Culture, Society & Masculinities

Articles

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Edited book:

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Chapter in a book:

Gilmore, D. (2009). Cultures of masculinity. In J.M. Armengol & À. Carabí (Eds.), *Debating masculinity* (pp. 31-41). Harriman, TN: Men's Studies Press.

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BOYS, BODIES AND NEGOTIATED SCHOOL SPACES: WHEN BOYS FAIL THE LITMUS TEST

Drawing on two separate studies, one in the U.S. and one in Canada, we address subordinated and marginalized masculinities by examining the tensions and contradictions in school cultures that claim to support all students but actually perpetuate a singular and dominant heteronormative masculinity. Particularly salient to this research is the body as a location for the negotiation of meanings that converge with and diverge from dominant masculine discourses. Our work advocates for and provides a voice to a group of young men who have felt marginalized and silenced in schools, and we hope to provoke critical reflection on heteronormative practices that permeate curriculum, pedagogy, and school culture.

Keywords: masculinities, body image, adolescents, heteronormativity, physical education

Schools represent spaces in which normative gender regimes are produced and reproduced. As such, schools facilitate a "*contest for hegemony* between rival versions of masculinity" in which masculine differentiation emerges from a "collective process, something that happens at the level of the institution and in the organization of peer-group relationships" (Connell, 1989, p. 295; italics original). Institutionally, schools are a "prime mover" in shaping gender culture, with "tough" or "hard" forms of masculinity symbolically rewarded by teachers who act as "cultural accomplices" in perpetuating hegemonic discourses (Smith, 2007, p. 188). Young men "who do not measure up, the effeminate, the overweight, and the un-

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derweight and who do not compensate for this by engaging in other masculine activities … are usually made to suffer the consequences of their lack of 'masculinity'" (Mills, 2001, p. 26). School physical education curricula and sport culture reinforce gendered values associated with competitive team sport, which privilege certain masculinities over others (Connell, 1996; Martino, 1999; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003; Pascoe, 2003). In essence, we learn our bodies in that "we are taught how to think about our bodies and how to experience our bodies" (McLaren, 1991, p. 156). Physical education classes serve as informative locations through which to understand how young men negotiate gender through bodily practice.

Methods

The work is based on two studies, one conducted in the Washington, DC, and the other in three provinces across Canada. The American study represents the first author's dissertation research, an interpretive phenomenological study of how six young men experience and understand their masculinities. Data collection consisted of phenomenological conversations (Seidman, 2006) and positionality, analytical, and integrative memos (Maxwell, 2005; Nakkula & Ravitch, 1998). Participatory visual methods—auto-photography and photo-elicitation—were also used to reduce researcher/co-researcher hierarchy, empower co-researchers in telling their own stories, as an additional form of data to ensure validity, and as analytical prompts (Gubrium & Harper, 2013). Although the study did not focus on body image, the theme emerged during data analysis. Table 1 presents the profiles of the young men.

Study II was a three-year Canadian funded study conducted in three provinces (Ontario, British Columbia, Nova Scotia). The researchers examined the reluctance of some adolescent young men to participate in grade nine PE. Grounded in qualitative research traditions (Patton, 2002), the authors conducted in-depth semi-structured interviews with a purposeful sample of young men who self-identified as reluctant participants in their first year of PE. Participants were invited to participate through journaling via a secure weblog. This process allowed for participants to provide immediate day-by-day accounts of their experiences. Finally, the participants allowed the researchers to conduct field observations for one week while the participants were in their health and physical education class. A total of

Table 1
Study One Co-Researchers

Pseud.	Age	Identification	Class	Status
Joël	19	Latino	Working Class	High school graduate; working; undocumented
Mike	20	Latino	Working Class	High school graduate; working
Oliver	19	Palestinian & Filipino	Middle Class	High school graduate; full-time college student
Santiago	17	White, gay	Middle Class	High school senior
Tony	17	Polish	Middle Class	High school senior
Chris	19	White, gay	Middle Class	High school graduate; full-time college student

77 young men voluntarily participated in this study. The findings included in this paper reflect common recurring themes expressed across participants.

This research centered on conducting "cultural interviews" thus allowing the researchers to better understand the norms, values, and taken for granted rules of interaction for this group of boys (see Rubin & Rubin, 1995). The semi-structured interviews provide opportunity for these young men to articulate and describe convergent and divergent understandings of a cultural context of PE classrooms across provinces. Patton (2002) argues that "because all social systems involve routines, participants in those routines may take them so much for granted that they cease to be aware of the important nuances" (p. 263). Our aim was to allow for a more textured understanding of their participation in PE to emerge both from the interviews as well as our field observations that allowed us to observe and record the cultural setting of PE classrooms.

BODY IMAGERY AS HEGEMONIC GENDER DISCOURSE

The visibility and marketization of men's bodies through media imagery has proliferated over the last twenty years, particularly in North America (see Ricciardelli, Clow & White, 2010). Research highlights the degree to which we appear to embrace an ideology purporting that gender emerges from and is defined by the body, with true masculinity inherent in the male body and the body both driving action and setting limits to action (Connell, 1995). Increasingly, cultural messages, transmitted through imagery and school culture, are contributing to shifting attitudes about male body image even among very young boys (Azzarito, 2009; Birbeck & Drummond, 2006; Grogan, 1999; Grogan & Richards, 2002; Murray, Rieger, Karlov, & Touyz, 2013). The importance of the body as a location of gender coherence renders physical attributes and displays, such as achievement in sport and heterosexual conquest, essential in the socially acceptable performance and expression of one's masculinity (Frosh, Phoenix, & Pattman, 2002; Light & Kirk, 2000). Messages conveyed through imagery profoundly influence how body image impacts young men's self-image, self-confidence, and self-worth, and can result in eating disorders and muscle dysmorhpia (Murray et al., 2013; Ricciardelli & McCabe, 2004) as well as "affect the likelihood that we will engage in, or avoid exercise" (Grogan, 2006, p. 525). The lack of physicality results in some individuals being "almost automatically excluded and outcast" (Frost, 2003, p. 65). Drummond (2001) finds a link between body image and boys' self-concept and masculine identifications, with young men who fail to meet body image expectations suffering feelings of guilt, self-consciousness, and poor body image.

Whereas the idealized, eroticized, and objectified female body has historically dominated media images, the idealized male body is now gaining visibility (Gill, Henwood & McLean, 2005). What has changed is the manner in which "the male (body) has become an object of the gaze rather than simply the bearer of the look" with men's bodies having "gone from near invisibility to hypervisibility," which contributes to boys and men increasingly defining themselves through their bodies (Gill et al., 2005, p. 39). Images of lean muscular men contribute to body dissatisfaction among men and boys, yet the relatively hidden nature of the problem of male body image dissatisfaction may emanate from "the existence of a social prohibition among boys admitting to body dissatisfaction" (Hargreaves & Tiggemann, 2006, p. 569).

Further complicating men's complex relationship with body image, Olivardia et al. (2004) found that young men erroneously believe that young women desire males significantly more muscular than young women's actual ideal male body. Men desire a large ideal body both to "gain respect from other men, as well as to be attractive to women," and "muscle belittlement" has been associated with depression, eating disorders, and negative self-esteem (Olivardia et al., 2004, p. 117). The conflation of masculinity with normative body imagery contributes to boys' dissatisfaction with their own bodies if they fail widely promulgated, but unrealistic, litmus testing. Many boys and men labor "under increased societal and media pressures to meet an ever more unrealistic body ideal" (Olivardia et al., 2004, p. 118). Body imagery thus perpetuates hegemonic discourses, which manufacture and market desire among boys and men for bodies that few can actually achieve.

Beliefs driving boys to fulfill unrealistic expectations find further expression beyond school spaces. Coaching practices, for example, reflect a limited and restricted view of boys. The assumption that all boys possess a natural affinity for sports is articulated by coaches and often supported by parents, whose views of boys, unlike girls, remain relatively unreconstructed (Messner, 2011). Pascoe (2003, p. 1426) notes a hierarchy of masculinities inherent in school culture in which "Jocks," who participate in the "right" sports, such as football, basketball, soccer, wrestling, or baseball, sit at the top, dominate others, and display "an emphasized heterosexuality in which girls function as status symbols or sexual objects." Our co-researchers expressed awareness of oppressive normative masculine discourses. Their stories relate a sense of surveillance and judgment in a framework of normative body imagery, and they express feelings of fear, marginalization, and diminished sense of self.

Heteronormative Masculinity as Animating Fear

If gender is viewed as performative, culture assumes a logic by which "gender is achieved and stabilized through heterosexual positioning, and where threats to heterosexuality thus become threats to gender itself" (Butler, 1997, pp. 135-136). Homophobia defines a binary gender regime that defines one gender in opposition to an Other with the socially prescribed traits of the opposite gender foreclosed. Kimmel (2008, p. 47) characterizes masculinity as "a 'homosocial' experience: performed for, and judged by, other men" animated by homophobia, which positions homosexuality as unmanly. Homophobia consolidates "sexuality and gender through the traducing of femininity, and its association with homosexuality" (Nayak & Kehily, 1996, p. 214). The practices associated with homophobia draw "social boundaries, defining 'real' masculinity by its distance from the rejected" (Connell, 1995, p. 40). Pascoe (2005) and Mac an Ghaill (1994, 1996) characterize the "fag" discourse as gendered homophobia because the epithet is aimed primarily at boys by other boys as a way to enforce normative masculinity. The word "fag" can carry both explicit sexual meaning and the derision of one's masculinity by denoting a lack of guts, femininity, weakness, softness, and inferiority with the fag position cast as abject Other "outside masculinity that actually constructs masculinity" (Pascoe, 2005, p. 342; Mac an Ghaill, 1994).

The "fag" discourse also acts as a technology of disciplinary surveillance, "a mechanism that coerces by means of observation; an apparatus in which the techniques that make it possible to see induce effects of power, and in which, con-

versely, the means of coercion make those on whom they are applied clearly visible" (Foucault, 1995, pp. 170-171; Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003). Performance of normative masculinity requires public repudiation and counter-performance of feminized masculinities because feminine qualities are loathsome in hegemonic masculine culture (Mac an Ghaill, 1996). Body stylization through what one wears and how one looks, is "central to the performance of masculinity, where there is always the threat of being labeled as gay," and boys are "encouraged to perform their gendered identities in particular ways to survive the prospect of homophobic abuse" (Nayak & Kehily, 1996, p. 216).

Chris, one of our American co-researchers, commented extensively on the imagery he has seen, specifically in media representations that communicate messages about how bodies should look and what they should do from, in his words, a "straight perspective." During one of our conversations, Chris showed me a magazine advertisement, which he described as portraying the woman as more "delicate" whereas the man was "more clothed" and "taking care of her." To Chris, the image illustrated the perpetuation of heteronormativity through sanctioning specific socio-cultural gender roles, behaviors, and relationships. Masculinity is defined by what one does, how one looks, and who dominates whom. Chris concluded: "It was always from a straight perspective, too, like everything I saw." Imagery of muscularity, athletic performance, and heterosexual relationships and displays of affection represent aspects of body stylization that convey narratives of proper gender performance. The failure to perform hegemonic masculine narratives represents one's own masculine failure through association with a feminine opposite. Thus, the deprecation of certain men and boys through masculine hierarchies in which "inferior" masculinities are associated with femininity suggests that homophobia essentially emerges from misogyny.

<div align="center">STORIES</div>

Reflecting on our conversations with our co-researchers and making meaning of their stories and photographs about their relationships with their bodies, we discerned three major themes that wove through their experiences: Negotiating the Masculine Ideal; Acting Tough: Physical Affirmation; and Masculine Differentiation Through Peer Interaction.

Negotiating the Masculine Ideal

Connell (1995, p. 77) notes: "hegemony is likely to be established only if there is some correspondence between cultural ideal and institutional power." In both studies, our co-researchers articulated their struggle to negotiate expectations related to physical appearance and performance. School culture, curriculum, and pedagogy reify these physical expectations expressed in imagery and cultural discourses. Our co-researchers described both a desire to achieve an idealized masculinity and a fear of failure to conform. Oliver derided these expectations as "the masculinity thing." Chris, who self-identified as gay, characterized the idealized masculine body image portrayed through the magazines he reads as "the masculine male." Sitting with Chris as he flipped through the pages of one of the "gay magazines" he reads, he discussed a photo spread that portrayed a group of handsome, muscular men. The photos alternate between scenes of the men laughing and pushing

each other into the pool and photos of the men staring pensively into the camera. Chris characterized the image of the "masculine males" portrayed in the photos as "muscular" and "cool:"

> The masculine male is still idealized in gay magazines. Like it's not going to be a guy wearing makeup and stuff. It's gonna be, like, he's muscular, and, I don't know, they're still kind of cool.

Chris talked about the many ways in which gay men perform their masculinities, but he interprets the images he sees of the "masculine male" to conflate masculinity with a muscular body. Yet Chris may also be expressing the re-appropriation of imagery by gay men in response to cultural marginalization rooted in homophobia and heteronormativity. Re-appropriation of the "masculine male" image thus contributes to a counter-hegemonic narrative.

The "masculine male" image represents an object of desire for our co-researchers as well as a source of discomfort as they attempt to be physically fit while fearing to participate in physical education classes predicated on normative masculine imagery and hyper-competitiveness. They feel a contradiction between "being in good shape" and the ways boys participate in typically aggressive and competitive sports. Mythic explains:

> I want to be in good shape. It's just a lot of the ways people stay in good shape doesn't really appeal to me, like team sports and competitiveness. I'm not really into that.

Rod also expresses the tension between a highly valued sporty masculinity and a ridiculed weaker masculinity. He desires to develop athletic skill, but he characterizes athletic skill as a defense mechanism to protect himself from embarrassment:

> Well, I need to improve more on lifting weights, but other than that, I have good skills. I like basketball or soccer. You just have to know how the game goes, and you have to know what strategies you can do to take the ball away from the other person.… I don't want anybody to really embarrass me at all. Like, say they called me fat...

When asked about the importance of lifting weights in physical education class, Rod equates health and fitness with muscularity: "Well, you just seem more healthier and more muscular. I don't know, I guess it just impresses their friends." Rod equates fitness with muscularity and views muscularity as the currency of normative masculinity, which can be exchanged for popularity and safety from embarrassment. Bob echoes Rod's feelings, noting that muscularity allows boys to "show off" in the masculine hierarchy:

> They might also like it just because they can lift heavier weights. They can show off. Like running faster than the other guys, it's an achievement.

The experiences of Mythic, Rod, and Bob illustrate Kimmel's (2008) description of masculinity as a homosocial experience in which men perform under the sur-

veillance of other men. Masculine positioning impacts how these boys understand their bodies, and connections between sport, health, muscularity, and normative masculinity suggest that bodily production represents their masculine expression (Robertson, 2003). Discourses around the masculine ideal are alarming because achieving such an idealized body is "neither achievable by most men nor required for optimum health" (Labre, 2002, p. 235). Masculine positioning is produced and facilitated by the rationalizing nature of social institutions, including schools, which perpetuate a hierarchical ranking system for the "subjects" therein (Foucault, 1995). Joey describes masculine positioning as the tension between his desire to participate in physical education class and the exclusionary power exercised by other boys:

> I want to know that I'm at least doing good and not just okay, and I try and participate as much as possible, but it's hard to do when nobody passes you the ball in games and stuff, so it kind of brings down my participation mark a little bit.

Joey describes a hypercompetitive hegemonic contest in which alliances form based on physical power dynamics. Hegemony emerges through inclusion and exclusion resulting in winners and losers in the battle for the currency increasingly prized by schools: grades, or, as Joey notes, his "participation mark." Hegemonic competition as pedagogy raises the question of how we can encourage young men to participate in physical education classes to promote healthy life practices while simultaneously perpetuating normative masculinity by promoting some at the expense of others. Our co-researchers are acutely aware of their masculine locations relative to other young men in their physical education classes. They perceive their bodies as inadequate and as requiring development to navigate forms of muscular, sporty masculinities valued and dominant in physical education classes—survival—rather than in the pursuit of lifelong health. Spike judges himself as not "built" for athletics and conveys a sense of diminished physical self-concept:

> I mean I'm not built for athletics. Like I said before, I'm not built for gym class, and I don't excel at sports because I can't run fast, or I can't play basketball, and the other people will be faster than me and stuff like that, and I'll just be a bench warmer basically, and I'll be last picked for everything.

Spike notes the dichotomy between "academic guys" and the "jocks" to whom physical education classes actually cater. Willis (1977), Mac an Ghaill (1994), and Frosh et al. (2002) analyze masculine taxonomies related to class positions, which differentiate "hard" forms of physical masculinity from feminized masculinities associated with academic achievement. Spike explains a similar dynamic in his experience:

> The ones who are doing worse are the little or big academic guys who would much rather probably be writing an essay than doing gym and the guys who maybe have a better vocabulary, a better understanding of the academic portion of school, they're not doing as well in gym because that's not who it's geared towards. It's geared towards the jocks whose vocabulary mainly consists of "Yo man what's up? How ya doing?" Stuff like that.

Our work makes visible our co-researchers' stories of a masculine hierarchy in the context of physical education dominated by an idealized muscular body type. The ability to publically perform and embody an idealized masculinity under the gaze of other young men underscored how our co-researchers negotiate their school spaces, particularly their physical education classes. The inability to perform physically, in our co-researchers' experience, positions boys to occupy an inferior masculinity.

Acting Tough: Physical Affirmation

Physical education classes provide spaces in which young men showcase their bodies through subjection to a process of "surveillance and regulation of the gendered body or rather the disciplining of the gendered body inscribed with certain hegemonic traits of masculinity" (Martino & Beckett, 2004, p. 245). Hegemony is institutionalized and maintained through a gender regime predicated on coercion and fear ubiquitous in school spaces:

> The pressure on young guys to conform, first to the Boy Code and then to the Guy Code, is so intense and unforgiving and that the fear of failure … is what leaves so many young guys with a knot in their stomach every time they eat in the cafeteria, go to the bathroom, walk out onto the playground, change their clothes in the locker room, or even walk between one class and the next. (Kimmel, 2009, p. 186)

Our co-researchers described a process of locating the dominant masculine boys as actively striving to position themselves as more powerful than other young men through "show[ing] up others" through physical "strength." Mythic explains:

> [I]t's to show people what they can do, like show up their physical strength and they can't think of any other ways to do that so the only way would be gym and that's one noticeable way … so I think that's why they really enjoy gym just so they can use their strength and physical stuff so people will notice.

Mythic further explains that boys' "showing off" is actually a masquerade to hide vulnerabilities lurking in "parts of them that aren't strong." Mythic reports that many boys "show off" their bodies to receive masculine affirmation and develop their bodies to hide their perceived vulnerabilities. Our co-researchers expressed awareness of social constructions of the "ideal body" and how muscularity and body size and shape are perceived and popularized in the configurations of masculinities in schools (Azzarito, 2009). Body negotiations in specific school spaces such as locker rooms and various parts of school hallways support strategies for masculine affirmation and territorialism through physical displays that become emblematic as markers of heteronormative masculinity and zones of systematic violence and bullying (Atkinson & Kehler, 2012). The masculinizing practices and discourses described by our co-researchers signal a disturbing trend, particularly in schools that purportedly supported acceptance, non-conformity, and inclusion. Keddie and Mills (2008) describe all male environments related to boys' investments in and exertions of power as an expression of their masculinity through

which boys routinely demonstrate specific "understandings where constructions of successful masculinity are associated with power and control over verbal and physical space" (p. 5).

Our co-researchers critiqued physical education classes as failing to provide safe spaces in which they could explore, develop, and gain confidence in healthy lifestyle practices. Rather, they serve as arenas in which to showcase dominant practices based on physical strength and muscularity. Rod explains:

> People sometimes like to tease you because people try and tend to act tougher when they're older and they're bigger and they want to kind of just pick on the other person.… They just do that to show, I don't know, that they're cool … they'd say rude stuff about other people that are not good in gym class.

Rod describes an environment characterized by physical and verbal intimidation and abuse. Santiago, who self-identified as gay, also comments extensively on the bullying he experienced, which to him was inherent in school cultures that actively established and perpetuated gender hierarchies:

> You have this big divide between all the jocks and everyone else … it was a little emasculating even at that age to be separated from the other males in that grade … it did cause self-esteem issues later in life I think, kind of that early rejection from other males.

Even in elementary school, Santiago confronted a masculine hierarchy in which he describes feeling rejected, separated, and even emasculated. He felt "kind of discriminated against early in life" because of the rejection he experienced, and bullying prompted him to change schools:

> People are bullied all through elementary school, and then they get into middle school, and in middle school, that's where everyone learns the curse words, that's where everyone learned to say, you know, like fag and stuff like that … if you brought up bullying to the administration they'd say, "Oh you're fine."

Santiago describes the experience as "devastating," feeling "less than," and "seeking approval from a group of people that you knew wouldn't accept you." He concluded by commenting on the resultant anger, of which he continues to try and make sense: "It wasn't self-hate cuz it wasn't 'Why am I this way?' It was more of 'God damn I hate them!'"

Santiago describes how school culture facilitated the marginalization of non-hegemonic masculinities through hyper-competitive masculine positioning, which results in clear winners and losers. Mike explains how the masculine positioning endemic in physical education classes and sports appear in other institutional contexts by relating an incident in which one of his rugby teammates nearly got into a fight with one of the "cool guys" after accidentally bumping into him in the cafeteria:

> And, so he [Mike's friend] was like, you know, "It was an accident I'm
> sorry." He [the "cool guy"] was like "No, no. Say I'm sorry sir." He's like,
> he's like, "Uh, no." So, I mean all the, you know, rugby guys got up and, you
> know, we were just like standing behind [Mike's friend]. It was like, "Do
> you have something to say to us?" They were like "Oh no, no, we don't have
> anything." So, you know, they just walked away and got back into their little
> corner of the cafeteria and just started, you know, talking trash again.

Mike describes physical affirmation as a marker of masculinity and how a seem-
ingly insignificant event escalated into an "us versus them" conflict, which carried
an explicit threat of physical violence in order to maintain a specific masculine po-
sition. By backing down, the "cool guy" and his group occupied an inferior mas-
culine position. Thus, talk is cheap compared to the hard currency of physical
ability and dominance. Similar to Swain (2003), our co-researchers are "embodied
social agents for they do not merely have a passive body that is inscribed and acted
upon, but they are actively involved in the development of their bodies" (p. 300).
Mike explains that schools actually encourage a tough masculinity through the de-
velopment of hard bodies:

> I got into martial arts club with my friend where we got a chance to just
> punch each other and just knock each other out, and it would be OK.… It
> was safe since there was a teacher there just watching us beat the crap out
> of each other.

Mike's story brings to mind the saying "boys will be boys" because aggression
and violence are so culturally associated with boyhood. In cases such as this and
school spaces that are male exclusive, there is an intense process of gender mark-
ing or what Connell (2003) describes as a "masculinity vortex." Boys assume posi-
tions, for example in school sports, as opportunities to demonstrate what it means
to be a man through body-reflexive practices that confirm and affirm heteronor-
mative masculinity. Mike's account provides an example of the process by which
schools legitimate aggressive masculinities as naturally occurring through an im-
plicit, if not explicit, expectation that boys "just punch each other and just be guys."
Spike confirms this shared understanding that "boys will be boys" and that in this
climate young men are expected to "get over it." He describes an institutionalized,
taken-for-granted masculinity in which guys are expected to be "loud and rude
and making fun of each other:"

> What it means to be a boy in grade 9 is you're definitely going to be picked
> on or discriminated against if you're not this image of a man that society
> has.… I think my view of a man is somebody who's just … it's a male
> human being really, when it comes down to it and it's a guy who's not afraid
> to be himself and doesn't care what other people think of him. That's a real
> man, and I think in grade 9 gym, not a lot of people think that. They have
> more the "you're guys, get over it" point of view.

The masculine body is one means by which boys actively, intentionally, and pur-
posefully display evidence of heteronormative masculinity. Frost (2003, p. 67) notes
the evaluative standards by which boys are judged in order to prove they are not

feminine while seeking the "approval and respect from other men … [which] may be withheld if a boy cannot produce a body worked to a lean and muscular form." Our co-researchers understand idealized physical expectations, but they find those expectations unachievable and contradictory to their lived experiences. Their stories make visible a regime of institutional peer disciplining through humiliation and exclusion through which they have felt marginalized and stigmatized.

Masculine Differentiation Through Peer Interaction

Young men are often involuntary participants in a process that subjects them to the normative gaze of others and presents them with narrowly-defined parameters within which to "do" something with their bodies (Martino & Pallotta-Chiarolli, 2003). Boys portray themselves as truly masculine at the expense of other boys to enforce normative masculinity and attribute femininity to the victim (Smith, 2007). The policing of masculinities results in self-regulating behavior "governed by particular norms for proscribing the limits of a publicly validated form of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity" (Martino, 1999, p. 255). Our co-researchers' peer interactions often represent narratives of fear in which they self-censor and regulate their masculine behaviors. They describe an emerging awareness about what they "know their body can do." Knowledge of the body as a signifier of masculinity is captured in the connections our co-researchers make with more public displays of physical dominance. Mythic explains:

> I think it's because they've gone into puberty and so their bodies are developing and becoming stronger and they've been physical for a long time, but I think now that they know their body can do more, that they're starting to take it even more seriously because I think they just want to show what they can do.

