struggle of men for respect and honor in their local cultural contexts can take the form of violence, especially in circumstances of unemployment and unequal distribution of income opportunity at the local level. Through violence the poor man may be freed

from the sense of shame and restriction that comes from his low social standing—*tidak mampu* (Kurniawan, 2009). We argue that this affirms Messerschmidt's (1993) thesis, indicating the applicability of that interpretive framework to the phenomenon of masculinity, violence and socio-economic status in Indonesia.

CONCLUSION

This article has used interview data from 86 men in five Indonesian cities to critically examine a frequent causal explanation for everyday social violence between men in Indonesia: low socioeconomic status. The point has not been to argue either way on this. Rather, analysis of explanatory accounts has yielded insight into the ways that ordinary Indonesian men think about violence conducted by men on the margins of the labor market. In that sense we have transcribed one of the “contours of the background” (Žižek, 2008, p. 1) to violence between men in Indonesia. There was ample evidence in the data of the “hydraulic pressure” model of male violence where conflict and brutality are explained by the inexorable pressure built up in men by economic stress.

Yet there are also some deeper understandings of masculinity, socioeconomic status and violence revealed here. It was implied by a number of interviewees that men with very little in the way of material assets or workplace capacities—*tidak mampu*—make strategic use of two important resources they do have: close social relations with male peers in the same structural position, and a cultural repertoire of violence. This understanding is productive because it identifies socioeconomically disadvantaged men not as the victims of determining social structure, but as agents who make strategic choices. As agents, they can then be imagined as people with legitimate needs who might also choose a strategic path away from the conduct of violence were one to be offered.

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“INDENTURING THE BODY”: TRADITIONAL MASCULINE ROLE NORMS, BODY IMAGE DISCREPANCY, AND MUSCULARITY IN A SAMPLE OF SOUTH AFRICAN INDIAN BOYS

This paper investigates the relationship between traditional masculine role norms, body image discrepancy, body appearance schemas, and sociocultural attitudes toward appearance in a sample of 495 South African Indian school going boys aged 13 to 18 years. Constructs were measured using the Masculine Role Norms Inventory, Lynch and Zellner’s Body Figure Drawings (1999), Appearance Schemas Inventory, and the Sociocultural Attitudes towards Appearance Scale-3. Analysis revealed a localized hegemonic masculinity of nonviolence, and a significant association between traditional masculinity norms of status-seeking, heteronormativity, anti-femininity, and restrictive emotionality, with body image discrepancy. Sociocultural attitudes towards appearance favoured athletic muscularity as a body ideal coinciding with heterosexist scripts, perceptions of mesomorph physiques in Bollywood cinema, and steroid use.

Keywords: indentured masculinity; body image discrepancy; traditional masculine role norms; South African Indians; steroids

R.W. Connell states that “masculine gender is (among other things) a certain feel to the skin, certain muscular shapes and tensions, certain postures and ways of moving, certain possibilities in sex” (1995, pp. 52-53). Framing the interplay of masculinities within and between gendered structures, institutions, groups, and bodies, Connell’s theory of *hegemonic masculinities* (1987, 1994, 1995, 2000, 2001a, 2001b, 2002) has become a key referent for scholars in South African masculinities, including research on HIV/AIDS (Mfecane, 2008), (hetero)sexuality (Govender, 2010; Mankayi, 2008), politics (Walker, 2005; Oxlund, 2008), violence (Messerschmidt,

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2000; Morrell, 2001a, 2001b), parenting (Adams & Govender, 2008), and schoolboy masculinities (Govender, 2006; Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007). However, unlike previous studies which have focused on South African masculinities in general (Morrell, 1998, 2001a, 2007) or on "Black"¹ (Hemson, 2001; Xaba, 2001), "White" (Chadwick & Foster, 2007; Reardon & Govender, 2011), and "Coloured" (Cooper, 2009; Field, 2001) masculinities, this paper seeks to address an apparent gap in research on South African Indian² masculinities.

Male body image research has found psychoemotional sequelae (Bartsch, 2007; Bohne et al., 2002; Cafri, van der Berg, & Thompson, 2006; Margolies, 1999; Oosthuizen, Lambert, & Castle, 1998) and risky behavioural repertoires (Cafri et al., 2006; McCreary & Sasse, 2000; Pope, Phillips, & Olivardia, 2000) associated with boys' pursuit of culturally idolized and muscularly perverse body images. The male body ideal considered in this study is epitomized by a lean, muscular body which is by connotation physically strong, "healthy," and dominant (Klein, 1993; Robertson, 2003). This paper examines the relationship between traditional masculine role norms, the self-reported subjective and normative evaluations of South African Indian boys' bodies, and appearance schemas in light of sociocultural attitudes towards appearance, with the specific aim of identifying body image discrepancy in relation to the favoured form of muscularity amongst Indian school boys.

Importantly, there is a need to investigate how male muscularity, as an engendered and engendering tool, is positioned in the context of multiple and contradictory global and local discourses concerning body appearance (Pope et al., 2000), body (com)modification (Giddens, 1991), socioeconomic transformations in gender relations (Walker, 2005), and the metrosexual "new man" discourse (Adams & Govender, 2008). We find Klesse's (2000) assertion about non-western male morphology being "circumscribed by the complex articulations of gender, ethnicity, ability and class, not to forget location/space" (p. 20) to be relevant. In the context of South Africa's racialised masculinities, Indians³ constitute both a minority and historically marginalized demographic. This paper, therefore, brings into focus the portrayal of the male body as muscular, fit, and physically tough, in Bollywood cinema (Ciecko, 2001; Kavi, 2000); and as a means of ingratiating an embodied gender politics in some Indian boys' sociocultural attitudes towards their muscularity.

HEGEMONIC MASCULINITIES AND TRADITIONAL MASCULINE ROLE NORMS

Connell postulates that masculinities operate as a set of contestable politico-structural relations that entail restraints and possibilities in gendered space (1987, 1995, 2000a, 2001a, 2001b, 2002). Hegemonic masculinities are the accepted masculinities positioned as dominant in a particular pattern of gender relations (Donaldson, 1993), prevailing as the "masculinity of choice" for putative men. Simultaneously,

¹ The authors' read "race" as a social construction reflecting the manner in which such labels are integrally negotiated in constructing daily life in colonial, apartheid, and post-apartheid South Africa.

² "Indian" denotes the current South African Department of Home Affairs categorization of this "race" group.

³ South African Indians collectively constitute one of the largest diaspora outside of the Indian subcontinent; but still only approximate roughly 2% of the South African national population (Statistics South Africa, 2001).

other masculinities such as queer and disadvantaged masculinities (and femininities), are marginalized (Connell, 1995).

Traditional masculine role norms such as potent (hetero)sexuality, anti-femininity, physical toughness, emotional stoicism, risk-taking, and self-sufficiency (Nobis & Sanden, 2008; Wall & Kristjanson, 2005) often underlie localized hegemonic masculinities (Pleck, 1981, 1995). Connell argues that the embodiment and enactment of "body-reflexive practices" (1995, p. 59) form the basis on which men's bodies are corralled as either hegemonically masculine or lacking, wherein is perpetuated a social reality demarcated by gendered hierarchies. Displays of strength, potency, and vigour by the male body in labour, sex, and sport are essential in cultivating personal and social embodiments of traditional masculinities (Messerschmidt, 2000; Phillips, 2006). Research has shown links between corporeal deployments of traditional masculinity in competitive sport (Robertson, 2003; Swain, 2000, 2003), as well as the hegemonising and marginalizing effect sport has on schoolboy masculinities (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007). Furthermore, Kehily (2001), Ratele et al., (2007), and Govender (2010) have highlighted an "active (hetero-)masculinity" rhetoric in boys' narratives about manhood that invokes standards of hegemonic masculinity.

Langa (2008), however, has shown that "alternative young masculinities" amongst boys can also be constructed through academic pursuits. The option of intellectualism as a means of developing an alternative, academically-oriented and non-traditional masculinity is relevant to this paper given the South African stereotype that Indian schoolboys are merit-focused and academically inclined. Caution should be exercised in this regard so as not to re-inscribe other discourses which sustain patriarchal renderings of men's embodiment, such as exaltations of disembodied rationality.

BODY IMAGE DISCREPANCY, BODY APPEARANCE SCHEMAS AND SOCIOCULTURAL TRENDS IN MUSCULARITY

Particularly during adolescence boys internalize, invest, and compare their bodies with the bodies of other males (Crossley, 2001; Grieve, 2007; Higgins, 1987; McCreary & Sasse, 2000); intimately intertwining their body images with contextually dependent constructions of "the self," in the form of *self-schemas* (Cafri et al., 2006; Cash & Labarge, 1996; Myers & Biocca, 1992). Research identifies popular culture media as key referents for young males as they broadcast the dominant "truths" that developing boys use to satiate their desires for belonging (Grieve, 2007; Jenkins, 2005; Luciano, 2001; Pope et al., 2000; Thompson et al., 2004), creating an environment for social comparison (Grieve, 2007). In this context *body image discrepancy* represents "a distress about the physical incongruence between the real body and ideal body, but also a discomfort with the personal and social connotations attached to that incongruence" (Martin & Govender, 2011, p. 4).

For Pope et al., (2000) the conditions of late modernity, western globalization, and growing commodification of the body acted as the essential trends to propel the muscular body as a masculine ideal in western cultural life. This is echoed in studies which have found muscle becoming a more salient point of negotiation in men's embodiments (Bottamini & Ste-Marie, 2006; Lynch & Zellner, 1999; Robertson, 2003; Soulliere, 2006; Spector-Mersel, 2006). This is not unexpected considering Gilman's (1999) suggestion that body modification is often motivated by a desire to be accommodated within culturally prevailing body ideals. Olivardia

(2001) suggests that "achieving a body ideal that is well chiseled and very muscular can be a powerful symbolic expression of one's manhood" (p. 256).

Empirical literature on male body image and risk can for the most part be split into two categories. First, there are psychoemotional disturbances associated with negative perceptions or evaluations of body image (Bartsch, 2007; Bohne et al., 2002; Cafri et al., 2006; Grieve, 2007; Martin & Govender, 2011; Margolies, 1999; Oosthuizen et al., 1998; Sobanski & Schmidt, 2000), and dysmorphic distress (Jorgensen, Castle, Roberts, & Groth-Marnat, 2001). In Grieve's (2007) proposed model of *muscle dysmorphia*, lower levels of self-esteem are associated with severer body dissatisfaction and a poorer quality of mood, which tend to become most pronounced when males are exposed to muscular bodies.

Second, there are behavioural risks for boys trying to attain a perceived body ideal, including harmful weightlifting and resistance training habits (McCreary & Sasse, 2000), excessive dieting (Grieve, 2007), and the use of ergogenic substances (Cafri et al., 2006). The use of ergogenic-anabolic steroids has become more prolific among South African boys competing in school sport (Martin & Govender, 2011; Patricios, 2010).

SOUTH AFRICAN MASCULINITIES

South African studies have outlined a definitive racialisation of local masculinities (Morrell, 1998, 2001a, 2001b, 2007; Xaba, 2001), particularly evident in the social milieu of schoolboys (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007; Govender, 2006, 2010). Robert Morrell stresses that "the divided history of South Africa has left the region with a highly complex mix of gender regimes and identities" (1998, p. 630). Morrell (2001a) formulates a basic typology of post-1994 South African masculinities as reactive and defensive, accommodating, or responsive and progressive. Walker (2005), however, describes the state of contemporary South African masculinities as "in crisis:" troubled by the raping of lesbians in townships, gender violence, and adolescent risk behaviours. The suggestion that South African masculinities are "in crisis" as a result of women's empowerment or autonomy from men seems somewhat disingenuous, particularly in light of research findings indicating that long-held dichotomous views of gender (Chadwick & Foster, 2007), heterosexism (Kehily, 2001), and notions of male dominance (Schacht, 2001) are still entrenched among men.

South African Indian Masculinity, Indentured Masculinity, and Bollywood

Indians first arrived in South Africa as part of the British system of indenture in 1860 (Desai & Vahed, 2010). Vahed (2005) has commented that South African Indians' "'inbetweenness' as 'not White' and 'not Black' and their strong connections with the cultures of the Indian subcontinent" (p. 239) fostered a peculiar *indentured masculinity*. From the 1950s apartheid formalized an ideological and structural race-based hierarchy which created inter-intra-racial classifications which saw Indians granted "greater statuses" than "Black" Africans in the racial pecking order of the South African life.

Post-1994 Indians are perceived to have been far more economically mobile than the "Black" majority. The popular stereotype of the contemporary South African Indian is of a merit-focused individual. Research has suggested that Indian school

boy masculinities are often “othered” by boys from “Black” and “White” race groups as *masculinely inept* (Govender, 2006) or displaced from hegemonic masculinity (Blackbeard & Lindegger, 2007). This paper attempts to understand how masculine values, such as dominance, manifest in a minority population group with the historical legacies of indenture, colonialism, and apartheid, as well as having an antagonistic relationship with both “Black” and “White” South Africans: respective masters of the new and old South Africa.

The focus of the present study, South African Indians have carved a significant place in the realm of social and entertainment media primarily catering to the Indian community. The Bollywood film industry is a bustling enterprise in KwaZulu-Natal which forms an integral part of local social discourse and media. The term Bollywood refers to the Hindi-language film industry which is a component of the larger Indian cinema business. In South Africa the term is colloquially appropriated as a collective reference for Indian cinema.

Lorenzen (2009) attributes part of Bollywood’s prolific success to young deity-like celebrities followed by the Indian diasporas, as well as the formulaic combination of (heterosexual) romance, action, comedy, and dance—all packaged within dominant, culturally conservative values (Banaji, 2006). The gendered representational politics of Bollywood film plots often veil themes of women’s re-domestication (Banaji, 2006; Dudrah, 2006), misogyny (Kavi, 2000), and heterosexism (Gopinath, 2000). Research also shows normative concepts of masculinity amongst young Indian men that reflect ideals of heterosexual virility, physical strength, and the absence of femininity (Verma et al., 2006).

AIMS

The primary aim of this study was to investigate masculine role norms and their relation to body image discrepancy in a sample of South African Indian school-going boys. Two ancillary aims entailed an examination of the correlation between traditional masculine role norms and body appearance schemas, and the relationship between sociocultural attitudes towards appearance and body image discrepancy.

METHOD

Participants and Sampling

A purposive sample was constituted of 495 Indian school boys (grades 8 through 12) from a state-funded secondary school in the Phoenix community of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. This school was selected as it is centrally located in Phoenix, one of the historically marginalized Indian communities from South Africa’s colonial and apartheid past, serving working-to-lower-middle-class families. Importantly this environment serves as a site in which boys can compare their bodies as well as negotiate traditional male role norms identified as prominent among boys in working class locales (Govender, 2006, 2010; Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2002). The boys who participated were between the ages of 13 to 19 years old. This cohort covers the transformational years in which boys undergo a number of morphological and psychosocial transitions in which they are required to negotiate and reconcile values and behaviours associated with traditional masculinity (Frosh et al., 2002).

Measures

Body image discrepancy. A measure for body image discrepancy in boys has been adapted for the purpose of this study. Male figure drawings adapted from Lynch and Zellner (1999, in Bottamini & Ste-Marie, 2006; see Figure 1); questions were adjusted from a study by Pope et al. (2000), intended to gauge boys' subjective perceptions and normative expectations regarding body image, and perceptions of male muscularity portrayed in Bollywood films. This was followed by a revised, non-exhaustive list of techniques and strategies from Claiborn and Pedrick (2002) and Agliata (2005) that boys use to alter their muscular appearance. Items include, among others: dieting strategies, and body modification techniques. Participants were asked to rate their likelihood of use of said strategies on a 5-point response scale from *not at all likely* (1) to *already did it/ doing it currently* (5). Participants were also asked to rate their degree of satisfaction for three body areas (chest, arms, and legs) on a 5-point response scale from *never* (1) to *always* (5).

Traditional masculine role norms. The Masculine Role Norms Inventory (MRNI) assesses the "beliefs about the importance of men adhering to culturally defined standards of male behaviour" (Pleck, cited in Levant & Fisher, 1998, p. 1; Levant et al., 1992). The MRNI is a 57-item scale divided into eight subscales. Seven subscales which can be averaged into a "total traditional scale" are: avoidance of femininity, rejection of homosexuality, self-reliance, aggression, achievement/status, attitudes towards sex, and restrictive emotionality. An eighth subscale assesses non-traditional attitudes towards masculinity. Participants rate their responses to randomly sequenced normative statements on a 7-point scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (7), with 4 being neutral (*neither agree nor disagree*). The MRNI, unlike shorter measures of masculinity, offers a multidimensional and comprehensive take on traditional masculinity and therefore has the potential to reflect differential compositions of traditional masculinity depending on the prevailing context. For the present study the following Cronbach alphas were evidenced: avoidance of femininity (0.73), rejection of homosexuality (0.50), self-reliance (0.68), aggression (0.63), achievement/status (0.63), attitudes towards sex (0.79), restrictive emotionality (0.88), total traditional scale (0.93), non-traditional attitudes (0.97).

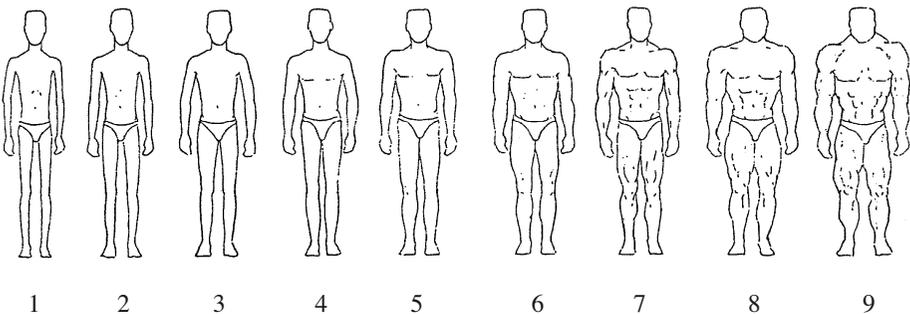


Figure 1. Male body image drawings. Adapted from Lynch and Zellner (1999, p. 836). Originally drawn and copyright by Barbara Alexander.

Appearance schemas. The Appearance Schemas Inventory (ASI) was developed to evaluate participants' "core beliefs or assumptions about the importance, meaning, and effects of appearance in one's life" (Cash & Labarge, 1996, p. 37). The ASI is a 14-item scale divided into three subscales: body image vulnerability, self-investment, and appearance stereotyping. Participants rate their responses to personal opinion statements on a 5-point scale from *strongly disagree* (1) to *strongly agree* (5). The Cronbach alpha reliabilities for the present study were situated as follows: self-investment factor (0.75); body image vulnerability (0.91); appearance stereotyping (0.81); total scale (0.89).

Sociocultural attitudes towards appearance. The Sociocultural Attitudes towards Appearance Scale-3 (SATAQ-3; Thompson et al., 2004) measures aspects of societal influence on body image. The SATAQ-3 is a 30-item scale divided into two factors regarding the internalization and function of appearance figures portrayed in popular media. The appearance internalization subscales are: the "generic media influence," related to television, magazines, and movies; and "internalization of athletic and sport figures." These factors are complemented with another two subscales for media function, namely, media pressure and the role of media as a referent for appearance. Participants rate their responses on a 5-point scale from *definitely disagree* (1) to *definitely agree* (5). The present study found acceptable Cronbach alphas: media as a referent (0.96); media pressure (0.68); internalization-athlete (0.79); internalization-general (0.67); total subscale (0.82).

Biographical questionnaire. To supplement the psychometric measures a 14-item biographical questionnaire was constructed. Three questions pertained to biographical information about the participant; one question inquired about competitive sport participation; and one question asked about the role of muscularity in sense of self-worth. Three questions were oriented around subjective anxiety over body image appearance. A further four questions requested information about altering muscularity, followed by two questions on disclosure tendencies about steroid use and perceptions of pressure from Bollywood films on males to look muscular.

Data Collection and Analysis

Data were collected during the 50-minute Life Orientation lesson for each particular class. Participants received standardized instructions regarding the completion of the survey. They responded to the questionnaires in an anonymous capacity. Upon completion the answer booklets were collected in sealed envelopes. Data were collected over the course of a week, so as to account for possible student absenteeism.

The statistical programme SPSS (version 15) was used to analyse the data. Descriptive statistics (frequencies, percentages, means, and standard deviations) were used to analyse biographical data and some data from the psychometric measures. Pearson's correlation coefficient (r) was run to test the linear association between masculine role norms, body image discrepancy, appearance schemas, and sociocultural attitudes towards appearance. Correlations were also employed between biographical items and the psychometric measures; as well as selected subscales on the psychometric measures. Multiple regression analyses were used to estab-

lish which biographical items and psychometric measures/subscales acted as the best predictors for body image discrepancy, body appearance schemas, and socio-cultural attitudes towards appearance. One-way analysis of variance (ANOVA) was run using grade as an independent variable, and body image discrepancy and traditional masculinity (the MRNI total traditional scale) as dependent variables, respectively. Scheffé's test was subsequently used as a relatively conservative multiple comparison procedure to locate the differences between the means of significant ANOVAs. Chi-square tests of independence tested the association between the nominal variables of steroid use with discloser tendencies, participation in sport, perceived pressure from Bollywood films, muscularity as equivalent to self-worth, and grade.

Ethical Considerations

Informed consent forms and information letters were supplied to the participants and their parents/guardians to communicate the purpose of the research, its voluntary nature, and participants' right to withdraw at any time during the study. Participation in the study was dependent on joint consent from participants and their parent/guardian. Participant anonymity and confidentiality were ensured by means of numerically coded and nameless response booklets. Upon completion of the study findings were made available to the sampled school.

RESULTS

Sample Profile on Biographical Items

Descriptive analysis revealed the following age profile for the sample: 15 years or younger (43.3%); 16 years (24.4%); 17 years (20.5%); and 18 years or older (11.8%). The breakdown per grade: grade 8 (18.7%); grade 9 (27.1%); grade 10 (21.5%); grade 11 (16.2%); and grade 12 (16.6%). From this, 80% (408 boys) indicated they engaged in competitive sport while 20% (87 boys) did not pursue competitive sport; of those boys that competed 66% played soccer while 34% practiced a combination of soccer, cricket, and athletics.

The majority (79.3%) of boys in the sample believed that having a larger musculature was associated with enhanced self-worth; 64.2% were sometimes distressed about their concerns over their muscle appearance; 61.2% sometimes avoided having all or part of their body seen by others; 60.8% of boys spent 30-60 minutes per day worrying about muscle tone and appearance. A significant portion of the sample indicated that they take care of their physical appearance (95%). Yet given the economic limitations of the participants sampled only 42% of boys held a gym membership. However the amount of time spent each day on physical activities oriented towards improving body image appearance, with 59.7% of boys expending 1-2 hours, and 32.5% spending less than an hour. See Table 1 for the boys' responses to the use of steroids and supplements taken to gain muscle mass, lose weight, or improve appearance.

In regard to those participants who use steroids and supplements 18.7% indicated their parents did not know of the use, whereas 11.6% of boys had disclosed their supplement and steroid use to their parents. Lastly, when the sampled boys were asked about whether they believed that Bollywood films put pressure on

Table 1

Descriptive Statistics for Steroid and Muscle-Supplement Use (N = 495)

	Current research study (N = 495)		Martin & Govender (2011) (N = 508)	
	%	n	%	n
Never used	69.6	340 boys	37.7	188 boys
Only legal steroids and supplements	25	121	48	244
Only illegal steroids and supplements	3.4	15	2.8	14
Both legal and illegal steroids and supplements	2.1	11	12.2	62

males to look more muscular, the far majority (82.7%) responded in the affirmative.