Domination and regulation of young men's practices in physical education classes contributes to a form of "hyper-masculinity characterized by the preparedness to expunge weakness and exploit vulnerability" (Hickey, 2008, p. 155). Lines of demarcation emerge where insiders and outsiders operate on fields of play. Our co-researchers illustrate how young men appear to be participating in physical education classes, but they actually remain disengaged from physical activity because their participation carries the risk of harassment and ridicule. Joey and Bob explain how adolescent males physically display and impose their dominance over others in physical education classes:

> JOEY: I have seen a few people flex their muscles in class and stuff and then ask one of the senior people to flex their muscles and then say that they're doing really good, but you can kind of sense some sarcasm in their voice.
> BOB: Maybe they look at other people and say, "oh I'm better than them. I have the bigger muscles" or something like that. "I can run faster than them." The way they perform in certain activities make them surpass other people. So it's kind of like comparing themselves to other people because if everybody's the same, you can't really say you're better than them.

Asserting dominance over others through performative comparison is striking. Negotiating bodily spaces fuses with sporty athleticism in which bodies are judged, evaluated, and ranked through peer interactions with the establishment of a hierarchy of masculinities. Spike explains the effect of bodily surveillance in his experience:

> Somebody would make a rude comment to me about my weight, and I just wouldn't retaliate because there's just no point. I'm not sinking to their level.… It doesn't really affect me, but, well, evidently it does because years of it has led to my poor body image, but at the moment it doesn't affect me, and there have been a few times where … people have smacked my fat and laughed at it because it jiggled, and I've been smacked right across, well, my boobs.

Spike further elaborates on the long-term impact his experiences in such a hostile environment are having on his knowledge and acceptance of his body image and the fear he feels about his body weight:

> Last time I weighed myself I was around 260. I hope I'm not really any more than that now because I wasn't comfortable with that weight, and so my weight has always been a big concern, not just because of the health problems.… I'm afraid of what I look like and how other people perceive me, and I know … it's kind of a grey area because I'm not sure what a healthy body weight for my height would be.… So what I'm really trying to do is lose the fat and build muscle. So I may weigh the same. I may end up weighing more, but weight isn't really as important to me as physique.

Spike fears other males' perceptions of him based solely on his body. His confusion about a healthy body weight is complicated by a desire to "build muscle." Joël also expresses his discomfort in physical education spaces marked by normative surveillance, competition, and his embarrassment over the inability to do a pull-up:

> When people did pull-ups, it was just really uncomfortable because there were the couple of kids who could actually do pull-ups, and they did them pretty easily, and then everyone else. So, I felt really uncomfortable because, like, there would also be girls in the class, so obviously it [felt] really embarrassing to not be one of the kids who could actually do pull-ups. And for girls it didn't really matter that much cuz they would literally go up there, um, give it their best shot, and pretty much none of them got a pull-up. But then there were the guys, and that's when everyone really paid attention cuz, like, as a guy you were supposed to be, I guess stronger than a woman, so, I don't know, I guess it was pretty embarrassing when I couldn't do a pull-up. Not my best moment.

Joël illustrates the differential physical expectations of males and females, which equate a lack of physical strength with femininity. Physicality separates boys and girls and hierarchically ranks boys as well, so Joël's physical "lack" resulted in his occupation of an inferior masculine position. In our co-researchers' experiences, physical education classes have facilitated peer interactions in which they have ex-

perienced discomfort and feelings of failure and inferiority under performative gender surveillance driven by normative gender precepts. School spaces including locker rooms, physical education classes, and other sites, have perpetuated a toxic environment for young men like Spike and Joël whose acceptance was based on building and displaying an idealized masculine physique.

Conclusion

We have explored the intersection of masculinity, health, and physical education in school spaces, which has produced a normative discourse that has reduced health to the singular measure of one's body mass index (Evans, Davies, & Rich, 2008). This discourse has defined masculinity through forging a muscular body in an environment of hyper-competitive heteronormative positioning—a body unattainable by most young men and not required for a healthy life. Our work contributes to developing an understanding of the interactive processes that produce and reproduce normative masculinity in health education. This context is particularly striking because of the underlying contradictions inherent in the promotion of health on the one hand and the unhealthy competitive negotiation of bodies among boys on the other. We also contribute to the theorization of masculinities in the context of physical education through deeper exploration of school cultures of masculinity, health, and harassment that silence young men's anxieties about body image. Our findings suggest the need for continued critical dialogue about the impact of normative masculine discourses on school spaces, health education, and wider curriculum and pedagogy.

Our work further contributes to the dialogue on the evolution of the concept of hegemonic masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Our co-researchers' stories, contextualized in health and physical education, affirm the fundamental premise associated with hegemonic masculinity, both in theory and in practice: a plurality and hierarchy of masculinities exist, produced by patterns of hegemony that are culturally produced and institutionalized, and hegemony represents an ideal that few men and boys can attain (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). The construction of masculinities, contextualized in idealized body imagery, represents a significant area of further inquiry, particularly in relation to critical discourses on globalization.

Our work also contributes to dialogues on the social embodiment of masculinities, because it illustrates bodies as objects and agents of social practice and the "circuits of social practice linking bodily processes and social structures" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 851). Our work illustrates that schools are intimately associated with bodily practices, and it supports the contention that among "dominant groups of men, the circuits of social embodiment constantly involve the institutions on which their privileges rest" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 852). Our co-researchers feel marginalized in their school spaces as a result of the enactment of bodily practices in physical education classes. Yet our work also demonstrates that inherent in the masculine hierarchy described by our co-researchers lies their recognition that they possess the agency to critique and even refuse to participate in it. Their stories convey the tension inherent in gender dynamics and illuminate the ways in which hegemonic masculinity subordinates young men who fail the litmus test. Yet they also suggest that living in such a climate of fear is just as damaging to those young men who pass the test and operate from a privileged masculine position. The maintenance of such privilege can be very tenuous indeed.

Bodies matter in gender expression, and focus on the body requires closer examination because of the routine ways in which young men are "physically positioned within a repertoire of masculine codes that are read off and enacted by the body" (Kehler, Davison, & Frank, 2005, p. 64). To dismiss the complex intersection between young men, their bodies, and school spaces ignores a normalizing gendering process extant in social institutions such as schools. Kehler and Martino (2007, p. 92) identify ways in which boys routinely problematize and interrogate masculinizing practices, but the difficulty for many young men, particularly those marginalized by these practices, is the "institutionalization of hegemonic heterosexual masculinity in schools that denies and silences such critical discourses." Our work advocates for young men marginalized by a normative masculine discourse by bringing their voices, stories, experiences, and perspectives to a discourse that has actively sought to exclude and disenfranchise them. Mac an Ghaill (1994, p. 9) envisions the re-conceptualization of schools as "makers of a range of femininities and masculinities" by functioning as public sites in which students might develop non-traditional gender identifications. Only through a sensitive dialogue in which we acknowledge young men's concerns and feelings can we address their anxieties about body image and negotiate the feelings of intimidation and inadequacy often communicated by young men reluctant to participate in physical education so that their experiences do not contribute to lasting poor self-concepts. Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p. 853) note that "the conceptualization of hegemonic masculinity should explicitly acknowledge the possibility of democratizing gender relations, of abolishing power differentials, not just of reproducing hierarchy." Rather than serving as normalizing institutions, schools might serve as spaces in which taken-for-granted notions of gender can be explored, hegemonic practices problematized, and non-traditional gender identifications and ways of being embraced and celebrated.

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JAY MECHLING*

PISSING AND MASCULINITY

Beginning as an attempt to understand the short video of U.S. Marines in Helmond Province, Afghanistan, urinating on dead Taliban fighters in January of 2012, this essay first explores the ways urine comes to be understood in cultures as an ambiguous symbol, at times representing clean and nourishing (as in flood myths) and at other times representing dirty and polluting. With that understanding of the ambiguity of urine and urinating, the essay then considers the role of pissing (using the folk term in English) in the construction, maintenance, and repair of masculinity in American culture, with special attention to the ways American warriors use pissing as a ritual response to the traumas of combat.

Keywords: urination, ritual, military, trauma, PTSD

This inquiry begins with a 39-second video released to the press in early January of 2012, showing four United States Marines in Helmond Province, Afghanistan, urinating on the bodies of three dead Taliban fighters (Bowley & Rosenberg, 2012).[1] United States officials quickly condemned the act portrayed in the video while people worldwide expressed shock, disgust, and anger. The video reminded the public of the shocking photographs taken by American soldiers of the prisoner abuse at Abu Ghraib prison near Baghdad eight years earlier (Hersh, 2004; Morris, 2011; Sontag, 2004). Both the 2004 digital photographs and the 2012 digital video demonstrate how the visual narratives of the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan are now in the hands of the soldiers, sailors, and Marines, offering war stories from the people actually fighting the wars on the ground. The vernacular photography by combat-

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[1] Several versions of this video can be viewed on YouTube. See, for example, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=_TMq3m_Oli4 . Last viewed January 29, 2014.

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ants is as much warrior folklore as are their oral stories, pranks, play, and rituals (Mechling, 2012).

Both the photos and the video also raise questions about why the soldiers and Marines taking the pictures wanted to record the events, some of which are criminal. What is so important about these images that the participants, the eyewitnesses, want to preserve the moment, carry it back to safety, and get some sort of satisfaction or other meaning reliving the events by watching the images? Did they share these images with anyone who wasn't there?

Internet sites posting the video and online articles by journalists and bloggers about the video often give the viewer or reader the opportunity to comment. Judging from the comments—nothing like a random sample of Americans, of course—people have two sorts of reactions to the sight of U.S. Marines urinating on dead enemy combatants. Many see the act as disgusting or, at best, feel an ambivalence in watching the act, perhaps sharing the Marines' anger at the enemy while feeling pangs of guilt at enjoying the near-pornographic (some would say pornographic) images of the desecration of human bodies. Some comments endorse or even celebrate the desecration of the enemy.

American viewers bring to the act of watching the video a broad reservoir of contexts for understanding what they are seeing. Most of us have seen images of dead bodies that are casualties of war. The Vietnam War brought these images into the American living room and although the images of the Gulf War were carefully controlled by the government (which had learned that lesson in the Vietnam War), the war photographers and videographers documenting the wars in Iraq and Afghanistan have shown the public countless dead bodies. In fact, photojournalists have provided countless images of death and destruction from war and terrorism for many decades now.

Despite this visual carnage, I speculate that most American viewers believe that the dead body deserves respectful treatment. The common use of the word "desecration" to label disrespectful treatment of dead bodies recognizes in the root of that word the "sacredness" of the human body.

Two related questions move us along in this inquiry. First there is the nature of urine itself, as a real substance and then as a symbolic substance. Second is the more interesting question—namely, how do men use urinating as an expressive act, as a folk performance for the self and others? The meanings of the four Marines' urinating on Taliban bodies in Helmond Province, Afghanistan, in 2011 begin with the reservoir of meanings about urine and urinating; some of these meanings may transcend particular cultures, while others will be very specific to cultures. Thus, a better way to put the question I just posed is "how do contemporary American men use urinating as an expressive act, as a folk performance of masculinity for the self and others?"

Let me begin with urine itself so that we have a clear understanding of the paradoxical meanings of this substance, especially as those meanings are symbolic of the cultural categories "clean" and "dirty." I shall then narrow the focus to the meanings of urine and urinating in the culture of the American military, especially the Marine Corps. Those meanings, acquired in childhood and then molded in peculiar ways in basic training, take new, particular shapes in the time and place of combat in Iraq and Afghanistan.

Clean and Dirty

Mary Douglas (1966) and other anthropologists, folklorists, sociologists, and historians have found it useful to examine the ways cultures deal with substances crossing the dangerous boundary between outside the body and inside the body, which is itself a perfect model of the bounded system. This approach views the human body and society as interacting metaphors; sometimes talk about the body is also talk about the society, and sometimes talk about society also reveals attitudes about the body. The interpretive strategy is to look at how societies deal with materials that cross the body's boundaries. Crossing the boundary into the body are food, drink, and air; the body's important excretions include feces, urine, menstrual blood, semen, blood, sweat, tears, saliva, and breast milk. Some of these secretions also can enter the body—breast milk, urine, and semen being prominent examples. Not every culture imposes taboos on every substance coming in and every substance leaving the body, but across all cultures each of these excretions appears in cultural taboos. Douglas is most famous for drawing our attention to the categories "clean and dirty" for thinking about these substances and cultural taboos, and joining this famous binary in Douglas's analysis is the binary "purity and danger" and the concept of "pollution" and cultural practices meant to deal with the pollution (Babcock-Abrahams, 1975).

Urine is a particularly paradoxical excretion. Except in some cases of illness, urine is sterile. It is, of course, the product of the kidneys' cleansing of the blood. In fact, urine is so clean that some religious and some health-related practices include drinking one's own urine. Urine is sometimes used on the skin for beauty or health, and there are reports that some use urine as a floor cleaner because it contains ammonia.[2]

Urine is particularly valuable in Western medicine as an indicator of health, which is why urinalysis is a standard diagnostic procedure. Relevant to the example that prompted this inquiry is the fact that the color and volume of urine (most healthy adults produce one to two liters a day) is a useful indicator of the level of the individual's hydration or dehydration. In the deserts of Iraq and Afghanistan, American military personnel are constantly urged to drink lots of water—"hydrate, hydrate, hydrate." This results in the frequent need to urinate, and soldiers are instructed by their superiors to monitor the color of their urine as indicators of whether they are drinking enough water. This draws constant attention to urination and urine in these war theatres as indicators of one aspect of the individual's identity.

Another paradox of urine is that the human urethra, through which the urine passes out of the body, is anatomically linked to the genitals and to procreation. Aside from the genital stimulation of urination, for males the fact that semen and urine both leave the body through the penis creates a symbolic equivalence. In his psychoanalytic analysis of flood myths as myths of male creation, Dundes (1997a) uses the frequency of the urine=semen=water symbolic equivalences to explain the details of many flood myths, which are in almost all cases myths telling stories of re-creation. The "womb envy" (Bettelheim, 1954; Horney, 1942; Mead, 1949) men feel toward the ability of women to actually give life leads men to imagine the ways

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[2] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urine. Last viewed January 29, 2014.

men re-create life through urine. Women, notes Dundes, give birth after a flood of amniotic fluid, which (scientists will tell you) has been created largely by the fetus's urination. Thus, the literal and figurative similarity between amniotic fluid and urine makes urine the perfect symbol for male creation. In fact, as Dundes (1997a, p. 82) points out, ethnopsychoanalyst Géza Róheim observes that in many flood myths the flood literally is urine. In some myths the flood waters are hot, which, says Dundes (1997a, p. 83), reinforces the connection with urine.

Urine appears often in folk beliefs, proverbs, and jokes. In folk medicine, urine is recommended to cure a range of ills, from skin conditions to earaches, to warts (Hatfield, 2003, pp. 357-358). Hindu and yoga tradition views drinking one's morning urine as a key to health and meditation, and some athletes report drinking their own urine as part of their training.[3]

An English version of what must be a Yiddish proverb suggests to a person, "Wish in one hand and pish [piss] in the other and see which one fills up first." In some folk uses, "pissing" means wasting, as in "pissing away money" or "pissing away time" (and remember that "time is money"). There is a cycle of jokes with "pissing in the snow" or "writing your name in the snow" as central motifs, sometimes signaling marital infidelity (Rudolph, 1983). Bronner (2012, p. 80) documents stories often told in colleges, hospitals, and medical schools involving tricking the audience into thinking they are seeing someone drink or taste urine.

I do not have the space here to write a full compendium of urine in folklore and popular culture. I have sketched here some of the positive and negative cultural meanings of urine to establish the fact that it is a complex, ambiguous symbolic matter that has both positive and negative meanings in cultures. The meanings of urine lead us only so far in understanding the meanings of the video from Helmond Province. The meanings must lie in the performance itself. It is not that the urine has no importance in the act; in fact, as I show below, it is quite significant to the male soldiers that the substance is urine. Urinating on the Taliban is about masculinity and the bonding between close men, so I turn now to a discussion of "pissing and masculinity."

Pissing and Masculinity

In shifting from the broader scientific meanings of urine to the actual ways men use urination in the performance of masculinity, I am going to shift from the polite terms of urine and urination and use the earthier folk speech—piss and pissing. There are, of course, many folk terms for piss and pissing in American English, including "pee," "wee," "taking a leak," and taking a "whiz," and going "to see a man about a dog [horse]."

It is worth distinguishing between pissing as a solo performance of masculinity and as a group performance of masculinity in concert with others. I begin with the solo act and then move onto pissing in groups, as that will return us to the video of Marines pissing on Taliban corpses.

Dundes (1997a) discusses the uses of flood myths to establish a creative aspect of masculinity, but he also refers to the Biblical references associating masculinity with pissing "against a wall" (Dundes 1997a, p. 85; 1 Kings 14:10, 16:11). Men can

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[3] http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Urine_therapy. Last viewed January 29, 2014.

piss standing, and although some men piss sitting (or squatting) by individual choice or by cultural tradition, the Biblical references suggest a long tradition of seeing the ability to piss against a wall as a mark of masculinity.[4] In *The Armies of the Night* (1968), Norman Mailer's account of the 1967 anti-war march on the Pentagon, Mailer (who is the central protagonist in this "history as a novel and a novel as history") recounts his visit to a men's room in the building where the protestors have gathered to hear Mailer and other notable literati who are joining the march. Mailer recounts a "45-second piss" which he understands and brandishes as a sign of his masculinity (see Merideth, 1971).

Male pissing can be aggressive, as is recognized by folk speech like "piss on it" or "piss on you." "Pissing someone off" connects anger and piss, as do the proverbs "It's better to be pissed off than pissed on" and "Never get into a pissing contest (match) with a skunk" (Doyle, Mieder & Shapiro, 2012, pp. 198-199). The equally proverbial "Don't piss (pee) on my head (leg) and call it rain" carries the same sense of pissing as an aggressive act. Male dogs and other canines will "mark" a territory with their urine, and although human males rarely resort to this biological method of marking territory, men do piss on other men. In a scene from the theatrical film *Wolf* (1994), Jack Nicholson's character, who has been bitten by a werewolf and slowly morphs into a werewolf himself, is standing at a urinal beside a man he despises, and he turns and pisses on the man. Sometimes pissing on a friend is a form of play (I witnessed this many times in the showers at my high school gym). More often, though, a man's pissing on another man is clearly aggressive. Popular culture has a few examples of this, as in the *Sopranos* television episode where a mob boss pisses on a guy to show dominance, or the episode of the American television version of *Shameless* where one of the sons pisses on his shameless father from the second-story window of their house.

Sometimes pissing on the other male is more deeply disguised as something else. Take, for example, the folk play of shaking a beer bottle or champagne bottle and squirting the foaming liquid on another person. Though I lack scientific data to support the gender generalization I am making here, I think this is a peculiarly male form of horseplay. The semiotics of the play are fairly obvious, with the long-neck beer bottle standing for the penis and the sudden gush of frothy liquid (light amber colored, no less) representing either urine or semen or both. In this form of play the players are figuratively pissing or ejaculating (cumming) on each other. An interesting variant is the tradition whereby male sports players dump a large dispenser of iced Gatorade or water on the winning coach at the end of a football game. All these and more examples of males pissing on each other, either literally or figuratively, require the play frame (Bateson, 1972) for the participants to understand the pissing as an act of bonding, even of affection.

PISSING TOGETHER

We are close now to understanding the meanings of the video of Marines pissing on the dead bodies of Taliban fighters in the Helmond Province of Afghanistan

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[4] I am setting aside here the erroneous belief by many men that women cannot piss standing up or direct their urine flow.

in 2011. We see cumulative folk meanings of piss and pissing that support the view that we are not merely watching fighting men show aggression toward and contempt for the enemy fighters they have just killed. Knowing the folk history of the paradoxical meanings of piss and pissing, we might also appreciate the paradox of pissing on an enemy, in part to assert masculine dominance over the enemy, but possibly also to invoke male creation rather than male destruction. Put differently, pissing on the dead enemy asserts that the pisser is alive and a deliverer of life as well as death.

As Raphael (1988) argues, American culture provides very few traditional, formal, culturally formulaic and meaningful rituals—including rites of passage—for men to reinforce their masculinity, which always is a fragile construct (Frosh, 1994; Mechling, 2005). American men are left to "invent" their own rites and rituals, their own traditional folkways to make visible the qualities of masculinity in the individual and what it means to be bonded to a male friendship group. Pissing together is one of those invented traditions, as I shall show shortly. Note, though, that the rituals groups of men invent and perform can sometimes have a therapeutic function. Men in combat need immediate ritual solutions to the many traumas they endure. Waiting for months and years to see a therapist to deal with PTSD (Post-Traumatic Stress Disorder) leads to disaster, as is plain enough.[5]

It may seem odd that pissing together turns out to be an important symbolic act in collective response to trauma, but pissing has a unique set of meanings for male American warriors in Iraq and Afghanistan, and I am indebted to John Paul Wallis, who served a tour as a Marine in Iraq 2007-09, for making these elements clear to me in our conversations and in his Senior Thesis in American Studies at the University of California, Davis (Wallis, 2012). Several experiences and conditions converge to make pissing a heavily cathected act for these warriors. It begins in boot camp, where (as Wallis relates) the drill instructors (DIs) control every normal bodily function, from eating and sleeping to shitting and pissing. A platoon of seventy-five recruits, explains Wallis,

> is typically given less than a minute to line up in twos in a hallway leading to the bathroom or head. When given the command to attack the head, recruits reply "Attack the head, aye aye, Sir!" and charge as few as 3 urinals and 4 doorless toilets en masse…. A DI counts down aloud from 100, speeding up as he goes…. (Wallis, 2012, p. 17)

Wallis sees the "ritualized head call" (Wallis, 2012, p. 18), this constant experience of urinating in each other's presence without privacy and completely under the control of a harsh superior male, as the precursor to the Marines' pissing on the Taliban fighters. In country, the hot weather and constant admonition by officers and peers to "hydrate or die" (Wallis, 2012, p. 30) further fixates pissing in the minds of the male warriors.

What struck me in reading Wallis's account of "the ritualized head call" in boot camp is the total control exercised by the DI. In American culture, parents and other

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[5] Two of the best studies of Post Traumatic Stress Disorder (or Syndrome) are by Shay (1994, 2002), who uses his therapeutic work with Vietnam veterans to make larger points about masculinity and American culture.

adults caring for the child work early and often to socialize the bodily functions—eating, pissing, shitting. Boys typically toilet train later than girls in the U.S., which brings further pressure on the boy to control these functions and to limit them to appropriate times and places. The goal is self-control. Children learn early, though, that these bodily functions can also be a source of power and resistance. Ultimately it is the child, not the supervising adult, who controls these bodily functions. Psychoanalytic theory points to the genital and anal fixations that can be the product of too harsh socialization of these functions.

Boot camp infantilizes the recruits, aiming to reproduce primary socialization from the family, tearing down the civilian identity and constructing a new identity as a warrior (Berger & Luckmann, 1967; Ricks, 1997). The DI is the harsh, punitive father who has complete control over the recruit's bodily functions. It is very dangerous to use pissing as a way of resisting authority in boot camp, but in the war zone the Marine (in this case) has control over the bodily functions so harshly socialized at boot camp. Pissing takes on additional layers of meaning as resistance to harsh authority.

Several scholars of masculinity note that "fratiarchy" better describes the American system sustaining masculine identity and power than does the term "patriarchy" (Brod, 1992; Remy, 1990; Starck, 2007). Power in American culture is wielded by a fraternity of brothers, and for reasons far too complex to develop here, let us say that American culture has a strong thread of resistance to patriarchal authority. In *Totem and Taboo,* Freud (1913) makes this point a more universal one, tracing religion, rituals, and initiation rites to the murder of the father by the sons, an event related to the Oedipal Complex. The Marines pissing collectively on the dead Taliban are cementing the bonds of the fratriarchy and are taking control of their own pissing, free from the control of pissing exercised by the harsh father (the drill instructor) in boot camp. At the same time, if we entertain the psychoanalytic understanding of the motivations for the invention of male rituals, then we might see the Taliban as symbolic equivalents of the DI. Both the DI and the Taliban make the Marines' lives hell, both feminize them by taking away their autonomy of action, and both appear to be harsh authoritarians. The killing of the harsh father by the brothers induces guilt; the ritual we see on the video from Afghanistan puts the symbolic father at the center of the circle of pissing.[6]

Yet another sort of experience in combat touches on control, loss of control, and pissing. In *On Combat* (2008), veteran and psychologist Dave Grossman describes the psychological and physiological dimensions of being in combat. He raises early in his phenomenological description of what it feels like to be in combat the little-discussed fact that people in stressful situations often lose bladder and anal sphincter control. The soldiers and veterans he has worked with think the shame is theirs alone when they piss themselves in very dangerous situations and they are relieved to have him tell them that is a quite common physiological reaction in combat (2008, pp. 8-11). Again, control over one's pissing is the desired proof of autonomous masculinity.

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[6] Note that in Stanley Kubricks's Vietnam War film, *Full Metal Jacket* (1987), based on the novel, *The Short Timers* (1979) by Gustav Hasford, Private "Pyle" shoots and kills the DI before turning the rifle on himself.

It is significant, also, that the Marines in the video are pissing in a semi-circle around the dead Taliban fighters. Men are used to pissing side-by-side in public restrooms, sometimes in individual urinals and sometimes in more open metal troughs, common in sports stadiums and at summer camps. (Men lined up, pissing in urinals, strangely re-enacts the Biblical masculinity of "pissing against a wall.") At the summer camp which was the site of my many years studying a Boy Scout troop for my 2001 book, *On My Honor*, we on the adult staff had a "staff/staph piss pond" behind our tents and often would line up at the edge of that marshy pond to piss, carrying on normal conversations but also paying attention to and commenting on whose arc of piss was strong enough to travel several feet into the pond. Every boy and man knows that a strong stream is a sign of strong masculinity; weak streams or, worse, feeble trickles signal femininity.

I first became aware of the male bonding functions of the collective piss in a circle when I was trying to sort through the meanings of the Poison Pit game played by the Scout troop I studied for my book (Mechling, 2001). Using psychoanalytic theory about the construction, maintenance, and repair of masculinity, I came to understand that the Poison Pit in the sand represented female genitals and sexuality, that the boys' pissing into the Poison Pit helped them establish their masculinity by showing contempt for the feminine (Mechling, 2001, pp. 74-75, 84). Later, when some of the older boys in the troop talked about past performances of "pissing out the campfire" after the younger boys went to bed, I saw how that collective act bonded the boys. Some analysts using psychoanalytic theory see fire as representing the phallus, so that pissing on the fire represents a phallic duel.

My understanding of the bonding functions of males collectively pissing out a fire deepened upon reading Goyton's (1978) essay describing and interpreting an example of this sort of performance at the summer camp where he worked. His focus was on the fifteen- to seventeen-year-old counselors-in- training (CITs) at a co-educational camp. The training sessions required the male CITs to be open and vulnerable in expressing their feelings—in short, to act more like the female CITs. The closing ceremony at the end of camp was around a campfire. Each camper, after sharing some memory of the two-week training experience, threw a stick representing his or her camp memories into the fire. Once the campers retired, the CITs had a similar ceremony tossing memory sticks into the fire, but then the male CITs ask the females to leave so they could perform the tradition of "pissing out the campfire."

Goyton sees this pissing ritual as a reassertion of masculinity in the wake of the more feminine behavior the adolescent boys engaged in during their training. As such, the pissing ritual becomes hyper-masculine. CITs reluctant to bring out their penises are teased as too feminine. Pissing on the fire amounts to pissing on the campers' and CIT staff's memories. The pissing becomes competitive. "Everyone begins urinating at the same time," explains Goyton,

> and the last person to stop is seen as the champion, the most "manly." In a few instances someone has completely smothered the fire; stories of their victory are passed from session to session, and even year to year. The competition to have the longest lasting "piss" is so strong that, throughout the campfire, many males try to build up a large supply by guzzling from water bottles. (n.p.)

Goyton also reports that the male CITs engage in "sword fighting" with their streams of urine, and he has observed this in younger boys, as well.

So in these two examples from summer camps—and I feel certain there are many more unreported examples—young men still in the process of constructing, maintaining, and repairing their identities as heterosexual males gravitate to a ritual of pissing together in a circle on some object below them. In the case of the poison pit, the boys are pissing into/on something symbolically female. In the case of the campfire, the target is masculine, though in the example provided by Goyton the memory sticks in the fire represent the female aspect of the CIT training. So pissing on the fire amounts to pissing on the feminine aspect of the boys' own nature. As Goyton notes, the campfire ritual helps the boys transition from the more gender-loose experiences at camp to an everyday life in high school where the performance of masculinity is a fragile performance always at risk.

Returning to the video of the Marines, Wallis notes that the ritual pissing is "a play on the ritual cleansing of the body before burial" (Wallis, 2012, p. 30). The ritual cleansing of the body is important in Muslim tradition, but the Marines undermine this tradition "by preventing a clean death and burial according to their religion" (Wallis, 2012, p. 31). The notion of a "clean death" is very meaningful to these Marines.[7] Douglas's famous clean/dirty binary looms powerfully in the minds and experiences of American soldiers in these war zones, where personal cleanliness and privacy in the most fundamental processes of shitting and pissing are hard to come by.

Thus far this analysis suggests that the collective act of the Marines' pissing on the dead Taliban fighters amounts to a ritual with many meanings drawing upon the ambiguity of the meanings of urine and pissing. Certainly the act showed disrespect and reflected some combination of anger, fear, and relief experienced by these Marines. The pissing ritual was also a bonding ritual between the band of brothers, a demonstration of agency and power in a situation where the Marines often feel quite powerless. There is yet another dimension to the ritual worth noting in the analysis, a homoerotic dimension triggered by the display of each man's penis to the others.

SEMEN AND URINE, CUM AND PISS

The norm for men wishing to perform a heterosexual identity in the male group is to avoid carefully a direct and sustained gaze at another man's penis. At the same time, the performance of being naked in the presence of other men needs to be casual. Men performing their heterosexual orientation enter mutually nude frames that signal they can be exposed and vulnerable in others' presence because everyone present is heterosexual. The heterosexual gaze by men of men is understood as nonsexual. This is a frame easily broken in places where men are naked together—in school gyms, at a line of urinals, in the athletic club locker room, and so on. Boys learn pretty early the rules of managing their gaze in the presence of other naked males; breaking the tacit rules can carry very bad consequences.

These rules of the male gaze can be violated in the play frame, thanks to the paradoxical nature of the frame, where things do not mean what they would mean in

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[7] For more on the notion of a "clean death" in combat, see Mechling (2012).

other frames. Thus, the teenage boy who pisses on another boy in the shower is inviting a play fight. The young men naked during the hazing and initiation of other young men into a fraternity or sports team understand the meanings of the nudity in the play frame, where close attention to the genitals and butts of other men is not to be interpreted as sexual (Mechling, 2008, 2009).

Many anthropologists and folklorists have noted the similarities between the play frame and the ritual frame (Handelman, 1977). Pissing on the campfire qualifies as a ritual, I think, in its serious intent, and certainly the Marines' pissing on dead Taliban fighters counts more as a ritual than play. In both frames, sustained gazing at another man's penis does not mean what it would mean in the frame of everyday life. Staring at the penis of another man engaged in playful or ritual pissing does not threaten heterosexual identity.[8]

We have seen how the experiences of anxious pissing in basic training and the centrality of pissing in the lives of soldiers hydrating their bodies in Iraq and Afghanistan load the collective piss with many meanings. Similarly, the combatants' experiences surrounding sex in Iraq and Afghanistan provide an additional set of meanings for the collective piss. Key here is the symbolic equivalence of semen and urine we see in the folklore and mythology across several cultures.

Memoirs by soldiers and Marines who served in Iraq and Afghanistan testify to the sexual frustration of the male American warriors in these theatres of war. The warriors talk openly about masturbation as the only sexual release they have available (Buzzell, 2005). One historian of the Marine Corps notes the ease with which Marines in WWII engaged in and talked about masturbation and accepted situational homosexual acts in the combat zones (Cameron, 1994, pp. 79-81). This frustrated sexual desire also surfaces in what Theweleit (1989, p. 170) calls "the transformation of eros," the displacement of sexual energy into violence. The symbolic equivalence of the rifle and the penis (captured succinctly in the marching cadence, "This is my rifle [tap rifle], this is my gun [grab crotch], this is for shooting [rifle], this is for fun [crotch]") is reinforced by the testimony of many veterans that they found shooting their weapons to be sexually arousing.[9]

We see now that the collective pissing in the Helmond video resembles the "circle jerk" so well-known in practice and lore among men. The play frame sustains the "circle jerk" as a game or even a contest between heterosexual friends. Whereas pissing on the Taliban fighters is aggressive and demeaning to the enemy, the "shadow" meaning of the circle jerk—a circle of men masturbating until they all ejaculate—brings more complexity to what we are seeing in that video. In consensual sexual play, the custom of *bukake* (a term borrowed from the Japanese) features a man or men ejaculating on the face or body of a woman or man. *Bukake* links the participants, the circle of men with each other and the men with the person(s) receiving the ejaculate.

All these elements in the Helmond Province video—the circle of Marines, the display of penises, the piss as piss, the piss as cum—work to reaffirm the heterosexual identity of the Marines. Masculinity always is a fragile construct in need of

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[8] For a more detailed frame analysis of the meanings of nudity in the play and rituals of all-male groups, see Mechling (2008, 2009).

[9] Cameron (1994, p. 81) cites examples of sexual arousal in combat from James Jones's World War II novel, *The Tin Red Line* (1962).

constant performance and repair. This is true even—and maybe especially—in the hyper-masculine settings of violent combat. One cannot imagine a more masculine, iconic figure than the United States Marine.

Paradoxically, however, the conditions under which the Marines have had to fight in Iraq and Afghanistan serve in many ways to feminize them. The feeling of agency and power so central to American masculinity wilts under the circumstances of warfare in Iraq and Afghanistan. In conventional wars, the clash of warriors can feed feelings of power and control. Conventional warfare has its share of irrational death and irrational survival, but in contrast to the conventional clash of uniformed armed forces, fighting guerillas or insurgents heightens the warrior's sense of vulnerability, loss of agency and control.[10] As Wallis (2012, p. 430) notes, the Improvised Explosive Device (IED) so often used by the enemy in Iraq and Afghanistan is a "passive-aggressive" weapon, and the passivity suggests the feminine. Hence the U.S. Marines and other fighters are feminized by the use of the weapon.

Levy's 1971 essay on "ARVN as Faggots" points to yet another way warfare in Iraq and Afghanistan feminizes the American warrior. ARVN was the Army of the Republic of Vietnam, and Levy explores the paradoxical masculinity of Vietnamese men as experienced by American warriors sent to fight that war. Despite some warnings in training that Vietnamese men may seem feminine by American standards of masculinity—holding hands of friends, for example—American warriors had to make sense of their different experiences with the South Vietnamese soldiers and the North Vietnamese regular soldiers and guerilla Viet Cong. The South Vietnamese soldiers seemed more cowardly, which to the American warrior signaled feminine qualities. Hence American soldiers viewed the "ARVN as faggots." The warriors for North Vietnam, in contrast, were fierce, clever fighters, foes the American warriors respected and who shared none of the negative female traits they saw in the South Vietnamese soldiers. In short, while the Americans easily feminized the South Vietnamese men, constructing their own masculinity by placing South Vietnamese men in the categories of women and homosexuals, the Americans did not and could not feminize the North Vietnamese, who share the short stature, slight bodies, and seemingly more "feminine" customary behavior of other Vietnamese men. The fierce North Vietnamese warriors helped bolster the heterosexual male identity of the American warriors through masculine battles, but there always was the danger that the North Vietnamese and, especially, the Viet Cong would feminize the American warrior by taking away his sense of agency, control, and power. Worse yet, the Viet Cong, who could feminize the American warriors, were themselves at times feminine in the American warriors' eyes.

Shifting our gaze now to Iraq and Afghanistan, we can see how Levy's analysis suggests a similar paradox for American warriors in those theatres. Iraqi and Afghan cultures are different, but the customary performances of masculinity in the two cultures still differ significantly from the performances of masculinity familiar to the Americans. Men hold hands and otherwise show signs of familiar affection

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[10] Dundes (1997b) produces both a structural and a psychoanalytic analysis of games and war to argue that in both genres "one male demonstrates his virility, his masculinity, *at the expense of a male opponent*. One proves one's maleness by feminizing one's opponent" (p. 27, emphasis in original).

in touching. Many Afghan men wear the traditional disdasha, which "American troops derisively referred to as 'man dresses'" (Sites, 2013, p. 28). Just as in Vietnam, where US soldiers found ways to distinguish between the feminized South Vietnamese soldiers and the very masculine North Vietnamese soldiers and Vietcong, American soldiers and marines in Afghanistan must resolve the paradox of Afghan men's traditional behavior by distinguishing between the hyper-masculine Afghan men (e.g., the Taliban) and the feminized Afghan men they encounter daily. The performance of Afghan masculinity combined with the frequent passive-aggressive tactics of the Afghan insurgents present American warriors with a paradoxical male enemy. The homoerotic performance of the collective piss, therefore, is itself filled with paradox. The brothers kill the harsh father—a harsh father who often feminized and infantilized the brothers—and the brothers invent a ritual displaying their penises to each other as proof of a homoerotic bond and reaffirming their masculinity by pissing on the dead father. The pissing assuages their guilt in a ritual.

I say this group of Marines "invented" this tradition but they might have had similar experiences in other all-male settings. There are reasons to suspect that this ritual is not a unique experience on the battlefield. This very team might have done this before without memorializing it with photography. Nor is the act of pissing on the dead enemy new. Belkin (2012) cites an example from the 1981 WWII memoir by Eugene B. Sledge. Sledge recalled one Marine officer who, whenever he needed to piss, would "locate a Japanese corpse, stand over it, and urinate in its mouth" (quoted in Belkin, 2012, p. 126). That may have been an individual's unique way of dealing with the stress of combat, but the example suggests that pissing on the dead bodies of the enemy has been a common practice, one not mentioned often in accounts of war.

Which brings us to the final question. If pissing on the dead enemy serves a complex social and psychological purpose in response to combat stress, but is an illegal act by military codes of conduct and is bound to disturb civilians back home, why memorialize these acts with still photography and video? Why create what could be evidence in a court martial?

Digital Trophies

This puzzle first surfaced with the rapid spread of and response to the digital photographs taken by the American soldiers at the infamous Abu Grahib prison, photographs recording the cruel, humiliating, criminal treatment of Iraqi prisoners (Morris, 2011, pp. 74-118; Sontag, 2004). The same question arose with the discovery of the videos taken by Bravo Company in Afghanistan in 2012 (Boal, 2011)—why memorialize this criminal behavior?

Wallis (2012) uses the phrase "digital trophies" to describe these photos and videos, and that word—trophy—seems perfectly apt, conjuring familiar meanings denoting the animal trophies taken in hunting (Mechling, 2004). Memoirs and other accounts by warriors testify to a long history of taking trophies from the battlefield. Often the trophies are objects—guns, flags, and so on—but the gruesome tradition of taking body parts from the dead enemy has a long history, too. Stories of collecting the ears from dead soldiers in Vietnam are common, as is the sort of play with a dead body we see in the film, *Full Metal Jacket* (1987).

Boall's (2011) account of the behavior of some of the men in Bravo Company in-

cludes description of the play with bodies found in the digital photography. The team had killed an unarmed, nonthreatening 15-year-old Afghan boy, Gul Mudin. They began playing with his dead body in ways similar to the scenes in *Full Metal Jacket*:

> Holding a cigarette rakishly in one hand, Holmes [the Pfc who killed the boy] posed for the camera with Mudin's bloody body and half-naked corpse, grabbing the boy's head by the hair as if it were a trophy deer….
>
> Gibbs started "messing around with the kid," moving his arms and mouth and "acting like the kid was talking." Then, using a pair of razor-sharp medic's shears, he reportedly sliced off the dead boy's pinky finger and gave it to Holmes, as a trophy for killing his first Afghan.
>
> According to his fellow soldiers, Holmes took to carrying the finger with him in a zip-lock bag. "He wanted to keep the finger forever and wanted to dry it out," one of his friends would later report. "He was proud of his finger." (Boal, 2011, p. 4)

In the same article, Boal reported cases of American soldiers' saving pieces of skull and teeth as trophies (Boal, 2012, p. 14). By Boal's account, the criminal soldiers in Bravo Company were taking two sorts of trophies—body parts and digital photographs of the dead bodies. The symbolic equivalence of the finger and the penis in the folk mind reinforces the impression that masculinity is at stake here. Taking the finger is equivalent to emasculating the enemy.

Even though he did not witness such behavior during his tour in Iraq, Wallis understands that "the compulsion to play with these bodies and to take trophies was real and acted upon" (Wallis, 2012, p. 29), and he sees the digital photography in both cases—the Bravo company photos and the Scout Sniper Team 4 video of pissing on the dead Taliban fighters—as a form of trophy. This helps explain the puzzling fact that the participants in these two events and those in Abu Grahib prison (and probably other undiscovered examples) created photographic evidence of their own criminal behavior.

Wallis also notes that "U.S. service members' sexualized defilement of corpses is nothing new," and he points to the case of Marine Sergeant Sanick who, in testifying about the 2005 "Haditha Massacre" in which he took part, "admitted to pumping bullets into the bodies of five Iraqi civilians and urinating on the broken skull of an Iraqi man" (Wallis, 2012, p. 53; see also Perry, 2012). In fact, a human skull is a common trophy carried away from the battlefield. Snapshots from World War II and the Vietnam War provide evidence of soldiers' dark play with skulls (Mechling, 2012), and to illustrate his essay about totemism in the military, Oring (1977) provides a soldier's snapshot of the skull mounted on a stick and carried around by a platoon in Vietnam sometimes in 1969-70. The platoon named the skull "Bruce," sometimes dressing him in a hat, sunglasses and pants.

The skull motif and the pissing motif come together in the testimony about Sanick's act in Iraq. The skull motif has a long history as *memento mori*, as a reminder of mortality in Puritan portraits and in other art and literature (e.g., Yorick's skull in *Hamlet)*. Pissing on the skull amounts to pissing on death, or at least on the stark reminder of death. There may be a sexual element to this play, as well, as the slang phrase "skull fucking" denotes violent fellatio.

The digital trophies carried away from the horrible experiences of war remind the

bearer of an intense experience and affirm that he survived. The digital trophy affirms what little power and agency he could take in a situation where he felt powerless. One guesses (maybe hopes) that those who captured the digital images of brutal behavior toward other humans on their cameras often have second thoughts away from the war zone and erase the images from their devices or, at least, review the images in private. Clearly, though, some of the images survive and reach audiences they were never intended to reach. The combatants' control over the visual imagery of war is not an unconditionally good development.

CONCLUSION

The digital videos and still photographs of the abuse of living and dead bodies of Iraqi and Afghan fighters by American soldiers and Marines raise many questions beyond the initial disgust and anger most people feel when viewing those images. I believe that the brief video created by the Marines in Helmond Province documents an example of an invented folk ritual in immediate response to the stress of combat. The symbolic details of the ritual, however, speak to more than the immediate traumatic experiences. The very socialization of urination in the young child marks a submission to the authority of the parent, and as the growing male comes to understand urination as something society tries to control, he also knows he can piss anywhere and that there is something like sexual pleasure in the pissing. He comes to understand what it means to "piss like a man" as an important element in the performance of masculinity. The punitive parent who toilet-trained him later comes to be embodied in the DI at boot camp.

Pissing in the combat zone takes on its own complications. The invention of the collective pissing ritual, accordingly, is far from arbitrary. The ritual offers immediate group therapy for the male warrior's complex feelings of terror, anger, guilt, feminization, infantilization, victimization, and more. I offer this analysis not to excuse the behavior captured by the video but to make us more thoughtful and empathetic as we struggle to understand the cumulative stresses on warriors and why, in the absence of formal cultural rituals for dealing with the stress, the men of necessity invent their own rituals.

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An Intersectional Approach to Latino Anti-Violence Engagement

Men's perspectives on nonviolence is a relatively rare topic of feminist research. This article examines Latinos' pathways to a commitment to nonviolent masculinities within intimate relationships. Examining literature on nonviolence and drawing on interviews with six Latinos the article uses a feminist ecological approach to identify and examine contributing factors to "emergent masculinities" characterized by a commitment to nonviolence in intimate relationships. It examines experiences of marginalization, exposure to domestic violence, and the influence of a close woman mentor as factors that contribute to a commitment to nonviolence. It also critiques the common equation of the absence of physical violence with nonviolence as it examines how even among self-identified nonviolent men it is possible to identify some forms of violence against intimate partners.

Keywords: nonviolence, masculinities, Latinos

It is of great importance, both theoretically and practically, that there are many nonviolent men in the world. (Connell, 2000, p. 22)

Given its severity, it is not surprising that much attention has been and should continue to be given to examining men's violence against women. Country studies from around the world indicate that between 10 and 50 percent of women are abused by an intimate partner and that the perpetrators are almost exclusively men (WHO, 2001). Men also suffer as the most common targets of other men's violence, but women are at significantly higher risk of being sexually assaulted by men and of violent victimization in intimate relationships (Tjaden & Thoennes, 2000; Truman & Rand, 2010). However, violence against women is only one of many resources available to men in the construction of masculinity (Messerschmidt, 1993). Most men are not violent towards their intimate partners (Katz, 1995), and societies in which domestic violence is absent or very low have been documented (Counts, Brown & Campbell, 1999; Fry, 1998; Levinson, 1989).

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Men's perspectives on nonviolence and engagement as anti-violence allies is still a relatively rare topic of feminist research across disciplines (Casey & Smith, 2010; Fabiano, Perkins, Berkowitz, Linkenbach, & Stark, 2003; Funk, 2008; Katz, 1995; Sinha & Hurtado, 2008; White, 2001). More specifically, there is a dearth of literature on the experiences of masculinity and anti-violence engagement among non-White men (Hurtado & Sinha, 2008; Lemons, 1998; White, 2001), and few studies have employed intersectional approaches to examine the topic (Hurtado & Sinha, 2008). We know, however, that the intersecting race, gender, and class identities of non-White men problematize generalizations about male privilege, since minority men are typically more vulnerable to oppression, exploitation, and discrimination than White, middle-class men (Burkner, 2012; Chavez, 2008; Gutmann, 1996; Levy, 2007; Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005; Mirande, Pitones, & Diaz, 2011; Ramirez, 2011; J.M. Rodriguez, 2003; Wendt, 2007). Hurtado and Sinha (2008) found that feminist-identified Latinos "were aware of their subordinate status in society based on their racial categorization, and viewed this as influencing their experience of being men" (p. 343). Men referred to themselves as "Latino men" rather than simply as "men" to emphasize how their multiple social identities intersected in everyday life. Following Hurtado and Sinha (2008), I propose that in anti-violence research it is similarly important to consider if and how racialization influences men's experiences of violence and anti-violence engagement.

This article contributes to existing literature by proposing that we examine anti-violence engagement as a complex process in which violence may continue to be present, and that we examine this process through an intersectional lens. I suggest that Galtung's (1985) concepts of *negative* and *positive peace* are particularly useful in examining anti-violence engagement as a process. Seen as a process, it is possible to move away from violence/nonviolence binaries and critically analyze the forms of violence that men may continue to be subjected to and engage in during times of relative peace within the contemporary U.S. Employing an intersectional approach, we can examine not only men's gendered identities but also, in cases that will be discussed, men's perceived or real status as racialized immigrants. I underscore men's self-reflections on their experiences of discrimination due to their racialization as Latinos and their (real or assumed) immigrant status as factors associated with Latinos' anti-violence engagement.

The first part of the article begins by introducing the theoretical frameworks of intersectionality, structural violence, and negative and positive peace that underpin my analysis, and it also presents the methodology for this study. I then provide a brief overview of the two bodies of literature to which this research most clearly contributes and brings together: Latino masculinities in the U.S. and men's anti-violence engagement. In the second part of the article I draw on a small group of interviews to examine four themes in Latino anti-violence engagement: exposure to domestic violence during childhood, an invitation to participate in anti-violence work by a respected peer, self-reflection on their intersectional identities, and self-reflection on anti-violence engagement as a process characterized by *negative peace*. The findings discussed here are not representative of patterns of anti-violence engagement among all men, or all Latinos, yet they point to possible configurations and contribute to a richer, more nuanced understanding of Latinos' engagement with anti-violence initiatives, a largely under-researched area that holds significant promise for more inclusive agendas to end violence against women.

THEORETICAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORKS

Intersectional approaches were developed largely as a reaction to and critique of White feminist analyses that privileged gender as the main lens through which to view oppression. Crenshaw (1994) coined the term "intersectionality" to refer to the ways in which women's identities and experiences of oppression are founded on multiple intersecting markers of difference, such as gender, race, class, and sexuality. Collins (1998), hooks (1989), and Hurtado (1997) similarly conceptualize interlocking systems of domination whose effects can be felt both at the community and individual level. An intersectional analytical lens helps us to consider the configurations of structural and individual factors that result in experiences of stigmatization or exclusion in the lives of individual Latinos, and, in the case of immigrants, it helps us see how immigrant status may intersect with other social identities to contribute to those experiences of exclusion (Burkner, 2012).

Understood as indirect violence embedded in unjust societal structures that are hegemonic and taken for granted by those in power, Galtung's (1969) conceptualization of structural violence is a lens through which to approach how the intersecting influences of gender, migration, race, class, and sexuality contribute to the lived experience of marginalization and exclusion of specific groups and individuals. For example, as a structure of domination racism is experienced as a pervasive form of violence in everyday life for many Latinos in the U.S. South, despite individual class background, gender identity, or immigration status (Chavez, 2008; Southern Poverty Law Center, 2009; Winders, 2007). Moments of discrimination based on perceived racialized immigrant status contribute to Latinos' experiences of exclusion.

The forms of exclusion and discrimination Latinos may experience underscore the prevalence of structural violence during times of relative peace (i.e., no war), that peace is not the same as the absence of all forms of violence, and the usefulness of Galtung's notions of positive and negative peace. *Positive peace* implies social justice in the shape of egalitarian relations and the absence not only of violence but also of factors that contribute to violence (Galtung, 1969, 1985). *Negative peace*, which is more common, signifies the end of war but may still include structural violence and more direct violence, such as violence in intimate relationships. Against this background, anti-violence engagement is not the same as nonviolence. Men's anti-violence engagement aims to achieve positive peace but the everyday realities of men's experiences and engagement are better understood as examples of negative peace. Similarly to geographers' view of peace as a process in which different forms of violence may continue to take place long after peace has been proclaimed (Loyd, 2012; Pankhurst, 2003), understanding men's anti-violence engagement as a process cautions us against assuming that anti-violence engagement signifies the absence of violence in men's lives.