Body Image Discrepancy, Muscularity, and Body Area Dissatisfaction

The results in Table 2 indicate the majority of the sample selected a toned physique with medium musculature (Figure 6 = 57.5%) to represent their present body physique ($M = 6.041$; $SD = 1.200$). A significant proportion of the sample indicated that their desired body would likely be the body type represented by Figure 8 (31.5%; $M = 7.729$; $SD = 1.218$). Calculating the average difference between body ideal and body reality reveals a measure of body image discrepancy ($M = 1.688$; $SD = 1.475$). In total, 86.6% of the boys desire a body type that is larger from their current body. Furthermore, the sample identified the average boy's body as represented by Figure 5 (44.6%; $M = 5.037$; $SD = 1.273$). Table 2 also identifies Figure 9 (29.3%; $M = 7.456$; $SD = 1.669$) as the body perceived by the sample of boys to be most desired by the opposite sex. A significant proportion of the sample indicated that the male body most commonly portrayed in Bollywood films was similar to Figure 8 (47.0%). The mean value for this "Bollywood body" is 7.477 ($SD = 1.349$). Table 2 indicates a mean difference of 1.436 ($SD = 1.839$) for Bollywood body image discrepancy. In total, 86.4% of the boys perceive male bodies in Bollywood films as larger than their current body. The selection pattern of body figures by this sample of boys indicates general tendencies to: 1) perceive their own bodies with a higher degree of muscle definition compared to the average boy's (normative) body; 2) desire a body ideal that has greater muscularity than their own body; and 3) perceive the body believed to be most desired by the opposite sex as similar in muscularity to the "Bollywood body" and the body ideal. It also appears that a difference of "one and a half body figures" is the discrepancy between boys' perceptions of their bodies compared to their ideal body, as well as their own body compared to the "Bollywood body."

A one-way ANOVA was conducted to determine the variability in body image discrepancy across grade. Results revealed a significant F value ($F(4, 491) = 4.092$; $p < 0.05$). Post-hoc analysis revealed a greater degree of body image discrepancy in junior scholastic grades compared to senior grades: 8 ($M = 2.120$), 9 ($M = 1.689$), 11 ($M = 1.781$), 12 ($M = 1.561$), and 10 ($M = 1.339$).

Noteworthy responses to the muscle enhancing strategies questionnaire included a high number of boys dieting (82.6%) yet a small number of boys who indicated

Table 2
Descriptive Statistics for Body Image Discrepancy (N = 495)

		Figure								
		1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9
Body Reality										
Percent		0.9	0.6	2.6	3.7	9.5	57.5	17.9	3.9	3.4
Mean	6.041									
SD	1.200									
Body Ideal										
Percent		0.4	0.4	0.2	1.5	1.7	5.2	29.5	31.5	29.7
Mean	7.729									
SD	1.218									
Body Image										
Discrepancy		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Percent		7.5	29.1	34.5	16.6	3.7	1.1	0.6	0.4	0.6
Mean	1.688									
SD	1.475									
Normative Body										
Percent		2.1	1.5	4.9	17.0	44.6	21.3	5.2	2.8	0.7
Mean	5.037									
SD	1.273									
Body Desired By										
Opposite Sex										
Percent		2.1	1.1	0.9	1.5	4.5	5.8	26.9	28.0	29.3
Mean	7.457									
SD	1.669									
Bollywood Body										
Percent		0.7	0.7	0.7	1.5	4.5	6.0	23.1	47.0	15.7
Mean	7.477									
SD	1.349									
Bollywood Body										
Image Discrepancy		0	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8
Percent		9.7	20.1	33.2	15.1	4.9	2.2	0.6	0.6	0.0
Mean	1.436									
SD	1.839									

well-balanced meals (21%); use of nutritional supplements to either gain muscle mass (25%) or lose fat (43%); shaving parts of the body to enhance muscular appearance (42%); use of herbal remedies (26%); consulting a traditional healer (5.7%); and prayer (93%). Playing sport (82.3%) followed by cardiovascular training (52%) and resistance training (40%) were also means to enhancing muscularity.

Chi-square tests of independence tested the association between the use of steroids and the other variables. The disclosure pattern to parents indicated that out of the boys who had used legal supplements 53% of them did not disclose to their parents. Participants involved in competitive sport also registered higher incidences of steroid use (19%) compared to boys who did not compete in sport (2%). For the participants who endorsed the attitude that Bollywood films put pressure on males to pursue muscularity the use of supplements (21.1%) was higher than steroids (3.9%). Similarly for the boys in the sample who endorsed the belief that an enhanced musculature connoted a better sense of self-worth the use of supplements (26.4%) was higher than the use of steroids (4.9%). The highest occurrence of sup-

plement and steroid use was in grade 12 (31.6% and 5.5%, respectively). Furthermore the sampled boys were most dissatisfied with their chest or pectorals ($M = 4.198$; $SD = 0.921$), followed by the arms or biceps and triceps ($M = 3.343$; $SD = 1.654$). Participants were least dissatisfied with the legs ($M = 1.232$; $SD = 1.323$).

Masculine Role Norms, Appearance Schemas and Sociocultural Attitudes To Appearance

The results for participants' responses to the MRNI showed a total traditional masculine attitudes mean score of 4.263 ($SD = 0.642$). This can be juxtaposed to the non-traditional masculine attitude subscale mean score of 3.878 ($SD = 2.188$) indicating a greater propensity for traditional masculine ideology than non-traditional beliefs in this sample of Indian school boys. The mean and standard deviation scores for each of the subscales are presented in Table 3. Comparing this to Schoeman's (2009) research study of multi-racial, South African high school boys, the boys sampled in this study demonstrated significantly higher traditional masculine norms, and a lower incidence of non-traditional attitudes.

A one-way ANOVA was run between grade (independent variable) and traditional male attitudes (dependent variable). The ANOVA for traditional masculine attitudes by grade highlighted a highly significant effect ($F(4, 491) = 7.709$; $p < 0.001$). Post-hoc analysis identified significant differences between all grades in terms of conformity to traditional male role norms, with grade 12 boys sampled scoring the highest degree of conformity ($M = 4.455$), followed by grade 11 ($M = 4.409$), grade 9 ($M = 4.290$), grade 10 ($M = 4.184$), and grade 8 ($M = 4.015$) participants, consecutively.

In regard to cognitive appearance schemas for the participants in this study the mean value for the ASI was 3.738 ($SD = 0.839$) which suggests this sample of boys is moderately cognitively schematic for appearance (Cash & Labarge, 1996). Specif-

Table 3
Descriptive Statistics for Masculine Role Norms

	Current research study ($N = 495$)		Schoeman (2009) ($N = 148$)	
	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>	<i>M</i>	<i>SD</i>
Total traditional attitudes scale	4.263	0.642	3.53	0.56
Avoidance of femininity subscale	5.176	1.182	4.46	1.15
Rejection of homosexuality subscale	5.905	0.988	4.48	1.15
Self-reliance subscale	5.622	0.857	5.13	0.71
Aggression subscale	4.229	0.999	5.34	0.83
Achievement/Status subscale	6.080	0.764	4.16	0.91
Attitudes towards sex subscale	5.216	1.092	3.87	0.91
Restrictive emotionality subscale	4.619	1.394	3.78	0.89
Nontraditional attitudes subscale	3.878	2.188	3.89	0.67

Note: Mean maximum value = 7; minimum value = 1

ically, higher tendencies towards self-investment ($M = 4.355$; $SD = 0.939$) and appearance stereotyping ($M = 4.216$; $SD = 1.249$) suggest that participants are inclined to think of their physical appearance as a defining element of their self-concept, and likely to use stereotypes of social attractiveness to evaluate appearance. However a moderate body image vulnerability subscale ($M = 3.759$; $SD = 1.116$) suggests participants' tendency to evaluate their appearance as socially unacceptable is normative.

The SATAQ-3 identified a moderate degree of investment to sociocultural attitudes towards appearance within the sample ($M = 3.261$; $SD = 0.533$). Scores on the SATAQ-3 subscales: perceived media pressure regarding appearance ($M = 4.206$; $SD = 0.811$); internalization of the athletic ideal ($M = 3.316$; $SD = 0.944$); media identified as a referent for appearance ($M = 3.217$; $SD = 0.489$); internalization of a generic body ideal ($M = 3.082$; $SD = 0.698$).

Correlations Between Select Biographical Items, Body Image Discrepancy, Masculine Role Norms, Appearance Schemas, and Sociocultural Attitudes towards Appearance

According to Table 4, total traditional masculine attitudes ($r = 0.425$, $p < 0.01$), avoidance of femininity subscale ($r = 0.392$, $p < 0.001$), rejection of homosexuality ($r = 0.339$, $p < 0.001$), and desire for achievement ($r = 0.288$, $p < 0.01$) demonstrated the strongest relationships with body image discrepancy. Further, highly significant correlations were found between total traditional attitudes and body ideal ($p < 0.001$); between restrictive emotionality and body image discrepancy ($p < 0.001$); furthermore between the belief that Bollywood films put pressure on males to pursue muscularity and body image discrepancy ($p < 0.001$).

A Multiple Regression Model for Body Image Discrepancy

A standard multiple regression analysis was employed to identify the variables that most significantly predict body image discrepancy. The regression model was significant ($F(17, 495) = 16.281$; $p < 0.01$), and accounted for 54% of the variability in the pursuit of increased musculature ($R^2 = 0.543$). Therefore this regression model has a moderate predictive capability in accounting for the total variance in the body image discrepancy experienced by this sample of boys. Not surprisingly, restrictive emotionality ($p < 0.001$), the amount of time spent on physical activities ($p < 0.001$), and traditional masculine role norm of achievement and status ($p < 0.01$) contributed significantly to the model.

DISCUSSION

Traditional Masculinity, Body Image Discrepancy, and Dissatisfaction with Muscularity

Govender (2006) asserted that "central to the construction of gendered and racialised subjectivities is the body, as vehicle for the inscription of masculinity and femininity" (p. 55). This was evidenced in significant positive correlations of homophobia ($r = 0.339$, $p < 0.001$), anti-femininity ($r = 0.392$, $p < 0.001$), and traditional sex roles ($r = 0.217$, $p < 0.01$) with body image discrepancy. Correspondingly, anti-

Table 4
Correlations Between Select Biographical Items, Body Image Discrepancy, and Masculine Role Norms (N = 495)

	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10	11	12	13	14	15	16	17	18	19	20	21	
1	-																					
2	0.323	-																				
3	0.000	0.326*	-																			
4	0.005	0.186	0.228	-																		
5	0.132	0.221	0.245	0.317*	-																	
6	0.234	0.065	0.223	0.299*	0.394	-																
7	0.000	0.000	-0.017	-0.160	-0.013	0.046	-															
8	0.121	0.282*	0.201	0.218*	0.241*	0.194**	-0.113**	-														
9	0.242*	0.271*	0.222**	0.191**	0.224**	0.103***	-0.090**	0.328***	-													
10	0.145	0.118**	0.275**	0.252*	0.095*	0.118*	-0.118	0.130*	0.134**	-												
11	0.029	0.181*	0.198**	0.282**	0.107*	0.061	-0.123	0.222***	0.250***	0.199**	-											
12	0.000	0.291*	0.243*	0.129	0.291**	0.090	-0.113	0.261**	0.102*	0.094*	0.152***	-										
13	0.139*	0.279**	0.252**	0.188*	0.221*	0.207**	-0.152*	0.312**	0.425**	0.235***	0.287*	0.210*	-									
14	0.243**	0.222*	-0.139	0.222**	0.281*	0.211*	-0.168**	0.201*	0.392***	0.175*	0.269*	0.214**	0.821**	-								
15	0.425**	0.173*	-0.111	-0.041	-0.031	0.057	-0.220**	0.111**	0.339***	0.191*	0.039	.095*	0.462**	0.777**	-							
16	0.097	0.167	-0.112	-0.121**	-0.084	0.107*	-0.010	0.259**	0.089*	0.105	0.088	0.039	0.523**	0.421**	0.534**	-						
17	0.125**	0.266**	0.000	-0.159**	-0.034	0.191**	-0.047	0.298**	0.131*	0.141*	0.075	0.038	0.865**	0.489**	0.543**	0.821**	-					
18	0.189*	0.172**	-0.004	-0.113**	0.124**	0.073	0.171	0.037	0.288**	0.116*	0.089	0.025	0.743**	0.637**	0.464**	0.572**	0.410**	-				
19	0.0232*	0.198*	-0.078	-0.174**	-0.034	0.211**	-0.037	0.192*	0.217**	0.017	0.052	0.610**	0.576**	0.465**	0.382**	0.577**	0.528**	0.382**	-			
20	0.098	0.235	0.247*	-0.119**	-0.082	0.188**	-0.286**	0.443**	0.205***	0.105*	0.031	0.046	0.428**	0.816**	0.466**	0.509**	0.715**	0.681**	0.551**	-		
21	-0.258	0.343***	0.067	0.049	0.036	-0.027	0.256**	0.376**	0.211*	0.011	0.053	0.105*	0.106*	0.064	-0.264**	0.014	0.124**	-0.264**	0.095*	0.392**	-	

Note: 1 = participation in competitive sport; 2 = having big muscles makes guys feel good about themselves; 3 = time spent each day worrying about your muscle tone and appearance; 4 = takes care of physical appearance; 5 = gym membership; 6 = time spent each day on physical activities to improve body appearance; 7 = disclosure of steroid and supplement use to parents; 8 = Bollywood films put pressure on males pursue muscularity; 9 = body image discrepancy; 10 = body ideal; 11 = body perceived to be most desired by the opposite sex; 12 = body most commonly portrayed in Bollywood films; 13 = total traditional masculinity; 14 = avoidance of femininity; 15 = rejection of homosexuality; 16 = self-reliance; 17 = aggression; 18 = achievement/status; 19 = attitudes towards sex; 20 = restrictive emotional; 21 = nontraditional masculine attitudes.

* $p < .05$ (two-tailed), ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed), *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed).

Table 5
Multiple Regression Analysis With Body Image Discrepancy as the Criterion Variable (N = 495)

Model	Standardized Beta Coefficients	<i>t</i>
MASCULINE ROLE NORMS		
<i>Traditional Role Norms</i>		
Avoidance of femininity	0.240	1.696**
Rejection of homosexuality	0.240	0.729*
Aggression	0.056	0.821*
Achievement/Status	0.480	1.637**
Attitudes towards sex	0.134	1.784**
Restrictive emotionality	0.242	3.174***
<i>Nontraditional Attitudes</i>		
<i>Appearance Schemas</i>		
Self-investment	0.097	1.684*
Appearance stereotyping	0.115	1.283*
<i>Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance</i>		
Media as a source of pressure	0.087	1.611*
Internalization-athlete	0.108	1.851*
SELECTIVE ITEMS FROM BIOGRAPHICAL QUESTIONNAIRE		
"Sport"	0.115	1.284*
"Muscles"	0.055	1.195*
"Time worrying"	0.093	1.870*
"Distressed"	0.008	0.170*
"Avoidance"	0.107	2.398***
"Time physical"	0.373	2.587***
"Bollywood pressure"	0.097	1.947*

* $p < .05$ (two-tailed), ** $p < .01$ (two-tailed), *** $p < .001$ (two-tailed).

femininity and rejection of homosexuality were significant predictors of body image discrepancy in regression analysis (see Table 5). Homonegativity had a significant positive correlation with the endorsement that muscularity constitutes masculine self-worth ($r = 0.173$, $p < 0.05$). These findings are unsurprising considering R.W. Connell's (2000) argument that hegemonic masculinity is "emphatically heterosexual" (p. 102). In this regard Connell (2000) suggests that traditional masculinity primes a boy's recognition of his masculine inadequacy which activates aspiration to embody hegemonic forms of masculinity. This process, which is intimately bound to boys' perceptions of successful heterosexuality, is illustrated in the significant positive correlation between the body perceived to be most desired by the opposite sex and the endorsement of traditional masculinity ($r = 0.287$, $p < 0.05$).

Interestingly, significantly elevated mean values for the rejection of homosexuality (5.905), avoidance of femininity (5.176), and "non-relational" (that is, promiscuous) attitudes towards sex (5.216) among this sample of Indian school boys were evidenced. In the context of South African "race" relations, these features of Indian

masculinity from this sample of boys are at odds “White” colonial portrayals of Indian masculine inadequacy (Vahed, 2005). In the same vein they contradict current stereotypes held by “Black” South African school boys, who view their Indian counterparts as “inadequately heterosexual, with childlike and effeminate qualities” (Govender, 2006, p. 39).

The fashioning of local hegemonic masculinities by Indian males demonstrates how “cultural systems bear particular social interests, and grow out of historically specific ways of life” (Connell, 2002, p. 65). This potentially explains this sample’s endorsement of achievement and status-seeking ($M = 6.080$). In contrast, the achievement subscale generated only a slightly elevated mean (4.16) in Schoeman’s (2009) application of the MRNI in a suburban middle class school. The achievement subscale was also found to be the most potent predictor of body image discrepancy in Indian school boys ($\text{Beta} = 0.480, p < 0.01$). This suggests the Indian boys sampled possibly experience aggravated tensions of class division given the community’s historical marginalization and contemporary emphasis on educational merit and upward social mobility—mirroring Indian diasporas residing in the U.S.A. and U.K. (Khadria, 2007).

It also suggests the male physique is a site at which the social processes of traditional masculinity are contested. This is not unexpected in the milieu of a globalizing and body-fragmenting, *corporeal capitalism* in which “there is an increasing number of [body] areas ‘requiring attention’ [that] is directly linked to the creation of new markets” (Holloway, Byrne, & Titlestad, 2001, p. 134). The sampled boys identified their chest as the body area that they believed was not muscular enough. This is in line with research in which the muscularity of the chest or upper body has been highlighted as a great concern (Beale, 2007; Franzoi & Shields, 1984; Pope et al., 2000). Considering the attention the broad and muscularly defined chest receives in media portrayals of men (Pope et al., 2000), this suggests that boys may experience body image discrepancies when comparing their muscularity to masculine ideals which leaves them susceptible to body image dissatisfaction.

Our sample endorsed a significant increase in traditional masculine ideology along grade seniority ($F(4, 491) = 7.709; p < 0.001$), and a concomitant peaking of body image discrepancy in grade 8 and 9 ($F(4, 491) = 4.092; p < 0.05$). Not only does this echo findings that hierarchical forms of masculinity are embedded in scholastic environments (Govender, 2006; Haywood & Mac an Ghaill, 2003; Meyer, 2009), but schools also represent the arena in which psychological and bodily transformations are negotiated through comparative evaluations with bodies which belong to older boys particularly as young boys transition into pubescence (Connell, 1995; Frosh et al., 2002).

Nontraditional Masculinity, Body Image Discrepancy, and Nonviolence

This study highlights that both traditional and non-traditional masculine attitudes influence the development of body image discrepancy in boys. Non-traditional attitudes of masculinity act as a significant predictor of body image discrepancy ($\text{Beta} = 0.092, p < 0.01$). This potentially implies problematic aspects of “nontraditional,” “new man,” or pseudo-“progressive” masculinities. The “new man” discourse has been alluded to as a factor for contemporary males exhibiting increased concern over aesthetic appearance (Adams & Govender, 2008; Toerien & Durrheim, 2001). In this sample the amount of time spent on activities to enhance

appearance was found to be a robust predictor of body image discrepancy (Beta = 2.587, $p < 0.001$), as well as having shared a positive correlation with the traditional masculine attitude of anti-femininity ($r = 0.211$, $p < 0.05$). These findings lend weight to the contention that men opting to use appearance-altering strategies more commonly used by women are potentially re-articulating traditional masculine ideology which relies on an essentialist assertion of the male body (Chadwick & Forster, 2007) as seen in the significant positive correlation between non-traditional masculinity and the belief that enhanced muscularity implies robust self-worth ($r = 0.343$, $p < 0.001$). The well-groomed "metrosexual male" could possibly be considered an embodied ideal in this sample of boys since shaving the body was one of the most popular methods for enhancing muscular appearance (42%). Yet despite the finding that 95% of the sampled boys were conscientious about their physical appearance, the significant positive correlation this item had with the avoidance of femininity ($r = 0.222$, $p < 0.01$) echoes Davis's (2003) argument that the grooming activities of men and women are highly gendered processes.

Furthermore, this study found that aggression is not a defining feature of the sampled Indian boys' endorsement of traditional masculinity (see Table 3). Morrell's (1998) suggested that in studying South African Indian masculinities that "the symbolic importance of Gandhi as political pacifist requires consideration" (1998, p. 626). Morrell's assertion is not without support as Indian boys and girls report lower rates of physical punishment (Morrell, 2001b) and anti-aggression discourses are a central theme in "honourable masculinity" for working class Indians in Mumbai (George, 2006). Considering that aggression is the least robust predictor of body image discrepancy (Beta = 0.056, $p < 0.05$), and 79.3% of boys believe higher levels of self-esteem are achieved through muscularity, we venture that for this sample of boys muscularity is less utilitarian than symbolic in its purpose.

Body Image Discrepancy, Restrictive Emotionality, and Psychoemotional Distress

The present study found that the Indian boys sampled are not immune to the masculine culture of secrecy and silence around appearance anxieties (Pope et al., 2000). This is suggested in the significant negative correlation between steroid use disclosure and the value of anti-femininity ($r = -0.168$, $p < 0.01$). Specifically, restrictive emotionality was the second strongest predictor for body image discrepancy in this sample (see Table 5). Similarly, a chi-square analysis illustrated all sampled boys who had used steroids, and 53% who had used muscle supplements, had not disclosed these habits to their parents. Furthermore this study found that 60.8% of participants spent 30-60 minutes per day worrying about their muscular appearance; 64.2% were sometimes distressed about the appearance of their muscle tone; and 61.2% of boys sampled engaged in behaviours to avoid having their bodies seen by others.

Indian Boys' Appearance Schemas, Traditional Masculinity, and the Strategies Used to Modify Muscular Appearance

In this study body image is considered to be derived through cognitive-perceptual appearance schemas which process and evaluate schema related stimuli. Möschk theorizes that a "chronic or dispositional activation of the body schema

heightens awareness and salience of schema relevant information" (2008, p. 10). The present study suggest Indian adolescent males' body image is primed by traditional masculine ideology, as demonstrated by the significantly strong positive correlations between traditional masculinity and the appearance schema dimensions of body-image vulnerability ($r = 0.319, p < 0.01$), self-investment ($r = 0.449, p < 0.01$), and appearance stereotyping ($r = 0.444, p < 0.01$). For some Indian communities the omnipresent Bollywood film industry is a pervasive referent for body image (Ebrahim, 2008). The school-going boys in this study were collectively found to have displayed an appearance schemas oriented towards self-investment ($M = 4.355$) and appearance stereotyping ($M = 4.216$), both of which were also found to be significant predictors of body image discrepancy (see Table 5).

Of importance is to consider the influence of male body image informed by traditional masculinity, and the impact this has on boys' bodies as reflexive projects. The proposal that acts of reflexivity about the body anchor identity has been variably articulated in Mead's notion of "pragmatic self" (Jenkins, 2005), Giddens's "body projects" (1991), Crossley's "reflective embodiment" (2001), and Connell's "body-reflexive practices" (1995). All of these writings suggest what Susan Bordo states as getting "down and dirty with the body on the level of its practices" (1999, p. 91). The strategies through which boys' deploy their bodies in interaction with other bodies and the social world ultimately (re)defines a boy's body image but also his body's behavioural trajectories. In this regard, this study found that 59.7% of the sampled boys spent 1-2 hours a day on physical activities geared towards improving muscular appearance.

Of interest, boys' strategies for enhancing muscularity intersected with the particular class and cultural environment from which the sample was drawn. Only 42% of the participants currently held a gym membership—substantially less than the 56.5% of boys from the middle class suburban high school study conducted by Martin and Govender (2011). Gym membership also displayed a positive correlation to the drive for achievement and status ($r = 0.124, p < 0.01$). These results possibly suggest that traditional values of hegemonic masculinity for male appearance are negotiated differentially by Phoenix's Indian schoolboys in light of the financial limitations inherent in the community. Moreover, participants indicated their use of prayer (93%), herbal remedies (26%), and consulting with a traditional healer (5.7%) to enhance muscularity. This set of findings points to Connell's (1995, 2001a) contention that practices of local hegemonic masculinities are circumscribed by dominant cultural referents in-situ.