METHODOLOGY

To my knowledge, there have been no other studies specifically on Latino anti-violence engagement in the U.S. This article draws on existing literature on Latino masculinities, literature on men's anti-violence engagement, and interviews with six Latinos who are members of or are interested in joining a community organization of Latino men against violence. In her work on African-American feminist

men, White (2001) notes that identifying participants was difficult because self-identified African-American feminist men do not typically belong to a formal organization specifically for them. Similarly, identifying Latino men engaged in anti-violence practices was challenging because of difficulties in locating organizations for self-identified Latinos against violence. My previous research on the intersections of Latino masculinity and violence against women had been facilitated in part by the existence of a court-mandated batterer treatment program specifically for Latinos (Alcalde, 2011). For interviews for this part of the project on Latino masculinities and anti-violence engagement, there was no similar program or organization to which to turn. Fortunately, a Latino anti-violence community group in a nearby community was forming just as I was beginning my research and I was invited to join the group as an ally and interested researcher. The community group was concerned primarily with outreach to the local Latino community about gender equality, health issues, and immigration. Made up of a small group of committed men and women allies, the group consisted primarily of middle-class, professional men and women when I conducted interviews during the group's first year.

The community group provided men with a safe space in which to discuss and analyze their and other men's experiences of violence, the structures and beliefs that sustain violent masculinities, and men's own feelings of vulnerability. The monthly lunchtime meetings required that men sometimes re-arrange their work schedules to attend but in return provided them with time to socialize and discuss the group's plans with a supportive group of men as well as women allies supporting their efforts.

In addition to participant observation during monthly group meetings, I conducted interviews with group members and other men referred to me by group members. Among interviewees, four of the men were participants in the anti-violence Latino community group and two were interested in joining but had not yet joined at the time of the interview. Four of the men identified as heterosexual and two identified as gay. All six men were in long-term intimate relationships. Among the six men, educational background ranged from high school to graduation from college and professional graduate school. The age range was from 26 to 70 (other ages included 27, 41, 45, and 67). Four of the men were from Mexico, one from Chile, and one from the U.S. side of the Mexico-U.S. border. All four men identified as Latino, grew up in Spanish-speaking homes, were fluent in English, and, for those born outside the U.S., had lived in the U.S. for at least ten years.

Interviews addressed a range of topics, from childhood experiences to intimate relationships as adults to discrimination in their host communities. Interviews were semi-structured and open-ended and lasted between forty minutes and two and a half hours. I interviewed each man one time, usually in Spanish but in a few cases in a combination of Spanish and English (Spanglish) to reflect individual preferences, and I transcribed the interviews verbatim. Transcripts were analyzed using a grounded theory approach, employing open coding to identify themes and axial coding to understand the range of themes (Glaser & Strauss, 1967; Strauss & Corbin, 1990).

Latino Masculinities

Latino men have historically been represented as hot-tempered, violent, and lacking intelligence (Mastro & Behm-Morawitz, 2005). On television, "Latino characters

are more likely than characters of other ethnic groups to be cast as having low-status occupations … [and] are more often represented in stories related to crime and participate in a disproportionate amount of conversations about crime and violence" (Rivadeneyra, Ward, & Gordon, 2007, p. 263). In the U.S., this popular culture stereotype of Latino men as criminal and treacherous dates back to silent movies that commonly depicted Latinos as ruthless *bandidos* out to kill White men and rape or kill White women (Bender, 2003, p. 12). The reality is much more complex.

At 16% of the national population, Latinos are the largest and fastest-growing minority group in the U.S. (U.S. Census Bureau, 2011). In the U.S. South, where this study took place, there is widespread evidence that low-income Latinos "are encountering widespread hostility, discrimination and exploitation" (Southern Poverty Law Center, 2009, p. 4). Because there is now a long history of popularly viewing Latinos as exploitable, low-wage workers who take away U.S. jobs from citizens and drain public services such as health care and public education, both undocumented and "legal" Latino immigrants are vulnerable to these forms of discrimination (Ransford, Carrillo, & Rivera, 2010; Winders, 2007). More generally, in the U.S., "half of second-generation Latin youths and up to two-thirds of Mexican Americans report having suffered discrimination" (Portes, 2009, p. 18).

Much recent scholarship underscores the complexity and changing forms of masculine identities in Latin America and among Latinos in the U.S. In Mexico City, Gutmann (1996) documents the experiences of men who enjoy holding and playing with their children, are responsible, and view fatherhood as one of their most important commitments. González-López (2005) introduced the concept of "regional patriarchies" to refer to the regional variation in masculinities in Mexico and among Mexican men in the United States, particularly in connection to men's understanding and control of women's sexuality. When Mirandé (1997) asked Latino men in the United States to describe what it means to be "macho," responses ranged from negative characteristics such as violence, irresponsibility, disrespectfulness, and selfishness to positive characteristics such as courage, responsibility, nurturance, and respect. Mirandé, Pitones, and Diaz (2011) found that sexist, machista beliefs are class-based, noting that lower status men in their sample exhibited more machista attitudes than higher status men. Also challenging common views of Latinos as machista and underscoring diversity, Torres, Solberg, and Carlstrom (2002) point out that only a minority of Latino men fit the stereotypical model of the authoritarian, exist, promiscuous, and violent macho.

Smith (2006) points to changing forms of masculinity facilitated by the experience of migration, and Ramirez (2011) similarly discusses the importance of changing geographic, economic and sociocultural contexts in examining how "masculinity unfolds against a backdrop of racialized nativism and citizenship hierarchy in the United States" (p. 111) for a group of Latino gardeners. Noting the importance of place and context and that many jobs—including that of gardener—have become largely relegated to Mexican immigrant men, Ramirez (2011) examines men's workplaces as important sites for the construction and enactment of masculinities.

In the realm of sexuality the journal *Culture, Health, and Sexuality* published a special issue on Latin American men's alternative sexual cultures in 1999, documenting and analyzing gay communities and homosexual behaviors among men in Brazil, Mexico, and Peru as well as in the U.S. Many more studies of Latino gay

communities, queer Latino studies, and connections among sexuality and migration have expanded the study of diverse Latino sexualities since then (see Cantú, 2009; Hames-Garcia & Martínez, 2011; J.M. Rodriguez, 2003; R.T. Rodriguez, 2009). These studies, however, do not explicitly engage with Latino anti-violent masculinities.

In Peru, Ramos (2006) challenges the view of violence as central to masculinity and points to men's varied perspectives on violence as a characteristic of masculinity. In a more recent study, working-class Latino men in the U.S. discussed how their feminist and class consciousness influenced their definitions of manhood and rejection of aspects of hegemonic masculinity (Hurtado & Sinha, 2008). In Lucinda Broadbent's documentary *Macho* (2000), an activist in the men's anti-violence movement in war-torn Nicaragua speaks about his decision to redefine masculinity by rejecting his own (past) use of violence against those closest to him and speaking out to stop violence against women.

Men's Anti-Violence Engagement

In the U.S., as in many other places, "violence has long been understood as the best way to ensure that others publicly recognize one's manhood" (Kimmel, 2000, p. 253 cited in Wendt, 2007, p. 544). Feminist studies of men's violence against women emphasize gender inequality as central to men's use of violence, underscoring that men employ violence to maintain, gain, or attempt to gain power and control over individual women and to more broadly maintain and reinforce male privilege and domination (Dobash & Dobash, 1998; Kaufman, 2000; Yllo, 1993). Physical, psychological, sexual, and, to a lesser extent, economic violence against an intimate partner are widely recognized in the literature on men's violence against women (Coker, Smith, McKeown, & King, 2000; Fawole, 2008; Heise, 1998; Thompson et al., 2006).

In contrast to our understanding of men's violence against women, of which there is an increasingly robust interdisciplinary literature, there has been little theorization and analysis of men's anti-violence practices and activism. Emerging research on men's perspectives on their violence and nonviolence tends to focus on White, middle-class men, and a significant amount on college-age and college-educated men in the U.S. (Broido, 2000; Brown & Messman-Moore, 2010; Carlson, 2008; Carmody, 2006; Casey & Smith, 2010; Casey & Ohler, 2012; DeKeseredy, Schwartz, &Albi, 2000; Fabiano et al., 2003; Katz, 1995; Kimmel, 2008; Marchese, 2008). We know from available literature that men involved in anti-violence efforts are commonly met with suspicion and homophobia by other men, and express feeling isolated in their communities as a result of their anti-violence work (Crooks, Goodall, Hughes, Jaffe, & Baker, 2007; Funk, 2008).

Perhaps the best known example of men's anti-violence work is the White Ribbon Campaign, which began in 1991 on the second anniversary of one man's massacre of fourteen women engineering students in Montreal, Canada. The White Ribbon Campaign became the first, and is now the largest, protest by men against violence against women, and it has expanded to various regions of the globe (Kaufman, 2001). Other groups, campaigns, and movements include Coaching Boys into Men (CBIM), Mentors in Violence Prevention (MVP) focusing on college athletes (Katz, 1995), Men Against Sexual Assault and Rape (MASAR), Men Against Sexual Violence (MASV), Men Can Stop Rape (MCSR), Men Stopping Violence, various cam-

paigns within the National Latino Alliance for the Elimination of Domestic Violence (Alianza), and Real Men (Katz, 2006). Typically, the main focus in these groups is men's anti-violence advocacy and violence prevention strategies (Marchese, 2008; Umberson, Anderson, Williams, & Chen, 2003). Writing on his experience in a men's anti-violence group in Nicaragua, Ruben identifies himself as "a man against violence" and explains that "with this I mean that I belong to a group of men who have committed themselves to not practice violence in their everyday relationships, especially in our relationships with women" (Reyes Jiron, 2002, p. 104, my translation).

Recent work on men's engagement with anti-violence efforts suggests possible factors associated with men's anti-violence engagement. One factor associated with men's involvement in anti-violence work is "exposure to or personal experiences with issues of sexual or domestic violence" (Casey & Smith, 2010, p. 959). On the one hand, common risk factors for being abusive in an intimate relationship and developing attitudes that condone the use of violence include having experienced or witnessed violence as a child, particularly as a boy (Dutton, 1995; Heise, 1998; Pease & Flood, 2009; Ramos, 2006; Thompson et al., 2006). On the other hand, as my interviews and other literature on men's anti-violence organizing and attitudes about violence against women underscore, the path from violence in childhood to using violence as an adult is only one of many (Pease & Flood, 2009).

A second factor associated with anti-violence engagement is being invited to become involved in social justice work by respected peers or mentors (Casey & Smith, 2010). In a recent U.S. study, "one in five men (21%) reported that they did not actively support community efforts to stop violence against women because no one had asked them to get involved" (Crooks et al., 2007, p. 219). Other studies have similarly found that men involved in anti-violence efforts refer to specific invitations they received to become involved (Barker, 1998; Broido, 2000).

Casey and Smith (2010) found that a "intrapersonal factors (such as the ability to critically self-reflect)" are also associated with men's involvement in and identification with anti-violence work (p. 955). In the present article, I connect men's self-reflection as a factor associated with anti-violence engagement to their experiences of discrimination due to their racialization as Latinos and their (real or purported) immigrant status. It is through reflection on these experiences of vulnerability and discrimination that men empathize with women victimized by men's violence and find anti-violence engagement both appealing and necessary.

Writing on her research with African-American feminist men, White (2001) explains that men "use their blended personal experiences of oppression as a reference point in order to understand the oppression of women" (p. 15). However, the experience of racism is not sufficient to explain men's identification as feminist. As White emphasizes, "what distinguishes profeminist men from other men who also experience various forms of powerlessness and oppression, but do *not* develop profeminist outlooks, is their progressive interpretation of their experiences and their ability to see how various forms of oppression interact and reinforce each other" (p. 16) through the process of self-reflection. Similarly, Hurtado and Sinha examine how Latino men who engage in anti-sexist work critically reflect on how their particular vulnerabilities result from the intersection of their class and ethnic identities.

Exposure to Domestic Violence

Oppression through violence was not particularly new to the men I interviewed. Of the six men, four came from abusive homes in which they were victimized or had witnessed their father or stepfather regularly abuse their mother. As 41-year-old Pedro[1], an active member of the men's community group described, as a child he witnessed his father use "threats, lots of verbal [threats]. Many were denigrating, and always, that she [mother] was never good enough, never good enough for him. And physical [violence] also." Rather than follow his father's example, Pedro rejected violence precisely because he had seen how those closest to him—in this case, his mother—suffered from it.

Another man in the men's community group also described his involvement in the group in connection to the violence in his childhood. Alberto described how as a father of two young children one day when his children were being particularly rowdy he took his belt off to discipline them, as his father had done with him. It was at that moment that he stopped himself before using the belt because "that was the moment that I said, 'I don't want to be the same as my father.'" Both Pedro and Alberto rejected violence precisely because—rather than in spite of—they had either witnessed the suffering it caused the women closest to them or had been abused as children by men in their family. Witnessing or experiencing violence became a sensitizing experience that, combined with other sensitizing experiences as immigrant men, contributed to the rejection of broader forms of oppression and activism.

José also grew up in an abusive home. Growing up in Mexico, he described how as a child he "felt safer on the streets than at home" because both parents abused him. He would ask himself, "why did I get this family?" and wonder what it would be like to have a different family. José left home at a young age to live on the streets because of the violence at home. And, although he encountered violence and drugs living on the streets, he also discovered "angels," persons who took him under their wing and protected him. As an adult, instead of asking himself why he got stuck with the family he did, he tells himself "it's part of life" and adds that "a lot of good things have also happened to me in my life." In discussing his commitment to living without violence, he sums up his feelings by stating that "I am grateful to life for having showed me the bad side of life because now I know and appreciate what it means to be loved and to live without violence." For Pedro and Alberto, the realization that violence against women was not limited to "bad men" and first-hand knowledge of the harmful effects of men's violence on the well-being of women and families directly contributed to the desire to raise awareness about men's violence against women.

Samuel did not grow up in an abusive home, but he was keenly aware of its existence in other families in his community and society. He regularly witnessed "fights between friends, fights between couples, between couples that were not part of my family" in his community. More broadly, newspapers he read routinely covered multiple forms of violence in ways he considered to be graphic and sensationalist. As a child, seeing pictures of mutilated corpses and bloodied people

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[1] In this and all other cases, pseudonyms are used to protect participants' identities.

"affected me a lot for weeks at a time…. I felt fear, a sense of disgust internally because of what happened to those people and later I would constantly think about it."

Invitation to Participate by a Respected Woman Peer

Among the men I interviewed, men who participated in the anti-violence community group in Kentucky during its first months received a special invitation to do so from Camila, a respected woman leader they each personally knew within the Latino community. An immigrant from Latin America herself, Camila had been active as an advocate in violence prevention efforts within the Latino community both locally and nationally for over a decade by the time the men's group began. Well-liked, outgoing, and involved in various anti-violence projects, she had received both local and national awards for her advocacy.

When I asked Miguel why he joined the group, he immediately replied it was "because of my great friendship with Camila." Similarly, when I asked Alberto why he joined the group, smiling, he answered, "Because of Camila. Because she asked me to and you never say no to her."

He then added that he had also joined because "I also saw other friends of mine [participating], and I said to myself, 'Well, I have to help, I have to do what I can.'" Other men echoed Alberto's answer: they had been invited to participate to create the group by a woman they respected and they felt the need to do something about a problem they personally recognized as significant. Joining the group allowed them to work directly with other men who had similar attitudes about violence against women as well as women allies.

Self-Reflections on Intersectional Identities

During interviews, men engaged in anti-violence work reflected on the ways in which their intersecting identities as men, immigrants, and Latinos made them feel particularly vulnerable to structural forms of violence. As a direct result of migration to the U.S., men believed their gendered experiences could not be fully understood without also examining their intersecting experiences as immigrants.

Alberto, a 67-year-old business leader in the Latino community and a member of the Latino men's community group stated that "the doors do not open for the person of color like us, even if we were Chinese, African, it's the same thing. The gringo here doesn't help us, first he helps the other gringo … and that's discrimination." Similarly, twenty-six-year-old Manuel explained that, as a construction worker, "there have been times when they send us to work and the home owners sometimes want a White person working for them and they talk to my boss. There have been times when they've turned us away, I mean, when we couldn't work." Miguel similarly noted the effects of racism on everyday life, explaining that "some police officers are like that, somewhat racists one could say. Because you are Latino they stop you, and they arrest you because of any little thing." The pervasiveness of racism aimed at him and other Latinos makes him acutely aware that "I am no longer in my country," regardless of how long he lived in the U.S.

For 45-year-old Samuel, marginalization as a result of discrimination based on his perceived outsider status and Latino identity began early in his schooling. Sitting in his office, where he works as an administrator, he explained that "one of the

things that bothers me is the idea that because you are Latino you are a foreigner. When does a foreigner go from being a foreigner to being a native?" Growing up on the U.S. side of the U.S.-Mexico border, where his family had been for generations, as a child Samuel regularly accompanied and worked alongside his family as a migrant farm worker in various U.S. states. Because of the seasonal work, he sometimes missed school. In spite of missing school to work, he did well in school and was particularly good in mathematics. His eighth grade teacher recommended that he be placed in the highest math class. Nonetheless, the counselor refused to place him in the advanced class because Samuel missed the beginning of school due to work responsibilities in another state. Worse yet, the counselor assumed that because he came from a migrant farm worker family "I would not go to college" and therefore did not need the advanced classes. Instead, the counselor placed Samuel in a low-level basic math class again with other Latinos and suggested he then enroll in a practical trade such as car mechanics. In spite of the continuous discrimination he faced throughout school, Samuel succeeded in his studies and later earned a master's degree. Reflecting on his experiences of discrimination, he explains that he is now involved in several social justice community organizations because "we have to do something. We can't leave the situation as it is."

For the two men who identified as gay, marginalization based on their sexual orientation had been a factor from very early in their lives. Both in their countries of origin as children and in the U.S. as immigrants, peer pressure to conform to dominant, heterosexual forms of masculinity and fear of losing their jobs cautioned them against disclosing their sexual orientation to acquaintances and co-workers. As Kimmel (2000) has emphasized and these and other men know, homophobia is a key component of hegemonic masculinity. José, for example, had to decide how to respond each time someone asked him about his wife when they saw a ring on his "wedding ring" finger. In his case, he and his partner (whom I did not interview) wore what he described as engagement rings yet co-workers and strangers regularly asked him about his wife because of the assumptions they made about him based on the ring. If he responded that he was not married and added that he was gay and had a partner, he became vulnerable to homophobic remarks. If he simply smiled or said nothing, he "let people think I'm heterosexual" to avoid possible problematic reactions from others. Being the target of homophobic remarks and behaviors may be associated with a critical understanding of hegemonic masculinity as oppressive.

Self-Reflections on Anti-Violence Engagement as a Process

In discussing their intimate relationships, men engaged in anti-violence work were particularly reflective regarding their commitment, and the obstacles they faced, to live free of violence. They acknowledged that in spite of their belief that violence was detrimental to men and women, at times the threat of violence and insistence on dominance was not far from the surface in their intimate relationships. They thus examined their commitment to avoid violence as a process that was far from complete and which required continuous self-reflection.

Speaking about his views on intimate relationships and women, Pedro defined himself as feminist and discussed how he believes that "women are the owners of their own bodies…. I believe in the right of women to be able to act on and be part of their own lives intellectually and with whatever they do with their bodies." In

his same-sex intimate relationship, Pedro similarly believes that each of them should have a right to control his own life. Yet as he described his relationship with his partner, it became clear that the egalitarianism and anti-violence commitment that guided his relationship did not always coincide with the behaviors he engaged in. Pedro explained that he and his partner never fought physically, but that they did fight verbally occasionally. He then added that it was actually he who attacked his partner verbally "about once a week." While he avoided physical violence, he admitted and reflected on how it pained him that avoiding verbal violence proved more difficult for him in his relationship. He recognized that his behaviors did not always reflect his ideals and that he needed to continue to work to avoid verbal violence.

José also described his relationship with his partner as "egalitarian at home" and "very close." And, during our two-hour interview José similarly reflected on how he continuously struggles to maintain egalitarianism and nonviolence in his relationship. Discussing the difficulty of keeping violence out of his relationship, José tells me that he and his partner "would both like to have children" yet he is afraid to because of how he behaves towards their pets. He and his partner have two dogs they love and spoil. In a self-critical tone, José tells me that "sometimes I hit the dogs with a shoe" when he becomes angry with them. Because of his violence, the dogs are sometimes scared of him. Reflecting on what he admits is undesirable behavior, he tells me that after hitting them with a shoe "I ask myself, 'Why do I do that?'' and that the more he thinks about it, the more he fears that he would also behave violently towards any children they had. José feels committed to living without violence in his home yet he continues to rely on violence at times. He also considers his occasional sexual rejection of his partner "a type of violence" and wants to also cease engaging in that behavior. José's occasional use of violence in his relationship troubles him and complicates his otherwise nonviolent, egalitarian relationship. He hopes to rely less on these forms of violence the more involved in anti-violence work he becomes.

Samuel insisted that constant self-reflection is essential to remain committed to social justice and anti-violence work. He, noted, however, that "our economic system, as we try to better our economic situation, we don't give ourselves time. It forces many men to not have time to reflect." In his own life, he discussed how "even after getting married, my mother tells me that I must behave well towards my wife, and she continuously asks me about her and about how I'm behaving."

Seventy-year-old Miguel similarly describes his empathy towards women and commitment to not use violence against women in his family as a process that required significant self-reflection. In his case, growing up in a home in which his father practiced a dominant and sometimes violent masculinity and his mother and grandmother upheld this sort of masculinity resulted in what he critically understood to be the oppression of his older sister. Miguel counted his older sister as one of the earliest and most important influences on his views about women and violence. He told me that "my older sister, she was very feminist, and she would talk with me directly about the fact that women should have the same work opportunities as men; and that was before, maybe before 1950." Seeing how his sister, who had a significant influence on his life, was denied opportunities he was given as a child and in school, Miguel witnessed the consequences of unequal gender relations and their negative effects on his sister very early on in his life. It was these early influences that inspired him to continue to think about women's oppression,

and what he could do about it. Miguel does not believe he would respect women the way he does or be as committed to preventing violence against women had it not been for his sister's influence.

DISCUSSION

Childhood exposure to domestic violence, invitations to participate in anti-violence work by a trusted and respected peer, and self-reflection both on how their experiences of oppression are informed by their intersectional identities and on anti-violence engagement as a process that defies violence/nonviolence dualisms and requires continuous evaluation of one's actions, all inform and fuel men's anti-violence engagement. Employing an intersectional approach allows us to better understand Latinos' anti-violence engagement by making visible the vulnerabilities men experience that result from the intersection of their class and ethnic identities, their immigrant status, and for some, their sexual orientation, and how men may reflect on these intersecting identities. Samuel's comment that "because you are Latino you are a foreigner" regardless of your immigrant status was echoed by Latinos in the present and other studies (Hurtado & Sinha, 2008) and underscores the feelings of marginalization that inform what it means to be Latino in the U.S. Far from being secondary to men's identity and experiences, men spoke of their experiences of or perceptions as immigrants as central to their lives.

In joining a Latino anti-violence group, for example, men accepted an invitation from a Latina immigrant, Camila, who appealed both to men's identities as Latinos and to their identities as immigrants vulnerable to and aware of multiple forms of structural violence in their lives and in their communities. The group was thus a safe space in which "to engage them at the level of their lived experience, which may include feeling powerless" (Crooks et al., 2007, p. 220) precisely because of men's own feelings of vulnerability as Latino immigrants or perceived immigrants. Men felt grateful to have been invited to join the group in part because the reflection process within the group helped men make sense of violence earlier in their lives and provided an outlet for their commitment to anti-violence engagement. For example, in discussing the violence he witnessed as a child in his home, Pedro explained that "being in this group has helped me to analyze it a little already because I still haven't been able to internalize it and find a way to process it."

Pease's call to "ask whether male anti-violence allies are being sufficiently critically reflective of their own complicity in the culture that perpetuates men's violence" (2011, p. 179) invites us to more carefully examine men's anti-violence engagement. In the cases discussed here, we see that anti-violence engagement is informed and fueled by continuous self-reflection that allows men to identify areas that they believe require more attention in their efforts to live free of violence. For the men in this study, witnessing or experiencing violence as children became a sensitizing experience that, combined with other sensitizing experiences as Latino immigrant men, contributed to the process of rejecting broader forms of oppression. Thus, rather than follow the more common—and commonly written about—path of witnessing violence as children and exercising violence as adults, the men in this study critically thought about their childhood experiences and drew on these as the foundation for their rejection of the use of violence against a loved one.

In approaching anti-violence engagement as a process, men's experiences caution us against assuming that the ideological rejection of violence is easily or

quickly translatable to nonviolent practices. The everyday realities of men's experiences and use of violence are better understood as reflective of negative peace: war is absent yet unequal structures that contribute to violence, through racist and sexist practices, for example, persist. In men's lives, men's anti-violence engagement moves them closer to nonviolence, but it should not be understood simplistically as the equivalent of nonviolence. Pedro and José are committed to anti-violence work and to having egalitarian relationships that facilitate nonviolence; yet as they reflect on their everyday practices, they point out that they sometimes continue to rely on unequal structures within intimate relationships to exert power over others, and engage in behaviors that contribute to violence. More broadly, as Latinos and immigrants, they also continue to be vulnerable to structural violence in the form of racism and other discriminatory practices.