The increasing prevalence of steroid use amongst senior high school grades in the present study is representative of studies on the pattern of steroid abuse in the U.S. (see Johnson, 1989, and Terney & McLain, 1990). Analysis by chi-square reveals riskier muscle altering strategies were pursued as boys became more senior in grade, as indicated in the peaking of supplement and steroid use by this sample of boys in grade 12 (31.6% and 5.5%, respectively). Notably we found dieting to be a common measure for altering muscularity (82.6%). This must be reconciled with the meagre 21% who endorsed well-balanced diets. This figure adds to the poor nutritional picture for South African Indians who already suffer from high obesity rates as compared to other race groups (Puoane et al., 2002; Vawda, 2010).

The Athletically Muscular and Toned Body as a Masculine Ideal for Indian Boys

Monaghan (2000) argues against reading male muscularity as a single "muscular body," and instead outlines a pluralization of *muscularities* covering three types: 1) sizably muscular and exceptionally lean; 2) sizably muscular but lacking definition; and 3) moderately muscular and typically fairly lean. These muscularities are broadly distinguished along muscular performance (strength versus athletic performance) and muscular appearance (size, shape, and definition). This study found the mean value for the sampled boys' body ideal positioned at 7.729. Aesthetically this places Indian boys' body ideal as lean and athletically muscular, while falling short of the "muscular density" of body figures 8 and 9 (Figure 1).

Complicit with these results was the significant positive correlation found between traditional masculinity and competitive sport participation ($r = 0.139, p < 0.05$). Harris (1995), Frosh et al., (2002), and Robertson (2003) suggest that sports, particularly fitness-dependent sports which require an agile (as opposed to a bulky) musculature (e.g., soccer) are intimately tied to boys' valorising discourses around dominance, "health," and desirability. This study found that 66% of participants play soccer, while 34% played a combination of soccer, cricket, and athletics. This would explain the favourable perception of the athletic ideal ($M = 3.316$). The preference for supplements use to lose fat (43%) over gaining muscle mass (25%), for playing sports (82.3%) to enhance muscularity, and the tendency towards cardiovascular or aerobics training (52%) compared to resistance or weights training (40%), suggest the favourability of a body ideal that is athletically toned and fit, building masculine status and capital in the gender order (Connell, 2000).

Participants involved in competitive sport registered a higher incidence of steroid and supplement use (19%) compared to those boys who did not compete in sport (2%). Similar results were obtained by Cafri et al., (2006), Martin and Govender (2011), and Grieve (2007). Of equal concern is that sport participation attests to a relationship with aggression (see Table 4) that "legitimizes especially abusive aspects of the performance of masculinity at the expense of women" (Lindegger & Maxwell, 2007, p. 105).

Indian Boys' Sociocultural Attitudes Towards Appearance, Body Image Discrepancy, and the Influence of Bollywood

In 2007 Reuters reported that one million South African Indians comprised Bollywood's core following of the global audience of three billion (Reuters, 2007). It is specifically in Bollywood cinema where dance, movement, and theatricality concoct the body as "a vehicle of pleasure and self-expression" (Featherstone, cited in Klesse, 2000, p. 21). The media pressure subscale of the SATAQ-3 ($M = 4.206$), highlights that this sample of Indian boys perceive a pressure from popular media to pursue muscularity as a cultural and personal ideal. Roughly 83% of participants endorsed the belief that male somatoforms cast in Bollywood films pressurized them to enhance their own muscularity. Furthermore, this "Bollywood pressure" was a predictor of participants' body image discrepancy (see Table 5), both the media as a source of appearance pressure and the internalization of the athletic ideal were significantly correlated to "Bollywood pressure" (see Table 4), while steroid and supplement use was significantly higher in participants who endorsed the belief that Bollywood films were a source of pressure to pursue muscularity.

These findings point to, as Kavi (2003) suggests, athletic muscularity being an idolized muscularity in Bollywood films.

This study found the muscular physique of the male Bollywood hero coalesces with participants' body ideal and the body perceived by boys to be most desired by the opposite sex (see Table 2) indicating that the Bollywood film industry, specifically the embodiment of masculine heroes in Indian cinema, has an effect on Indian boys' body image. In this milieu, Indian boys "learn to define different types of muscular body ... as more or less aesthetically pleasing ... [whereby] types of muscular body *may* then be consciously set as projects for the self" (Monaghan, 2000, pp. 274-275, original emphasis).

The significant positive correlations between "Bollywood pressure" with the body believed by participants to be most desired by the opposite sex ($r = 0.222, p < 0.001$), as well as the male body chosen by participants to be most commonly portrayed in Bollywood films with traditional masculinity ($r = 0.210, p < 0.05$), seem to suggest that the representational politics of male bodies in Bollywood cinema engender a definitive traditional gender ideology. Virdi has highlighted that Bollywood film employ narrative devices that reinforce the "body as a site of [heterosexual] intimacy, pleasure, and desire" (2003, p. 174). An inspection of Table 4's correlations reveals that Bollywood pressure was significantly positively correlated with non-relational attitudes towards sexuality.

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The findings of this study illustrate that traditional masculinity influences body image discrepancy in South African Indian schoolboys. Specifically, the traditional masculine role norms of status-seeking, successful heterosexuality, and anti-femininity, are contemporary constituents of hegemonic masculinity for Indian boys. Accordingly, male bodies were perceived, evaluated, and deployed in muscularity-defining projects. These projects are bounded by dominant cultural values and material limitations in the historically marginalized community of South African Indians in Phoenix. These body projects suggest an articulation of working class Indian masculinities through which muscularity is indentured in the service of asserting a masculine identity amidst the broader uncertainties of the South African jobs climate and shifting gender and "race" relations. Research extrapolating the complex articulations of muscularity as a reference point for masculinities in gendered and racialised subjectivity would be of value moving forward.

Worryingly, restrictive emotionality was found to be the most potent predictor of body image discrepancy, and influence riskier pursuit of muscularity, for example, steroid use, and a decreased discloser tendency. These results draw attention to a silencing affect of traditional masculinities in boyhood narratives concerning body image anxieties.

Interestingly, traditional and non-traditional masculinity converged in support of an athletic and toned muscularity. Exercise regimes, dietary regiments, and (non-contact) sports formed part of the repertoire in pursuit of muscularity. Moreover, physical aggression does not feature in Indian boys' endorsement of traditional masculine ideology. This possibly owes to the historico-political-communal discourses paying tribute to the legacies of Ghandi's *satyagraha* (philosophy of nonviolent, passive resistance) and contemporary cultural values of academic, financial, and professional achievement. The non-dominant status of masculine physical ag-

gression resembles Morrell's (2001a) *accommodating masculinity* which, although nonviolent, still supported the patriarchal dividend. This raises important questions over the degree to which the corporeal ideologies attached to the "new man" discourse of "metrosexuality" are genuinely progressive.

This study revealed that Bollywood cinema was identified as a source of pressure for Indian boys in negotiating subjective and normative standards of muscularity. The male bodies perceived to feature in Bollywood cinema were similar to participants' body ideal, and the body believed to be most desired by the opposite sex. Furthermore, the Indian boys sampled perceived Bollywood male bodies to be primed by a traditional masculinity of non-relational sexuality and heteronormativity. This raises concerns about the affect of conservative gender ideologies on Indian boys' body image which could legitimize local patriarchies and pose challenges for women and GLBTI's in the Indian community of Phoenix. The heterosexist and patriarchal views of gender relations evidenced among Indian participants could be further researched within the context of complex religio-cultural discourses and deeply rooted homonegativity (Govender, 2010).

Limitations

The foremost limitation of this study was the use of a cross-sectional design method which fails to establish cause-effect relationships between the constructs under investigation. Second, the sample was drawn from a predominantly working class setting and therefore may bar generalizability to Indian males who have relocated into middle class or affluent suburbs, and attend more economically advantaged schools. Additionally, the body figures depicted in the measure of perceived body image discrepancy only vary according to level of muscularity, not other significant dimensions of body image such as adiposity; and they do not account for other body features which may influence boys' perceptions of body image, for example penis size. Lastly, the validity of findings could be affected through the sole use of self-report measures.

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VISUALISING MEN'S CAREGIVING PRACTICES: INSTANCES IN THREE CONTEMPORARY BENGALI FILMS

Feminists have sought to dismantle the feminization of care work within patriarchal cultures in a variety of ways. Responding to a growing interest in men and masculinities, a significant thrust within such initiatives has been to expand the role of the father and husband/partner beyond the patriarchal confines of reproduction and breadwinning, to greater involvement in care and other domestic work. This paper brings into focus three contemporary Bengali films which, through their representation of different forms of men's care work, make it possible to expand the prevailing understanding of male caregiving practices in a number of ways. The paper tries to complicate the habitual equation of the genitor with fatherhood to show that that role is often played by other (male) persons in the community. It attempts to understand forms of men's support that undermine patriarchal authority in the family. It explores an ethics of care that can be dislocated from the domain of the private to inform practices of support that are situational and emanate from the kindness of strange men.

Keywords: care, masculinity, fatherhood, South Asia, cinema

Feminists have sought to dismantle the feminization of care work within patriarchal cultures in a variety of ways. Responding to a growing interest in men and masculinities, a significant thrust within such initiatives since the 1980s has been to expand the role of the father and husband/partner beyond the patriarchal confines of reproduction and breadwinning, to greater involvement in care and other domestic work. Equal sharing of both household tasks and the work of childrearing, it was thought, would facilitate women's increased participation in public life and economic self-sufficiency, while ensuring that they do not find themselves shouldering the double burden of working both within and outside the home.

This paper brings into focus three Bengali films—*Kaalpurush (Memories in the Mist;* dir. Buddhadeb Dasgupta, 2008), *Khela (Game;* dir. Rituparno Ghosh, 2008), and *The*

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Japanese Wife (dir. Aparna Sen, 2010)—which, through their representation of different forms of men’s care work, raise a series of important questions about prevailing approaches to men’s supportive practices in sociological writings. These films describe circumstances which make it worthwhile to consider whether a radical feminist politics can afford to curtail men’s caregiving within the boundaries of “fatherhood” and men’s responsibility as sexual partners of women—often within the precincts of reproductive heteronormativity. In what ways, for instance, can certain forms of men’s supportive practices in the home impugn the patriarchal insistence on heterosexual monogamy? Is it important that men’s caregiving extends beyond the unit of the household into the masculine/public world of commercial work, especially those which involve everyday interactions with children and older persons unrelated by ties of blood? Through a close scrutiny of such scenarios represented in these films, this paper expands the understanding of male care work in three ways. Firstly, it complicates the habitual equation of genitor with fatherhood roles to show that the latter are often played by other (male) persons in the community. Second, it sets out to understand forms of men’s support that undermine patriarchal authority in the family. Third, it explores, if tentatively, an ethics of care that may be dislocated from the domain of the private to inform practices of support that are situational and emanate from the kindness of strange men.

In South Asian contexts, men’s caregiving practices often emerge from their subject positions of son, cousin, brother and uncle; yet, among those who perform care work, many are related to whom they care for by community, not family, ties (Chopra, 2003b). While this crucial insight has informed studies of men’s supportive practices in India, their primary focus has been on working-class men. The increasing participation of middle-class women in the industrial work force following the “liberalization” of the Indian economy, and the ensuing male anxiety that now women will take away “their” jobs, make the present moment a pertinent time to expand this arena of inquiry by visualising middle-class men’s care work, as much in the world as in the home.

The three films I have selected are suitable for such a project not only given the situations that they describe but also the audiences that they address. All three films are identifiable as part of a genre within contemporary Bengali cinema that has its roots in the “new cinema” movement of the 1970s and 1980s. Largely focused on the lives of the contemporary urban middle-classes, the films of this genre have drawn back to the theatre a middle-class public that Bengali cinema had in the 1960s (Goopu, 2010). *The Japanese Wife*, although set in rural Bengal, speaks to this public.

TIES OF COMMUNITY, RECIPROCITY, AND AN ETHIC OF MALE CARE IN *THE JAPANESE WIFE*

In *The Japanese Wife*, Snehmoy is an arithmetic teacher who lives with his aunt in a village near the Sundarbans. After his parents passed away at an early age, it is his aunt who has looked after him. The film narrates the unusual marital relationship between Snehmoy and Miyagi, who exchange wedding vows over letters, live far apart in different countries and never meet in their fifteen-year relationship. Snehmoy’s otherwise regular life is interrupted when his aunt invites a young widow, Sandhya, and her eight-year-old son Poltu, to come and live with them. Gradually, Snehmoy and the little boy develop a deep bond, and even with Sandhya, an unspoken thread of understanding is forged. The coming of Sandhya and

her young son into Snehmoy and his aunt's home creates occasion for the expression of a set of values which provide illuminating commentary on some of the contexts which impel men's supportive practice in South Asia.

When his aunt announces to Snehmoy that Sandhya and Poltu will be living with them, she explains, "I brought you up when you lost your parents, now you must bring up Poltu. You can't absolve yourself of all responsibilities by simply writing letters." In his psychoanalytic study of childhood in India, Sudhir Kakar (1981) explains that the preponderance of the joint family system in the region means that uncles, aunts, and grandparents are prominent features in children's lives. Kakar writes that in a country where the state has few social security programmes, the joint family plays an important supportive role in times of crisis, tiding members over periods of unemployment, illness, and loss of close kin (*Ibid.*). In such a social setting, if a child's parents are unavailable for some reason, it is very usual for other members in the family to assume nurturing roles. The situation in *The Japanese Wife*, I would like to stress, is rather different. Sandhya is not related to them by ties of blood; she is the widowed daughter of Snehmoy's aunt's best friend. Moreover, although Snehmoy calls her such, it is unclear whether his aunt is consanguineal kin. The sense of responsibility that the aunt speaks of, then, is not one which emerges from familial ties characteristic of the joint family but from a wider network of interpersonal relations which distinguish social life in South Asia. In Bangla, the words *janak* and *pita* have two distinct meanings: while *janak* is simply the genitor, *pita* is someone who performs the role of the father and need not be the genitor. It is this distinction between the one who gives birth and the one who tends that underlies Snehmoy's aunt's call to duty. On another occasion, in a remark that further disengages fatherhood from mere biological reproduction, she tells him, "If you didn't marry through letters, even you would have had a child his age. So what if his father is dead? That does not mean he is an orphan." Snehmoy, whose name significantly means "full of affection," develops an intimate bond with the young boy, which is noticed appreciatively by the women they live with. Seeing them prepare for the upcoming kite festival, Snehmoy's aunt comments to Sandhya, "How close they've become, have you seen?" Their intimacy grows on the occasion of Vishwakarma Puja, a Hindu religious festival, when the two participate as a team in a kite-flying competition in their village.

In a world that seemed largely hostile to him, it is with his aunt that Snehmoy finds a zone of comfort allowing him to express himself. The ethic of male care that we find in Snehmoy does not emerge from the position of "father," or from the mandate to provide in a conjugal relation, but from his sense of commitment to continue a practice of support that he has experienced and valued in his own childhood after his parents' death. I find it useful to refer to the idea of "simulation" that Vrinda Dalmiya (2002) talks about while outlining the specific kind of interpersonal relationship that constitutes "care" in her essay, "Why Should a Knower Care?" Dalmiya explains that care work entails a process of understanding the emotional state of the person being cared for through an act of "imaginative identification" with the person. This involves an effort to fathom the point of view of the person being cared for, an effort that distinguishes care from merely paternalistic attitudes. Dalmiya cautions, however, that

Even well-intentioned simulation, particularly in a highly stratified society, can be notoriously off the mark. Can we ever ensure that in simulation we

do not simply remake the other in accordance with our own personalities.... Consequently the more dissimilar we are from the cared-for the more the process of simulatively caring for her is likely to miss the truth. (*Ibid.*, p. 37)

Snehmoy's simulation of Poltu's circumstance is able to avoid such a remaking of the other in one's own image in the act of caring, because of the propinquity between their early lives. Both have childhood experiences of filial bereavement and receiving care from people within a larger community with whom they share an intimate, if not familial, bond. Snehmoy's ease in fulfilling his aunt's expectations from him to provide and care for Poltu and Sandhya arises from his immediate identification with the young boy, whose life parallels his own childhood in many ways. The willingness with which he performs this supportive role emerges also from Snehmoy's sensitivity to the care work that Sandhya does for him—readying his clothes, serving him food, tidying his room. Sandhya and Snehmoy are never sexually intimate, but the presentation of their interactions carefully signposts the nearness of their relationship to a marital one.

A scene in which Snehmoy stares at a photograph of his Japanese wife lying below a meal that has been prepared and served by Sandhya, and the sequence in which he surveys his tidied room in surprise, capture his notice of Sandhya's care work precisely because he cannot take this for granted. This acknowledgement of Sandhya's caregiving is crucial in understanding the care that Snehmoy himself extends to Sandhya and her son. We may note that the ideology of women as "natural" care-providers posits women's care practices as expressions of "love;" this logic is frequently used to justify women's exclusion from paid employment (Finch & Groves, eds., 1983). Parallel to this construction, men's provider role and the toil of commercial work are cast as indices of fatherly love. Such a schema does not recognise "care" as a specific set of practices distinct from "love." Feminist conceptions of care as unpaid work, as "a labour of love," on the other hand, tend to draw a critical distinction between love and care, one which calls attention to the economy underlying the separation of sex roles. The support that Snehmoy extends to the young widow and her son, because it is impelled, partially, by a felt need for reciprocity toward Sandhya's caregiving—over which he can claim no moral right—exceeds the patriarchal limits of the male provider role; it includes a form of nurturance that prioritises the affective. Dalmiya writes that "caring begins when people are made valuable in a special way—when someone (the cared-for) is important or matters for someone (the one-caring)" (2002, p. 35). In the film, when Snehmoy discovers Sandhya weeping inconsolably at the prospect of having to go away because of mounting expenditure, he tells her, in a tender moment of physical proximity, that they need not leave this home.

I call attention to another aspect of Snehmoy's characterization: his sense of alienation from the outside world. He has no friends, and as he tells Miyagi, he has always struggled to converse with anyone apart from her and his aunt. His aunt tells him affectionately that the only person he places all his demands to is her; in the world outside, he is "a mere worm." As a teacher, Snehmoy does not evoke fear in his students, who think nothing of playing tricks when he momentarily steps out of his class. Having witnessed his care work, this particular characterization of Snehmoy as a man who lacks not just authority but also confidence in the public world, raises the question of what kind of men become sensitive caregivers in cultures that do not make this demand from them. What are their public identities, and

how are they perceived by people whom they interact with, at home and outside it? Many of these questions also come up in the situations that *Kaalpurush* presents us with. A discussion of the representation of male caregiving in this latter film will help me to identify a few ways in which these questions can be addressed.

UNMAKING REPRODUCTIVE HETERONORMATIVITY — MALE CAREGIVING IN *KAALPURUSH*

Written and directed by Buddhadeb Dasgupta, *Kaalpurush* tells the story of a young man's relationship with his estranged father, his wife who despises him, and their two children. Through a non-linear narrative that depicts Sumanta's childhood and the present, the film explores his complex feelings for a father he had once wanted to kill, his cold and mechanical marital life, and his intense love for his children. Through its twin narratives, the film presents two sets of father-child relationships—Sumanata's relationship with his father, Ashwini, and Sumanta's relationship with his two children—that reflect both the cultural factors which inhibit intimacy and care between fathers and their children, and the possible ways in which these difficulties can be overcome.

The film begins by juxtaposing the emotional dynamics of these two relationships. Ashwini's remark that he has much to tell his son and that he is sure that Sumanta too has much to tell him, expresses the difficulty that men have in speaking intimately with their children. This is followed by a sequence in which Supriya's (Sumanta's wife) tremendous excitement at the prospect of visiting New York and her apathy toward her children are contrasted with their great affection for their father. When their mother is asleep, they tip-toe out of her room, and, hugging their pillows, go to their father's room. They fight over which side of Sumanta's bed each will take, after which Sumanta sings them to sleep. This narrative of Sumanta's present day also consistently throws up a contrast between the perception that people in his life have about him, of him being a "failure," and his close bond with his children, his involvement in their emotional lives.

Thematically, the film's narrative is built around two sets of affective responses to somewhat similar situations—the feeling of regret that characterises the Ashwini-Sumanta father-son relationship, and the emotional bond that Sumanta has been able to forge with his own children. The relationship between father Ashwini and adolescent Sumanta captures that relationship between father and son which is paradigmatic in patriarchal cultures. The adult Sumanta's questions to his father, when they first meet after years of not having seen each other—*do you know me? Do I know you?*—convey the emotional chasm that inhibits real conversation between father and child. I will try to understand the social factors that impede intimacy between men and children when I discuss *Khela*. Here, I will simply reiterate that because patriarchal cultures construct particular emotions as a feminine attribute, intimacy is often experienced by men as threatening to male identity (Seidler, 2006). To the extent that warmth and intimacy arising out of a simulative understanding of the other is definitive of care work, the contradiction between these affective qualities and the dominant indices of masculinity poses a significant barrier to men's involvement in caregiving.

Anthropological descriptions of child-rearing practices in non-western cultures have shown that not all patriarchal societies uniformly prohibit emotional intimacy between father and son (Weiner, 1976, as referred to in Chopra, 2001). The father-

as-stranger trope, therefore, does not homogeneously apply across all contexts. Yet, it is worth emphasising that cultures that legitimize the nurturing role of fathers, define father love as a set of care practices that are peculiar to men (Chopra, 2001). Such a classification that insists on linking nurturing practices of men to masculinity does not pose a radical affront to sex role divisions. It certainly expands the male sex role but does not seek a transformation at the level of ontology. Radhika Chopra raises a critical question when she asks, "Does the performance of masculinity require a suppression of the institutional recognition of nurture, a refusal to acknowledge any form of feminine nurturing practice, to maintain the boundaries of a male gendered self?" (*Ibid.*, p. 451). Significantly, Sumanta demonstrates a strange unconcern with that mode of masculine identity formation which is premised on a negation of the feminine. In fact, his sense of self seems to successfully override allegations of femininity from those who surround him. Supriya reminds Sumanta with unfailing dedication that he is a complete failure. She had married him thinking he would be successful, a professional achiever; this expectation Sumanta has been unable to meet. Even in his workplace, Sumanta is regarded as a failure by his co-workers and boss. On the one occasion he visits a sex worker, he is unable to have sex with her and is told never to return to that area again. Toward the end of the film, when Supriya decides to leave him and go and live with her lover, and reminds him once more of his failure, he asks her, "What is your idea of being someone? What does becoming someone mean? I'm fine the way I am."

The oft-elided distinction between care and love that we invoked in the previous section is noteworthy in this context. The understanding of male breadwinning as a sufficient expression of father love, is, as we have seen, an ideological move. The narrative of *Kaalpurush* subverts this logic. The deliberate juxtaposing of Sumanta's failure in professional life and his active role in ensuring the emotional wellbeing of their children suggests an ethic of male care that lays far greater emphasis on affective nurturance than on wage earning. An influential argument that some scholars have made when discussing the social factors which impede men's involvement in childcare bears recall. It has been pointed out that the patriarchal ideology of men as breadwinners implies that masculine identity is produced through men's engagements in the domain of commercial work, which seldom requires interaction with children (Seidler, 2006). The different demands between "who" men have to be at work and "who" they have to be with small children, set up a tension which threatens male identity, with the result that most men retreat to the domain of the public to perform their familial duties (*Ibid.*). Seen from within this perspective, Supriya's allegation of failure is a reference to the failure of masculinity. To the extent that Sumanta has failed to achieve professional success, he has also failed to become a man. Significantly, the film gives us a male character that rejects this patriarchal logic. Sumanta's words—"I'm fine the way I am"—do not reflect a sense of detachment from worldly minutiae, but a firm refusal to be evaluated in patriarchal terms.