CONCLUSIONS

To commemorate the 2011 International Day for the Elimination of Violence Against Women, then U.N. Women Executive Director Michelle Bachelet proposed a sixteen-step policy agenda to end violence (Bachelet, 2011). Recognizing that men play a key role not only in promoting but also in ending violence against women, Bachelet's agenda included mobilizing men and boys to help end violence against women and girls. This article embraces the goals of this sort of inclusive agenda and underscores the importance of examining diverse anti-violence masculinities to contribute to ending violence. More specifically, this article suggests that an intersectional lens allows us to include gender while also paying close attention to other social identities, such as immigrant status and race, that inform men's experiences of violence and anti-violence engagement. Complementing interviews with existing literature on men's anti-violence engagement, this study underscores childhood exposure of domestic violence, invitations to participate in anti-violence work by a respected peer, and critical self-reflections on intersecting identities and anti-violence engagement as a process as significant factors in Latino anti-violence engagement.

Men were keenly aware of the stigma attached to their identities as Latinos in the U.S. The sorts of exclusion and oppression they experienced as Latinos and immigrants informed their commitment to social justice issues, including embracing and advocating for nonviolent behaviors within intimate relationships. Through their own experiences of structural violence, and self-reflective analyses of these experiences, men developed empathy for women's vulnerability in the context of multiple identities and roles in their lives in the U.S. Yet even as men drew on their own experiences and reflected on how their identities accentuated their vulnerability, they also reflected on how anti-violence engagement is not the same as the experience of nonviolence.

As we examine anti-violence engagement as a process, we can see that men live negative peace through their own experiences of continued discrimination as Latinos and immigrants and by exerting power over those close to them in ways that facilitate or directly draw on violence. Interviews with men suggest that commitment to ending violence may not always result in nonviolent behaviors within intimate relationships. Positive peace occurs when the conditions to prevent all forms of violence are met so that repression is absent both at structural and personal levels. Latino anti-violence engagement moves men closer to nonviolence and positive

peace, yet it does not erase the forms of structural violence or the complex processes that may continue to include other forms of inequality and oppression within intimate relationships. Future research should continue to employ an intersectional approach and include non-White samples to more thoroughly examine contributing factors and obstacles to diverse men's anti-violence engagement.

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Virtual Invisible Men: Privacy and Invisibility as Forms of Privilege in Online Venues for Fathers During Early Parenthood

Given the proliferation of support technology for men entering parenthood in virtual forums this project's aim was to explore a virtual forum exclusively for fathers and elaborate on gendered questions for men's parenthood within that milieu. An archival forum study was undertaken using principles for nethnography. The categories presented in the results overall indicate that the online venue creates a privileged invisibility from experiences in "real life" gender relations. This suggests that both horizontal and vertical homo-social dimensions are present in the forum support/negotiations which occur among the forum posters, whereby issues of invisibility and entitlement in some cases take a central position. We suggest that being virtual invisible men entails participation in both a marketplace of opinions and a homo-social competition.

Keywords: parental practice, internet forum, nethnography, invisible masculinity, parenthood

Becoming a father is a life-transforming event and the transition into being a parent is of interest for a broad range of disciplines and research networks. A growing body of research on men's parenting highlights extensive interest among public media and policy circles in the part that men can play in modern family life and in a family-oriented society (Hearn, 2002). Moreover, many new fathers in Scandinavia say they want to assume a more active parental role for their children (Holter, 2007; Johansson & Klinth, 2008).

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Therefore the issue of becoming and being a father is connected to a much broader gendered context positioning men´s parenting as a social institution within a continuum of welfare state ambitions and regimes (cf. Ranson, 2001; Seward, Yeatts, Amin & Dewitt, 2006). In the Scandinavian countries, which are generally regarded as representing a relatively progressive approach to gender equality, parenthood has often been described as a "golden opportunity" for challenging conservative and traditional gender expectations and norms (Melby, Ravn & Carlsson-Wetterberg, 2009). Indeed, becoming a parent can for some men also be the first time they become aware of gendered power relations in a personal and embodied manner (Aldous, Mulligan & Bjarnason, 1998; Brannen & Nilssen, 2006). For example, men´s encounter with parental health care support systems during pregnancy can, as shown by Fletcher and StGeorge (2011), contribute to the "first" awareness for men that they are a part of a gendered order where parenting is regarded as primarily a "women's domain." Studies show that men who participate in formal health care activities often feel "slighted" and "left out" when health care workers support the parents (Fletcher & StGeorge, 2011; Rashley, 2005). Regardless of how justified or not such feelings might be, this sudden awareness can be a consequence of the fact that much of men's day-to-day practice in public and private is not recognized by them as being either political nor gendered (Egerberg-Holmgren & Hearn, 2006).

This lack of consciousness by many men about their structurally privileged gender position can be analyzed in terms of the concept of invisibility. Kimmel (1993, p. 29) uses the Chinese proverb "the fish is the last to discover the ocean" to make sense of the fact that men's privileged position often seems to remain invisible to them. Moreover, he refers to his own experience as a middle class White man: "I enjoy the privilege of invisibility. The very processes that confer privilege to one group and not to another group are often invisible to those upon whom that privilege is conferred" (1993, p. 30). Kimmel (and colleagues) have described how this invisibility and sudden awareness of gendered power structures are experienced by men today: as Kimmel notes, "It is a luxury that only men have in our society to pretend that gender does not matter" (Kimmel, 2010, p. 4).

Applied to men in virtual reality, Kimmel's concept of invisibility acquires a two-folded meaning, embracing both the experienced gender relations referred to by Kimmel as well as the anonymity the online venue offers. Being invisible therefore refers to this instantly accessible comfort zone: being in your private sphere and interacting within the seclusion of a privileged group.

Additionally, our theoretical frame also draws upon the concept of entitlement. Kimmel developed the concept of entitlement to partially explain the dynamics by which some men come to feel dispossessed within a gender order where—overall—their interests predominate (Kimmel, 2001). These feelings of dispossession may not necessarily be rooted in any actual loss of power or position: it is the perception of the loss of a position to which some men believe themselves entitled that is the central dynamic to the feeling of dispossession (Kimmel, 2008). The concept of entitlement can then also be usefully linked to that of invisibility. For instance, using the concept "entitlement", one can explain how men's gendered privileges are invisible to some men until they are in a gendered situation where their normal privileges may not apply—or, at least, where they feel that they do not apply. At such a point, the denial of men's "entitlement" to privilege (as they see it) can be experienced by them as a profound feeling of dispossession. Despite the privileges

associated with the category of "men" as a whole and with individual men, such feelings of entitlement and dispossession can then become in some cases a central motive for their future actions (Kalish & Kimmel 2010).

Entering into health systems where parenting is regarded as "women's domain" can therefore, for some men, also mean moving from a position of gender invisibility to one of appearance (to themselves)—and thereby, via a sense of thwarted entitlement, to feelings of dispossession in relation to the gendered structures in which they are located. This in turn may also create an increased consciousness among some men regarding gendered power relations in general and their own position specifically. Egerberg-Holmgren and Hearn (2006, p. 405) suggest that men's gender-conscious positioning can be comparable to a left–right continuum from those men who "actively are supportive of gender equality onto those in favour, in theory, but who do not do anything in particular, to those 'not bothered', onto those actively hostile." Furthermore, Jalmert identified an important position, characterized by what he defined as "the in principle man": those men who agree that they should share the domestic burden but feel that, in their individual case, there is no practical solution that would allow this to happen (Jalmert, 1983; Magnusson, 2000). So, the common aspiration expressed by many men does not necessarily mean that it will be put into practice (Johansson & Klinth, 2008). Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p. 834) characterize this position in a similar way: "(m)en who received the benefits of patriarchy without enacting a strong version of masculine dominance could be regarded as showing a complicit masculinity" (see also Aboim, 2010).

These patterns of complicit maneuvering in relation to men's parenthood among men have been characterized as a vital and conservative "core" for the power structures associated with gender systems and orders (Bekkengen, 2002; 2003). The process of "gaining without effort" (as theorized by Connell, 1995), from which the *in principle* man benefits, has therefore become an important starting point for some researchers in understanding fathers' investment in their parenting and how "equality" is negotiated in couple organized parenthood and households (Doucet, 2006). Meanwhile, another direction in research on men´s parenting focuses more on the problems and obstacles to a gender-equal life that men experience (Marsiglio, 1995). Nevertheless, further understanding is needed of the relationship between men's aspirations and parental practices in the context of that process of "invisibility" highlighted by Kimmel. That is the purpose of the present article and the project upon which it draws.

We focus upon one consequence of the patterns in traditional parental health care revealed by Fletcher and StGeorge (2011), namely that the support available for fathers online and in internet fora has mushroomed (Flether, Vimpani, Russell, & Keatings, 2008; Morris, Dollahite & Hawkins, 1999). Online support groups for fathers are quickly becoming a frequently accessed internet resource, making them a new and important tool for fathers who want to discuss their experiences (Daneback, & Plantin, 2008; Plantin, & Daneback, 2009). A study by Eriksson and Salzmann Erikson (2012) shows that communicated support for involvement in early parenthood among fathers included a reciprocal sharing of concerns: how to be a better parent in relation to caring for an infant. Concerns for their child's well-being and shared feelings of joy and distress in everyday life were recurrent supportive themes in the communication. Information gained from contacting others in similar situations is one important reason for the fathers' use of the Internet.

It seems that men participate in virtual communities because they want to hear stories of men's parenting from others who have faced similar situations. The possibility of gaining social support during the transition to parenthood while remaining in one's own comfort zone is one of the primary reasons for participating in virtual communities supporting fathers, research suggests (Eriksson & Salzmann Erikson, 2012; Fletcher & StGeorge, 2011). However, as mentioned above, remaining in one's own comfort zone has a two-fold meaning. On the one hand, men using the internet have potentially less need to reach out and encounter one another within those formal activities and support systems where they have felt excluded. On the other hand, they also find refuge in a context which is both homo-social and which potentially assists them to remain "invisible" to one another in Kimmel's terms (Flood, 2008; Kimmel, 1993).[1] Given the proliferation of support technology for men entering parenthood, it seems relevant to explore the key relationship of men's parenthood aspirations and practices within that milieu.

Methods

Men in Cyberspace and Virtual Arenas

Social arenas have previously been limited geographically with social activity being arranged in physical space with face-to-face interaction. However, over the last twenty years, the Internet has revolutionized and extended the boundaries of social arenas, thereby impacting upon the need for traditional "in-person" interactions. During the 20th century, a shift took place in some anthropological enquiries and researchers started to conduct ethnographic studies "at home" (Messerschmidt, 1981). Karra and Phillips (2008) argue that this shift implied many advantages, including easier access to study sites and the need for fewer resources, as well as making translation easier. Related anthropological shifts are still ongoing.

Acknowledging the existence of several important facets of identity and culture in online interaction (cf. Kendall, 2000; Nicholas, Palomares & Eun-Ju, 2010) we were inspired by anthropological points of departure and ethnographic approaches when framing this study. The next big shift in the 21st century may be an extension of Messerschmidt's (1981) concept of doing ethnography "at home", with the focus now being on what "happens in cyberspace." Presence is no longer limited to "face to face interactions" only. Instead it now exists through interactivity in cyberspace (Chen & Yen 2004). Moreover, both verbal and affective intimacy exists online in social networks and may be, at least partly, correlated with the frequency of postings (Rau, Gao, & Ding, 2008). Using cyberspace to gather data becomes very "natural" in the internet-age and indeed inevitable when studying specific phenomena that would be very time-consuming if not largely impossible to access using offline study designs. In this context, online research provides opportunities to gather unfiltered viewpoints on parenting and social processes whereby men make meaning of parenthood and gender relations. The forum posters can be regarded as a very

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[1] As shown in Plantin and Daneback's (2009) overview, the age of the average parental website (i.e., websites aimed at parents regardless of gender) visitor is quite low, most often less than 35 years, given that such visitors are often first-time parents. Additionally, 62% of all visitors to parental websites are reported to be women.

select group of men who are motivated to actively think about the parenting role, based on their decision to participate in an online forum. By socializing within this virtual context and culture, plural dynamics and forms of masculinity are imaged within the relationship among the men reflecting questions about early parenthood in private as well as public life (see Aboim, 2010).

In this study, we were inspired by Spradley's (1979) structured ethnographic method in combination with Kozinets's (2009) methodology for conducting ethnographic research online, called *nethnography*. Nethnography is designed as an archival and cross-sectional observational forum study. In the initial step, we searched and reviewed some of the existing literature on the context of men's parenthood and parenting. Thereafter, we located a "men only" parental internet forum that would be suitable for the elaboration and exploration of our research question. As Wolcott (1999, p. 68) states, "One can do ethnography anywhere, anytime, and of virtually anything, as long as human social behavior is involved (or was involved […]". We adopted four inclusion criteria for selecting a discussion forum: (a) written in a language that was understood by all researchers; (b) highly relevant to the research question; (c) a public site that does not require registration to access posts (thereby not ethically prohibiting research); and (d) which can be considered an *active* forum. By using a large and well-known search engine we located an online forum relevant for our study. The selected forum was a Scandinavian forum for fathers. Posters communicated in the forum via Scandinavian languages.

Since there were more than 1,000 postings on this topic, we found that consensus data collection would be massive. Instead, posts were gathered "sequentially top-down" meaning that data were gathered from the top thread and down, working backwards through the sequence of discussions. Data were gathered simultaneously by the two first authors. Along with this step, we wrote analytic memos which came to be the embryo of the analyzing procedure. Data from the cyberspace forum was dumped cross-sectionally from the forums' most recent posting and backwards. We estimated from previous studies (Salzmann-Erikson & Eriksson, 2011; Eriksson & Salzmann-Erikson, 2013) that 200 threads would provide an appropriate amount of data for in-depth qualitative analysis. We did not know what kind of information that posters (participants who actively post comments in the forum) would share, but we decided in advance that pictures and links to other parts of internet should be excluded since the dumping would otherwise become cumbersome. Redundant information (repeated quotes from earlier posts, graphics, etc.) was "peeled off", reducing our data from 1,203 to 1,049 pages. All authors accessed the resulting data and skimmed it separately. As we became familiar with the data and language used in the forum, we asked, "what are the ways that fathers share engagement in early parenthood?," and "how is this engagement expressed in the communication and language?"

Our analytical point of departure was the frames offered by previous explorations of men´s parenting and masculinity and, in particular, by the perspective of Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p. 841): "(i)t is men's and boys' practical relationships to collective images or models of masculinity, rather than simple reflections of them, that is central to understanding gendered consequences in violence, health, and education." Recognizing the vital resource for everyday parenthood that is offered in forums for men-to-men interactions as a "practice", we started a process of reasoning and reflexive discussion that formed a preliminary structure

for the results, constructed according to the complexity present in data (cf. Kendall, 2000). Iterative reflexive discussions between the authors were integral to the analysis that consisted of several analytic steps. After an initial reading of the 1,049 pages of posting, a second condensed set of data consisting of 111 pages emerged from our analytic point of departure when content in posting was themed via different keywords associated with major topics. This keyword sorted data was then interpreted and discussed until consensus was reached about emerging themes from grouping and re-grouping of the keywords. As these themes were clarified, excerpts were at this point translated from Scandinavian to English, specifications were developed, and concepts were identified. Finally, the themes were abstracted, interpreted, and sorted into three categories linking the underlying meanings together in previously presented frames and understandings.

Ethical Considerations

Data collection and presentation of the findings are subject to the principles of international ethical standards for conducting covert archival and cross-sectional observational studies in open accessible on-line forums (Bassett & O'Riordan, 2002; Bruckman, 2002; Enyon, Schroeder & Fry, 2009; Walther, 2002; Wilkinson & Thelwall, 2010). No regulations in the forum has been violated and guidelines from the Nordic Research Councils concerning online research have been considered and fully applied, including respecting the anonymity of the posters (*SFS 2003:460*; NESH, 2009). Kozinets' (2009) criteria for achieving the highest level of cloaking, where personal information and nicknames in direct quotes are rewritten with masked alternatives in the results, have been fully addressed and applied when framing results.

FINDINGS

Below we present descriptions of shared experiences of engaging in early parenthood among men who visited an Internet-based forum for fathers. The most profound element of the forum culture was the provision of support to other fathers. By sharing and commenting on a wide range of parenting-related questions the forum serves as a window into men´s parental experiences. Findings are presented according to three categories: "virtual parental negotiations among men," "virtual reciprocity in night and day parenting," and finally "setting the virtual standards for other men".

The Invisible Committee—Virtual Parental Negotiations Among Men

Evidence from data suggests that fathers' opportunities to network with other fathers through the forum amount to a valuable resource for sharing their parenthood experiences and parental practices. This then allows some of them to confirm with each other (and thereby to themselves) their ability to function as fathers. Sharing values and beliefs about parenthood applauded in society was an ongoing topic in many discussions. The forum made it possible to connect with others who share the same situation and create a network that offers a link to an "outside home" perspective, thereby validating parenting practices and engagements with day-to-day experiences. This touches upon the oft-addressed and more general topic of gen-

dered relations in the public and private spheres (see for instance Collinson & Hearn, 1994), in the sense of the forum being "outside home" where the perspective of men predominates as opposed to the "domestic/private" space where (in the view of these fathers) women's perspectives predominate.

Certainly, questions concerning equality in the parental relationship connected to entering parenthood were frequently shared and addressed. The communication below between "amazing" and "moto22" illustrates the shared ambitions often posted in the forum:

> amazing
> Re: Gender Anxiety Anyone?
> Personally, I have a little bit of difficulty with the word equality. I do not think 100% equity is something one should strive for in areas such as cooking, changing diapers, contribution to household economy, etc. for the simple reason that I do not think it's fair. And even if it were, so that both parties have exactly the same conditions, physically, mentally, and at all other levels (I've read four years at university and my partner does not even have high school grades, difficult to motivate her to earn as much money) so that an equal distribution would be fair, how is cooking to be compared with taking care of a crying baby during the night, how many times do you go out with the trash to make up for the fact that she did the dishes for two hours after the family came to visit later. ..

> moto22
> Re: Gender Anxiety Anyone?
> can do no more than stand up and applaud "amazing";)... you took the words right out of my mouth and formulated them in a very good and eloquent way ... if I had written it myself, it would have been a bit sloppy ...
> I'll probably hire you to write out my posts here!;)

As shown in this conversation, the fathers frequently confirmed one another's notions and experiences of sharing both the joys and burdens of parenthood in the forum, but seldom specifically connected these to the concept of equality. The overall pattern of shared understandings of the concept of equality among men in the forum was that it was whatever "works for both parents." As expressed by "amazing," there was a shared understanding that when distributing the negotiable burden associated with parenthood, consideration had to be given to level of education, work, and the earning potential of the partners. There was also a common understanding that equal distribution of "household work" was difficult to fit into other models than those that included both "public" and "private" spheres in their calculation of equality.

The feeling of being slighted in "parental support" forums (i.e., forums for both genders) and in contacts with Health Care professionals was another shared and underlying notion. It could lead to skeptical, disparaging, and sometimes even misogynistic language between the men posting. A common perspective among the men posting on this issue is that fathers are "visitors" during childbirth and delivery as well as during the initial period of maternity care. Whilst the newborn mothers were absorbed within the clinic system, a frequent shared experience among the fathers was that they travelled between an "empty" home and the ma-

ternity ward where the "action" was. With this discovery a personal awareness of being in "gendered" contexts and society also gradually develops among many of the men. They feel that practice and attitudes in early parenthood are primarily targeted at the women and mothers. The experience for the fathers is one of being downgraded. The various posters can be categorized on a continuum in relation to these feelings of gendered alienation, ranging from actively hostile to highly adaptable. These feelings also have the consequence of some men positioning themselves in quite an intricate process of negotiation regarding the social dimensions of parenthood.

So the overall feeling that "parenthood" is primarily associated with mothers was a frequent and explicit topic in the posts—and possible ways of addressing/dealing with this feeling was also a shared issue. For example, starting a magazine for fathers containing the same ingredients as the magazines that are already available for mothers is regarded as a serious possibility by some of the men in the forum. In this extract, "Geir" and "Robert" touch upon a suggestion made by "Nordic Light" about such a magazine directed towards fathers:

> Geir
> Re: Nordic Light
> A Magazine for fathers. 17% of all parents' days taken by fathers. There are a plethora of Maternity Magazines with tips and activities and general leisure time reading. Where is FHM/ Car Sport/M3/ Poker Magazine for Fathers? Presenting little cool baby stuff, stuff to find to do with your own kid, answers to all the strange questions that the mothers for some strange reason already know, but as fathers are not obvious to us….

> Robert
> Re: Nordic Light
> Yes, the next step in this forum's plan for world domination ;) No, but seriously, it's something that I miss too. Just like everything else, when it comes to children / education /pregnancy and so on, it is directed towards the mothers (generalization, but it may well be considered as fair).

As shown above, fathers share experiences of being exposed to attitudes which provoke feelings among some of them of being patronized, for instance by health professionals (whom they often identify as being women). A central motive expressed above—in a fairly balanced way by Robert—is the loss of group privileges when entering parenthood and comparisons with mothers. A common topic, as addressed above, is a recurrent theme and dream of "a turf of their own" in relation to parenting. The sense that they have "lost something" or are "missing something" to which they feel entitled is a recurrent description of situations where fathers in their day-to-day experience encounter a gendered context where they often feel they are required to accept a "subordinate position." Sharing within the forum gives the possibility to address these questions of entitlement. Networks of other men therefore become an important resource for sharing the responsibility and duties of infant care. At the same time, the forum can simultaneously be regarded as an "invisible committee"—and an exclusively male one: a virtual arena aimed at potentially influencing the flow of gendered power relations within everyday parental negotiations.

Looking at the Men in the Mirror—Virtual Reciprocity in Night and Day Parenting

Sharing of practical experiences of handling sleep, food, and health-related topics such as infant stomach aches and other common issues was the first and important father-to-father activity in the forum. Common forms of reciprocal sharing included putting forward for common consumption one's own practical experience and views in the mass of related postings. Advice is communicated in terms of how to manage practical and health-related worries about infants. Despite the negative attitudes that fathers sometimes express towards the parental health care systems, such systems are undoubtedly considered to be a credible resource when it comes to professional expertise on issues such as breastfeeding and other physical problems that proved recurrent topics in the forum. Fathers also share experiences about day-to-day parenting functions where they offer reassurance to one another that everything will go "like clockwork," as described by "bigfather" and "Spencer" in excerpts below:

> bigfather
> Re: Sleep and sleep deprivation as a father
> We deal with this as many have written above, that the wife takes on the duty of lactation and diaper changing at night. The first two weeks I was also up and changed a diaper now and then.
> But as more people write here, what is the point of ruining both partners' sleep for an issue of principle. Instead, it's better to for one to give the other support in the daytime, evenings and at weekends!
> My wife periodically has been totally wiped out and a bit grumpy—the best solution for this is that she gets a powernap during the daytime or evenings when I can take care of the little guy = she is much happier and I do my little bit to help: o
>
> Spencer
> Re: Sleep and sleep deprivation as a father
> I am just taking my 10 days of paternity leave now. Felix is 5 days old. We have arranged, as is the case with many other parents, that I do not have the night shift (type 23-07) but take a heavier load during the day, i.e. making the most out of it. It's also daft if two of us have to be awake when he is breastfeeding and he wakes his mom anyway he can if he needs to have his diaper changed at night.
>
> The thing is that the little guy came 3 weeks early so we had basically nothing ready at home by then. So I had to get around all off IKEA, the Kiddies House, Baby land as well as decorate the baby's area in our home, and build the diaper-changing table, etc .. in addition to cooking, cleaning, grocery shopping, dish-washing ..

As shown in this conversation, reciprocal agreement and reconnection on day-to-day activities is a vital part of the communication in the forum. Breastfeeding is a major topic and concern related to both day and night activities since compensating for being the one "not carrying the food around" is a major demarcation line in

how to handle task negotiation and compensate one's partner as described by Spencer above. By men's sharing and comparing reactions and strategies to breast-feeding, both issues of invisibility and entitlement are explored in the forum. On the one hand, discussions focus on issues of (dis-)empowerment and didactic approaches to invisibility as a result of being the one not able to feed the infant with one's own breasts. At the same time, issues about entitlement in relation to partial or full participation regarding feeding are also explored in the forum. Such "in principle" negotiations regarding breastfeeding are the starting point that generates a set of approaches shared among the posters designed to facilitate their new rhythm of life arising from parenthood:

> amazing
> Re: Have got a son. Would appreciate some advice
> I don't think you can breastfeed/feed too much. At least not if you are just breastfeeding / feeding when the baby wants food. All children are unique in terms of how much, how often they eat and how often and how long they sleep. The most important thing I learnt is that as long as the child grows and feels good, do not worry, just listen to what the child wants. If he wants to eat, he will get food; if he does not want to eat more, do not try to persuade him; if he wants to sleep, he will get to do it until he wakes up. It is difficult, especially nowadays when there are thousands of forums where you can compare one's child's behavior with other children and think that "all other kids" are sleeping through the night, and "all other kids" eat x ml when they are y-weeks/months old, etc. ... Our infant has had a very different sleep/food routine from "all the other kids" on different forum sites but is a lovely little 8-months toddler now with lots of energy.

As shown in amazing's answer, breastfeeding is a frequent and important issue addressed by fathers in the forum. Positions in the forum range from those who are actively supportive of it (since it promotes long term health outcomes for the child) to those who are actively hostile (since it prevents the possibility of the father engaging in parenting on the same terms as the mother). Most of the posts are focused on practical issues about handling night and day parenting. Moreover, as amazing writes, "nowadays when there are thousands of forums where you can compare one's child's behavior with others," the virtual reciprocity in mirroring yourself in terms of others sharing the same experience has become a vital resource for men entering parenthood. At the same time, his comments also capture the ambivalence and ambiguity of the men's attitudes to all these opportunities for comparing their performance as fathers.