The sequence described above does not end there. As Sumanta walks away, Supriya tells him that there is another item of information that she has not shared with him. The two children—Shanta and Shantanu—are not his. Sumanta turns to face Supriya and tells her that this is not unknown to him. Supriya registers complete shock and asks, "You knew it? And yet?" Sumanta's response is worth quoting in its entirety:

Supriya, life is of many hues. Your life is like yours and mine is like mine. Who is to say what is right and what is wrong? Shantanu and Shanta could have been mine entirely. Just because they aren't, didn't change anything. I still love them. (English subtitle)

Supriya is astonished and demands that the children accompany her wherever she goes. Sumanta replies confidently that if the children want to go with her they certainly will; but how much of them does she really know?

Radhika Chopra has suggested that men's

supportive practices need to be located in relational contexts between men and women, as well as between men and men. In other words, we need to address a dimension of relationships that patriarchal structure often hides or mutes and *look more closely at the everyday practices* of men. (2003a, p. 1652, *emphasis added*)

Chopra's suggestion is likely to strike as rather odd those who are familiar with sociological work on fatherhood in western contexts. Victor Seidler (2006), for instance, writes that fathering has traditionally been a position much more than it has been a relationship. As with work, fatherhood has been a terrain in which men are expected to establish their patriarchal authority. The challenge to the authority of the father is therefore a challenge to male identity, which needs to be dealt with harshly. *Maintaining a distance from the everydayness of family life* was a modus of retaining the objectivity needed to exercise patriarchal power (*Ibid.*).

I will argue that while Seidler's argument is crucial to understanding patriarchal forms of fatherhood, our totalizing assumption that men's everyday realities conform to this notion of power, may blind one to a range of men's supportive practices that actually undermine patriarchal authority in significant ways. This is exemplified in *Kaalpurush* where we see that Sumanta's involved care for children his wife's lover has fathered questions patriarchal control of women's sexuality through monogamous heterosexual marriage. Sumanta's uncommon reaction to his wife's affair (in the context of the moral ethos that we have just heard Sumanta describe, it becomes clear why the lover does not physically appear in the film: in this moral milieu there can be no duel between man and man over a woman's body) is worth considering at some length, also because of his own adolescent experience with his father's "infidelity."

Let me dwell for a moment on the circumstances of Sumanta's relationship with his father, which comprise one aspect of the film's narrative. The disintegration of Ashwini's family takes place after his wife finds him in what she thinks is a sexually intimate position with his ex-lover. She shares the details of this episode with their son—an adolescent Sumanta reacts with great anger and tries unsuccessfully to shoot his father—and leaves her marital home, taking the young Sumanta with her. Ashwini is devastated at being misunderstood by his wife and son and becomes a wanderer, roaming empty lanes in the outskirts of the city, until the day he takes his life. Ashwini's intermittent return in Sumanta's adult life is impelled by a desire to share what has remained unspoken between father and son. This is repeatedly stressed in the film. At one instance Ashwini tells Sumanta that he regrets not searching him out to convey the things he had wanted to express. Sumanta tells his father that he had hoped to meet him some day and tell him how much he loves him.

Sumanta's awareness of his wife's lover having fathered their children, I will argue, does not come in the way of his communion with them and the everyday work of care that he performs for the children because of the emotional distance that he has travelled from wanting to kill his father on suspicions of infidelity to calmly accepting the presence of his wife's lover on a daily basis. Care theorists have suggested that conflict resolutions should be arrived at through the contextual and inductive thinking characteristic of taking the role of the particular other (Flanagan & Jackson, 1982). As someone who has suffered from a filial relationship that was devoid of emotional ties, Sumanta is able to assume the role of the principal caregiver of his children because of his simulative identification with "the particular other," in this case, the children. His (Nietzschian) understanding that "life is of many hues and no one can tell which is right and which is wrong" allows him to see through the impulse that drove his adolescent anger toward his father, and experience love for him as an adult. He is therefore able to travel from a complete lack of communication in his own relationship with his father ("Do you know me? Do I know you?") to a satisfying awareness of his deep involvement in his own children's lives.

In the essay referred to above, Vrinda Dalmiya argues that the acknowledgement of care reception is an inalienable component of care because it makes the one caring vulnerable to rejection by the cared-for and makes the cared-for an active participant in the sustenance of caring. Such a moment of recognition of care is visualised in Sumanta's interaction with his children. When Sumanta tells them that their mother may not live with them any more, their only reaction is, "But you will be here right?" The care reasoning that Sumanta expresses, exhibits a form of paternal thinking that expands the boundaries of care beyond the responsibility of the genitor in ways that undermine the patriarchal insistence on monogamous reproductive heteronormativity and the related expectations of hegemonic masculinity.

R.W. Connell (1995) has written that the dismantling of patriarchal forms of masculinity requires a re-embodiment for men, a search for feeling, using, and showing male bodies in radically altered ways. Care work is one terrain in which this re-shaping of patriarchal masculinity can transpire.

Baby work is very tactile, from getting the milk in, to wiping shit up, to rocking a small person to sleep. To engage with this experience is to develop capacities of male bodies other than those developed in war, sport or industrial labour. It is also to experience other pleasures. (Connell, 1995, p. 223)

In Sumanta's interaction with his children we find such processes of re-embodiment that reshape dominant forms of masculinity. When Shanta and Shantanu come to him after their mother has fallen asleep, Sumanta smells their hair with great relish. A little later, in an uncommon gesture of male passivity, he turns over and lets Shanta draw on his back. Such embodied practices when understood as *onto-formative* (*Ibid.*)—by which is meant that body-reflexive practices variously affirm and dismantle power structures—are indicative of how the everyday work of care can displace dominant ways of being male. The clarification that Connell provides in his description of onto-formativity is worth repeating here to explain the wider implication of this visual sequence in understanding men's care work. Connell urges us to remember that bodily practices which reshape the "ontology" of in-

dividual lives simultaneously effect changes in the social world. The idea of particular embodied practices as onto-formative, is, therefore, not reducible to an individual's idiosyncrasy but has the capacity to "bring new social arrangements into being (however partially)" (*Ibid.*, p. 229). The forms of embodied exchange between Sumanta and his children, then, are not to be read as peculiar unto him; rather, *in interaction*, they become suggestive of social action that can challenge, if not wholly transform, hegemonic patterns of masculine expression.

In the following section I include the film *Khela* in this discussion to understand how the field of care work can be expanded beyond the spaces of the private, to arrive at a conception of care that can infuse interactions in the public domain. *Khela* is suitable for such a project because it presents us with a situation which involves a man's close interaction with a child in the public world of commercial work. Through a reading of *Khela*, I will try to argue for a moral transformation that legitimises expectations of care from strangers.

CARE BETWEEN STRANGERS? INSTANCES IN *KHELA*

Responding to Carol Gilligan's elaboration of a feminist ethic of care, Lawrence Kohlberg argues that such care practices are applicable only to the private realm and cannot be applied in public as an obligation that is owed to others (Flanagan & Jackson, 1982). Kohlberg's argument makes me think about how the continuous relegation of particular affective practices—love and care, for instance—to the private domain serves to maintain the public/private binary in ways that reinforce gender inequality. In his review of feminist debates on the philosophy of care, Will Kymlicka writes that "the elimination of sexual inequality not only requires the redistribution of domestic labour, but also a breakdown in the sharp distinction between public and domestic. We need to find ways to integrate public life and parenting" (2002, p. 419). This section attempts to understand to what extent the ethic of care, which was initially developed in the context of private relationships, can infuse ways of being in the public realm.

The plot of *Khela* centres on the evolving relationship between Raja, a filmmaker, and Abhirup, a ten-year-old child Raja casts in his film. After more than three years of marriage, Raja's wife, Sheela, desperately wants a child. Raja feels that he neither earns enough to support a child nor has the time to be involved in parenting. A few days before Raja embarks on his latest film project, Sheela decides to leave him and moves in with a friend. Raja goes through hundreds of boys' photographs but does not find a face to his liking. One day, he chances upon a young boy on the road and goes with him to his parents to ask for permission to cast him in his film. Abhirup wants to be a part of Raja's film but logistic concerns make it unfeasible for him to spend six weeks away from school for production work. Raja returns disappointed, but soon receives a call from Abhirup asking Raja to take him away for the shoot without his parents' knowledge. Raja agrees, picks him up from school the next day and, unknown to the rest of his crew, brings Abhirup to the venue to begin shooting for the film. The film's plot sets in motion a series of exchanges—between Raja and Abhirup, between Abhirup's worried parents, and between Abhirup and the film's crew—that invites an inquiry into public forms of male care work.

Considering the prospect of sending Abhirup away with Raja for six weeks, his mother asks Raja, "Whom will I depend on to take care of him?" To Raja's reply

that he will take full responsibility of Abhirup's care, the mother protests, "But you will be immersed in work!" Abhirup's mother's concern expresses a perceived opposition between the demands of work and the demands of childcare. This perceived tension between wage labour and the work of care is identifiable as a significant hindrance to the practise of a male ethics of care within the public world of paid work. Significantly, Raja's characterization in the film casts him as a man who is incapable of even caring for himself. As Anjali, the only woman member in his crew points out, his wife has spoiled him by preparing all his personal work—his food, his laundry, even waking him up in time for shoots. As such he struggles to take care of Abhirup, both during the shoot and at other times, and frequently enlists Anjali's help. On one occasion, when the boy gets lost and Raja blames Anjali for it, she retorts by saying that it is not her sole responsibility to take care of the child; every member of the crew should be equally responsible for him. In these words, Anjali is therefore arguing for a general ethic of care that must govern every crew member's interaction with Abhirup. The film helps us identify a set of social factors which inhibit practices of care in public interactions between men and children.

When Abhirup is first approached by Raja outside his school, we see him with his friend eating *phuchka* (a local snack) from a road-side stall. The children's immediate reaction to the stranger is that they have been told by their parents not to speak to unknown men. The fable of the *chele dhora*, a narrative which is repeatedly used to discipline truant children in *bhadralok* (Bengali middle-class) society, constructs public spaces as always potentially dangerous for children, where they are susceptible to being manipulated, indeed kidnapped, by strange men.

In the sequence which shows Abhirup crying profusely because he has been tondured for his role in the film, he complains to Raja that this was not part of their deal. Also, he has played this role on stage and no one had taken his hair off then. Raja responds to the situation by explaining the different formats of cinema and theatre. Abhirup cuts him short by saying, "What difference are you talking about? Both are unreal." This conversation could well be a starting point for an exciting discussion on realism, but the aspect of this interaction to which I wish to draw attention is the adult man's mode of reasoning and the attendant inability to grasp the child's emotional need at the moment. As Victor Seidler (2004) points out, since the Enlightenment, masculinity and the public have been identified with a particular conception of reason that has been painstakingly opposed to the child-like, the feminine, and the private. As such, men's interactions with children frequently become an exercise in rational decision-making that has no space for engaging emotions and feelings (*Ibid.*).

I would like to underscore that to say this is not to repeat Carol Gilligan's argument that men always speak in the language of justice and rights and women are predisposed to identifying the moral requirements emerging from specific relations and contexts. The difference lies in my focus on the *making* of "reasonable men" in patriarchal cultures and my refusal of the fixity of gendered predispositions to care that seems to be implicit in Gilligan's work. My argument is that interactions between men and children that follow the route described in the film's sequence are effects of a cultural training that identifies masculinity with a particular kind of reason. Such patterns of interaction rather than being seen as unchangeable features of male disposition are more fruitfully thought of as "styles of being" (Heinemaa, 1997) which persist so far as men continue to give life to them

by repeatedly assuming them. A different set of performances, then, has the potential to radically displace these styles of being with children and in the process remake the masculine self. Significantly, *Khela* gives us instances of such transformations.

The initially difficult relationship between Raja and Abhirup gradually eases into a bond of mutual affection as Raja learns to be attentive to the child's mode of reasoning. When Abhirup mistakenly opens a jar containing butterflies that were to be used in a shoot, his attempt to rectify this costly error by capturing a caterpillar in the hope that in two weeks the caterpillar will metamorphose into a butterfly, speaks to Raja and culminates in Raja's first physical show of affection for the child. This change in Raja's pattern of affective response to situations of conflict, from aggression (in an earlier scene, he slaps Abhirup when the boy refuses to listen to him) to care, finds expression in Raja's decision to let his crew go and himself stay back to look after Abhirup, when, at the end of the six weeks of shooting, the boy gets high fever. In a gesture acknowledging Raja's caring, Abhirup gladly stays back with him. When his health improves, Raja takes him to Sheela's house. Even here, Raja refuses to let Sheela take over the work of caring for the ailing child. To his wife's question, "Do you know how to do this kind of work?," he responds confidently, "Now I do."

Andrea Doucet (2006) has argued that although recent research into western families shows that fathers are increasingly spending more time caring for their children, women continue to be seen as "responsible" for them in domestic and community life. The circumstances represented in *Khela* invite us to consider the beneficial role an ethic of male care in community life can play in children's lives and also shows how particular situations can evoke this ethic from persons who may not be disposed to it. The film allows us to release the concept of care from the boundaries of the private and imagine how care can be a form of social practice that emerges from the everyday contexts of particular social interactions.

CONCLUSION

By briefly focusing on three filmic representations of male caregiving, this paper has tried to highlight feminist images of male care work that are culturally available to a Bengali middle-class audience. I have attempted to complicate feminist calls for fathers to share equally in childcare by arguing that an exclusive focus on "fatherhood" in discussions of male care work obscures a range of men's supportive practices that emerge from their varied locations in community relations. I have pointed out that such limited a focus inadvertently allows the patriarchal unit of the monogamous heterosexual family to escape critical inquiry, when some forms of men's care work may actually undermine, or work alongside, the legitimacy of this form of family organization.

A brief clarificatory note, explaining my adjectival use of the term "feminist," is in order here. Some may argue that although the relationship between Snehmoy and Sandhya is not sexual, they do complete, together with Poltu, the patriarchal unit of the heteronormative bourgeois family. It may also be said that an important concern for a feminist appraisal would be that most of the children in these three films are boys. Sibaji Bandopadhyay (2007) has shown that while in much of Bengali literature for adults the woman has a striking presence, children's literature in Bangla is marked by a conspicuous absence of the girl child. *The Japanese Wife*,

Kaalpurush, and *Khela*, it would seem, continue this tradition of collapsing childhood with boyhood. In light of these anticipated queries, I wish to clarify that the subject of my paper is not childhood, but the different forms of care that middle-class men extend to children. Commercial media, more often than not, affirm rather than question, traditional gender roles. The present paper has sought to counter such dominant modes of portrayal by identifying cinematic images of masculinity, especially in relation to care work, that are consonant with an egalitarian feminist politics. It is in this sense that I have used the term “feminist.” Men who perform the work of care negotiate the oppositions between the demands embedded in the act of caring and the culturally exalted patterns of maleness in ways that open up avenues for transforming patriarchal masculinity. Such transformations are neither complete, nor completely oppositional to the dominant. Following Susie Tharu, my reading of these texts has located resistance in a “theory of struggle within the ideological” (as quoted in Sundar Rajan, 1993, p. 124; emphasis in original). We are well served by the insight that resistance, while it is certainly not to be reduced to the terms of the dominant, is at times structured by it (*Ibid*).

I will conclude this essay by suggesting that feminist strategies to foster men’s involvement in child care should not naturalise the link between fatherhood and men. The political project of retrieving the father who is absent in feminist discourses on mothering (Chopra, 2001) and that of encouraging men to assume caring roles should resist defining fatherhood as a set of activities that only men can perform. An ideal feminist world is perhaps not one where men and women practise mutually exclusive styles of caregiving but one where they move easily between practices of fatherhood and mothering. Furthermore, there is need to encourage an ethics of care to spill over from private spaces into the public realm to govern interactions between strangers and children. The ideas in this essay are intended to be received as components of an incomplete project inquiring feminist visual representations of men’s caregiving practices in middle-class India.

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NARRATIVES OF “MARGINAL” MEN: SELECTED SHORT STORIES OF SOUTH ASIAN DIASPORA IN AUSTRALIA

Gender plays an important role in how we constitute ourselves and how writers create a subject in the domestic as well as the public life in their narratives. Despite similarities in basic immigrant experience and cultural environment, the socio-economic experience of male and female immigrants affects the construction of a gendered self and role. This paper shows how the South Asian diaspora community has changed in relation to the gender discourse over the years, by analyzing representations of male protagonists in selected short stories of South Asian diaspora in Australia. Drawing from the theories of Judith Butler, Robert E. Park, Milton Gordon, Ronald F. Levant, and others on gender (masculinity) and sexuality, this paper shifts the focus from the politics of sensory and spatial locations that diaspora studies usually highlight toward a politics of gendered location and difference. This is to see whether the stereotypical image of the marginal immigrant male still holds in postcolonial, post-patriarchal, and globalized South Asian diasporic society.

Keywords: South Asian diaspora; Australia; male; culture; masculinist crisis; margin; short stories

Gender plays an important role in how we constitute ourselves or how writers create a subject in the domestic as well as the public life in their narratives. Despite similarities in basic immigrant experience and cultural environment, the socio-economic experience of male and female immigrants affects the construction of a gendered self and role. At other levels gender also works as an instrument of oppression, alienation and marginalization—within and outside the “home.” Gender should be understood “simultaneously as a structure, that is, a latticework of institutionalized social relationships that, by creating and manipulating the categories of gender, organize and signify power at levels above the individual” (Ferre, Lorber & Hess, 2000, p. xix). Thus preservation of traditional gender ideologies and

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roles aggravates and sometimes even creates the tensions that plague many South Asian immigrant families. A gendered politics of location, according to Mankekar (2003), is "far from nostalgically seeking one's roots or being complacent about where 'one belongs,' " it "involves interrogating one's privileges and blind spots" (p. 53). However, when *gendered locations* are referred to in diaspora studies, discussions are often restricted to women, as women often "bear the moral and symbolic weight" of representing tradition (Ram, 1988, p. xvii). In gender studies, women's sexuality is central to the discourse of ethnic and national processes as women are "biological reproducers of members of ethnic collectivities since they give birth to children, who are future members of an ethnic group" and also "seen as the bearers of culture for the ethnic group" (Rudrappa, 2002, p. 97). Marginalized in one way or the other, women are often portrayed as passive victims "forced to struggle with their oppressive cultural systems" (Van der Veer, 1995, p. 14).

MARGINALITY AND MASCULINITY

Since much has already been written on the effects of migration on South Asian-Australian immigrant women's dislocation, expectations and discrimination, this paper concentrates on narratives of "marginal men" and their experiences in the Diaspora. This paper points to a debate on the issue of gender power reversals—where women "become brokers of new domestic cultures and of new kinds of sexual politics" (Appadurai & Breckenridge, 1989, p. ii), and where in certain cases the male immigrant comes to bear the same burden of representing cultural tradition and family loyalty, as masculinity is also a product of cultural and historical forces in traditional society. In the diasporic situation "marginality" should be read as "a collective phenomenon" and "which must be studied at the group and societal levels" (Drew, 1987, p. 81) to promote current understanding of masculinities. Men in the diaspora attempt to reproduce their dominant patriarchal role in a new social milieu as they try to maintain family honor, and in certain situations men are often undermined by loss of position or centrality, that is, their place as the pivot around which others turn (Goode, 1982) through a lack of recognition of qualifications, language, and the loss of financial status and class superiority.

This paper specifically examines how the South Asian diaspora community in Australia figures in relation to gender discourses by analyzing the representation of male protagonists in selected short stories. It analyses how social, cultural, political and economic conditions of both homeland (old home) and *hostland* (new home) affect these male subjects and shape their new roles in mainstream society. While researching on South Asian Diaspora literature in Australia I came across certain short narratives that depicted the male characters as marginalized while most of the other stories dealt with female subjectivities. These narratives contained within them or pointed toward issues and range of questions related to a crisis in masculinity that is still not highlighted in sociological research.¹ The South Asian man migrating with middle-class diasporic narrative of success in his mind and an

¹ At a personal level, I informally interacted with some Indian and Sri Lankan men in Australia during 2006-2007 and they shared that the loss of a privileged position in a new country increases their marginality that in some cases the men were not able to accept.

educational qualification that he soon finds out is either not recognized or is no longer considered desirable by the ever-changing rules of the Australian government and employers, often results in their frustration and depression and a feeling of emasculation because of being unrecognized and under-acknowledged within and outside the family (say in the case of advanced degree-holders driving taxis or working in 7/11s or waiting in restaurants; see also Voigt-Graf, 2003). This unifying theme of professional dissatisfaction or lack of respect in the public sphere leading to a feeling of loss of masculine identity coupled with a changing role within the domestic sphere that further destabilizes the notion of self, forms the basis for the selection of the six short narratives examined in this paper. These include Yasmine Gooneratne's short story "Bharat Changes His Mind," Chitra Fernando's "Making Connections," Adib Khan's "Out There," Suneeta Peres De Costa's "Long Division," Beryl T. Mitchell's autobiographical piece titled "Tea, Tytlers and Tribes," and Sunil Govinnage's story "The Vanished Trails."

Before I begin, two theoretical concepts—"margin" and "centre"—need some explanation with reference to their usage in this paper in the context of South Asian immigrant "marginal men." The term "centre" is used to indicate the hostland, here implying the regulatory Anglo-Australian idea of a nation that may marginalize the new immigrants' notion of home and identity. In this imaginary of the nation immigrants are put on a secondary level or margins of the society, notwithstanding the state multicultural policy. The centre tries to assimilate and subjugate the margin and the immigrants at the margin use subversion to challenge these assimilatory pressures into majority culture (see also Corkhill, 1995).

According to Spence (1985) the most important construct in recognizing or differentiating self is one's "gender identity" or one's sense of being masculine or feminine. She has noticed that culturally defined traits, attributes, abilities, and occupational preferences all contribute to one's gender identity (see also Spence & Sawin, 1985)—allowing sub-cultural, cultural, and cross-cultural differences in defining femininity and masculinity. Within the imagination of any given culture, there always exists an archetypal image of the feminine and the masculine; what varies is the value attributed to each gender, and their respective descriptive characteristics. According to Judith Butler (2004), gender is a construct informing the ideas we hold about masculinity and femininity, about appropriate roles and about power relations. It is a "historical and social category" that is continuously enacted under the constraints of existing norms and imaginaries that differ across "geopolitical boundaries and cultural constraints on who is imagining whom, and for what purpose" (Butler, 2004, p. 10; Schiwy, 2007, p. 275). Feminism and the upheaval of the 1960s definitely provided the impetus for the "Men's Movement" (coterminous with what I will call discourses of Masculism/Masculinism) that seek to analyze gender inequality and promote men's rights, interests, and issues. It is now considered as a movement to empower men in society, and to redress discrimination against them. However, masculinist gender theory as a separate enterprise has focused largely on White men and their social, literary, and historical accounts of the construction of male gender identities. I use the term "masculinity" here with reference to the position of South Asian diaspora males in gender order and as a pattern of patriarchal practice which traditionally is thought to be concrete (see also Connell, 1995, 2013).