Appropriate Parenthood—Setting the Virtual Standards for Other Men

In the guise of offering advice to fathers in the forum, we suggest that complicit visions of child-centred masculinity—which combine conservative and progressive values related to men's parenting—often become central features, setting the standard for men entering the discussions there. Typically, advice was often given or sought in connection with health-related worries about an infant or worries about how to engage as a father. These issues are illustrated by the responses to Berno's question in the following conversation:

Berno
Paternity leave? How can one deal with this?
hi, I'm going to have a baby soon, maybe just in a few hours .. : p (due date is April 19) and then I would like to take out the first 10 days of fathers paternity leave (daddy days, authors comments).[2] But on thinking about this again, I think it will be hard for me to take the "daddy days": I have the greatest share of our income, and the daddy days lower how much we will receive per month very much. So, I would like to take paternity leave but I do not understand how parents (in my position) are able to take paternity leave at the same time. I have been fortunate to have a lot of holiday time over this summer and could maybe consider using my overtime to take time off ...

but I do not dare to take paternity leave .. because then we will end up with a bad financial position.

Reima:
Re: Daddy's Leave? How can you deal with it?
Sorry if I sound rude, but I think you should have thought about this about a year ago.... And as I said before, money is not a good-enough argument for not being with one's children.

Robert
Re: Daddy's Leave? How to deal with it?
Very true words from Reima. Personally, I blame the illusion about our right to self-realization that we Scandinavians live in, to generalize. We believe that we need so much and that we also have an absolute right to it. To put it a little crudely, I would say that we have gone from a self-sacrificial society to a highly egocentric one, creating a hell of a lot of social problems in the process.

But to return to the OP [overall problems] anxiety about money in the context of parental leave. Try to take in what has been written here in the forum. No one here has any idea about what your finances look like, but take advantage of the advice anyway. You can probably be on paternity leave if you cut down on some other expenses, or? :) Keep in mind that you'll never get this opportunity again ..

As shown in this conversation, the "older" posters offered guidance, support and played an "educative" role in relation to the "younger" posters entering the forum. Berno, who is about to enter fathering, encounters the more experienced Robert and Reima. In the conversation there exists a rather intricate confirmation and support of the older posters' complicit vision of men´s parenthood underscoring their point of view in the answers to a very nervous Berno. The pedagogical tone in comments by older posters is recurrently encountered in the forum. Another example is "Feven" who under the heading "Modern father" seeks opinions from the forum

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[2] The poster refers to national legislation providing that men in this context are entitled to ten days paternity leave around the time of childbirth followed by parental leave.

about his "fatherhood" status since he has had three children with three different mothers during the last years. Feven is met with the same kind of intricately constructed response, expressing supportive opinions concerning men´s parenting shared among the older posters. "Concordia" writes:

> Concordia
> Re: "modern" father?
> Should probably drop this, but I do not get it ... what do you mean by taking responsibility? By contributing financially? You've already missed 2 births for two of your children and a whole year of the middle child's life. It is very difficult to be a part of everything in a normal life. And you are going to juggle your working career with having three families? I can't even begin to imagine how you are going to be to have and handle an everyday life.

As demonstrated here, values which can be construed as both conservative and progressive regarding men´s parenting often become a vital point of departure in advice given within the forum. "Concordia's" attitude can on the one hand certainly be described as highly progressive and "non-traditional" in terms of gender practices since he applauds active child-oriented parenting for men. At the same time the attitude and approach might also be described as rather gender-traditional and to some extent heteronormative. So, the virtual standards for men entering the forum seem to partly depart from core values and visions concerning masculinity that are upheld, confirmed, and supported among the older posters in their advice to the new posters.

DISCUSSION

By addressing the discursive dimensions of gender that are connected to Internet resources and communities, this study gives some insight about how engaging in early parenthood is shared as a practical virtual experience by some men. The overall pattern suggested by this nethnographic fieldwork is that being virtual invisible men entails participation in both a marketplace of opinions and a homo-social competition (cf. Kimmel, 1993). By contrast, discussions encountered in our forum are largely based on the sense that the men have lost something to which they normally, and presently, feel entitled to. Based on our admittedly limited study and its provisional results, we discuss three conclusions that require further exploration.

First, we suggest that the forum can be regarded as an "invisible committee" where the men participating in the forum share presence, conversation, and negotiation. The forum is then used as a tool for reducing the impact on the men of those subversive and gender vertigo experiences which, for example, they often seem to encounter in formal health care systems and which tend to destroy the invisibility of their hitherto privileged positions. Paraphrasing Kimmel (1993, pp. 29-30) we argue that "(they) enjoy the privilege of invisibility" since the "processes that confer privilege to one group and not to another group" are excluded from the forums´s proceedings, and this in fact becomes almost the primary engine for the forum. Even if the posters do challenge one another gender-wise and even if some unexpected gendered relations are highlighted within the forum discussions, the forum it is still an in-group homo-social activity. Moreover, that fact is the major reason why the forum is fundamentally attractive for the participants. As shown

above, the forum made it possible for men to connect with others who share the same situation and to create a network that offers a link to an "outside home" perspective. Results suggest how this then serves as an invisible committee whereby the men can engage in parental negotiations via this virtual arena while remaining in the comfort zone of their own homes, thereby sharing—and shaping—arguments for domestic negotiation within their family and with their partners. It seems to provide a refuge where the men's invisible assumptions of gender entitlement can be preserved, in contrast to what is happening in their non-virtual worlds.

In relation to this, it is important to note the more general point that the wide range of virtual forums now available to men on the web potentially offer many points of "refuge" where men can seek to maintain for one another the invisibility of their gender entitlements. For example, forums described by Blevins and Holt (2009) focusing on the subculture of "johns" show results similar to ours. The focal points in the "johns'" forum were the interrelated norms of experience, commodification, and sexuality. Blevins and Holt suggest that online relationships define identity and that subcultural boundaries among the participants shape the attitudes and actions—and most importantly—provide justifications for their actions. The code of conduct in the forum—as well as the very exclusion of women from it—is commensurate with the fact that some men's power over other men in the forum shapes the underlying logic of its operation. So, too, does another central characteristic: the fathering forum seems to provide resources to the men whereby they can maintain their "invisibility" (in Kimmel's terms) with one another at a time when their experience of parenthood is destroying that invisibility in the world outside the forum

Second, we suggest that the virtual reciprocity in mirroring oneself among others sharing the same experiences has become a vital resource for some men entering parenthood. As demonstrated in the second section above, this resource allows fathers to both monitor and reflect upon themselves, not only descriptively but also judgmentally. Opportunities for comparing their performance as parents with "peers"—who are reflecting actively about the fathering role—seem to promote not only potentially gender "progressive" approaches to men's parenting but also some potentially traditional, narrow, and essentialist ideas about parenthood as a dichotomous social organization. In this context we might suggest that men in our forum move across a spectrum of positions ranging from rather gender traditional to more gender progressive and "non-traditional" in terms of gender practices. At the same time—and rather like the "patriarchs" and "pioneers" in Barker's study of lone fathers (1994)—we often encountered a complex interplay of gender traditional and gender progressive attitudes among individual men. Attitudes on some issues might be "traditional" in origin but result in some rather "progressive" outcomes, and vice versa. Perpetuating the collective assumptions and ideals about men´s parenting in such networks can also be interpreted as a way of disciplining oneself by means of the constant introspection and self-examination that sharing with "equals" induces. This has an important impact since the shared postings, in relation to for example heteronormativity and the tendency towards misogyny (i.e., ironic remarks like, "the only unmodern family today seems to be the heterosexual nuclear family" and references to female health personnel as "child health dragons"), probably also reflect the creation of a comfort zone for the posters. Within this comfort zone they seem to uphold their identity by defining themselves in terms of what they are not rather than in terms of what they are.

Third, we suggest that a child-oriented, serial-monogamous, heterosexual orientation is to be found in the visions of masculinity that dominate other forms of masculinity in the forum. Lively discussions are based on "friendly and educative" as well as intricate homo-social processes among more "experienced" posters who back up one another in encounters with less experienced posters entering the forum. Discussions thus tend to include what we might term "vertical" dimensions where internal and hierarchical gender logics among the posters are negotiated within the forum setting (Flood, 2002). Moreover, we also see present in the forum the continuum of perceptions of gender equality identified by Egerberg-Holmgren and Hearn (2006). This is especially clear in relation to those horizontal and vertical homo-social dimensions that we have argued are present within forum negotiations around complicit and "in principle" masculinity structures (Jalmert, 1983). As shown in the third section, we interpreted the men´s experience of individual and group privileges being challenged when entering parenthood as a central motive for their forum activity. There appears to be a silent underlying agreement and promise about respecting each other's comfort zones and about keeping subversive and gender vertigo experiences—which otherwise undermine invisibility—to a minimum within forum boundaries. As Connell (1995) emphasized, the subversive shared experience of gender vertigo is a central process in transforming the lives of men. In the present case study, this experience, prompted by entering parenthood, includes not only encounters with a clearly embodied gendered context but also the reconstruction and negotiation of gender identity that follows such a transition.

In conclusion, we argue that the gendered meanings of everyday life for men in this study may have great relevance to an understanding of their perspectives and levels of engagement as parents. Of course, this conclusion requires further research and exploration. Nevertheless, we believe our study has demonstrated both the empirical and methodological promise that (n)ethnografic forms of research offer to the critical study of men's practices.

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Prioritizing Hyper-Masculinity in the Pacific Region

This article examines gender manifestations in the Pacific region. It specifically explores the hierarchy of types of masculinity in contemporary Polynesia and examines how and why one particular type of masculinity is prioritized while others are marginalized, or even repressed, in the contemporary Pacific Islands, although many of these others claim roots in "traditional" society. I look into three expressions/images of Pacific manhood: Polynesian warriors, male hula, and "feminine" men in both popular culture and scholarly work. I argue that colonial mentality and post-colonial struggle interestingly work together in reconstructing a discourse that favors a singular articulation of Polynesian masculinity. Discussion draws upon Pacific feminist critique in assessing hegemonic Polynesian masculinity and the question of nationalist authenticity.

Keywords: hegemonic masculinity, Polynesia masculinity, warriorhood, male hula, *fa'afafine/fakaleitī/māhū*

—Samoans once were known as fierce warriors who practiced cannibalism. Now they take their aggressions out on the football field, and they do so with uncanny power and skill due to a potent brew of genetics and culture. Their bodies are naturally big-boned; traditional dances make them nimble; and a disciplined upbringing emphasizes the group over the individual, wiring them for team sports.

Writer Robert Louis Stevenson, Samoa's most famous expatriate, called Polynesians 'God's best, at least God's sweetest work.' He'd get no argument from college coaches from Honolulu, Hawaii, to Provo, Utah, to Bowling Green, Ky., whose eyes widen at the sight of those tongue-twisting, vowel-laden names. (Miller, 2002, n.p.)

According to the dominant image, Polynesian men are big, strong, athletic, and extremely masculine. They star in various sports, most prominently rugby and American football. They increasingly dominate Japan's national sport of sumo

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wrestling. In New Zealand, a subtle debate concerns whether Polynesians "disproportionally" dominate the rugby leagues (Masters, 2009). In the U.S. many wonder how these small islands in the middle of nowhere[1] produce so many promising football players for both the NFL and colleges (Pelley, 2010). "Exotic" names such as Polamalu and Finene have become American household names. Polynesian masculinity has brought these islanders not only fame and cash, but also social visibility. Most Polynesians take great pride in their men's athletic abilities, and their masculinity has come to define Polynesians and the Polynesian region.

The present project examines gender manifestations in the Pacific region. More specifically, it explores the hierarchy of types of masculinity in contemporary Polynesia and examines how and why one particular type of masculinity is prioritized while others are marginalized, or even repressed, in the contemporary Pacific Islands, although many of these others also claim roots in "traditional" society. I especially look into three expressions/images of Pacific manhood: Polynesian warriors, male hula, and "feminine" men (*faʻafafine*/*fakaleitī*/*māhū*) in both popular culture and scholarly work. Through analyzing (self-)representations of Pacific masculinities, this paper attempts to understand the complex relationships between colonial/Christian influences, post-colonial discourse on identity, hegemonic masculinity, and the globalization of queer theory/practice. I argue that both a colonial mentality and post-colonial struggles work together interestingly, and perhaps ironically, in reconstructing a discourse that favors a single version of Polynesian masculinity. On the one hand, hyper-masculine sports (such as rugby and American football), whose popularity in Polynesia are byproducts of Western colonization, epitomize contemporary Polynesian definitions of manhood. Most ordinary Islanders, particularly those in diasporic communities in the U.S. (and possibly New Zealand and Australia as well) adopt Christian/Western homophobic attitudes in condemning "feminine" and "homosexual" expressions of Polynesian manhood. Some indigenous scholars, on the other hand, see the warrior style of masculinity as a powerful tool of resistance against colonization, one that aids the effort to reclaim indigenous rights to lands and cultures.

Below I draw upon Pacific feminist critique in assessing hegemonic Polynesian masculinity and the question of nationalist authenticity. This article expands conceptual understandings of hegemonic masculinity by critically exploring how it is constructed and utilized within (post)colonial discourses in the Pacific region. I approach this topic from a macro perspective rather than a tightly drawn empirical study. The complexity of the issue, in my opinion, cannot be sufficiently explained through a single set of data. Therefore, I explore the issue from various directions, analyzing examples from both popular and scholarly discourses. Occasionally I also draw on my own experiences/observations from living for more than a decade in a community dominated numerically by a Polynesian population. I recognize

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[1] Many Pacific scholars reject such characterization of the Pacific Islands. Epeli Hauʻofa (1993), for example, argues that viewing the Pacific as "islands in a far sea"—emphasizing the smallness and remoteness of the islands—is a neocolonial strategy, "to make [Pacific Islanders] believe that they have no choice but to depend" (p. 5). In empowering the region, he suggests a more holistic perspective: to envision the Pacific as "a sea of islands" and the ocean as superhighways connecting, not boundaries confining, ocean peoples (p. 7).

that using "Polynesia" as the main scale for analysis comes with risks. Experiences, cultures, histories, and outlooks differ among the various Polynesian peoples and places. Yet I believe enough similarities exist in the ways that colonial and global culture and societies interact with peoples and traditions across the eastern Pacific, especially in terms of gender issues, to make analysis at this scale worthwhile. Advocates for specific indigenous cultures within Polynesia frequently risk comparison among the experiences of Polynesian cultures to increase insight and solidarity within the larger region. So while experiences with gender issues among Hawaiians, Samoans, and Māori, for example, are clearly not identical, similarities remain instructive.

HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY

The notion of hegemonic masculinity extends to gender studies the Gramscian concept of hegemony. R.W. Connell coined the term in his influential book, *Gender and Power* (1987), arguing that the practice of hegemonic masculinity sustains not only continuing male dominance over women, but also one form of masculinity over other (subordinated) forms. The concept refers to "the currently most honored way of being a man" (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 832). In other words, it is the "culturally idealized form of masculine character" (Connell, 1990, p. 83), although it is not necessarily a reflection of the statistical norm. It needs to be neither the most common form of masculinity nor embodied by all men. As Connell and his colleague point out, hegemonic masculinity does not need to "correspond closely to the lives of any actual men"; rather it "express[es] widespread ideals, fantasies, and desires" of being a man (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005, p. 838). In the U.S., for example, hegemonic masculinity often encompasses desirable and "normal" characteristics such as being White, married, heterosexual, economically autonomous, college educated, able to provide for one's family, rational, physically fit, emotionally stable, and distanced from anything considered feminine (see Alsop, Fitzsimons & Lennon, 2002, p. 141). Hegemony works in part through the production of exemplars of masculinity (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005). Professional sports stars—e.g., Michael Jordon, LeBron James, and the pre-scandal Tiger Woods, in relation to whom non-whiteness is sometimes overlooked—and popular/fictional heroes—e.g., Indiana Jones, Rocky, James Bond—provide prototypes of contemporary American, and arguably global, masculinity. Through the representation of exemplars, American men learn to position themselves in relation to hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic ideals also require the subordination of other forms of manhood. Any male who fails to measure up to the hegemonic qualities, Goffman suggests, will likely see himself "as unworthy, incomplete, and inferior" (quoted in Alsop, Fitzsimons & Lennon, 2002, p. 140). Minority, working-class, and gay masculinities, as a result, often become subordinated or marginalized.

Judith Butler (1990) argues that gender identity is maintained through repeated enactment of gendered cultural norms in society. In other words, we perform our gender according to a cultural script with both masculine and feminine ideals. Similarly, hegemonic masculinity, however unattainable, functions as a reference point or a goal for "proper" male behavior. In order for a man to prove his manhood, he has to constantly display and reaffirm connection with hegemonic masculinity, as status can only be secured through a repetition of masculine acts and through perpetual validation by other men (Alsop, Fitzsimons & Lennon, 2002, p. 143; Kim-

mel, 1994, p. 128). Despite its power, scholars caution that hegemonic masculinity cannot be seen as a fixed concept (see Whitehead, 2002). It is in fact neither essential nor universal, but instead historically and culturally bound. Mexican *machismo* (see Gutmann, 1996), for example, might not share many commonalities with the Japanese "salaryman" ethos (see Ogasawara, 1998). What defines ideal Chinese manhood might differ significantly now in a quasi-capitalist China from that under the rigid Communist control and planned economy of a few decades ago. Hegemonic masculinity thus is open to challenge and change; a new form of hegemonic masculinity can replace the old, depending on the social/political/economic situation in a given culture (Connell & Messerschmidt, 2005).

GENDER IDENTITY IN THE COLONIZED PACIFIC/POLYNESIA

Much of the literature on gendered Polynesia has centered on historiography and ethnography (see, for example, Desmond, 1999; Jolly, 1997; Mageo, 1992, 1996). In recent years indigenous scholars, especially, have attempted to de-essentialize Polynesian identity, including gender identity, through close attention to colonialism's impacts. Noenoe K. Silva (2000), for example, argues that the nineteenth-century banning of hula served not only to impose Christian moral standards on colonized subjects, but even more so to exploit Hawaiian labor for economic gain, as colonizers regarded hula an unproductive form of idleness. Silva elsewhere (2004) reclaims the meaning and religious/social function of hula, which, she suggests, allows us to understand that early colonizers sought to ban hula because it not only "celebrates a rival religion and created obstacles for the colonial capitalist economy but also because a major missionary goal was to discipline female sexuality and restrict female power in order to establish patriarchy" (p. 20). Through such arguments, Silva and others have recuperated a Hawaiian female identity rendered submissive and oriented toward male pleasure only by later colonialist visions of hula.

April K. Henderson (2011) deconstructs a rather different essentialized image of Polynesian gender identity. She focuses on the mythography of Polynesian bodies in the United States by tracing the construction in American popular media and literature of Samoan males' size, aggression and violence. She asserts that through "a narrow range of archetypes," such as "the Football Player, the Wrestler, the Bouncer or Bodyguard, and the Gangsta," the Samoan body has been "pinned into place, immobilized, and fixed in American imaginations" (p. 277; see also Chen & Yorgason, n.d.). Vicente M. Diaz (2011), on the other hand, addresses the ambiguity and vulnerability of such constructed Polynesian masculinities. He uses the former NFL player Esera Tuaolo's "coming out" as a gay Samoan to demonstrate how Tuaolo's (or more generally Polynesians') lionized warriorhood easily becomes discredited through assertion of an unapproved identity. Both Henderson and Diaz question notions of Polynesian masculinity in a manner consistent with the aims of the current article. Similarly, Isaiah Walker and Ty P. Tengan distrust essentialized notions of Polynesian masculinities. However, some of their de-essentialization accomplishes re-essentialization, hence their work merits more detailed discussion, as offered below.

Other indigenous scholars address the fraught impacts of colonialism head on by emphasizing U.S. military presence in the Pacific/Polynesian region. Jon Kamakawiwo'ole Osorio (2010), for instance, argues Pearl Harbor is "the symbol of

American power and the symbol of our (Hawaiian) dispossession … a visual and kinetic reminder" of the loss and helplessness of Native Hawaiians (p. 5). However, he also acknowledges that even amongst a people carrying strong critiques of U.S. military presence on their land, a fair number of Hawaiians joins the American military. "We come from a warrior society, and I do think that certain values tend to resonate between Hawaiians and soldiers—discipline, self-sacrifice, and willingness to commit to a deserving leader" (p. 12). Michael Lujan Bevacqua (2010) takes up a similar ambiguous phenomenon in Guam. Guam is as thoroughly militarized as any U.S. possession, and this militarization is the clearest symbol of Chamorros' colonial subordination. Yet Chamorros disproportionately seek and value military participation. The uniform offers the most direct relief—though never fully sufficient, Bevacqua argues—from colonialism's infantilization and dehumanization. While Osorio and Bevacqua address gender only implicitly, in a semi-autobiographical work Vicente M. Diaz (2002) links the spread of American sport to the creation of masculine subjectivity through overseas empire building, suggesting that football in Guam was mainly established and developed by military personnel from Hawai'i, who brought the island-style game to native youth in Guam.

Hokulani K. Aikau (2012) approaches the ambiguities of colonialism a bit differently, by exploring the Mormon community in Lā'ie, a place where religion, rather than the military, serves as the primary manifestation of American colonial power. Similar to Osorio, Bevacqua, and Diaz, Aikau carefully shows how a sophisticated understanding and critique of some aspects of colonialism among colonized groups often develop and sit aside accommodation and embrace of other aspects. In other words, indigenous and traditional understandings often face off against, jostle and blend with colonialist understandings in curious, often unpredictable ways. Recent trends toward a Polynesian hegemonic masculinity provide further evidence of this point.

MANIFESTATIONS OF POLYNESIAN HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY

As pointed out above, warriorhood currently epitomizes the ultimate Polynesian masculinity. In contemporary times, Islanders achieve warriorhood mainly through accomplishments in sports and, to a lesser extent, the military. Rugby and American football, left-overs of Western colonialism in the Pacific region, have provided Polynesians particular opportunities for assimilation and upward mobility. Polynesian men's sporting prowess evokes imagination of their "primitive" warrior ancestors in tropical forests. Polynesian athletes are seen as "natural fighters"— big, strong, and fearless. Their physicality, and virtually only their physicality, comes to define Polynesian masculinity. Animating this physicality, warrior *mana* (spirit) is idealized and promoted not only in popular discourse but sometimes also, despite significant efforts toward de-essentialization, in scholarly studies. The following section looks into both manifestations. I use the All Blacks' *Ka Mate* haka and the University of Hawai'i's masculine football makeover to examine how Polynesian warriorhood is contested, constructed, and reified in popular discourse. I then analyze how some work by Hawaiian nationalist scholars creates a discourse favoring one version of Polynesian masculinity and subordinates alternative types.

Polynesian Masculinity in Popular Discourse

The All Blacks, the renowned New Zealand national rugby team, exemplify the Polynesian warrior ideal, although some players are of European descent. They hold the world's leading position with most points scored all time and highest win ratio. Currently (as of April, 2014) ranked in the International Rugby Board World Rankings as the number one team in the world, they have been thus ranked for longer periods than any other national team ("IRB", n.d.). Along with their on-field feats, the All Blacks distinguish themselves by performing haka. Often inaccurately defined as traditional Māori "war dance,"[2] haka has become the All Blacks' trademark prematch ritual. Although many New Zealand sports teams also perform haka when competing overseas, none gives the haka greater exposure than the All Blacks. The All Blacks perform many types of haka, but their *Ka Mate* haka is the most popular because of sheer repetition. In fact, the All Blacks' *Ka Mate* haka has perhaps become the most recognizable national symbol of New Zealand.

Adidas' 1999 All Blacks ad, entitled *Black*, is arguably the ultimate media representation of Polynesian hyper-masculinity. It imagines rough, primitive Polynesian manhood by essentially equating the All Blacks with ancient Māori warriors. Other scholars have analyzed the commercialization of New Zealand rugby and Māori culture this ad represents (see Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Scherer & Jackson, 2008). I want to foreground gender. As a major sponsor of the All Blacks, Adidas intended to bring "the power and mystique of the All Blacks to life like never before" and to connect the audience with the team's "values of courage, commitment, sacrifice and skill" (quoted in Scherer & Jackson, 2008, pp. 511-512). The local producer of the TV commercial, Saatchi & Saatchi, Wellington, accordingly sought to design a "primal, scary ad" reflecting the All Blacks' power and mystique (see Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002; Scherer & Jackson, 2008). The opening segment of the ad begins with a shot of bubbling mud pools where a group of Māori warriors advance in the dim light; the ad then cuts to a lower-body close-up frame of the All Blacks running onto the rugby field (toward where the Māori warriors were advancing from in the previous shot). The eerie audio accompaniment features presumably primitive drumbeats.

The commercial relies on a series of fragmented yet intense, juxtaposed images of the All Blacks and ancient Māori warriors doing haka along with struggles on both rugby and battle fields. These images interweave with rough audio of the All Blacks chanting *Ka Mate*.[3] The segment ends with the All Blacks jumping together

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[2] Haka is a generic term for all types of traditional Māori dance or ceremonial performances that involve body movement. The true war dances are the *whakatu waewae*, the *tutu ngarahu*, and the *peruperu* (see Jackson & Hokuwhitu, 2002; Karetu, 1993). Traditionally haka was performed for the purpose of celebration, intimidation, or gathering up courage prior to battle (Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002).

[3] The *Ka Mate* is the most known haka in both New Zealand and elsewhere because it is repeatedly performed by the All Blacks and other sports teams from New Zealand and sometimes from other Polynesian countries. Even with its popularity, few (including New Zealanders) understand the meaning and the story behind the chant. Some scholars point out that *Ka Mate* was originally composed not as *peruperu* (war dance), but *ngeri* (short haka to psych up warriors before battle) with no set movements, which gave

on the final line of *Ka Mate*. The ad then cuts to the conclusion, first showing a white Adidas slogan "FOREVER SPORT" displayed on a black background. Shots of two Māori All Blacks (Taine Randell and Kees Meeuws) follow the slogan; both glare intensely at the completion of the haka, presumably at their opponents.

The entire ad is intense and powerful. The All Blacks' physical strength and masculine prowess are shown through the repeated close-up shots of their thick, muscular biceps and thighs, their high impact tackles and collisions, their stern looks, their passionate shouts and stomps in performing haka, their effective defense of the goal, and their aggressive runs toward the end zone. The inclusion of Māori warriors evokes the stereotype of "savage" Māori warriors and fears of the perceived "rough, primitive, barbaric, and violent" Polynesia masculinity. The use of *moko* (traditional Māori full facial tattoo), *pukana* (dilating the eyes), *whetero* (protrusion of the tongue), *taiaha* (long wooden stick weapons), *patu* (short bladed weapon), and feathers on the head and on the ears, although terribly decontextualized, all signify brutality and war/sport violence. The repeated facial close-ups of the All Blacks, particularly of then-team captain Taine Randell and powerful Kees Meeuws (both of Māori descent), provide a seamless link between the All Blacks and their ancestors: the All Blacks *are* the Māori warriors and the rugby field is their battleground. The entire ad meets the expectation of a "primal and scary" hyper-masculine spectacle of the All Blacks in particular and Polynesian manhood in general.

The emphasis on Polynesian physical strength and hyper-masculinity reinforces the dichotomy between the physical and the intellectual. Hokowhitu (2004a, 2004b) argues that colonial stereotypes, history, and education in New Zealand have created a discourse and a belief among both Whites and natives that Māori men are natural sportsmen and manual workers because of god-given physical abilities. Māori masculinity, he suggests, is defined through a man's sportsmanship or warrior-like qualities: "noble, physically tough, staunch, and emotionless" (2004a, p. 260). Colonial masculinity—as shown through violent, physical, and rugged sports—ironically becomes the "natural" characteristics of native masculinity. Native men who do not fit this hegemonic masculinity often face social ostracism.

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performers the liberty to express themselves as they saw fit. Karetu (1993) attributed the chant to Chief Te Rauparaha (1760s-1849) who sought refuge from a woman when he was pursued by his enemies. As the legend goes, he hid himself in a pit under the skirt of Te Rangikoaea, wife of Chief Te Wharerangi. In the pit he heard the two parties discussing his fate and consequently uttered "*Aha ha. Ka mate, ka mate. Ka ora, ka ora. Ke mate, ka mate.*" ("I die, I die. I live, I live. I die, I die.") When Te Rauparaha heard the departure of his pursuers, he exclaimed: "*Ka ora, ka ora. Tenei te tangata puhurupuhuru nana nei I tiki ami whakawhiti te ra.*" ("I live, I live. For this is the hairy man who has fetched the sun and caused it to shine again.") He then came out from the pit and pronounced, "*Hupane, kaupane. Whiti te ra,*" or "Spring up the terrace. The sun shines" (quoted in Jackson & Hokowhitu, 2002, p. 129). Here he gave thanks to the woman for saving his life. Karetu (1993) asserts that "the hairy man" refers to Te Rangikoaea's genitals, which were believed in Māori culture to embody considerable power and to neutralize chants. Many people reject this interpretation of the *Ka Mate* haka, however, suggesting that this interpretation cannot be true in the patriarchal Māori culture. For more detailed discussions see Jackson and Hokowhitu (2002) and Archer (2009).

Māori youth are thus encouraged to pursue careers and find success primarily within the physical realm. In fact, sport remains one of the few areas that native men compete with *Pākehā* (White) men and achieve success. Hokowhitu asserts that the native-men-as-natural-athletes discourse functions to "limit, homogenize, and reproduce an acceptable and imagined Māori masculinity" (2004a, p. 262). In other words, New Zealanders use the discourse to regulate natives' intellectual development and limit their social roles.

For American-oriented Polynesia, especially Samoa, Tonga, and Hawaii, American football carries similarly strong colonial implications. Tengan and Markham (2009) assert that (neo)colonial global capitalism exploits Polynesian male bodies as primitive, hyper-masculine spectacles in a sport-centered society (p. 2414; see also Henderson, 2011). The stereotype of Polynesian men as "naturally" fit for American football reaffirms Polynesian hegemonic masculinity, limits Islanders' perceptions about themselves, and reinforces the physical and intellectual divide. NFL player Paul Soliai stated that "In Samoa there's only two ways off the rock: you join the army or you get a scholarship for education and sports" (Pelley, 2010; Teng, 2009).

Living in Lā'ie, a predominantly Polynesian community on Hawai'i's North Shore provides me working scenes of Polynesian hegemonic masculinity, if in more mundane form. Sports, particularly American football, are intensely celebrated community events.[4] Almost the entire community closely follows the local high school football team, the Kahuku Red Raiders, perennially one of the state's top teams. Many devoted fans proclaim themselves "Red Raiders for life." It is common to see a Polynesian father coaching his boy(s) in the schoolyard. As Hokowhitu (2004b) describes, sport has become a medium through which fathers and sons communicate in Polynesia. Playing football in college and eventually professionally is the ultimate goal for many Polynesian young men in my community. Some succeed, but some who potentially could play do not due to academic shortcomings. Like Māori men in New Zealand, most of my male Polynesian neighbors pursue physically oriented careers. If not in sports (or tourism), many end up in construction, law enforcement, fire fighting, or the military.

The University of Hawai'i football team's controversial "macho makeover," as Tengan and Markham (2009) call it, provides another example of Polynesian hegemonic masculinity. In the name of rebranding and marketing, the UH football team changed its nickname from "Rainbow Warriors" to simply "Warriors" in 2000. Its logo transformed from a rainbow to a green, stylistic "H" edged in indigenous *kapa* design (triangle shape symbolizing body, mind, and spirit). Many critics felt the university was abandoning 77 years of UH rainbow tradition.[5] Proponents argued

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[4] The other major game in town is the performing arts, particular traditional singing and dancing, due partially to the village's Polynesian Cultural Center tourist attraction.

[5] The nickname stems from the appearance of a rainbow over the stadium during a 1923 upset victory (Simpson, 2002). "Warriors" was added later. UH men's athletic teams were called "Rainbow Warriors" while women's teams were referred to as "Hawaii Rainbow *Wahine*." The name change created a chaotic identity for UH male athletic teams. While some teams (e.g., football, golf, and volleyball) adopted the new identity as "Warriors," others (e.g., basketball, swimming, diving, and tennis) retained "Rainbow Warriors."

for the importance of rebranding the team's image, expanding its market to the U.S. mainland, and consequently bringing in more revenue. Masculinity was the controversy's undercurrent. The then-UH athletic director Hugh Yoshida justified dropping rainbow-associated symbols: "That logo really put a stigma on our program at times in regards to its part of the gay community, their flags and so forth. Some of the student athletes had some feelings in regards to that" ("Rainbow Comments," 2000). In supporting the name change, assistant women's volleyball coach Charlie Wade alluded to ambiguous connotations of the rainbow: "I can't be certain, but I think that the rainbow had something to do with a flight attendant giving me his phone number one time" ("Rainbow Comments," 2000). Gay rights activists and others in Hawai'i immediately condemned the homophobic comments and university administrators apologized. Nevertheless, the no-sissy-stuff argument eventually prevailed. Former UH wide receiver Kyle Mosley, for example, suggested that "being called the Rainbows, especially for men's teams, left them open to ridicule. 'Warriors' has a much stronger connotation" (Reardon, 2000, n.p.).

UH's macho makeover also included hiring a new football mascot, Vili "The Warrior" Fehoko, a big, muscular Tongan, in his mid-30s at the time. Fehoko equips himself with various warrior gadgets at games: face and body paint, grass skirt, armbands, tapa headband, Afro hair style, boar tusk necklace, drums, and spear, etc. Tengan and Markham (2009, p. 2420) ironically comment that Fehoko "represented the 'real thing,' an actual Polynesian who embodied and performed a brand of warriorhood that articulated both militaristic and touristic—or 'militouristic'—notions of primitive masculinity." Of course Fehoko's "authentic"—primal and scary—Polynesian masculinity also requires much preparation and various artificial gadgets to construct. Nevertheless, the warrior ideal he is expected to represent, however manufactured, accords with prevalent expectations of Polynesian masculinity.

The recruitment of Polynesian players and introduction of haka performance at UH football games completed the team's transformation from rainbows to warriors. UH had a successful history of recruiting Polynesian players; yet a poor 1998 season coincided with the head coach's neglect in recruiting them. The new head coach June Jones restored Polynesian ties in 1999 as he prioritized recruitment of local players and Polynesians from California, American Samoa, and elsewhere. In large part thanks to the All Blacks, the haka symbolizes the classic form of Polynesian warrior masculinity. To masculinize its new warriors, UH introduced the All Blacks' new haka "*Kapa O Pango*" to the football field in 2006. With concerns over copyright issues, however, the Warriors developed their own haka, a Hawaiian *ha'a*, in order to "better represent Hawai'i" (Miura, 2007, n.p.; Colin, 2007). Ironically, this attempt to masculinize themselves has occasionally been emasculated by some observers through associating the Warriors' *ha'a* with hula, which is often perceived as the archetypical feminine icon of Hawai'i. ESPN analyst and former NFL player Chris Spielman, for example, humored the Warriors on *College Football Live*: "Man, I just hope they don't do the hula dance. I can't see 500 lb offensive linemen doing the hula with a grass skirt. That would give me confidence if I was the opponent" (quoted in Tengan & Markham, 2009, p. 86). It is exactly this anxiety over the feminine stereotype associated with Hawaii and Hawaiian culture that led the Warriors to construct a hyper-masculine identity and undergo the macho makeover in the first place (Tengan & Markham, 2009).

Scholarly Construction of Polynesian Warriorhood

Anxiety over the feminine image of Hawaii exists not only in public discourse but also in academic work. Scholars claim that Polynesia has been depicted as the feminine Other since Westerners first reached the Pacific shores. In analyzing portrayals of Polynesia from Cook's crew and other early popular travel writings, Margaret Jolly (1997) and Bernard Smith (1985, 1992), for example, assert that in the Western imagination, Polynesia, particularly Tahiti and Hawaii, has been characterized as an exotic, erotic, alluring, and passionate woman who awaits Western male adventurers/settlers to penetrate and cultivate (see also Ferguson & Turnbull, 1999). Expanding on this argument, some indigenous scholars assert that colonization has feminized not only the place but also native men. In order to reclaim their land and culture, nationalist scholars imply that native men have to first reclaim their lost masculinity and warriorhood. This section focuses on the work of two leading indigenous scholars on Hawaiian masculinity: historian Isaiah Walker and anthropologist Ty P. Tengan. Both are part Hawaiian, both identify with the anti-colonial nationalist movement, and both reject the image of soft Hawaiian men. I argue that while their work contributes to an effective indigenous strategy of resistance, key elements of this work also do little to contest and probably help affirm hypermasculine hegemony.

Walker's work focuses on Hawaiian surfers' resistance. In a 2005 article, Walker discusses the mid- and late-1970s *Hui 'O He'e Nalu*, a native Hawaiian surfing group on Oahu's North Shore. He argues most centrally that group members were not "terrorists" as portrayed in local newspapers. Rather, Walker claims, their intimidating demeanors shown in conflicts with non-local surfers and international surfing organizations, were native men's way to "preserve the waves of the North Shore … for Native Hawaiians" (2005, p. 576) and to protest against the stereotype of Hawaiians as "passive, happy, and non-resistant" natives (p. 590; see also Walker, 2011).

Following this line of thought, Walker's 2008 article finds Desmond's oft-cited analysis (1999) of the mid-twentieth-century "beach boys" (Waikiki surfers) to be insufficient. Desmond claimed Hawaiian surfers, like hula girls, served as "objects of tourist desires" (p. 104; see also Walker, 2011). In Walker's opinion, the beach boys resisted American colonization in at least three ways: beating White surfers on the waves, confronting military personnel on the streets, and challenging American miscegenation laws through romantic relationships with White women (mostly upper-class tourists). To Walker, these bronze-bodied surfers were far from passive "ideal natives." Instead, they were "pleasure seekers, romancers, athletes, watermen, and Hawaiians," and their adventures were "aggressive, empowered, and successful" (p. 105). In both articles, he emphasizes that native Hawaiian men's physicality was a means to challenge colonial power. A powerful statement in reclaiming Hawaiians' agency and capacity, Walker's approach nevertheless works in the service of hegemonic masculinity. In reasserting Hawaiian masculinity, he has native men come across as overly aggressive, violent, manipulative, and sexist.

Tengan (2008) provides a complex analysis/ethnography of the (re)creation of Hawaiian masculinity. Highly nuanced and acutely aware of issues of hegemonic masculinity, Tengan's argument, like Walker's, starts by providing evidence for a sense of emasculation among Hawaiian men. Tengan points to the ways in which iconic Hawaiian males, such as beach boys and fire-knife dancers have had their

sexualized "physical prowess" become part of tourism's colonial "economy of pleasure" (p. 8). Colonial modernity has repositioned and negated many of Hawaiian men's social/religious offices and privileges, perhaps most critically their access to land and their responsibility for providing for their families and communities from the land. Tengan examines the ways in which Hawaiian masculinity is currently being re-created. He is particularly interested in the movement to re-empower and remasculinize Hawaiian manhood through reclaiming "traditional roles and practices" and attempting to renew ancient Hawaiian warriorhood (2008, p. 11).

Tengan's ethnography focuses on *Hale Mua*, an organization that "strive[s] to develop a cultural foundation for Hawaiian men to become strong leaders and community members" (p. 2); it is also a group to which he belongs. While he himself values feminism, he finds that a common argument—that the Hawaiian renaissance movement since the 1970s was led mostly by women and has not effectively empowered Hawaiian men or reclaimed masculine characteristics—weighs heavily on many *Hale Mua* members. They attempt to revive more "masculine" traditions such as the martial arts, sacred male dance, tattooing, kava drinking, and *heiau* religious rituals. These traditions, Tengan suggests, function as a "critical remembering of the past" (2008, p. 67) and embody "a new Hawaiian male subjectivity" (p. 21). One might say that this is more than a decolonization of the mind (Thiong'o, 1986), but also a decolonization of the body. The physical body figures centrally in the project. Through studying "fighting arts and philosophies of warriorhood" (p. 2), and at strategic occasions performing such actions as "wearing only malo—loincloths—[,] jump[ing] from the top of an ocean cliff" (p. 2), and "[taking] up a carved spear," each of these men transforms himself and becomes "a member of *Na Koa*, the Warriors or the Courageous One" (p. 21). Because they sense that colonial modernity has destroyed much of Hawaiian masculinity, the organization's members often look to the Māori as "the epitome of 'real' Polynesian masculinity, the fearless warrior" (Tengan, 2002, p. 240). Newly "remasculinized" Hawaiian cultural practices, such as haka, martial arts, oratory styles, and ceremonial protocols, are heavily influenced by or directly borrowed from Māori culture.

Although drastically different in context (e.g., colonized minority subjects vs. White middle-class men) and political objective, *Hale Mua* bears some outward resemblances to Robert Bly's pro-masculine mythopoetic or Wildman's retreat popular in the U.S. in the 1980s and 1990s. Unfortunately, despite his careful treatment of gender and clear knowledge of feminism, Tengan neither acknowledges nor address the similarities. For example, both movements find modernization contributes to male feminization, and both use wilderness, rituals, and traditional roles/practices to retrieve true masculinity. Arguably, as well, both rely on gender essentialism, reinforce stereotypes, and devalue feminine characteristics. Though not necessarily a problematic omission in and of itself, this lack of comparison (which would presumably also be accompanied by an explanation of differences) becomes more significant because of Tengan's semi-celebratory treatment—a tendency that picks up momentum as the book proceeds—of *Hale Mua* and the reworked identity it fosters. Early in the book, Tengan outlines the "main traits" of the nationalist masculine ideal:

> strong, healthy, heterosexual, working- or middle-class, between twenty and
> fifty years old, possessing "local" Hawaiian sensibilities, styles, and looks,

educated and knowledgeable in some cultural practice, nonviolent to women and children, responsibly providing for one's family, respectful of one's elders, having a tangible relationship with the land and sea, exhibiting spiritual facilities and mana, courageous and ready to fight for the people—a modern-day warrior chief. (2008, pp. 11-12)

While he follows this up with a proviso that he has no desire to "reify a model of masculinity" (p. 12), one wonders by the end of the book if he has not done just that. *Hale Mua* seems to be a promising approach both to forming a more empowered subjectivity for those native to an occupied land and to working toward community self-improvement within a group facing significant social challenges. Yet one wishes that Tengan had addressed in a more critical manner its apparently male-centric character, its hegemonic heterosexuality, and its prioritizing of physical virility. So while Tengan's book is a sensitive and powerful analysis of Hawaiian masculinity, one that clearly moves the discussion forward in productive ways, it seems, in spite of itself, to work in some ways in the service of a hegemonic masculinity.

Quoting Cynthia Enloe, Tengan (2002, p. 243) argues that "colonialism and nationalism typically spring 'from masculinized memory, masculinized humiliation and masculinized hope.'" While recognizing the struggle for de-colonization and the successes nationalist Hawaiian men have achieved, I submit that the kind of masculinity Tengan, Walker, and their fellow Hawaiian men are pursuing reflects Connell's notion of "protest masculinity," which tends toward the rebellious, angry, and reactive. It is more strategic than mass culture's hegemonic masculinity and aims more toward the Hawaiian community's rather than the colonizing society's benefit, but similarly seems to work toward a single, essential Polynesian masculinity that shares many outward forms with mass culture's hegemonic masculinity. Whether it is constructive for gender relations within the Hawaiian community is debatable, though clearly the Hawaiian community itself, feminists included, will be the ultimate judge.

As an outsider to that community, I can simply point to tendencies that are often problematic elsewhere and thus bear watching here. Almost all nationalist movements, including Hawaiian nationalism, seem to suggest that "traditional" culture is static and can be applied relatively unproblematically across time. Even many scholars among Hawaiian nationalists nostalgically romanticize the past as ideal, select only certain parts of Hawaiian tradition to remember, and uncritically accept gender/class relations as given (Ross, 1994). Another issue is a tendency to treat historical periods in gendered terms. For Walker and Tengan, modernity feminizes while tradition masculinizes (an inversion of many Western nationalisms). Reviving traditional culture and reclaiming sovereignty is thus in large measure about reviving Hawaiian masculinity. The danger is that women/feminists will be asked to choose between gender and race (see Gay & Tate, 1998; hooks, 1999); male-centric nationalism often asks women to sublimate feminist objectives, solidifying male privilege and female subordination, in order not to sap the vitality of the nationalist movement. Tengan points to the opposite danger from a nationalist viewpoint: an oppositional discourse on gender that differentiates between decolonizers and collaborators on the basis of gender (2008, p. 59). One wishes, however, he had said more about how to walk the thin line between the two dangers.

Tengan notes that women and men "can draw upon dominant gender constructs for contradictory and even subversive purposes" (2008, p. 15). That statement rep-

resents an undeniably important and empowering article of faith within post-colonial (not to mention feminist and queer) thought. Presumably both Walker and Tengan would assert that to the extent that *Hui 'O He'e Nalu* and *Hale Mua* draw upon Western ideals of hyper-masculinity, their objective is to subvert rather than reinforce colonial culture. While I am sympathetic to this argument, I would simply emphasize the difficulty of the task of separating subversion from bolstering (at least elements of) hegemony. Tough surfers and re-traditionalized warriors counteract the emasculation Hawaiian men may feel, but also easily prop up the (colonial) notion that there is only one true type of masculinity for Polynesians.

SUBORDINATED MASCULINITIES IN POLYNESIA

Feminine Masculinity

On the other side of spectrum from Polynesian warrior masculinity are "feminine" transgendered men,[6] well known throughout the region and who have been part of Polynesian societies dating back to the pre-Western-contact era. These transgendered men, who assume women's roles and behave "in the manner of women," are called *fa'afafine* in Samoa, *fakafafine* or *fakaleitī* in Tonga, *whakawahine* in Aotearoa/New Zealand, *akava'ine* in the Cook Islands, and *māhū* in Tahiti and Hawaii. Transgenderism on each group of islands has its own cultural context, but some regional commonalities can be drawn. In most Polynesian societies, individual identity is role based (Mageo, 1992). The gender identity of transgendered men traditionally was identified through their labor contribution to (extended) family and community. They were brought up as girls to help with housework, taking care of family members, and so on, tasks commonly seen as belonging to women's domain. They were viewed as "simply feminine boys" (Schmidt, 2003, p. 421) and accepted as part of the Polynesian way of life (e.g., *fa'a Samoa*—the Samoan way/Samoan culture or *anga faka Tonga*—behavior in the fashion of Tonga). They socialized mainly with women and excelled in household duties, performance arts, and crafts. With superior womanly skills, many were seen as more feminine than women. Sexuality was not a decisive marker of their gender. Some married women and together parented children; others had romantic relationships with men.[7]

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[6] There is no single agreed-upon translation in English to refer to *fa'afafine, fakafefine* (*fakaleitī*), and *māhū* in a general way. Scholars use different terms to describe them, including *transvestism, gender liminality, third gender,* and *transgenderism*. None of these terms entirely reflects the unique phenomenon in Polynesia. I use *transgenderism* here although I am aware of the problematic nature of the term. Lumping all varieties together in one term overlooks the complexity and unique cultural context of each of these phenomena. The term "transgenderism" might carry Western connotations of homosexuality foreign to traditional Polynesian cultures (Wallace, 1999). Many non-scholars might confuse this term with *transexualism* (with implications of surgical sex reassignment) or *transvestism* (with implications of cross-dressing). With no better alternatives, I think *transgenderism* adequately, though not fully, gets at important features of the Polynesian case.

[7] Polynesians did not have a term for homosexuality. The concepts of "gay" and "straight" were irrelevant traditionally. "Heterosexual" men, especially young men,

Besnier (1994, p. 300) points out that transgendered men's sexual preference was perceived as "an optional consequence … rather than [a] determiner, prerequisite or primary attribute" of their gender identity.

Modernization, urbanization, and the cash economy have drastically changed Polynesian cultures and social structures, including young urban transgendered men's social functions and identity. Taking care of the family no longer is their primary duty as they participate in paid employment. As transgendered men adopt new identities and social behaviors, their gender becomes more prominent and salient. Many of them take on feminine English/American names, such as those known from Western popular culture (e.g., characters in movies, supermodels, or pop divas) and wear Western hyper-feminine style clothes and makeup to signify their femininity.[8] With the globalization of queer culture and Western concepts of sexuality, transgendered Polynesian men increasingly make sexuality an important marker of their gender and personhood. Not simply mimicking practices connected with Western ideas of homosexuality, however, many Polynesian transgendered men do not identify themselves as "gay" because they identify themselves as women, not men. Yet, their exaggerated femininity and flamboyant appearance are often seen as comparable to Western drag queens (Besnier, 1997; Croall, Wunderman, & Elder, 2000).

Because transgendered men have been part of the Polynesian social fabric, many believe they are completely accepted in island cultures. Some view the patronage of Tonga's royal family in the well-known transgendered men's Miss Galaxy pageant as proof of their acceptance and even prestige in Tonga. The Western gay community uses the Polynesian case to condemn homophobic attitudes in Western cultures. I argue, however, that hegemonic hyper-masculinity in Polynesian societies has marginalized and even suppressed the feminine masculinity embodied in transgendered men on at least two levels: blunt discrimination and subtle social marginalization.

As Donaldson (1993) points out, homosexuality is the antithesis of hegemonic masculinity in Western cultures. Hatred and antagonism toward gay men is a standard manifestation of such hegemony. Christianity came with Western colonization of the region and in many ways changed Polynesian gender orders (Mageo, 1996). Christian moral values and Western homophobia have affected the treatment of transgendered men in Polynesian. Teasing, harassment, and physical violence are not uncommon. Polynesian men fear to be called *māhū*, *fa'afafine*, or *fakaleitī*. In fact, these terms are now often used in a derogatory manner (Besnier, 1994). Transgendered boys are targets for physical assault by their schoolmates, fathers, or brothers in attempts to "straighten" them out (Besnier, 2004). Some even believe that

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sometimes turned to transgendered men as a substitute when (young) women were not available. Such sexual relationships were temporary in nature, obviously served no reproductive function, and thus were little marked. Transgendered men reportedly had sexual relationships only with "heterosexual" men, but not among themselves (see Besnier, 1997, 1994; Levy, 1971; Mageo, 1992; Schmidt, 2003).