According to Alison Blunt, "diaspora space" is "both gendered and racialised" as "feminizing the diaspora" is important both in terms of "studying the migration of

women and in the domestic symbols often used to represent resettlement" (2005, p. 12). It is beyond doubt that being a woman, an immigrant, and a citizen is to hold a complex subject position in today's world (see Tibe-Bonifacio, 2003). The main argument advocated in the history of western thought was that men and women are essentially different in nature—men are strong, rational and are constructed for productive work; women are considered to be weak, emotional, and destined for reproductive roles.² From this historical viewpoint, according to feminists and Marxists, men are in possession of power over women because of the system of patriarchy. In South Asian (Hindu) culture, Manu's treatise (5-6th century AD) endows male and female subjects with certain characteristics and notions of behavioral etiquette:

MALE = Instrumental, Rational, Aggressive, Brave, Competitive, and Dominant
 FEMALE = Expressive, Emotional, Warm, Procreator, Passive, and Submissive

Cutting across these age-old stereotypical gender constructions is the concept of "marginal man." Noted sociologist Milton Gordon held the view that

the individual who engages in frequent and sustained primary contacts across ethnic group lines, particularly racial and religious, runs the risk of becoming what, in standard sociological parlance, has been called "the marginal man." The *marginal man is the person who stands on the borders or margins of two cultural worlds* but is fully a member of neither. He may be the offspring of a racially mixed or interfaith marriage, or he may have *ventured away from the security of the cultural group of his ancestors* because of the individual personality and experience factors which predisposed him to seek wider contacts and entry into social worlds, which appeared more alluring [...]. *Frustrated and not fully accepted* [...] *ambivalent* [...] and beset by conflicting cultural standards, he develops, according to the classic conception, personality traits of insecurity, moodiness, hypersensitivity, excessive self-consciousness, and nervous strain [...]. (1964, pp. 56-57; italics added)

Robert E. Park defines the "marginal man" as

a personality type that arises at a time and a place where, out of the conflict of races and cultures, new societies, new peoples and cultures are coming into existence. The fate which condemns him to live, at the same time, in two worlds is the same which compels him to assume, in relation to the worlds in which he lives, the role of a cosmopolitan and a stranger. (1950 [1937], pp. 375-376)

² Anne Summers has argued in her book *Damned Whores and God's Police* (1977) that men oppose equal rights for women at work because it "threatens" their "power" in the home (p. 400). According to Sandra Bloodworth it was the idea of the nuclear family that gave rise to "the gender stereotypes of the aggressive, dominant male and the subservient woman" and it still "continues to shape our lives" (2005, p. 111).

Since its introduction, the theory of marginal man and marginality has had a major impact on sociology and anthropology. Over the last few decades, the immigrant male as marginal figure has also entered the narratives, typically compared to the White dominant male in the Australian context. “Marginal man” is a person who participates only slightly in the life of two cultural groups, identifying with neither. In this paper, the term “marginal man” is used to examine the male fictional characters, making up a growing underclass of males in the South Asian diaspora community, residing “on the borders or margins of two cultural worlds,” with little economic and traditional choices. The term also includes men whose lack of economic contribution as breadwinners or loss of patriarchal power (or authority) in the household makes them outsiders, leading to loss of self-esteem, a “masculinity crisis.” Such a crisis, according to Ronald F. Levant (1997), involves the collapse of “the basic pattern” according to which men in traditional societies have “fulfilled the code for masculine role behavior” – the role of the provider.

The issue of male victimization or lack of power in terms of agency or representation of the immigrant male in crisis definitely challenges gender relations in diaspora. This immigrant male in crisis differs from the traditional figure of the pioneering immigrant male (for a discussion on cultural constructions of masculinity and national identity, see Bode, 2009). He is “feminized,” firstly, by the challenges of socio-economic position that he faces in a new world, a feminization that is particularly evident in illustrations of mental and bodily harm. Second, men are feminized given the changing nature of domestic life, that is, men’s role in the home that is moving them toward greater participation in domestic chores and women’s involvement with economic activities outside the home to support the high standards of living in the new homeland. It has been argued by Banchevska that the “wife who remains at home, no matter how hard she works, is more likely to remain obedient and submissive than the one who contributes her cash earnings to the livelihood of the family” (1974, p. 180).

In the light of the changing economic, social, religious and cultural environment, scholars have started engaging with the theme of private and public sexualities within South Asia and in its Diaspora (notably in the UK, USA and Canada). In the last ten years, emergent body of critical research in South Asian masculinities has primarily dealt with, through case studies and analysis of literature and cinema, the practical problems of feminine vs masculine subjectivities; gender equality; queer male subjectivities; assertive masculinity (rape and violence); domestic violence (role of patriarchy and masculinity); race and masculinity; religious, political and nationalist masculinities; tribal and *dalit* (lower-caste or untouchable) masculinities; and marriage for the purpose of immigration (*gharjawai*) in diaspora.³ Since the 1970s there have been ongoing theoretical debates and quantitative researches on Australian masculinities across generations, ethnic groups, and classes (see Connell, 2013).⁴ Despite this plethora of academic and popular works about East Asian

³ For detailed studies on these and related topics, please see Nandy (1983), Srivastava (ed., 2004), Lakshmanan (2004), Chopra, Osella and Osella (eds., 2004), Gopinath (2005), Charsley (2005), Osella and Osella (2006), Zare (2007), Chopra (2009), Chakraborty (2011), Mookerjee-Leonard (2011), Anees Malik (2012), and McDuie-Ra (2012).

⁴ To advance research on men and masculinity and foster collaborations among Australian and international scholars the University of Wollongong opened the first centre in this field – Centre for Research on Men and Masculinities (CROMM). One key the-

and South Asian men and masculinity in Asian American studies, there are hardly any noteworthy studies on South Asian diaspora men and masculinity in Australia.⁵

A welcome exception is the recent study by Baas (2010) and Howson (2011) on Indian male students' mobility and influence of masculinity on social accommodation and integration as a key aspect of effective settlement into a very masculine Australian society. Howson emphasizes that it is "the aspiration and belief in success manifested as money and power" (2011, p. 36) that motivates the male transmigrant student and informs his sense of masculine identity. So what happens if this dream of success is shattered but the migrant status has already been sealed? The narratives analyzed in this paper offer some insights into this question by portraying the dilemmas faced by the male protagonists. Through this paper I wish to extend and also bring in the critique of marginal masculinity in South Asian diaspora studies. It is my view that South Asian immigrant masculinity, under the pressures of migration, is in crisis and the theoretical framework of diaspora studies requires reconsideration as the discussions on marginality of immigrant masculinity are still largely unexamined or under-theorized in South Asian diaspora studies in Australia.

THE MARGINAL MEN: (CON)TEXTS AND (CON)TESTS

Schmidt-Haberkamp (2004), writing about Sri Lankan-Australian author Yasmine Gooneratne's story "Bharat Changes His Image" (1995), a story on migration, adaptation and identity loss,⁶ observes that the constant references to just arrived Sri Lankan immigrants Navaranjini and Bharat as "exotic and erotic orientals" in Australia denies them "their human and academic qualities, and reduces them to the stereotypical idea of the oriental as an object of sexual desire" (p. 222). This stereotypical idea, as Navaranjini also notes, mostly marginalizes her husband, Bharat:

[F]rom the moment we arrived in Australia, my husband started having problems with his image. Before we came to Australia, I'd no idea he *had* an image, apart from his reflection in the bedroom mirror or his shadow on the grass. But now it seemed he'd acquired one, and with it he'd acquired problems: problems connected, as far as I could make out, with the various aspects in which, he felt, he appeared to the Australians around us. (Gooneratne, 1995, p. 45)

These problems arose because of his feeling "under constant observation and fixed

matic area focuses on "Men Moving—Migration of men across borders" and among CROMM's members are Sunil Gangavane (University of Mumbai) and Kuntala Lahiri-Dutt (The Australian National University) who specialize study of South Asian sexualities.

⁵ For an analysis of diasporic Asian-Australian masculinities, particularly on transformation of Chinese and Japanese masculinities in a globalized world, see Eng (2001), Khoo (2003), and Louie and Low (Eds., 2003).

⁶ Prof. Yasmine Gooneratne, OA, holds a Personal Chair in English and was also the Foundation Director of the Post-Colonial Literatures and Language Research Centre at Macquarie University 1988-1993. Her novel, *A Change of Skies*, won the 1992 Marjorie Barnard Literary Award for Fiction, and her second novel, *The Pleasures of Conquest* was shortlisted for the 1995 Commonwealth Writers Prize.

in an orientalist image of the Asian Other that crudely groups all Asians together" (Schmidt-Haberkamp, 2004, p. 223). Bharat, who is a Lecturer at an Australian university, feels alienated by the looks of his colleagues and neighbors. And seeking to assimilate to their Australian surroundings, Bharat and Navaranjini first swap their long Sri Lankan names to Barry and Jean Mundy—"True blue, fair dinkum Aussies" (Gooneratne, 1995, p. 50), and second, their car from an "Austin for a Holden, and moved to another suburb" (Gooneratne, 1995, p. 50).

Interestingly, it is both Bharat and Navaranjini, who try to simplify things by changing their names and in the process lose their identity from a Sri Lankan upper class to a class-less Australian one. However, Bharat's change in name is very problematic. At one level it is an appropriation or construction of his Australianness and at other degradation or deconstruction of his superior birth. His dilemma as a male immigrant from an affluent family in the home of origin and changing his family name is not only tied to his family history but is also a comment on the national or sub-continental history: "Bharat" means India, representing the mythical idea of "India," centre to and encapsulating major regions of South Asia. Moreover, the English name Barry pronounced in Sinhalese, the word *bari* means "incapable" or "impotent." He is unable to defend himself or his image against the attacks and comments about his identity. His problem, as Chandani Lokugé observes is that: "Whereas in his homeland he had a position of authority, he is now relegated to a position as subject [...]. He seeks to identify as closely as possible with an acceptable Australian stereotype" (2008, p. 207).

For Navaranjini, who understands Sri Lankan cultural associations and history, Bharat's change of name is regrettable. It is Navaranjini who asserts herself and engages in a heated verbal dispute over "racism," "Australianness" and "Asianness" with Prof. Ron Blackstone, an anti-Asian immigration intellectual, whom she blames for Bharat's identity and masculinity crisis: "[...] I'm someone whose life you have personally made a hell on earth. I'm also [...] *a wife*. The wife of someone whose personality you have utterly destroyed" (Gooneratne, 1995, p. 52).

To everyone's surprise, instead of Bharat, it is Navaranjini who is able to obtain an apology from Prof. Blackstone. Here, she is not taking on a role of crusader against racism but just performing her traditional wifely duty in defending her husband's honor. As she says in the beginning of the story,

My mother taught me to worship Lord Shiva in my husband. I've always tried to follow her instructions, especially when my husband is under strain. So I listened very, very carefully as he told me all about these problems. (Gooneratne, 1995, p. 45)

The reference to Lord Shiva here, more significantly the iconographic representation of Lord Shiva known as *Ardhnarishwar* (depicted as half male and half female together forming one body and revered as a state of primal wholeness) is very important because Bharat, in Gooneratne's other story "Navaranjini Takes Note of Signs and Visions" (1992), is compared with Arjuna, the warrior. In the Indian epic Mahabharata, Arjuna spent one year in disguise to live incognito while in exile as a eunuch. Navaranjini is Bharat's better-half; she understands how impotent he is feeling right now, like Arjuna in exile without the usual support structure of his family. She also observes that Bharat "being so westernised, [...] is only semi-vegetarian. [...] many of his ideas too are only, so to speak, semi-Asian" (Gooneratne,

1992, p. 46). She knows, in absence of a full identity—Sri Lankan or Australian—Bharat won't be able to break away from his identity crisis and therefore takes the initiative on his behalf of defending him openly in the party—and with success.

What about Bharat's view of his wife being his protector or guardian in Australia? When Navaranjani, during her dispute with Prof. Blackstone, is looking for him in the party and calls out his name, he "unaccountably disappears" (Gooneratne, 1995, p. 52). According to Lokugé, Bharat is a typical "male chauvinist," he "might not have welcomed or tolerated anything more from his wife than a celebration of the domestic" (2008, p. 216). Lokugé feels that Navaranjani arrived in Australia "as the indulged wife of an absent-minded intellectual. In her own eyes, as in the gaze of her husband's, she manifests a role, not personal identity" (p. 213). She is doubly marginalized in Australia—as she is also an "object of Anglocentric racist and sexist stereotyping" (p. 213). But "somewhere along the way Navaranjani develops a voice of her own" as independent from her husband's views (p. 215).

Tradition and gender are inseparable parts of the cultural baggage that immigrants carry with them to the new homelands. Men in the Indian subcontinent, particularly husbands, rarely participate in everyday domestic household tasks—cooking, shopping, cleaning, doing laundry, lawn mowing, etc. This is largely due to the "strict separation of spheres" dictated by cultural norms that portray domesticity as woman's domain and economic responsibilities as the male territory (Bhalla, 2008). Chitra Fernando's story "Making Connections" from *Between Worlds* (1988), depicts the journey of its male protagonist, Ananda, from being a dissatisfied immigrant confused and even marginalized by his new domestic role to finding a new sense of identity and fulfillment as a painter. Ananda, who has immigrated to Australia from Sri Lanka, can understand, although with a nostalgia for old days that the role and responsibilities in Australia are to be shared between him and his wife, Leela. But he cannot help reflecting, that

At home in Beruwela, he hadn't ever had to bother about making his own tea. Before his marriage to Leela, his mother had made it for him, and then Leela had. He no longer expected Leela to make his tea or his breakfast for him. Things were different here. There were so many things she had to do in the morning: making sandwich lunches for the two girls to take to school and getting her own lunch before she left for work herself at the Epping post office. (Fernando, 1988, p. 90)

He understands the changing nature of domestic roles but cannot grasp why the traditions have to be sacrificed for attaining it. A transformation in gender ideologies, according to Vibha Bhalla (2008), is accompanied by ideological shifts in the understanding of new male and female roles by both individuals and their families. She further notes that these are permanent changes and probably reproduced in subsequent generations. He looks at his grown-up daughter and feels a "discomfort" and "distaste" on the way she dresses up here—he "watched the girl balanced on her heels in her short uniform, observed her hair sprayed into a fierce cockatoo peak, her blood-red nails, a bright predatory parrot" (Fernando, 1988, p. 91). The girl answers his questions with indifference and he remembers how "parental authority" was yielded by his father back home in Sri Lanka. Loss of husbandly and parental authority makes him feel empty. He feels threatened by his daughter's refusal to maintain traditional family culture as a result of migration to Australia.

Ananda also remembers that he never intended to marry and migrate to Australia, but wanted to dedicate “his life to the education of poor” (Fernando, 1988, p. 90). He further notes that

nothing of that kind happened. He had married Leela, had two daughters, become a householder and a teacher in a Beruwala secondary school. (p. 91)

He often thinks that he was unable to fulfill his ambition of becoming a “second Gandhi” because of his marriage and household responsibilities. He immigrated to Australia because Leela proposed the idea. He “agreed in principle,” so that his daughters can get the best “food, clothes, employment, education, especially education” (p. 90). On reflecting back at his life he understands that it is his lack of interest in life around—particularly in his wife and daughters and their changed (Westernized) perspective—that makes him feel marginalized. In Sri Lanka, he was dependent on his parents and friends advice as well as critical appreciation of his ideas and therefore couldn’t fulfill his dream. In the new homeland, he finds financial security, but searches for a sense of self-worth and his role in the world as a man. He finally feels exhilarated by the thought of a new beginning in Australia—as a painter, something he feels he is good at. It is now through his paintings that he wants to tackle his marginal status and make connections—with his family, with other Australians, and with the world.

In recent years more and more South Asian writers have begun to base their works on a broad spectrum of themes and explore the gamut of social and political experiences or what traditionally is referred or considered as the dark side of life—madness, depression, drugs, prostitution, adultery, homosexuality, and sexual peculiarities in their works. Adib Khan, born in Bangladesh, who immigrated to Australia in 1970s, has dealt with different subject matters in all his stories and novels, ranging from the conventional material on nostalgia for a lost homeland to dilemmas of adaptation and settling-down in hostland or new home; love, loyalty, and adultery; and the war and post-war experiences. His first novel, *Seasonal Adjustments* (Allen & Unwin, 1995), won the Christina Stead Prize for Fiction, the Book of the Year award in the 1994 NSW Premier’s Literary Awards, and the 1995 Commonwealth Writer’s prize for Best Book and his second novel, *Solitude of Illusions* (Allen & Unwin, 1996), won the 1997 Tilly Aston Braille Book of the Year Award. Khan’s young narrator, in the story “Out There” (1997), a second generation immigrant from a war-torn Asian country, is a drug addict who also works as a male prostitute. On his way to meet a regular client he is stopped by a female prostitute of Asian origin. He remarks: “Like everything else, the price of lust has gone up. Blame the government and those *foreigners*” (p. 87; italics added). A second-generation immigrant himself, he feels that with the wave of successive immigrants and rising unemployment, immigrant sex workers, both male and female, are prospering in Australia. He does not consider himself as a prostitute, as he only works part-time to save money to permanently run away, with his lover Joe, to some “other country.” The narrator’s silent interaction, in the beginning of the story, with an Anglo-Australian security guard shows not only racist but also homophobic behavior marking mainstream society. The security guard’s male gaze and scrutiny doubly marginalizes the narrator. In his desperation to escape from Australia and need for more money he murders one of his regular clients, Peter.

The presentation of a narrator who is a drug addict, homosexual and male pros-

titute⁷ shows Khan's awareness of the changing landscape of core issues in South Asian-Australian diaspora writing, particularly related to second generations and the difficult and complex questions of morality and life choices. Adib Khan has taken up a subject that still most of the ("straight") South Asian diaspora writers are not eager to engage with in Australia. As he is not bothered about the issue of morality in South Asian diasporic community and more interested in tracing conflicts inside an individual, Khan is able to explore the issue of sexuality and dislocation, two deep-rooted dimensions of social inequality. He provides marginal masculinity with a new dimension within the discourse of gender studies in South Asian-Australian diaspora.

In her story "Long Division" (1997) Indian-Australian novelist and playwright Suneeta Peres Da Costa⁸ chronicles a dysfunctional family from the perspective of a child, Mina. The young narrator Mina's mother, who works in a hospital, is a manic depressive and her father, though trying very hard to control it, is heart-broken by the necessity of being a househusband, with daily household duties and taking care of his three young daughters. Mina, by means of multiplication problem, tries to question the role of her father in the family. The question: "Cathy has six hens: each hen produces six more chickens: how many chickens will there be altogether?" Mina asks Mr. Heaney, the Mathematics teacher: Why aren't "the roosters who sired the chickens included in the equation?" The teacher replies with emphasis, "those hens sat on eggs all day—don't you go inquiring about the role of the roosters. Were the roosters there when the hens were hungry, when their backsides were sore?" (p. 6). The hen and rooster debate is directly a result of issues that relate to the role of wife/mother and husband/father in the household. Who is more important—wife/mother or husband/father? Mina thinks that in her family both the roles are being played by the father. He has been feminized by his responsibilities. As she notes:

These were the hands of a man that were clumsy but *tender* in their responsibility. When we were smaller and he used to bathe us, he would take special care with our infant digits and toes, terrified that they might come off in his hands. Now he was preparing the Woolworths burgers [...]. (Peres Da Costa, 1997, p. 5; italics added)

She further notes the changes that have occurred in her father because of his added responsibilities:

Late at night my father was crying—I had never heard him cry before. He was weeping and my uncle had said something as he took my father into his arms, something like, [...] it will bring you down. (Peres Da Costa, 1997, p. 7)

Mina also observes that her father's body language belies him now. He once was

⁷ Non-heterosexual behavior and identity is largely talked about or perceived as something that is culturally western, despite the existing classical literature, like Vatsyayana's *Kama Sutra* and Kalyanamalla's *Ananga Ranga*.

⁸ Suneeta Peres da Costa's plays have won many awards including the prestigious Philip Parsons Young Playwrights Award (1996), the Ian Reed Foundation Prize for Radio Drama (1998), and the Sydney Theatre Company-ICI Young Playwrights' Award.

a man [whose hands] gestured always to the greater strength of things, affirming the superstructure of our lives, but whose face frequently bore the expression that belied him, that seemed to say he no longer wanted to live beneath that strength. (Peres Da Costa, 1997, p. 7)

This, according to the narrator, is “the entire grammar of humiliation” and defeat (p. 9). And in moments of despair, sorrow and defeat, the narrator wishes for her mother “to die” (p. 8). Mina realizes the marginalized position that her father is in because of her mother’s psychological problems. As the eldest daughter, she is conscious of her responsibilities toward the family and wants to help her father in carrying on his role as head of the house and as an anchor to their floating lives.

One cause of marginalization of men post-immigration in the new homeland is the kind of work environment they get. It has been observed in various narratives under study that mostly the immigrant men, who were working on higher posts with good incentives in the homeland do not get the same opportunities (at the level of designation or authority) in the hostland. Beryl T. Mitchell, daughter of a fourth-generation tea-planting family in Sri Lanka, who emigrated to Australia with her husband and two children in 1968, in her autobiographical narrative, “Tea, Tytlers and Tribes” (1997), observes that one of their relatives, who “was now employed with the Sydney ‘Daily Mirror’ [...] was slightly lower down the ladder” (p. 306) than at what he used to work with the same qualifications and experience in Colombo, Sri Lanka. As an immigrant from Sri Lanka he is fluent in English and well qualified for a higher position, but he is not given an opportunity to prove himself at the workplace. Similarly, Beryl’s husband Doug who was working as a tea plantation manager in Sri Lanka gets his “first job in an import/export firm” (p. 307). Beryl writes that when they bought their first three-bedroom house in Australia, the husband realized the visible contrast in their status here and in Sri Lanka. She writes: “It did not compare favorably even with our first home, when Doug was a junior planter, in Ceylon, but it was a start in our new country and we loved it” (p. 308). It is only much later and after a lot of struggle that Doug is able to start his own line of business and their situation improves. Other planters and high level administrators too, soon realized that to improve their situation they must start their own businesses.

Van der Veer in his study has noted that the “larger forces of racism and discrimination” are also one of the major causes that inflict “marginality” on South Asian men in the diaspora (1995, p. 14). Anura, in Sri Lankan-Australian writer, poet and translator Sunil Govinnage’s “The Vanished Trails” (2005), feels marginalized and persecuted in Australia. He immigrated with his wife Sujatha and daughter Nimali, from Canada to Australia in the hope that they will get good jobs and a secure future for their daughter. But “despite the Canadian experience, Anura could not secure a good job after he arrived in Australia” (p. 75). While his wife is able to get a job as administrative assistant and his daughter gets admission in Marine Biology at Sydney University, it is only Anura who “is not being able to find a job in this bloody clever country!” (p. 76). Anura feels that he is being turned into a mere “househusband” — not in the *gharjawai* sense⁹ — in the domestic sphere in Australia and thus resulting in his emasculation or masculine degradation or servi-

⁹ A *gharjawai* is a man who lives in his wife’s house dependent on father-in-law’s income (see also Chopra, 2009).

tude of female members of the family. He outrightly blames racism among Australian employers for his plight and missed opportunities. He also feels that in competition, Indian immigrants are taking over all the jobs because of their corrupt practices. Similar sentiments are reciprocated by Anura's best friend, Siri, a poet who also feels marginalized by the attitude of white editors of magazines and journals in Australia to which he had sent his work for publication. Sometimes, he was not even notified by them about the reasons of his poems being rejected. Among the two Siri is still hopeful that a change will take place; Anura on the other hand is frustrated because of what he has gone through in life and largely because as an immigrant male he feels limited by his contribution toward his family. He notes:

I am the only person who missed out on everything! [...] I wanted to do Philosophy degree, but I'd not be able to find a job by studying Philosophy. I'm doing casual work in a computer assembly plant for my pocket money. If not for our mortgage, I'd have gone back to study philosophy. (p. 76)

With no money, no stable job, no future, and nowhere to go, Anura feels blocked from becoming a real man, a family man as he can't get any work and therefore cannot contribute anything significant, financially, toward his traditional family responsibilities. He knows that in the South Asian family the greater authority is vested in the man as the head of the family and he therefore is responsible for decisions affecting the welfare of his family members. As the head of the family, he controls work and leisure, earnings and expenses, marriages, represents the family in the outside world—even in the families where the women have the freedom to education and right to work. In contrast, marriage in the West is, or is at least supposed to be a participatory relationship between husband and wife and, consequently, men and women share responsibilities in all aspects of life, including "onerous domestic chores" (Bhalla, 2008).

CONCLUSION: RENEGOTIATING MARGINALITY AND MASCULINITY

[...] the compulsion to explain, the inevitable positioning of yourself as deviant vis-à-vis the normal, remains—especially for those immigrants marked by visible difference. (Ang, 1994, p. 10)

One of the purposes of this paper has been to expand on the discourse of marginality and the politics of gendered location, what Linda McDowell calls "renegotiation of gender divisions" (1999, p. 2). South Asian diaspora writers are creating new ways of representing their individual and collective identities. Issues related to gender and construction of masculinity are part of, and can be seen lying at the centre of their work, preoccupations, and explorations.

Both men and women reinvent the past, and themselves, in the diasporic home, which is "presumed to be a utopian space" and which also "allows an immigrant to be his or her ethnic *urself*" (Rudrappa, 2002, p. 100). Yet migration has uneven repercussions on men and women. Migration's dislocations often provide women with new opportunities to renegotiate power and recreate family patterns that are favorable to them (see Bhalla, 2008; Foner, 1997). Keya Ganguly notes that

men's narratives highlight their individuality, their ability to succeed—to 'make good' (despite the odds)—and their autonomy of will. So what if the 'good' is also accompanied by racism and marginality, and with all sorts of ambivalences in self-identity. (1992, p. 41)

Marginality is not only, or even principally, a personal plight. Instead, it is predominantly a "social situation." In this sense, "individuals are reflectors and constructors of a larger social reality" (Drew, 1987, p. 81). The narratives of diaspora men "embody their own specifications and contradictions" (Ganguly, 1992, p. 38). Immigration has provided men with financial security and a better standard of life for them and their families. But some immigrant men, as presented in the stories analyzed here, have been hit hard by the deterioration in the job market or feel underpaid in Australia when compared to their qualifications and skill or previous status in the homeland. Because of this situation many are unable to maintain stable relationships and some often feel excluded from family life and decision making processes, or are deprived of their traditional roles because of a lack of economic resources available to them. This arouses in men a feeling of marginality and reflects a worsened position where the existing patriarchal power relations are challenged in the new society.

As seen in the stories discussed the prominence of women's role in the diaspora often decentres the diasporic male voice. The shared diasporic space emerges as a site of contestation. These struggles for space in the diaspora often result in immigrant men and women a need to shape new domestic practices and post-immigration identities. Keeping in mind the historical circumstances and alternating environments, the position of South Asian diasporic "marginal man" reflects their search for new identity and place in this world (see Hussain, 2005, p. 4).

In conclusion, the issues and dilemmas discussed in this paper, in the light of the social and theoretical background of South Asian diaspora in Australia, help us understand that men have been and continue to be represented in some of the stories as still negotiating their own sense of being and thus re-framing the discourse of "marginality."

The stories highlight the differences in the role of women and men in their community living in Australia. Men are shown to subordinate the private and personal spheres to the public and national. Personal attachments, family obligations, and emotional dependency often make them feel marginalized and impotent in diasporic society and are perceived as potentially dangerous for self-identity.

Resistance to patriarchy has manifested itself in all spheres of life, including South Asian diaspora literature. Literary and sociological research on gender and sexuality in South Asia diaspora in Australia is centered on women's rights, exploitation and domestic violence. The present paper on men and crisis in masculinity, through a study of short literary narratives, is a preliminary inroad into a much needed interdisciplinary research (using sociological and anthropological methodology) in addressing immigrant and diasporic experiences of conventional male subjectivity, masculinity and marginalization of men in South Asian Diaspora in Australia (see also Baas, 2010).

The exploration of masculinity is necessary in understanding the settlement process of South Asian diaspora in Australia because the roles of both men and women are valuable in maintaining and transmitting cultural traditions and values for the family and community. It must be reiterated here that as part of the same

diasporic family unit "the men tend to live in yesterday, the women in today, and the children in the future" (Darvishpour, 1999, p. 22). South Asian diasporic male identity in Australia needs serious investigation as a particular field of inquiry within masculine gender theory (see also Brewton, 2002)—as such a study may help us in a re-evaluation of gender roles and re-definition of what it means to be a man in a postcolonial, post-patriarchal, and globalized South Asian diasporic society.

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“THE PROFESSION OF FIREFIGHTING IS ABOUT TEAMWORK, IT IS ABOUT TRUSTING EACH OTHER”: MASCULINE ENACTMENTS AND GENERATIONAL DISCREPANCIES WITHIN THE SWEDISH FIRE SERVICE

Dissecting the iconic image of the male firefighter this article offers an understanding of how housing preferences and instrumental use are componential to the professional identity of retired firefighters. Drawing on an ethnographic account at a fire station in Luleå, a small town in the Northern parts of Sweden, the intention is to show how retired firefighters performed masculinity, not through embodied viability, but through housing preferences and instrumental use. Distancing themselves from the residential areas and the instrumental management of their professional heirs, the retired firefighters were thus able to retain their status, despite the fact that they were no longer active as firefighters. Exploring the masculine enactments of the retired firefighters, this article seeks to highlight the dynamic of change within the fire service. In doing so, the intention is to provide a deeper understanding of the temporary constructions of masculine values and ideals that pervade this organization.

Keywords: firefighting, masculine enactments, generation, instrumental use, housing preferences, Sweden

The profession of firefighting is commonly referred to as hard labor, that is, jobs that are presumed to involve physical danger. The physical requirements for firefighters are also most often the reason for why the profession is considered inappropriate for women (Crawley, Foley & Shehan, 2008, p. 65, 120). In the study *Real Heat: Gender and Race in the Urban Fire Service* (1997), Carol Chetkovich concludes that the professional fire service “has been predominantly white and entirely male for most of its history” (Chetkovich, 1997, p. 8). Dave Baigent, too, argues that “the

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work of firefighting is extremely masculinised" (2005, p. 45), to the extent that the accomplishment of effective firefighting is synonymous with the achievement of masculinity (p. 47). Saying this, recent studies have identified more multifaceted means of identification within the fire service, which sometimes appear over-ride the traditional expectations of firefighters. Put differently, the masculine values and ideals that pervade the fire service tend to transcend the requirements for physical strength (see for comparison Ericson, 2011; Olofsson, 2012; Thurnell-Read & Parker, 2011). By this, professional identities based on other values and qualities erupt, such as emotional strength, social skills, care and a collective understanding of risk and responsibility. While the fire service is commonly seen as the archetype for male bastions, this does not equate to mere enactments of hardcore masculinities. This is especially evident with regards to age. Dissecting the iconic image of the male firefighter this article offers an understanding of how housing preferences and instrumental use are componential to the professional identity of retired firefighters. Drawing on an ethnographic account at a fire station in Luleå, a small town in the Northern parts of Sweden, the intention is to show how retired firefighters, the referred to "veterans"¹ of the fire brigade, performed masculinity, not through embodied viability, but through housing preferences and instrumental use. Distancing themselves from the residential areas and the instrumental management of their professional heirs, the retired firefighters were thus able to retain their status, despite the fact that they were no longer active as firefighters. The indication is that masculine enactments within the fire service do not solely hinge on an embodied viability. Instead, the stories told by my informants revealed alternative identity constructions of the profession of firefighting. As argued elsewhere, the previous exercises of the retired firefighters were seen as constitutive to the image of what represents a firefighter (Olofsson, 2011, p. 15). In this particular case, housing preferences and instrumental use worked in tandem with, and contributed to fashioning differences in the masculine enactments of the profession of a firefighter, much due to my informants' endorsement of their own distinctiveness.

OBJECTIVE

The Swedish fire service has recently been subjected to extensive academic scrutiny (see for comparison Ericson, 2004, 2011; Glans & Rother, 2007; Mellström, 2008, 2010; Olofsson, 2009, 2011, 2012). Focus has been, for instance, on the ways in which constructions of masculinity within the profession of firefighting are related to specific forms of community among men (Ericson, 2011, p. 175). Out of the five thousand firefighters who are employed full-time in Sweden, around one hundred are women (*Fler kvinnliga brandmän – Men det går långsamt*, 2011), which implies a male domination, not only numerically, but also through the ways in which firefighting activities are coded masculine. The female absence then, is intimately linked to male bonding as well as construction of particular masculinities (Ericson, 2004, p. 157). While these accounts are crucial to critical understandings of the con-

¹ Upon retiring from the profession as a fire fighter in Luleå, or actually from the age of fifty, it is possible to join the local community of retired fire fighters. Referred to as "the veterans of the fire brigade," the accumulation serves to encourage (and reinforce) the comradeship. During my fieldwork, the community had around one hundred members, although the vast majority were absent from the weekly gatherings.

structions of masculinity within the profession of firefighting, they are restricted to active firefighters. Hence, they tend to overlook the temporary constructions of masculinity.

Drawing on previous studies, my central contention is that scrutiny of older and/or retired firefighters highlights the dynamic of change within the fire service, and thereby provides a deeper understanding of the temporary constructions of masculine values and ideals that pervade this organization. Although recent voices within masculinity studies have emphasized the gendered implications of aging, especially in conjunction with masculinity (see for comparison Sandberg, 2007; Spector-Mersel, 2006; Thompson, ed., 1994) it is notable that older men largely remain ignored in scholarship on aging as well as on masculinity (Spector-Mersel, p. 76). Seeking to remedy parts of this disregard, the current objective is to (a) investigate the ways in which masculine enactments among the retired firefighters in Luleå were part and parcel of housing preferences and instrumental use, and (b) show how these factors worked in tandem with generational differences. As the retired firefighters refuted the residential areas as well as the new technologies and methods used by the members of the current fire brigade as a means of distinguishing their own more authentic identity as real old school firefighters, they were able to endorse their own distinctiveness in relation to their professional heirs. This in turn amplified generational differences between the firefighters, reinforced the solidarity amongst the veterans of the fire brigade and in turn influenced the practices of coding this specific profession masculine.

In their study of one UK fire station, Thomas Thurnell-Read and Andrew Parker identify significant changes within the contemporary British fire service. Alongside the importance of physical proficiency Thurnell-Read and Parker show that the fire service personnel constructed specific identities based on a range of seemingly non-masculine values and qualities (Thurnell-Read & Parker, 2008, p. 133). Drawing on the work of Thurnell-Read and Parker, I note that masculine performances among firefighters do not always coincide with the activities of young viable bodies. Older and/or retired firefighters can (and do) indeed perform masculinity though they might fail to meet the physical requirements. Drawing on the work of Chetkovich, "veterans do not complain about those older men who are in poor physical condition" (Chetkovich, 1997, p. 160). The indication is that older firefighters have "paid their dues" (Chetkovich, p. 160), and by this professional identities based on other values and qualities than physical viability erupt.

METHODS AND MATERIAL

From the autumn of 2008 until the late spring of 2009, I observed the weekly gatherings of approximately ten retired firefighters in the town of Luleå, Sweden. All of my informants were men and I estimate that the average age was between seventy and seventy-five years. The meetings were held in the basement of the fire station of Luleå, where my informants repaired old trucks and fire engines and arranged previously wielded instruments on shelves. Thereafter these items were prepared for the computerized record keeping exercise. Although they were required the permission to reside in the venue clearly contributed to fortifying their identity as firefighters, something that will be discussed below. For now, it is notable that sharing premises with the firefighters presently on duty fostered an organizational intimacy, which specifically served to reinforce the connection

between the different generations of firefighters. The younger firefighters could for example show up in the basement of the fire station during the coffee breaks, have a cup of coffee, jest with the retired firefighters and then leave. Saying this, the spatial intimacy did not exclude dividing practices. Whereas my informants were directed to the so-called lower floor, their professional heirs occupied the upper floor of the fire station. Anders², one of the oldest members of the veterans continually expressed serious concerns regarding the diminishing spatial settings allotted to the veterans of the fire brigade. Restored fire engines, fire extinguishers, water pumps and oxygen tanks for example, had a large sentimental value and were carefully maintained by the retired firefighters. However, in as much as technologies such as these might serve as reminders of the primary objective of the profession of firefighting (Ericson, 2011, p. 80) they, at least in this particular case, required large storage spaces, and finding sufficient room for the increasing collection of artifacts was becoming somewhat problematic. The topic was frequently debated among my informants and often accompanied by feelings of uneasiness and discontent, possibly due to the fact that the veterans of the fire brigade experienced that they were squeezed out of the premises and forced to adapt to decisions made by the current representatives of the local rescue agency.

As the retired firefighters mainly inhabited the basement of the local fire station, they could conveniently reach the car park in which they pursued many of their undertakings. They also had access to some of the storages in the basement in which they accumulated and maintained the discarded tools and instruments. Most of my informants arrived at the fire station just before eight o'clock in the morning. After introductory greetings and the customary change of clothes they commenced every occasion with drinking coffee. At ten o'clock in the morning, the members interrupted the different activities to once again summit around the large table where they resumed their conversations. No formal agenda was set, which allowed the retired firefighters to come and leave as they wanted to, but I estimate that we spent three to four hours at the fire station on a weekly basis. A total number of thirteen visits were conducted, and after each appointment time was taken to write up the field notes and summarize the past experiences. Doing so helped to formulate subsequent questions and also make explicit recurring themes.

During the coffee breaks, I was welcome to a place around the table, and my informants took turns sharing with me anecdotes from their previous career. Most often, two or more stories run in parallel, which made it difficult to decipher the courses of events. The cheerful atmosphere did little to ease this dilemma. Stories were told and retold, more details were added and particular parts dismissed as my informants engaged in acts of commemoration. My position as an outsider, and more specifically as a young(er) female scholar, spurred detailed accounts: the assembled men took time to explain technical terms and they also engaged in extensive demonstrations of the old fire engines and the collection of equipment, something that for my part resulted in further inquiries. Offering me guided tours in the fire station, Anders repetitively expressed that he was pleased to see that I was interested in what the retired firefighters were doing, but I failed to distinguish whether his satisfaction was because of my position as young(er), a woman, a scholar or (more likely) a combination of the three.

² Pseudonyms have been used for all the informants to retain their privacy.

It is interesting that my informants, without much ado, validated my attendance at the weekly gatherings. This might be because I gained access to the field through Anders, a keenly engaged enthusiast within the association. His brief introduction of me as “a researcher from the university” seemed to legitimize the continued observations of the weekly gatherings. At the same time, it said little about the particular objective of my study. The relaxed, almost indifferent, approach regarding my scholarly background, my research interest, and the aim with the observations of the weekly gatherings, was equally evident during the remaining fieldwork, something that is also mentioned by Ericson in his study of three groups of shift workers in Sweden (Ericson, 2011, p. 67).

As my informants engaged in their respective undertakings they made extensive use of the spatial facilities of the basement. In order to get an overview of the different activities I got into the habit of circulating around in the basement. The endeavour was to establish a presence. At the same time, I sought not to disrupt the activities, an ambition that did not work out quite as I had planned. Similar to the coffee breaks, my informants seemed happy to engage in detailed lectures regarding their current endeavours whenever I approached them, subsequently abandoning their work at hand. While the conversations provided rich material, I many times missed the opportunity to observe the work of my informants.

In sum, the venture to establish a presence is preferably seen as a constant oscillation that regards not only the researcher as a professional being but also in terms of a gendered, classed and aged self. In this case, my position as a young(er) female scholar seemed to elicit cordial attempts to educate me: I was younger than all of my informants, and by this, it was presumed that my age equated inexperience; I passed as a woman, and by this, the assumption was that my technical skills were limited; and lastly, being a scholar (regardless of research orientation), my knowledge about the work of firefighters was presumed to be almost non-existent, at best bordering on curiosity. In a similar vein, while my willingness to listen and ask further questions was clearly approved of any active engagement from my side seemed to raise a slight uneasiness among my informants. For example, on one occasion I offered to help two of my informants: Leif and Bjarne, with the task of estimating the width of an axle of an old fire engine. The vehicle was difficult to access, and in order to reach it one had to crush past the clutter in the front. Grabbing the folding ruler as I muddled my way through old instruments and car parts I was met with surprise and, what to me appeared as a slight dismissal. “A hag who uses a folding ruler,” Leif exclaimed, and shook his head. Saying this, my position as a young(er) female scholar many times placed me at the mercy of my informants: I noted that this position came with certain expectations, such as passive observation and a willingness to listen rather than actively participate in what my informants were doing. The latter approach did not seem to suit their understanding of the position as a young(er) female scholar.

MASCULINE ENACTMENTS, HOUSING PREFERENCES AND INSTRUMENTAL USE

I mentioned above that the retired firefighters refuted the residential areas as well as the new technologies and methods used by the members of the current fire brigade as a means of distinguishing their own more authentic identity as real old school firefighters. In doing so, they were able to endorse their own distinctiveness in relation to their professional heirs, something that brought into play, alternative

norms, standards and expectations of firefighting. With Thurnell-Read and Parker, my informants' "unrestrained skepticism of newly implemented procedures and organisational restructuring highlighted the dynamic of change in the Service and the impact this was having on occupational identity" (Thurnell-Read & Parker, 2008, p. 132). Saying this, the indication is that a restructuring of the profession of firefighting emanates from organizational modernization and change.

Drawing on the works of Cynthia Cockburn (1983) and Gerd Lindgren (1992; 1999), the following section seeks to elaborate specifically on the crucial relationship between men, masculinity and technological skill, and how this triad is challenged, but also reinforced, in times of organizational change. In addition, it outlines the connection between technological skill and generational discrepancies *among* and *between* men active in male dominated working sites. The intention is to increase the understanding of the dynamic of change within the Swedish fire service.

Cynthia Cockburn's pioneering study *Brothers: Male Dominance and Technological Change* (1983) investigates the work of composers in the newspaper industry in London, and more specifically how the profession of a composer changed as a result of the arrival of computerized composition technology. From being an exclusively male profession, the assignments carried out using the computerized composition technology were coded feminine. This resulted in a surge in female employees as well as a coincidental de-skilling of the profession of a composer. Cockburn concludes that new technology disrupts gender relations (Cockburn, p. 3), at the same time as she extends her analysis to concern, not only the segregation between men and women, but also the politics of masculinity: "[t]here are large-scale tensions and power struggles among and between men *as men*" (Cockburn, p. 132f, emphasis in original). My contention so far has been that male-dominated workplaces do not provide homogenous workforces, and Cockburn's study shows that power struggles among and between the male composers were evident in, for instance, the distinction between mental and manual work as well as the proximity to technology (Cockburn, p. 138). In this case, the distinction between mental and manual work was also bound up with the proximity to technology, something that added complexity to the relationship between the male composers. Technology then, confers power to the groups of men who are close to it relative to those men who work with their bare hands (Cockburn, p. 138).

The investigation of Cockburn is central toward a critical understanding of technological shifts and organizational changes. As they bring forth gendered implications of technological development and organizational rearrangements they additionally correspond to a wider academic nomenclature. But while Cockburn engages in the enactments of class, masculinity and gender, she attends less to the concept of generation. Writing about the politics of masculinity within the printing industry, she does mention that historically, entrance to the profession of a printer took place through apprenticeship (Cockburn, 1983, p. 14ff). Cockburn sketches a meticulous account of the pre-capitalist crafts of printing and the relation between the apprentice and the master printer, but does not disclose further the generational discrepancies of the work of a composer. Hence, while her study shows how the preservation of the system of apprenticeship works excluding toward women, the generational discrepancies *between* men are not outlined further. In order to understand how generational discrepancies influence the enactment of alternative norms, standards and expectations of firefighting, the works of Gerd Lindgren (1992; 1999) consequently prove useful. Lindgren studies clinical de-

partments, including surgical units, in Sweden. In doing so, she investigates the relations between the clinical staff: chief physicians, doctors, surgeons, nurses and nurse aids, in times of organizational change. Similar to Cockburn, Lindgren specifically attends to the ways in which gender and class is componential to the division of labor, but also subjected to change in times of organizational reform. Put differently, the attempts to reform the system of medical care works in tandem with the reshuffling of the hierarchical structures of the clinical departments (Lindgren, 1999, p. 9), and these structures must be seen as at once gendered and classed.

Alongside the vertical division between the professional categories of medical staff such as doctors, nurses and nurse aids, Lindgren uses Connell's notion of homosociality to understand the horizontal division between the members of the same professional category. In doing so, she specifically attends to surgeons. Although the profession of a surgeon is male dominated this does not exclude segregating practices *between* the members of this professional category. Instead, introduction of new methods such as keyhole surgery techniques cut through the homosocial community of male surgeons and propel generational discrepancies. One of Lindgren's informants, a senior physician, refers to his younger colleagues in terms of "Nintendo surgeons" (Lindgren, 1999, p. 111). As the junior surgeons' use of TV monitors and computational means outnumbers other tools such as sets of pliers and scalpels, the skills of the senior surgeons are equally rendered superfluous. Hence, at the same time as technological ability is a means of conveying masculinity, as noted by Thurnell-Read and Parker, it equally serves as a distinguishing factor *between* men.

In addition to the arrival of keyhole surgery techniques, Lindgren identifies a generational discrepancy when it comes to the doctors' attitude toward clinical work respective research work. While the members of the older generation were raised to pursue clinical work, their professional heirs adopt a more research-oriented approach, a professional orientation that equally assumes a superior position in relation to the clinical work. These contentious circumstances give rise to a segregated working environment that is based, first and foremost on a generational discrepancy.

Similar to my informants' housing preferences and instrumental use, the technological change at the surgical units as well as the doctors' attitude toward clinical work respective research work are important factors to consider because they cut through, and add complexity to homosocial practices in which the men seek "enjoyment, and/or preference for the company of the same sex" (Lipman-Blumen, 1976, p. 16). Conforming to the works of Cockburn and Lindgren, the subsequent text offers an extended investigation of the ways in which housing preferences and instrumental use are componential to the professional identity of retired firefighters, and how these norms and ideals contribute to the subsequent exclusion of women. In doing so, the aim is to highlight the dynamic of change within the Swedish fire service.

HOUSING RELOCATIONS

Almost all of my informants had memories from the old fire station in Luleå, and as opposed to the contemporary fire station this building had served both as a workplace and as a site of residence for the, at that time, active workforce. However, as the rescue service in Luleå developed, a larger building was required. The contemporary fire station was inaugurated in 1965 and shortly thereafter, the old

fire station was demolished. Many of the retired firefighters recalled the positive consequences of living in the highly confined quarters of the old fire station, and equally contrasted the physical intimacy with the vast space of the new premises. In doing so it was clear that the move to the new spacious venues was not always approved of as my informants often stressed that it affected the team spirit negatively.

The staircase was one of the ways through which I could gain access to the basement and the meeting-place where the retired firefighters convened every week. Upon walking down the stairs I passed an exhibition case that boasted a 3D model of the old fire station. This model was very detailed and more than once I was cordially instructed by my informants to stop and contemplate the delicate work. On one occasion Anders pointed toward the two miniature benches that were located just outside the entrance, and told me that these seats were popular retreats among the members of the, at that time, active workforce. From this position the firefighters had a great view, not only of the south harbor of Luleå, but also of the town's female inhabitants. "Since we did not have a TV we simply surveyed the passing women," Anders laughed whereupon he smilingly conceded that the women did not always approve of this venture: "[they] were sensitive towards these benches, to that extent that they, rather than bypass us, took the long route around the fire station." Overhearing our conversation, Torgny interposed and contended that he for his part believed that many women intentionally flaunted in front of the old fire station *because of* the surveying looks.

Saying this, the favorite past times of my informants were componential to the masculine performances of the members of the fire brigade. These activities also served to fortify the profession as a firefighter as inherently male. Inasmuch as the women who passed *outside* the old fire station were legitimized they were crudely dismissed as dwellers *within* this building. Consider for instance the written message on one of the signs: *Stray dogs and women are prohibited in the sentry.*

Equated to stray dogs (leashed dogs must admittedly have been legitimate), women—much approved of as objects to admire from a distance—were at the same time denied entry to the sentry, which in turn reinforced the connection not only between men and firefighting activities, but also between men and the spatial settings of the old fire station. The male bonding activities in which women were disqualified, not only as firefighters, but more importantly as women can thus be seen as a response to the outsiders, something that in turn amplified the team spirit.

Alongside their approval of the benches and in particular the view they provided, my informants often referred to, and demonstrated their support of the physical intimacy offered by the old fire station. Not only did the confined space enable them to quickly reach the trucks in case of fire alarms, the physical intimacy also enabled male bonding and served to fortify particular sites as exclusively male. Excluding practices were further evident as the profession of firefighting precluded marriage up until the early twentieth century. Possible families and spouses were seen as disturbing (nonetheless enticing) elements. Moving to the new fire station in 1956, the initial prescription that outlawed marriage had been disqualified; instead wives and children were welcome to join their working husbands in rooms adjacent to the fire station.

Noteworthy, the housing relocation that took place in 1965 propelled new routines, which jostled with, albeit not defeated the lines of gender segregation. Wives

and children were admittedly allowed to join their husbands in rooms *adjacent* to the fire station and were also invited to the annual Christmas parties as well as to audit the variety shows that were produced by the members of the fire brigade, but in general the fire station remained a male domain. Female dress codes and behavior, I was told, fell at odds with the spatial design of the fire station. My informants laughingly recalled how their spouses, dressed in gowns as they attended parties and variety shows, had to muddle their way through narrow staircases and construction sites in order to reach the designated venues.

Although contemporary arrangements of the rescue service in Luleå might seem liberated from excluding practices, at least in terms of written decrees, my observations of contemporary arrangements revealed a slightly different picture. For example, the few female co-workers who were employed at the local rescue agency all worked as receptionists. The spatial conditions for their assignments constituted at once a demarcated area: entering the fire station, the reception desk and the glass wall effectively confined the women out of the male activities. Whereas the men occupied the locker rooms, the garage halls, the workshops and the exercise yard, the women were stationed behind the desk of the entrance hall. As the receptionists managed administrative tasks, their spatial seclusion equally contributed to an understanding of where to direct questions concerning organizational matters. During one of the weekly gatherings in the beginning of December the retired firefighters discussed the upcoming annual Christmas party. Unsure of *whom* to talk to, and *where* to apply in order to partake in the event, Magnus, one of the youngest informants, received a recommendation to “ask the girls.” Contemplating the information given, not only did he know whom to turn to, the advice to ask the girls did in fact suggest where to go.

COMMITMENT

Thus far I have showed that inhabitation of the premises of the old fire station and the common lockout points were componential to the masculine performances of my informants. I have also demonstrated how the move from the old fire station spurred differences *as well as* refurbishments of these performances. In addition, I note that devotion to the profession of firefighting was crucial to its masculine connotation. My informants repetitively stressed the importance to devote an excessive amount of time to the occupation, something that equally hinged on a physical presence. Whenever leaving the fire station, the members of the fire brigade had to inform their colleagues of where to be reached in case of emergencies. Availability during holidays and weekdays were no exceptions, and especially new recruits were enrolled during these occasions. Commencing his career as a substitute, Torgny for instance, recalled how he was obliged to work on Christmas Eve for seven years in a row. In doing so he nonetheless proved himself reliable, trustworthy and willing to commit to the occupation of firefighting. Asking Anders about the former amount of working hours during one week, he simply shrugged his shoulders: “how would I remember, it was a lot. Perhaps one hundred hours a week.” Anders’ unwitting attitude as well as his unwillingness to make an adequate estimation is interesting as it shows the importance, not only of an unconditional commitment, but also of taking up an indifferent approach toward the amount of working hours.

The willingness to work however interfered with other obligations. Families were simply expected to adjust their agenda to the motley schedule of the local fire

brigade. In addition to the physical presence the occupation of a firefighter required constant preparation and hastiness, which equally affected the life of my informants' spouses. Torgny conveyed stories of how the wives used to follow in the wake of their men after the latter had received a fire alarm and subsequently were approaching the fire engines. Carrying extra clothes, food and hot beverages, women served as caring assistants.

The troubled border between work and home compelled certain ways of living, and asking the retired firefighters about the changing conditions in their profession, they often lamented the time in which firefighting activities eliminated all other engagements. The ubiquitous readiness and willingness to serve pervaded many of the discussions during the weekly gatherings, although not explicitly pinpointed as such. Rather, the firefighters' alacrity seemed to be a naturalized trait, simply inhabited and enacted by my informants as well as the members of the current fire brigade, although the latter's living conditions and additional engagements were assumed to somewhat hamper the occupational commitment. During the joint gatherings I listened to stories regarding interrupted coffee breaks, missed lunches and unprecedented work-shift extensions due to fire alarms, accidents and turnouts. All of these were mundane disturbances that required a committed workforce. As a consequence, inappropriate attendances were sorted out, which served to guarantee the skilful remnants. Simply, "men who [slacked off] disappeared [...], they did not return [to the fire brigade in Luleå]." The harsh conditions that my informants depicted might not differ immensely from their professional heirs. Located in the lower floor of the fire station, the retired firefighters could still listen to the announced alarms, which called for the immediate attention of the current members of the workforce.

Inconvenient working hours, willingness to serve and an unconditional engagement in the fire service were not only pivotal means of professional identification, but salient elements in experiences of reciprocal trust. The retired firefighters frequently stressed the importance of reliance and solidarity within the local fire brigade. "The profession of fire fighting is about teamwork, it is about trusting each other. You do not work as a smoke diver without trusting your friend," Anders asserted and was supported by the others. In order for the mutual reliance to develop, geographical closeness as well as extensive periods of time spent at the local rescue agency, whether on duty or not, were pivotal, but equally subjected to change as the new fire station was inaugurated. As expressed by Torgny, "[at the old fire station] we literally lived on top of each other." Hence, practices of trust did not only emerge when working together. My informants jokingly pinpointed activities of eating, sleeping, and snoring together as just as important. "We have no secrets," Anders contended, whereupon Magnus modified the former statement with a knowing smile: "the secrets are [always] revealed." Saying this, my informants implicitly disclosed lack of privacy, but also the value of mutual respect.

Saying this, devotion and engagement had spatial implications in that occupation of certain sites such as the garage hall, the sentry and the changing room clearly demonstrated readiness and affluence whereas dwelling in other venues spurred contrary connotations. In any case, the new fire station did not constitute a coherent entity. Inhabitation of the lower floor and the upper floor fortified, as also stated previously, generational differences between the retired firefighters and their professional heirs. Moreover, competence seemed to be intimately linked to occupation of certain premises and equally questioned in conjunction to others.

The rest and relaxation (R & R) room for instance, gave rise to vehement discussions among my informants. Magnus claimed this particular space to be used by the workers on-call duty: they did not actually work, he explained, but were available in case of emergencies. Engaged in another discussion, Anders overheard Magnus's comment whereupon he upheld the room to in fact be used for the commanders of the fire brigade rather than for respite. "There has never been a rest and relaxation room in this building," he asserted. Magnus replied that surely there had been two rooms in one of the corridors in the new fire station, and that at least one of them was used as an "R & R" room. "I have never sat down there, not during the working hours in any case," Anders concluded. Hence, the repudiation toward this specific space is equally a dismissal of laziness and unwillingness to work. Taking pride in claiming a foreign association with the "R & R" room, Anders implicitly conveyed himself, as opposed to any possible residents in the R & R room, as a devoted firefighter.

TECHNOLOGICAL REVISIONS

So far I have demonstrated how adequate occupation of the fire station and its adjacent settings as well as unconditional devotion to the job of a firefighter comprised corner stones in the masculine values and ideals that pervaded the fire service in Luleå. Taking posture from these demonstrations, the following text shows, not only how the use of technologies contributed to these processes, but also how technological revisions impinged on the masculine connotations of the profession of firefighting. For instance, the introduction and deployment of hydraulic drive systems clearly affected the ways in which the ladders were maneuvered. Not only did this hydraulic drive system assume the most physically demanding exercises, it also allowed for remote operations. My informants recalled how they, in the beginning of their career, had to crank up the ladders manually or alternatively harness horses to assist them, something that stood in stark contrast to the hydraulic drive system of the contemporary ladders, and more specifically the turntable ladder truck onto which the ladders were mounted. Although the ladders continuously enabled access to burning buildings the hydraulic drive system spurred alternative exercises, something that brought forth generational discrepancies between the retired firefighters and their occupational heirs.

Elsewhere I have discussed how technological developments did not only include the introduction of new features, but concerned material alterations as well (Olofsson, 2011, p. 17). In this case, the transition from wood to light-alloy metal clearly altered the operation of the ladders. Whereas four men previously were required in order to carry a wooden ladder that measured twelve metres, transportation and rising of the contemporary ladders were, as mentioned above, facilitated by hydraulic steering and also simplified, much due to the reduction in weight. As a result, one person could easily maneuver any of the spare ladders manually.

Other than the reduction in weight, the ladders that were made of light-alloy metal did not catch fire, something that radically improved the number of safe achievements. My informants recalled the impending risks that accompanied the previous arrangements. Similar to contemporary procedures the wooden ladders were most often erected against the facades of the burning buildings, and in order to facilitate safe descents they were also secured with ropes. But due to the immense heat the ropes easily went off, which turned the use of the wooden ladders

into hazardous enterprises. As the escape route was cut off the imprisoned people had to find alternative ways. Anders told me about one of these occasions: the lack of escape routes forced four people on the upper floor of a building to let themselves down using sheets that were tied together.

Saying this, the facilitative functions of contemporary technologies were not always approved of. Inasmuch as the hydraulic steering facilitated safe achievements, its astuteness served to infantilize the members of the contemporary workforce. As shown:

One particular day, as my informants engage in cleaning practices they find a set of slides with instructions for contemporary recruits on how to assemble the hoses, use the pumps and manually raise the ladders. The assembled men laughingly comment on what they seem to regard as clumsy arrangements and evident deficiencies. Anders however, does not find the instructions amusing. Instead, he repetitively shakes his head: "the fire fighters of today! They are not even cut out to crank up a ladder." "That is not necessary," Torgny responds, "they [the ladders] are remotely controlled." (Olofsson, 2011, p. 17)

Hence, routines and standards are not simply passed on from one generation to another, but subjected to continuous modifications. As technological revisions altered the routines and standards of the fire service in Luleå, the contemporary workforce was rendered unqualified. Contemplating Anders' resignation, the inability to manually crank up a ladder seemed to affect, not only this particular act, but also firefighting activities in general. Little or no attention was directed to the skills that were required in order to operate the hydraulic-driven ladders on the turntable ladder truck. Instead, my informants endorsed the ability to manually crank up the ladders and in turn, the possession of a strong and competent body. But while "the ability to meet the physical challenges of particular types of work is central to the construction of certain occupational identities" (Thurnell-Read & Parker, 2008, p. 128) I also noted an implicit approval of team work among my informants as yet another measure of the masculine prowess within the fire service. As opposed to the contemporary hydraulic maneuver of ladders, previous erection of ladders was by necessity a joint undertaking, something that required cooperative efforts and a synchronized workforce. Drawing on my informants' historical accounts it is clear that physical strength, but also a collective consciousness were componential to what it meant to be a real firefighter. To manoeuvre the ladders alone and/or assisted by hydraulic steering called to question the professional skills of the contemporary workforce and in turn their aptness as firefighters, something that revealed generational discrepancies between the retired firefighters and their professional heirs.

CONCLUDING REMARKS

Distinguishing more multifaceted means of identification within the fire service, this article has sought to dissect the iconic image of the male firefighter. As such, it provides "further insight into the complexities of identity construction for male firefighters" (Thurnell-Read & Parker, 2008, p. 129). I have showed that the masculine enactments among the retired firefighters in Luleå were part and parcel of

housing preferences and instrumental use, and these factors also worked in tandem with generational differences. In this case, the masculine enactments of my informants transcended many of the traditional expectations of firefighters, something that forged additional values and ideals.

Spector-Mersel notes that “[t]he absence of cultural guidelines for being both a “true” man and an aging person constitutes the context within which contemporary older men struggle to build acceptable identities” (Spector-Mersel, 2006, 68). In agreement with Spector-Mersel, this article has provided empirical examples of some of the ways in which these struggles come about. Distancing themselves from the residential areas and the instrumental management of their professional heirs, the veterans of the fire brigade were able to retain their status, despite the fact that they were no longer active as firefighters. At the same time, the diminishing spatial settings allotted to my informants propelled feelings of uneasiness and discontent. While the retired firefighters were directed to the so-called lower floor, their professional heirs occupied the upper floor of the fire station. My informants’ endeavor to build acceptable identities then, was clearly bound up with the allocated space. In a similar vein, their dismissal of contemporary technologies allowed my informants to distinguish their own more authentic identity as real old school firefighters. The differences in techniques then, called into question the professional skills of the contemporary workforce and in turn their aptness as firefighters.

In sum, exploring the masculine enactments of the retired firefighters, this article has sought to highlight the dynamic of change within the fire service. In doing so, the intention has been to provide a deeper understanding of the temporary constructions of masculine values and ideals that pervade this particular organization.

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HERBIVORE MASCULINITY AS AN OPPOSITIONAL FORM OF MASCULINITY

Various sociocultural changes have influenced the emergence of non-hegemonic, oppositional masculinities in Japan. Herbivore masculinity exemplifies a non-hegemonic masculinity that has emerged in the wake of a shifting social landscape and thus departs from salaryman hegemonic masculinity. This paper provides an overview and critical investigation of the gender practices constituting herbivore masculinity. Results of the analysis indicate that many gender practices that constitute herbivore masculinity appear to resist salaryman hegemonic masculinity and in the process legitimate an equal relationship between men and women, masculinity and femininity. Nevertheless, herbivore masculinity is simultaneously underpinned by gender practices which rather than depart from, reify the hegemonic status quo. An implication of this investigation is that non-hegemonic masculinities are not necessarily more democratic than their hegemonic counterparts.

Keywords: herbivore masculinity, Japan, professional housewife femininity, salaryman masculinity

Similar to other socio-cultural contexts, non-hegemonic masculinities have recently emerged in Japan challenging and interrogating cornerstone elements of hegemonic masculinity. *Sôshokukei danshi* (“herbivore men”), or more accurately *herbivore masculinities*, represent an oppositional form of Japanese masculinity. Maki Fukasawa coined “herbivore” in reference to slim heterosexual men who are professionally unambitious, consumerists, and passive or uninterested in heterosexual romantic relationships (Chen, 2012; Fukasawa, 2009; Morioka, 2009; Ushikubo, 2008). “Sex” translates as “relationship in flesh” in Japanese; “herbivore” connotes an apparent disinterest in sexual intimacy. Notably, herbivores contest many of the time-honored practices associated with hegemonic masculinity such as excessive tobacco and alcohol consumption, chronic workaholicism, emotional illiteracy, and the subordination of women.

The present article critically examines the gender “practices” (Martin, 2003, 2006) that constitute herbivore masculinity, especially considering the extent to which

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they contribute to gender equity. Analysis indicates that while previously hegemonic archetypes are in a state of upheaval and reconfiguration, the emergence of alternative masculinities is not necessarily an indicator that gender relations are becoming more egalitarian in Japan. Rather, situated within Japan's shifting social geography, herbivore masculinities mark a context where long-cherished and hegemonic masculine gender practices are currently unavailable. In response to this sociocultural vista, herbivore masculinity entails a pastiche of alternative gender practices that might but do not *per se* equalize the relationship between men and women, between masculinity and femininity.

DATA AND METHOD

This research note consists of a content analysis (Berg, 1998) of emergent secondary literature on herbivores (Chen, 2012; Fukasawa, 2009; Morioka, 2009; Ushikubo, 2008). Excluding Chen's, these studies fail to conduct critical analysis or empirical research of herbivore masculinity. Instead, these sources provide exclusively popular, non-scholarly portrayals of an emergent phenomenon. Chen critically engages with the same secondary sources as this article, however he neglects to conduct primary empirical research. Building on and extending Chen's research, I critically analyzed this research in order to identify the recurrent social practices that arguably amount to *herbivore masculinity*. The article problematizes "herbivore" as an overarching category that encompasses men who engage in an array of divergent gender practices.

Validity issues arise from basing this article on a small sample of secondary sources. The secondary sources here examined failed to specify their sampling procedures, so the representativeness of their samples remains unclear. Notwithstanding, we can view the studies analyzed as part of an extended popular discourse circumscribing herbivore masculinity as a distinct entity. The significance of popular discourses surrounding herbivores is that previously hegemonic forms of masculinity are being challenged and potentially undermined by non-hegemonic forms. This paper, then, offers an initial investigation of herbivore masculinity which further empirical research may extend.

I first discuss the pre-1990 rubrics of *salaryman hegemonic masculinity* and *housewife emphasized femininity*. Certain gender practices support the ascendance of salaryman hegemonic masculinity and subordination of housewife emphasized femininity. While salarymen exercise social power and have access to material wealth, various costs are incurred from practicing this form of masculinity. A prolonged period of economic stagnation has significantly impacted salaryman masculinity and housewife femininity. Next, the article shifts focus to discuss potential factors leading to the emergence of practices constituting herbivore masculinity. Across domains of wage labor, body grooming, interpersonal relationships, and sexuality, herbivore gender emerges as an *oppositional* form of masculinity. The article then addresses problematic aspects of depictions of herbivore masculinity. The final section of the article maintains that while herbivore masculinity appears to subvert many elements of salaryman hegemonic masculinity, herbivore masculinity fails to significantly undermine the superior status of masculinity over femininity, thus failing to dismantle heteropatriarchal gender relations.

THE SALARYMAN AND HOUSEWIFE IN POST-WORLD WAR II JAPAN

Empirical research has demonstrated that the figures of corporate salaryman and fulltime housewife serve as archetypes of hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity in post-World War II Japan (Dasgupta, 2009, 2012; Hidaka, 2010; Roberson, 2003; Taga, ed., 2011; Tokuhiko, 2010). Originally formulated by R.W. Connell and later expanded by James Messerschmidt, hegemonic masculinity covers “that form of masculinity in a particular social setting that structures and legitimates gender relations hierarchically between men and women, masculinity and femininity” (Messerschmidt, 2011, p. 206). Hegemonic masculinities incur intelligibility through their relationship with subaltern masculinities and “emphasized” femininity, that is, “a form of femininity that is practiced in a complimentary, compliant, and accommodating subordinate relationship with hegemonic masculinity” (p. 206).

This paper adopts a broadly social constructionist view of gender and thus conceptualizes gender as a fluid construct that individuals actively accomplish, *craft*, *do*, or *practice* within specific institutional and interactional contexts (Dasgupta, 2012; Kondo, 1990; Martin, 2003, 2006; West & Zimmerman, 1987). Particular institutional and social contexts sponsor *gendered practices* or *gendering practices*; that is, specific repertoires of social actions and behaviors that individuals can enact, resist, or even reformulate as they *practice* gender within social interaction (Martin, 2003, 2006). Practicing gender is the literal event or “the doing, displaying, asserting, narrating, performing, mobilizing, maneuvering” of gender within specific interactional contexts (Martin, 2003, p. 354). Although social actors possess agency to construct or practice various forms of masculinity and femininity, individual agency can be curtailed as along lines of class, race, and sexuality. As a result, heterosexuals from privileged race and class positions “practice” more powerful forms of masculinity and femininity than less privileged individuals (Messerschmidt, 2012, p. 34). Power is thus inextricably linked to gender as practice, so individuals who are unable to embody situationally appropriate forms of gender are regarded as *gender deviant* and can face social sanction or denigration (Klein, 2012; Messerschmidt, 2012). Nevertheless, power is never unidirectional and absolute but multidirectional and fluid, so individuals shift between occupying various degrees of powerfulness and powerlessness (Messerschmidt, 2012, Weedon, 1996). Thus, an individual’s position in the hierarchy of masculinities shifts over space and time.

A *sarariiiman* (“salaryman,” salaried employee) is typically a graduate from the ranks of an elite university who is continuously employed by one corporation from university graduation till retirement. Employers expect absolute loyalty, diligence, steadfast dedication, and self-sacrifice from their employees, who are compensated with the coveted three treasures of permanent lifetime employment, seniority-based wages and promotions, and corporate unionism (Dasgupta, 2000, p. 192; Roberson & Suzuki, 2003, p. 9; Sasaki, 2011, p. 163). These treasures are not easily attained and require self-sacrifice, economic capital, eventually an absolute dedication to a corporation. Salaryman masculinity is class specific and thus unavailable to men who occupy lower than middle class positions. Middle-class men and women may access a stable lifestyle by enacting the complementary roles of salaryman hegemonic masculinity and fulltime housewife emphasized femininity.

Marriage and work are cornerstone gender practices constituting salaryman masculinity. Dasgupta (2000, p. 194) maintains that a *heterosexual patriarchal family ideology* underlies salaryman masculinity. Men are expected to perform the roles of

husband and *daikokubashira* (“family breadwinner”). A salaryman’s wife typically partakes in nonpermanent part-time work. Men are expected to serve as the primary family providers, thus exemplifying the strong connection between masculinity and paid labor. Men are expected to be not only productive in the workforce but also reproductive in the sense of starting and financially supporting a family.

Salarymen are beneficiaries of the *patriarchal dividend* (Connell, 1995, p. 82; 2009, p. 142) and accordingly accrue material wealth, social prestige, and institutional authority. Specifically, corporations reward their employees with benefits that can include health care, a housing subsidiary, a “marriage bonus” for newly married employees, subsequent bonuses for each child, and pension coverage for non-working women, and for this reason can be viewed as “total providers” (Borovoy, 2005, pp. 81-82; Sasaki, 2011, p. 163). The corporate discourse of total provider expounds the previously discussed heterosexual patriarchal family ideology and heteronormative stipulation that men marry, reproduce, and serve as family breadwinners.

Sengyō shufu (“professional/fulltime housewife”) emphasized femininity is the relational counterpart to salaryman hegemonic masculinity (Charlebois, forthcoming). Sociocultural norms dictate that women marry by a certain age and devote their full and complete attention to tasks such as managing the household budget, performing housework and childcare, supporting their children’s education, and providing elder care (Kurotani, 2005, p. 127). Given their wives’ domestic support, men are able to prioritize their careers. The classification of a housewife as a profession indicates that domesticity is a fulltime, stay-at-home endeavor (Imamura, 1987, p. 18).

Despite the existence of a sociocultural norm that associates women and femininity with fulltime domesticity, many married women are part-time employees (Nemoto, 2010, pp. 205-206; Tachibanaki, 2010, pp. 227-264; Tokuhiro, 2010, pp. 83-84). For this reason, the term *kengyō shufu* (“working housewife”) depicts more accurately than *sengyō shufu* the lived realities of many women. Although many women are employed close to full-time hours, this work is often poorly remunerated unskilled shift work, so they are unable to achieve financial independence. As sociocultural norms position married women as primarily family caregivers, the purpose of nondomestic work is not self-development but to contribute to the household budget (Kimoto, 2005, p. 19; Suzuki, 2007, p. 11; Tachibanki, 2010, p. 256). Thus, marriage, motherhood, and occupying a position of economic dependence on a male breadwinner are still central components of emphasized femininity.

The unequal nature of the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity manifests in several interrelated ways. First, housewives are financially dependent on their husbands, so marriage becomes *eikyū shūshoku* (“lifetime employment”) for many middle-class women (Iwao, 1993, p. 156; Tachibanaki, 2010, p. 157). Indeed, a housewife’s livelihood is often entirely dependent upon a male breadwinner, so she must never divorce and her quality of life depends upon her husband’s salary (Yamada, 2001, p. 171). Therefore, allegiance to the model of housewife emphasized femininity incurs risks. Second, whereas salaryman masculinity is constructed through individual accomplishments and successes, housewife femininity is constructed through supporting others’ achievements. Consequently, a woman’s femininity is validated through and perhaps con-

tingent upon her husband's professional and children's academic success. Third, married working women are expected to perform the *second shift* (Hochschild, 1989) of domestic work and childcare irrespective of their non-domestic responsibilities. In addition to discriminatory workplace practices (Kimoto, 2005; Ogasawara, 1998; Tachibanaka, 2010), this cultural norm makes it difficult for women to build successful careers and conceivably makes fulltime domesticity more appealing than balancing the double burden of domestic and nondomestic labor. Some women even regard the choice to opt out of the labor force after marriage as their unique gendered privilege because the option is unavailable to men (Holloway, 2010, p. 11).

The construction of salaryman masculinity and housewife emphasized femininity entails the mobilization of gender practices that constitute a hierarchical, if complementary, relationship between men and women, masculinity and femininity. Salaryman hegemonic masculinity is superior to housewife emphasized femininity as men accrue material wealth and social power while women partake in an unpaid and arguably undervalued "labor of love." A woman's social status is not only dependent upon her husband's social position but also rests on his decision to share material wealth and decision-making authority with her (Eckert & McConnell-Ginet, 2003, p. 38). As the accomplishment of housewife femininity involves occupying a position of dependence on a male breadwinner, it marks subordination to salaryman masculinity.

CONTEMPORARY SALARYMAN MASCULINITY AND HOUSEWIFE FEMININITY

Masculinities are never static and ahistorical but fluid and transhistorical, so hegemonic masculinities shift over time and vary by social setting. Contemporaneously, non-hegemonic *oppositional* masculinities emerge which challenge the authority of hegemonic masculinity and sometimes undermine unequal gender relations (Messerschmidt, 2000, p. 12). The combined effects of a prolonged economic recession and shifting sociocultural norms have drastically impacted salaryman hegemonic masculinity (Dasgupta, 2009, 2012; Taga, ed., 2011). Simultaneously, non-hegemonic masculinities are emerging which significantly depart from and at least somewhat undermine salaryman hegemonic masculinity (Dasgupta, 2009, p. 80; Napier, 2011, p. 165).

Despite the long-established authority of salaryman hegemonic masculinity, sociocultural changes have reduced the salaryman's previously ascendant position. The 1990's and ensuing decades have witnessed an extended period of economic stagnation which has resulted in corporate restructurings and downsizing as well as an overall decrease in the number of permanent employment positions (Dasgupta, 2009, pp. 83-84, 2010; Taga, 2011a, p. 11). This period of low economic growth, rising unemployment rates, and resulting sense of rising apprehension and uncertainty is commonly referred to as Japan's "lost decade" (Dasgupta, 2009, p. 79). Increasing numbers of younger men are unable to secure permanent employment and are forced to accept nonpermanent forms of employment (Dasgupta, 2009, pp. 83-84, 2010; Hidaka, 2010, p. 89; Mathews, 2004, pp. 123-127; Taga, 2011a, p. 31). Consequently, not only is their access to an affluent lifestyle severely curtailed, but also their masculinity is threatened due to the strong relationship between paid labor and masculinity (Dasgupta, 2009, p. 85).

Another interrelated consequence of an increasingly unstable employment environment is that younger men of the *shinjinrui* ("new breed") generation are un-

willing to exhibit complete devotion to an organization, yet they still subscribe to a preeminently work-centered lifestyle (Dasgupta, 2009, pp. 83-84; Hidaka, 2010, pp. 178-181). A desire for self-fulfillment and greater autonomy is replacing older workplace norms of selfless corporate dedication and obedience (Sasaki, 2011, pp. 183-185; Murata, 2011, p. 89). In contemporary Japan, changing jobs and even careers are commonplace practices (Murata, 2011, pp. 82-89). Although *shinjinrui* men appear to reject the dominant total devotion to work trope that was normative during the previous generation, men still spend considerable amounts of time at work (Higashino, 2011, p. 35; Murata, 2011, pp. 70-75; Sasaki, 2011, p. 164). Furthermore, the replacement of the seniority system of advancement with performance based assessment requires that men toll long hours at work in order to receive a positive performance and ultimately promotions (Higashino, 2011, pp. 44-49). Despite changes to existing employment structures, professional success is still a central component of contemporary salaryman masculinity (Dasgupta, 2009, p. 90, 2010; Hidaka, 2010, p. 163; Taga, 2011b, p. 117; Tokuhiro, 2010, pp. 55-58).

The passage of gender equality legislation and subsequent dissemination of the notion of gender equality is a further factor that has contributed to the reconfiguration of salaryman masculinity. Consequently, contemporary wives expect their husbands to actively contribute to domestic life (Dasgupta, 2009, p. 90; Higashino, 2011, p. 5; Taga, 2011c, pp. 146-148). Hence, a new gender division of labor is emerging where husbands entrust prime responsibility for housework and childcare to their wives during the week and then make limited domestic contributions on evenings and weekends (Sasaki, 2011, p. 178). It is not uncommon for contemporary fathers to express feelings of anxiety and internal conflict regarding their inability to adequately balance the demands of the workplace with those of the home (Taga, 2011b, pp. 99-102).

HERBIVORE MASCULINITY

The emergence of this new generation of salarymen is not only a response to the economy but also a reflection of the East Asian region where “soft masculinity” has had a long history. Kam Louie (2003, p. 10) argues that since the time of Confucius, Chinese masculinity is construed from the binary forces of *wen* (cultural and mental accomplishments) and *wu* (martial and physical accomplishments). Although masculinity is comprised from a balance of both elements, *wen* is awarded primacy in Chinese culture (Louie, 2002, pp. 17-18). Similarly, Korean *seonbi* masculinity which emphasizes scholastic achievement rather than physical virility is similar to *wen* masculinity (Jung, 2011, p. 27). *Seonbi* masculinity remains idealized in Korean culture and has influenced the development of soft masculinity in Korea (Jung, p. 28).

The cultural idolization of soft masculinity has a long history in Japan. Male *kabuki* actors frequently blur gender boundaries through cross-dressing, and *bishōnen* (“beautiful boys”) are idealized in *anime* (“animated films”) and *manga* (“comics”) (Darling-Wolf, 2004, p. 361). A number of *bishōnen* pop idols such as the bands SMAP and Arashi have contributed to the dissemination of mediated images of soft masculinity.

Herbivore masculinity exemplifies a soft oppositional masculinity that was arguably influenced by the stagnant economy, shifting sociocultural values, and dissemination of media images (Chen, 2012). With salaryman masculinity

reconfigured in the wake of the shifting sociocultural landscape, herbivore masculinity represented a non-hegemonic oppositional form of masculinity that significantly departs from salaryman hegemonic masculinity but does not represent a more egalitarian masculinity.

Herbivore masculinity extends to areas of wage labor, body grooming, interpersonal relationships, and sexuality. Professional success and material wealth are not central components of herbivore masculinity while crucial to salaryman masculinity (Chen, 2012; Hidaka, 2010; Taga, 2006, 2011; Tokuhiko, 2010). Although many individuals practicing herbivore masculinity are apparently unwilling to display total devotion to a corporation, many are unopposed to stable, permanent employment. The key difference from their salarymen predecessors is that work performs the instrumental function of supporting their lifestyles, while they define their masculinity through alternative social practices.

As previously discussed, there is a social trend of increasing individualization and declining corporate loyalty in Japan (Chen, 2012, p. 295). Nevertheless, careerism is a gender practice that is central to contemporary salaryman masculinity, yet a much more peripheral part of herbivore masculinity. As the attainment of professional success and material wealth are practices unassociated with herbivore masculinity, men practicing herbivore masculinity occupy a less privileged class position than their salaryman counterparts.

Herbivore masculinity is much more aesthetically-oriented than either traditional or contemporary salaryman masculinities and related to the body-management practices of dieting, hair styling, eyebrow grooming, and adherence to skin care regimes (Chen, 2012, p. 286; Ushikubo, 2008, p. 49). Even though personal grooming and an overall investment in personal appearance are becoming part of contemporary salaryman masculinity (Dasgupta, 2010), these practices are much more central to herbivore masculinity.

The formation of intimate friendships with women is another practice which underpins herbivore masculinity and subverts salaryman hegemonic masculinity. Herbivores enjoy bonding with their female friends through talking and engaging in mutual activities such as shopping, cooking, or dining out (Fukasawa, 2009; Morioka, 2009; Ushikubo, 2008). More strikingly, herbivores often travel and share the same hotel room with their female friends, although relationships would remain strictly platonic. The formation of close relationships counters the notion that men are emotionally inarticulate and thus unable to form emotional bonds with others. On the contrary, herbivores' relationships reach a level of intimacy which arguably equals or even surpasses physical intimacy and counters a dominant heteronormative assumption that heterosexual desire is the structuring agent of most male-female relationships.

Herbivore masculinity further departs from salaryman masculinity in the areas of romantic relationships and sexuality. Purveyors of herbivore masculinity purportedly possess attitudes toward romantic relationships ranging from a strong desire to cultivate long-term heterosexual relationships to a commitment to permanent singlehood. A common herbivore masculinity practice is to assume a more passive, stereotypically feminine role in romantic relationships (Chen, 2012, pp. 286-287; Morioka, 2009, p. 12; Ushikubo, 2008, p. 73). Accordingly, some men deflect the leadership role to women and expect them to serve as decision makers regarding matters such as the location of dates. Nonetheless, herbivore is a heterogeneous category, so some herbivore men find it difficult to ask women to

go out on a date or express their romantic feelings while others are involved in stable monogamous relationships.

Aggressive heterosexual prowess is not as central to hegemonic masculinity in Japan as in Western cultures; nevertheless, salaryman masculinity is strongly tied in with heterosexuality and the formation of romantic relationships (Castro-Vazquez & Kishi, 2003; Hidaka, 2010; Taga, 2006, 2011; Tokuhiko, 2010). While some men who practice herbivore masculinity are involved in long-term heterosexual relationships, others reject this practice and instead fulfill their sexual desires through pornographic media. Consequently, the consumption of pornographic magazines, as well as erotic DVDs, websites, and computer games, are practices constituting herbivore masculinity. Ushikubo's (2008, p. 58) informants described sex as "a habit, duty, and troublesome" and some were sexually uninvolved with their current partners.

HERBIVORE AS AN OPPOSITIONAL FORM OF MASCULINITY

Herbivore masculinity's resistance to the previously discussed heterosexual patriarchal family ideology which defines men as *daikokubashira* ("family breadwinners") represents a significant departure from contemporary hegemonic masculinity. The above discussion illustrated that while lifetime employment in a single corporation is less central to contemporary salaryman masculinity, professional success remains a key component of this form of masculinity. In contrast, corporate advancement and material wealth are nonessential elements of herbivore masculinity.

One possible interpretation of this phenomenon is that the lost decade has induced an overall reduction in employment positions, so permanent employment is not always a contextually available masculine resource. From this perspective, more leisure-oriented herbivore masculinity does not represent authentic transgression *per se*, but simply follows broader sociocultural patterns. As a result, herbivore masculinity is constructed from alternative gender practices such as narcissistic body-management, a primacy of consumption, and the formation of intimate opposite-sex friendships.

More optimistically, one can view herbivore masculinity as rejecting the careerism trope and as constructing masculinity from alternative gender practices. While contemporary salaryman masculinity departs from traditional salaryman masculinity in the sense that corporate loyalty is unvalued, the attainment of professional success is an arduous process which requires the exertion of a significant amount of time and effort. Not unlike their predecessors, contemporary salarymen inevitably spend a substantial amount of time in the workplace. Conversely, herbivore masculinity is associated with striking a healthy work-life balance and consequently avoids the detrimental health effects induced by overwork.

Body grooming is another area where herbivores diverge from traditional salaryman masculinity, yet as argued this practice also reflects the current generation and cultural idolization of soft masculinity in East Asia. The results of analysis of salaryman publications indicate that contemporary salarymen are expected to exercise, sport a trendy hairstyle, and thus appear well-groomed and exude heterosexual appeal (Bardsley, 2011; Dasgupta, 2010). In fact, these manuals contrast the sober image of an overweight, unstylish, *kareishu* ("aging body odor") dowdy salaryman with that of a physically active, well-groomed, fresh-smelling young

man. Furthermore, the cultural preference for a “softer” form of masculinity once again reflects the exalted status of soft masculinity in East Asia, particularly in the wake of the 1990s. Based on these inferences, we can surmise that personal grooming is a gender practice central to both contemporary salaryman and herbivore masculinities rather than a marked departure from hegemonic masculinity.

An element of herbivore masculinity that notably departs from both contemporary and traditional salaryman masculinity is the formation of intimate friendships with women. As flagged above, cultural norms no longer excuse husbands’ domestic nonparticipation, but expect a limited degree of domestic involvement. Relatedly, current sociocultural norms no longer associate masculinity with emotional reticence and non-communicativeness, so the emotionally inexpressive, domestically uninvolved husband is a relic of the past. The herbivore practice of forming intimate opposite-sex interpersonal relationships directly challenges the heterosexist assumption that heterosexual desire structures male-female relationships. In this way, herbivore masculinity can be viewed as contributing to democratizing hierarchical gender relations.

Resistance or indifference to active heterosexuality represents resistance to a cornerstone element of salaryman masculinity. Nevertheless, a tendency to avoid the formation of committed romantic relationships is not necessarily a subversive practice that contributes to equalizing gender relations. Ushikubo (2008, pp. 68-69) makes the salient point that in an era of greater gender equality the achievement of sexual intimacy requires men to expend a degree of time and effort, which some herbivores regard as *mendokusai* (“troublesome”). Kimmel (2008, p. 205) echoes Ushikubo’s point with his assertion that many younger men in the United States are unwilling to enter committed monogamous relationships because they regard such relationships as overly time consuming and work intensive. From this viewpoint, men relinquish a degree of patriarchal power when they attempt to engage women in sexual relationships. In contrast, some adult websites and forms of pornography construct a submissive virtual female sexuality which is entirely oriented toward fulfilling men’s sexual fantasies and thus far removed from the effort and open communication required to sustain a healthy and mutually satisfying sexual relationship. Instead of participating in negotiations with women, individuals who practice herbivore masculinity turn to virtual media and pornography to satisfy their sexual desires and affirm their masculinity.

DISCUSSION:

PROBLEMATIC ASPECTS OF ACCOUNTS OF HERBIVORE MASCULINITY

Herbivore is a problematic category because as it encapsulates men who utilize different gender practices to construct their masculine identities. Morioka (2009) provides a more nuanced account of herbivores through creating a typology of herbivores allowing diversity and variation within the same form of masculinity. For example, he distinguishes between the unassertive, stereotypical herbivore and men who exude herbivore aesthetic appeal yet aggressively pursue women.

An issue regarding the secondary sources surveyed so far is that *herbivore* is applied to men who mobilize different gender practices to construct their masculinities. These divergent gender practices center on consumption practices, interpersonal relationships, and sexuality. Herbivores are contemporaneously portrayed as thrifty and hedonistic consumers (Otake, 2009; Ushikubo, 2008, pp. 100,

130-132). In one account, herbivores are bargain shoppers due to their limited amount of disposable income. In another account, herbivores purchase nonessential commodities in order to showcase recent fashion trends. This latter depiction is inconsistent with the description of herbivores as “working poor” (Chen, 2012, p. 292) who lack the requisite disposable income to engage in hedonistic consumption. Although cosmetics, clothing, and skincare treatments are relatively inexpensive purchases in comparison to cars and frequenting expensive drinking establishments, it is questionable that financially disadvantaged individuals possess the requisite income to make these nonessential purchases. In summary, popular writers and media inconsistently construe herbivores either as economizing or self-indulgent consumers. The latter account is particularly contentious given that herbivore masculinity emerged in the wake of a prolonged economic recession.

Herbivores are inconsistently portrayed either as skilled communicators who cultivate intimate opposite-sex friendships or deficient communicators who are timid and feel intimidated by women (Morioka, 2009, pp. 20-21; Ushikubo, 2008, pp. 138-139). In the first depiction, herbivores subvert the image of the reticent salaryman who is largely uncommunicative with his family. The second portrayal parallels the introverted *otaku* (“geek”) who prefers cyber-mediated relationships. Unlike their salarymen counterparts, displayed heterosexuality is not a source of masculine capital for herbivores. Like class position, herbivores are contradictorily portrayed as both effective and ineffective conversationalists.

Herbivores are consistently represented as heterosexual, yet their sexual practices range from the formation of stable monogamous relationships to practicing celibacy (Morioka, 2009, p. 12; Ushikubo, p. 6). For instance, Ushikubo (p. 10) maintains that herbivores prefer shared-breadwinning marriages, but she somewhat contradictorily proposes that they are unable to assume leadership roles in relationships (Ushikubo, p. 73). Morioka (2009, p. 21) claims that some herbivores fear rejection and consequently hesitate to actively pursue women. Popular news articles and Fukasawa (2009) construe herbivores as uninterested in forming romantic relationships (Lim, 2009; Neil, 2009; Otake, 2009). The reasons provided for their rejection of romantic relationships include insufficient financial resources and a preference for pornography (Chen, 2012, pp. 286-287, 302; Otake, 2009). Paralleling consumption practices interpersonal relationships, herbivores are inconsistently portrayed as both sexually active and inactive.

The contradictory and inconsistent elements of herbivore masculinities demonstrate the necessity of conducting empirical research in order to expose the fluid and diverse nature of herbivore masculinities. Interviews with herbivore men could provide important insights into the lived realities of men who practice this emergent form of masculinity. The absence of herbivore masculinity empirical research represents a gap in existing masculinities research.

Related to the earlier discussion of practicing gender, the process of categorizing certain forms of masculinity or femininity is also a practice. *Hegemonic*, *oppositional*, or *herbivore* are not neutral terms but carry certain semantic connotations and assumptions. Fukasawa’s categorization of herbivore masculinity reflects the inter-relationship between active male sexuality and masculinity. As discussed, herbivore translates as *relationship in flesh*, so herbivore connotes these men reject the *normative* masculine practice of heterosexual prowess. Despite *herbivore* masculinities’ oppositional elements and potential to challenge unequal gender relations, the term indexes the firm relationship between heterosexuality and

hegemonic masculinity. Consequently, the categorization of “herbivore” masculinity reifies rather than undermines heteronormativity. Before classifying herbivore masculinity as a more democratic form of masculinity, we must first critically interrogate this non-hegemonic masculinity and distinguish those gender practices which legitimate hierarchical gender relations from social actions which inconsequentially depart from or in fact reaffirm hegemonic masculinity. Oppositional masculinity is a broad term and may include gender styles which reject elements of hegemonic masculinity yet nonetheless are built upon toxic gender practices such as committing crime (Messerschmidt, 2004, 2010). On the other hand, the category can encompass those masculinities that oppose the unequal relationship definitive of hegemonic masculinity and emphasized femininity, challenging and potentially dismantling hierarchical gender relations.

Arguably, individuals practicing herbivore masculinity utilize narcissistic body management and consumption as gendered resources to engage in same-sex competition. As work is sometimes a contextually unavailable masculine resource, men who practice herbivore masculinity use their knowledge of the latest fashion and other trends to occupy a more refined position in relation to other men. Likewise, the cultivation of an appealing corporeal aesthetic can be seen as a rich source of “body capital” (Holliday & Cairnie, 2007) which men utilize to create and sustain a superior position vis-à-vis other men. Paralleling how a lean, muscular body represents masculine superiority in many Western countries, Asian cultures extol slenderness (Coles, 2009; Miller, 2006). Like salarymen who utilizes professional success and social position as gendered resources, men who practice herbivore masculinity mobilize narcissistic body-management for a similar purpose. As a result, the shift from a production to consumption oriented masculinity does not represent a significant departure from salaryman masculinity.

The formation of intimate relationships represents substantial transgression of salaryman gender codes and potentially contributes to equalizing the relationship between men and women, masculinity and femininity. Most notably, this practice challenges the heterosexist assumption that heterosexuality is the structuring agent of gender-dichotomized relationships rendering men and women unable to form authentically platonic relationships. The practice also challenges popular gender difference discourses that are built upon essentialist assumptions about biological differences being the root of male-female miscommunication (Cameron, 2009; Gray, 1992; Tannen, 1990).

Regarding romantic relationships and sexuality, herbivore masculinity can be viewed as simultaneously reifying and eschewing salaryman masculinity. Rejection of committed romantic relationships requiring expenditure of time and effort is not an indicator that herbivore masculinity is more egalitarian than alternative forms. Conversely, we can view this rejection as a strategy to maintain power in an era where men possess less patriarchal authority than their salaryman predecessors.

Alternatively, a commitment to permanent singlehood represents a direct challenge to the heterosexual patriarchal family ideology and sociocultural mandate that individuals marry and reproduce. From this interpretation, herbivores disrupt heteronormative conceptualizations of men and women as complementary opposites fused together by heterosexual desire.

Not unlike the “new man” discourse that emerged in the United Kingdom during the 1980s, herbivore masculinity superficially appears more egalitarian than

conventional and contemporary salaryman masculinities. The new man is often portrayed as sensitive, emotionally astute, respectful of women, supportive of gender equality, and attentive to personal appearance (Gill, 2003, p. 37). Thus, the new man superficially appears less macho and softer than previous constructions of masculinity. Nevertheless, men who practice elements of this form of masculinity do not necessarily subscribe to an ideology of gender equality.

Herbivore masculinity initially appears less authoritarian than salaryman masculinity, but it remains uncertain whether or not purveyors of this form of masculinity are actually committed to equalizing the relationship between masculinity and femininity. Ito (2008, p. 21) points out that many male college students are reserved, gentle looking, and hesitate to express their opinions in class, yet they still subscribe to an ideology of male supremacy. Likewise, Taga (2011d, p. 203) found that many younger married men express a desire for their wives to work outside the home. Nevertheless, they support their wives' employment less for their personal fulfillment or development than as a means to relieve some of the pressure induced by serving as primary family breadwinners. In a study by Nemoto, Fuwa, and Ishiguro (2012), participants subscribed to the traditional ideology of a male breadwinner and female caregiver. Finally, Fukasawa (2009) posits that many younger men who are involved in relationships appropriate their leisure time for personal pursuits. These examples represent part of a growing body of research that interrogates the practices of men and masculinity. These findings thus illustrate that the mere reconfiguration of conventional hegemonic masculinity to "softer," seemingly more egalitarian forms does not necessarily result in equalizing the relationship between masculinity and femininity.

CONCLUSION

This review has provided an initial investigation of herbivore oppositional masculinity across domains of wage labor, body grooming, interpersonal relationships, and sexuality. The results of the analysis suggest that while herbivore masculinity notably transgresses hegemonic masculinity through the rejection of a work-centered lifestyle and formation of intimate opposite-sex relationships, many practices that underpin herbivore masculinity actually represent accommodation with hegemonic masculinity. Herbivores masculinity's simultaneous resistance to and compliance with hegemonic masculinity indicates that masculinities and femininities are never neatly classifiable as either progressive or regressive but instead shift between exhibiting various degrees of accommodation and resistance in relation to the hegemonic status quo.

An implication of the emergence of non-hegemonic, oppositional masculinities such as herbivores is that gender relations have been in a state of flux since the onset of the lost decade. My analysis indicates that while herbivore masculinity appears more egalitarian, it ultimately sustains a fundamentally unequal relationship between men and women, between masculinity and femininity, and therefore fails to contribute to the formation of a more gender equal society. Individuals practicing herbivore forms of masculinity may not draw on the patriarchal dividend in the sense that they do not accrue material wealth and social power. Nevertheless, as the relationship between masculinity and femininity is fundamentally unequal (Connell, 1995, pp. 77-81; Schippers, 2007, p. 91), herbivore masculinity occupies a dominant position in relation to emphasized femininity.

My analysis of herbivore masculinity sheds light on nature of the relationship between masculinity and femininity. As discussed, emphasized femininity is embodied through assumption of a complementary, compliant, and accommodating subordinate relationship with hegemonic masculinity; practicing this form of femininity is fundamentally disempowering. As individuals practicing herbivore masculinity are marginalized on the basis of their class position and heterosexual passivity or inactivity, herbivore masculinity is subordinate to hegemonic masculinity. Nevertheless, masculinities occupy a superior position vis-à-vis femininities (Connell, 1995, p. 83). While practicing emphasized femininity provides women with a socially legitimated identity, it disempowers women and for this reason can be seen conferring a paradoxical privilege.

The emergence of oppositional herbivore masculinity indicates that while gender relations are in a tenuous, uncertain state, they remain far from egalitarian. Men who practice herbivore masculinity can be seen as attempting to exercise a very limited degree of patriarchal power in a social climate where professional success and material wealth are oftentimes contextually unavailable gendered resources. Future empirical research on herbivores and other non-hegemonic forms of masculinity will inevitably shed additional light on the shifting genderscape in Japanese society.

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