[8] Name and clothing generally were not considered to be signifiers of gender in traditional Polynesian cultures, as most names and everyday clothing (both men and women wore/wear wraparound skirt/clothes and loose T-shirts on top) are gender neutral (James, 1994; Schmidt, 2001, 2003).

transgendered men should be put on some other island, like lepers were in the old days (see Wallace, 1999). During the 2008 Proposition 8 controversy, pertaining to same-sex marriage in California, some Polynesian members of the Church of Jesus Christ of Latter-day Saints (Mormons) allegedly attacked supporters of same-sex marriage outside the Los Angeles Mormon Temple (Yates, 2008; "Prop 8 Protests"). In my community, homophobic comments are not uncommon from male Polynesian Mormons (among others), and were especially prominent after the Proposition 8 events. The questioning by his fellow Polynesians of NFL player Esera Tuaolo's masculinity after he announced his homosexuality epitomizes the perceived illegitimacy of his sexual and even Samoan identity; he was frequently accused of improper behavior within the *fa'a Samoa* (Diaz, 2011).

The subordination of transgendered men more importantly comes from subtle social marginalization. As Besnier (2004, p. 306) claims, "[Polynesian] hegemonic masculinity is sustained by highly constricting codes of hyper-masculine identities and performances of virility." The femininity and unconventional sexuality of transgendered men become "antistructural, norm breaking and counterhegemoic" (Besnier, 1994, p. 314). As a result, they are often disfranchised within the social structure. One interesting phenomenon is the comic or clownish role transgendered men play in many Polynesian societies. Mageo (1992) notes that joking has become one "specialty" of *fa'afafine*. She observes that although any Samoan man can comically imitate feminine actions in performances, *fa'afafine* do so consistently rather than occasionally in, for example, show business, theatrical events, beauty pageants, and traditional/ceremonial dances. The *fa'afafine*'s spontaneous, unrestrained, and sometimes inappropriate comical performance style, represented through the clownish character *fa'aluma*, provides a sharp contrast to the structured, graceful, and dignified genre performed by *taupou*, a virgin daughter of the Samoan chief. According to Besnier (1994), the tension between the two styles mirrors all aspects of Samoan culture and social order. The *fa'afafine*'s lack of constraints, however entertaining, is consider norm-breaking and thus "inappropriate, antithetical and unbecoming to high-profile power brokering" (p. 315). The only way for a *fa'afafine* to join the power structure is to denounce his transgender status, enter into traditional marriage, and father children.

Tongan social structure also silences transgendered men. Besnier (2004) argues that *fakaleitī* are uniquely excluded from the three gender relationships that ground Tongan life: the sister-brother relationship, the husband-wife relationship, and the sweetheart-sweetheart relationship. In the first, the brother and sister are socially separated as soon as they reach puberty to avoid sexual tension between the two. As a result, communication between them is almost non-existent. The main function of the brother, however, is to protect the sister, especially her virginity, by keeping her potential suitors at bay. The gender identity of *fakaleitī* (or *leitī* for short, a transliterated loanword from English "lady") creates difficulties for this relationship. Although expected to conduct themselves as male members in the kinship system, *leitī* break the sister-brother relationship through more regular association with female members of the family, including their sisters. As biological men, *leitī*'s sexuality is not safeguarded by their brothers, and thus seen as "fair game" to male suitors.

The husband-wife and sweetheart-sweetheart gender matrixes also prove impossible for *leitī*. In order to obtain the husband-wife relationship, *leitī* will be required to abandon feminine gender identity and become the husband, not the wife,

which many *leitī* hope to become. On the other hand, the romantic relationship be-tween *leitī* and their boyfriends is not sanctioned or even morally tolerated in Ton-gan society. *Leitī*'s sweetheart-sweetheart relationships thus can only remain illicit and hidden (Besnier, 2004).

Transgendered men are used in Polynesian cultures as social pedagogy for what not to be. In his field study, Levy (1971) points out that the gender line between men and women in Tahiti is not clear because of their gender neutral names, lan-guage, and social behaviors. In order for Tahitian men to ensure their manhood, they have to develop external gender markers to separate themselves from women. In this sense, Tahitian men use *māhū* as a "clear negative image—that which I am not, and cannot be" (p. 19). In other words, Tahitian men construct their masculin-ity by defining the feminine *māhū* "Other" who are opposite to them. Similarly, Shore (1981) asserts that *fa'afafine* provide a sharp distortion of or contrast to male identity in Samoa, as *fa'afafine* are seen as unfit for the normal male role. Mageo (1992) and Besnier (1994), however, argue that the social function transgendered men serve is not a negative model for men, but for women, or more precisely vir-ginal young women. Transgendered men's exaggerated femininity and perceived sexual looseness counter-exemplify ideal womanhood. Thus no matter to whom transgendered men serve as a negative image, they are viewed as unfit and thus os-tracized from mainstream gender norms.

Ambiguous Hula Masculinity

In between hyper-masculine Polynesian warriors and feminine transgendered men are the male hula dancers. The notable lack of scholarly studies on this topic might reflect male hula's in-betweenness—it is not as "problematic" as the other two types of masculinity and thus does not constitute a compelling case for aca-demic inquiry. Male hula is also overlooked in popular discourse, probably for the same reason. I argue here that the masculinity male hula embodies, although seen as less threatening to social orders than the masculinity transgendered men exem-plify, is marginalized in contemporary Polynesian societies as they pursue the hegemonic masculine warrior ideal.

In pre-contact Hawaii both males and females performed hula. Calvinist mis-sionaries imposed Christian moral values and Western gender orders on the na-tives in the early nineteenth century (Silva, 2000). Missionaries first enforced the so-called "breast *kapu*" (taboo) to sanitize hula by covering dancers with Western clothing. They further discouraged Hawaiians' participation in hula due to its per-ceived sensuality. Male hula was viewed as "unseemly and inappropriate for true males" (Robertson, 1989, p. 315). Hawaiian hula went underground as a conse-quence and was passed down mainly through women and *māhū*. The Hawaiian cultural renaissance since the 1970s has revitalized male hula. Many masculine-minded Hawaiians, however, feel uncomfortable with contemporary male hula and complain about the feminine attributes of male hula that allegedly derive from the commercialization of Hawaiian culture (Tengan, 2008; Trask, 1999).

Indeed the masculinity contemporary male hula represents is highly ambiguous and contentious. On the one hand, male hula dancers' bare-chested brown, mus-cular, and sometimes tattooed bodies exemplify the hegemonic masculine ideal. One the other hand, the very notion of men dancing, the relatively gentle and soft movements, the shaking of hips, and the grass skirts appear androgynous, if not

mostly feminine. Male hula provides a sharp contrast to the warrior haka symbolizing hegemonic hyper-masculinity. The fact that most *kumu hula* (hula instructors) are either women or *māhū* also destabilizes male hula masculinity's legitimacy. The ESPN broadcaster's comment quoted earlier reflects the illegitimacy of male hula in representing Polynesian masculinity. Tengan also points to the uncertainty about male hula's representation of manhood among *Hale Mua* members, citing a Hawaiian Airlines magazine article.

> [Billy Richards] recalled that when he took up lua (Hawaiian martial art) in 1994, it presented "that missing piece of the puzzle" he felt when the Māori ritually challenged him and his crew on the *Hōkūleʻa*. He remembered, "In New Zealand, 300 came out and did *haka*.… But we couldn't respond as warriors because we didn't know how, so we would send hula dancers out instead. And they would always ask, "Where are your men?" (2008, p. 127)

In comparison to haka, male hula is deemed as not masculine enough for Polynesian manhood.

FEMINIST CRITIQUE OF THE NATIONALIST RECLAMATION OF WARRIOR MASCULINITY

Nationalist discourse often insists on reclaiming "traditional" Polynesian masculinity in order to resist colonialism. Questions of indigenous authenticity and subjectivity are at the heart of the issue. Postcolonial film maker Trinh Minh-ha (1990) argues that the nationalist search for an identity is "usually a search for that lost, pure, true, real, genuine, original, authentic self, often situated within a process of elimination of all that is considered other, superfluous, fake, corrupted or Westernized" (p. 371). The effort tends to romanticize the past self and attempts to draw a clear line between us (indigenous) and them (Western). Hokowhitu (2008) reminds us that "traditional" Māori warriorhood is itself an invention, produced and "re-authenticated" in the process of restoring "Māori masculine subjectivities" (p. 115). He argues that the masculine ideal—physical prowess, nobleness, and warrior spirit—upheld as traditional Māori is in fact a colonial hybrid, a mix of Māori patriarchy existing prior to Western contact and British masculine cultures. In his opinion, insisting on the masculine nature of Māori tradition not only overlooks how masculinity has functioned to align Māori men and their (male) colonizers, but also risks naturalizing male violence in indigenous communities.

Hoskins (2000) similarly questions the uncritical acceptance of authenticity, which, in her view, implies the "legitimacy and superiority" of certain cultural ideas and practices, and perpetuates "a narrow and oppositional world view" (p. 36). She is also concerned about the nationalist discourse related to gender, arguing that masculine claims of Māori tradition reinforce patriarchal ideologies and marginalize Māori women's role in reconstructing a "post"-colonial Aotearoa/New Zealand. Māori women, she asserts, are fighting on two oppressive fronts: colonialism in the larger society and sexism in their own communities.

More than 25 years ago, Haunani-Kay Trask (1984) called indigenous women's struggles against racism and sexism as facing a "double colonization" (p. 1). Writing from her experiences in the Hawaiian sovereignty movement, Trask argued that Hawaiian women were constantly kept out of the power structure because they were seen as threats to the male establishment. She claimed that she was frus-

trated by traditional gender roles that put down strong female leaders as being
"too *haole*" (White) and by the double standard in Hawaiian communities that priv-
ilege men over women. Trask's feminist position later took a dramatic turn, how-
ever. In a 1996 article, she retracted most of her earlier criticism about the old
"bruddahs" (brothers) club that perpetuated patriarchal native machismo and male
dominance. She argued, instead, that feminism appeared to be "just another haole
intrusion into a besieged Hawaiian world" adding that "any exclusive focus on
women neglected the historical oppression of all Hawaiians and the large force
field of imperialism" (Trask, 1996, p. 909). Trask suggested that the feminist agenda
is often too divisive in indigenous communities and a distraction from achieving
Hawaiian nationalist aims.

Ramirez (2007) finds Trask's approach problematic, arguing that Trask's inter-
changeable use of feminism in general and White feminism denies the efforts of
women of color to combat gender inequalities. Ramirez points out the interlocking
relationship between sexism and racism and suggests that native feminism ought
to consider sovereignty and colonization as feminist issues and that decoloniza-
tion must also incorporate feminism in order to free indigenous people from vari-
ous forms of oppression. Hoskins (2000) similarly sees the indigenous feminist
movement as often "being co-opted/diverted/marginalized by the guilt-laden dis-
course of 'divisiveness'" (p. 44). She argues that being forced to choose between
race and gender is not in the interests of indigenous women. Quoting Shohat,
Hoskins presses Polynesian women to consider the question, "who is mobilizing
what in the articulation of the past, deploying what identities, identifications and
representations, and in the name of what political vision and goals" (p. 45).

Conclusion

Polynesian men and women are of course those who will struggle with these is-
sues. As an interested outsider who lives and studies among Polynesians, the most
I can do, or properly should try to do, is provide an additional pair of eyes through
which social issues can be seen. This article's focus has been two-fold. Most broadly,
it works toward a compilation of observations that shows, for the first time as far
as I am aware, the social breadth of hegemonic masculinity in Polynesian commu-
nities. Previous studies have emphasized one limited area or another through
which a strong discourse about Polynesian masculinity operates, but none has em-
ployed a broad enough view to show that a truly hegemonic masculinity is emerg-
ing. Nor has previous work adequately connected the diminishment of alternative
forms of masculinity to the rise of hegemonic hyper-masculinity. The present arti-
cle's second major focus is showing through original analysis that this hegemonic
masculinity exists not only within the realm of popular or everyday culture, but is
also bolstered, if perhaps inadvertently, by some elements of important academic
discourse about Hawaiian masculinity.

Confrontations between colonialism and post-colonialism present colonized
groups with a number of thorny questions about such issues as subjectivity, iden-
tity, tradition, authenticity, collaboration, adaptation, resistance, and survival. I do
not wish to minimize these dilemmas. Gender is always a contested terrain, and
will especially be so in these contexts. Contests over gender are about far more than
just gender. The increasing prominence of hyper-masculinity may address colo-
nial disempowerment in important ways. I simply hope this article extends dis-

cussions to more prominently reflect on the costs associated with this hegemonic masculinity.

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Martin King* and Ian Cummins**

The Violences of Men:
David Peace's *1974*

This article examines representations of hegemonic masculinity and the re-
sultant violences of men in the context of literature on representations of men
and masculinities and representations of policing in TV and films. Using brico-
lage as a theoretical hub, an analysis is made of hegemonic masculinity at work
in the film *1974* (produced by Channel Four and Screen Yorkshire in 2005)
based on the first of the novels from David Peace's *Red Riding* quartet. An ex-
amination of three of the film's characters—a "young turk" journalist, an old-
school Detective Inspector, and a criminal entrepreneur—and the ways in
which they are drawn together in a plot which centres on violence and cor-
ruption, provides examples of the adaptive nature of hegemonic masculinity
and the centrality of power and violence to this concept. The value of examin-
ing the past in relation to the present is also addressed.

Keywords: hegemonic masculinity, David Peace, bricolage, *Red Riding Quartet*
(1999-2002)

O'Sullivan (2005) has argued that it is difficult to tell what the real life impact of
screen portrayals of policing have. Other authors argue on the contrary that media
representation of policing help form public perceptions of crime and disorder. The
latter reading would be consistent with Dyer's (1993, p. 1) assertion that "how so-
cial groups are treated in cultural representation is part and parcel of how they are
treated in life." Hurd (1979) argues that media representation of policing is not only
a reflection of practice but also constructs a coherent version of social reality with
media images both being produced by and contributing to the production of this
reality, conceptualised by Manning (1998) as a *media loop*. These arguments are re-
flective of wider debates about the role of the mass media, particularly as a pur-
ported mirror or window on wider society (Kellner, 1995).

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Reiner (2010) sees the fact that cops on global television are so popular as being a key factor in the debate. Over the past 50 years 25% of the most popular TV programmes across the globe have been crime themed. Reiner (2010) underscores the importance of the symbolic value (Mawby, 2003) of the cop figure, its role in shaping views and framing debate about policing and society, and its impact on public perceptions of crime and disorder. He states: "images of the police are of considerable importance in underlining the political significance and role of policing" (Reiner, 2010, p. 177). In *Theories of Surplus Value*, Marx (2012, p. 57) argued that "the criminal produces not only crime but also the criminal law; he produces the professor who delivers lectures on this criminal law and even the inevitable text book." To this list of services produced by "the criminal" we can add those who produce TV and film representation of crime.

Machado and Santos (2009), in an examination of the case of Madeline McCann, a U.K. child who disappeared on a family holiday to Portugal, leading to a global police hunt and immense media interest, advance the idea of televised crime as "infotainment." They examine the idea of *trial by media* in non-fictional crime TV and the "distorted and negative public perceptions of the criminal justice system" (Machado & Santos, 2009, p. 148) created by such spectacles. Reiner (2010) produces a useful categorisation of TV cop shows but, for the purpose of this article, his observations on the representation of the police in a context where rule bending was regrettable but necessary, a feature of 1970s' representation of policing, beginning, we would argue, with Clint Eastwood's *Dirty Harry* (1971), what Reiner (2010) refers to as The Fort Apache model, will be the main focus.

The blurring of the lines between the criminal fraternity and those employed to bring them to justice is a key feature of David Peace's *1974* (Channel Four, 2009) and the role of hegemonic masculinity within this relationship will be explored. The "exploitative glorification of the criminal the denigration of the police" (Reiner, 2010, p. 178) is a feature of 1970s' representations of policing. Two U.K. examples, produced over 30 years apart, provide a good illustration of this.

On 1970s' TV, one cop show was largely responsible for constructing the police image; *The Sweeney* (shown on ITV from 1975-78). This removed the cosy image of the police apparent in the earlier George Dixon model of policing; the friendly bobby on the beat (Reiner, 2010) established in the BBC Series *Dixon of Dock Green* (BBC, 1955-1976). In *The Sweeney* (Euston Films 1975-78), John Thaw and Dennis Waterman play Regan and Carter, two members of a specialist unit investigating armed robbery and other violent crime in London. The series was a ratings success and made even bigger stars of Thaw and Waterman, who were well-established TV performers.

Regan and Carter were hard-drinking, despite the homoerotic undertones, womanising and willing to "bend the rules", that is, to assault suspects or plant evidence to get the "right" results. They operated on the basic premise that they knew who the villains were but bureaucracy, defence solicitors, do-gooders and liberals were conspiring to prevent them from putting these men behind bars, a scenario established in Clint Eastwood's *Dirty Harry* (1971). Regan and Carter's catchphrase "you're nicked" seemed to sum up their frustration with the petty rules that were getting in their way. The villains in *The Sweeney* (Euston Films, 1975-78) were often romanticised old school London gangsters. They were decent armed robbers—it seems that threatening ordinary working class people with a sawn-off shot gun whilst wearing a mask was seen as a sign of your fundamentally sound moral

views—not "other" like drug dealers and child molesters, who lacked a sound sense of community. They, too, recognised the rules of the game.

In retrospect, *The Sweeney* (Euston Films, 1975-78) seems to have provided a reasonably accurate portrayal of the blurring between the lives of police and thieves. In *The Lost World of the 70s* (BBC, 2012), a section on Sir Robert Mark's attempts to stamp out corruption in the Metropolitan police force, features footage and interviews with members of the Flying Squad, explaining how they need to visit Soho, gambling dens and "villains' pubs" to do their job properly, and how Mark seems to be "more concerned with catching bent detectives than criminals". Their visual appearance is similar to that of Regan and Carter. The programme outlined the links between senior police officers, the porn industry, and protection rackets, and documents the arrest and imprisonment of key figures such as Flying Squad Chief Ken Drury and Commander Wally Virgo, as well as the fact that 600 senior officers left prematurely during the period of Mark's investigations.

In *Life on Mars* (shown on the BBC in the U.K. in 2006 and 2007), John Simm plays a modern detective who is in coma and finds himself back in the 1970s' Manchester of his youth. There is a comic tension between the Simm character and DCI Gene Hunt played by Philip Glennister. Hunt is essentially a combination of Regan and Carter from *The Sweeney* (Euston Films, 1975-78). The programme was a huge success, tapping into the insatiable appetite for nostalgia in popular culture providing what Garland and Bilby (2001, p. 115) have descried as "a paean to 1970s policing". There are several audiences here—including those who lived through that time and admire the period detail. Gene Hunt rapidly became a cult hero, particularly for those on the political right, as he came to represent how the police force had lost its way, crushed by political correctness and bureaucracy. This was part of a much wider discourse that suggested that despite nearly thirty years of neo-liberal government and a doubling of the prison population between 1992 and 2010, the Criminal Justice System had gone soft. For commentators like Peter Hitchens (2004, 2008, 2010a), a rise in crime rate was the result of these developments. Hunt represented a return to a better time. Hitchens states:

> Our first line of defence used to be people more or less like Gene Hunt in 'Life on Mars' and 'Ashes to Ashes'. Yes, they did rough up criminals (or 'suspects' if you must). They got away with it because they almost always roughed up the right ones. And the Confait case was shocking because it was untypical, not because it was typical. (2010b, p. 4)

It is worth noting here the facts of the Confait case. Maxwell Confait was found murdered in his bed-sit in London in 1972. He had been strangled and the bed-sit set on fire. In November 1972, the three youths Colin Lattimore (18), Ronnie Leighton (15) and Amhet Salih (14) were all convicted of arson with intent to endanger life. Colin Lattimore was also found guilty of manslaughter; Ronnie Leighton was convicted of murder. The basis of the prosecution case against all three was confession evidence (Fisher, 1977). They appealed against convictions in July 1973. These appeals were unsuccessful. In June 1975, the cases were referred to the Court of Appeal. In October that year, the convictions were quashed.

The character of Hunt, like Johnny Speight's Alf Garnett featured in the 1960s' U.K. sitcom *'Til Death us Do Part* (BBC, 1965-75), was meant to satirise reactionary views, but became popular on the basis of espousing them. As with Garnett, the

more objectionable and louder the expression, the more popular he became. There is no space here to explore in depth debates about political correctness. However, one of the great claims is that political correctness prevents individuals saying what they really feel or that the debate is restricted. In this context, men have become feminised or in Hunt's terms "soft sissy girly Nancy French bender Man United supporting poofs". Hunt represents a form of hegemonic masculinity that had allegedly disappeared. Cooper (2007) argues that Hunt was popular with women as he represents strong males sure of themselves and their roles. Hunt was clearly written as a comic character but the reactions to him highlight continuing debates and anxieties about the nature of masculinity (Bauman, 2004; Cooper, 2007). These texts reflect and reconstruct policing in an era of revelation about scandal and corruption, beginning with the 1969 Scotland Yard Corruption Scandal documented in the 2012 BBC documentary on Robert Mark, *The Lost World of The Seventies*.

The notion of crime drama as a dystopian world (Dyer, 1973; Bolton, 2005; Turnbull, 2010) in which police and detectives are seen as cynical, manipulative and weary, as well as the sense of aesthetics predominating in the production of these shows, has been examined in the context of the contemporary police dramas including *The Wire* (HBO, 2002-2004) and *Wallander* (BBC, 2005-2010). Below it will be argued that the power struggles, corruption, rule bending, blurring of boundaries between police and criminals and overall, a context of hegemonic masculinity, is a key feature of *The Sweeney* (Euston Films 1975-78), *Life on Mars* (BBC, 2006-07), and the *Red Riding Trilogy* (Channel 4, 2009).

Men and Masculinities

As Hearn (2004, p. 49) has stated "studying men is, in itself, neither new nor necessarily radical". Hearn (2004) and Kimmel, Hearn and Connell (2004) provide a comprehensive guide to the development of gendered work on men, what Collinson and Hearn (1994, p. 2) refer to a "naming men as men". This idea, originally advanced by Hanmer (1990), refers to the way in which an excavation of how masculinity operates within wider society might take place.

The multi-disciplinary nature of such an excavation often traverses across traditional academic venues (King & Watson, 2001), and the study of men in the arts has developed as an emergent area of study in its own right (Hearn, 2003). Much of this work has focused on the ways in which men in popular culture, particularly through their representation in the mass media, have either colluded with or provided a challenge to dominant versions of masculinity at work in Western society in particular. Connell (1983) and Carrigan, Connell and Lee (1985) were the first to introduce the concept of hegemonic masculinity, drawing on the work of Antonio Gramsci (1971), arguing that dominant conceptualisations of masculinity were reproduced through key institutions such as the state, education, workplace, family, and mass media.

Carrigan et al. (1985) characterise hegemonic masculinity: "not as 'the male role' but a variety of masculinity to which others—among them young and effeminate as well as homosexual men—are subordinated" (p. 586). A key feature of hegemonic masculinity is that it is explicitly heterosexual (Butler, 1990). Carrigan et al., (1985) see hegemonic masculinity as the way in which men reproduce their dominance, through particular groupings of powerful men. The importance of this theoretical development cannot be overestimated. It is their introduction of Gramsci's

(1971) cultural-Marxist perspective which examines notions of class and power along with gender that is particularly important. Gramsci's (1971) concept of hegemony, as summarised by Bocock,

> … when the intellectual, moral and philosophical leadership provided by the class or alliance of class factions which is ruling successfully achieves its objective of providing the fundamental outlook of the whole society. (1986, p. 63)

Hearn (2004, p. 57) has argued that, as definitions of hegemonic masculinity have developed, they have come to incorporate a relationship between "the cultural ideal and the institutional power as in state, business and corporate power." Earlier critiques, such as those by Donaldson (1993), who saw the concept as obscuring economic and class issues, and by Whitehead (1999, p. 58), who considered it unable to explain "the complex patterns of inculcation and resistance which constitute everyday social interaction" or the different meanings attached to "masculinity", have been absorbed into an ever changing conceptualisation of hegemonic masculinity. Brittan's (1989) concept of *masculinism* provides a complementary approach, one which explicitly accepts that "both masculinity and femininity are continuously subject to a process of reinterpretation" (Brittan, 2001, p. 51). His ideas allow for the emergence of plural masculinities or different versions of masculinity which challenge the masculinist ideology.

COP CULTURE AND REPRESENTATIONS OF MASCULINITY

Criminological and policing research has, despite recent developments, been based on a series of assumptions about crime and gender: crime is a "male" issue: it is mostly committed by—particularly violent crime—and investigated by men. Policing has been seen as an archetypal expression of masculinity (Fielding, 1994). Hearn (2003), however, acknowledges a change in writing on men and masculinities with an increasing emphasis on the role of representation of masculinities. In *Men in the Public Eye* (1992), he argues that the growth of late monopoly capitalism in the late 19th and early 20th century and the establishing of a male dominated mass media led to "public patriaries" (Hearn, 1992, p. 185) in which public images of men reproduced discourses of hegemonic masculinity for wider consumption. If so, film is particularly important in analysing the ways in which hegemonic masculinity plays out in wider society.

Sackmann (1991) defines *culture* as the collective construction of social reality. A great deal of the analysis of policing focuses on *cop culture.* There are a number of difficulties with using the latter term instrumentally. As Chan (1996) has argued, occupational culture is not monolithic. Cop culture for Chan (1996) is poorly defined and of little analytical value. In fact, as Manning (1993) argues, there are clear differences between street cop culture and management culture. The term "cop culture" can be read as a label for a form of hegemonic masculinity found in police settings. The major themes here would be two-fold: an emphasis on action as a solution to problems; and a strong sense of group identity and hyper-masculinity manifesting itself in a series of misogynistic and racist attitudes. In this schema, policemen are hard-bitten, cynical, and need to be aggressive to deal with the dangers that they face on a day to day basis. Holdaway (1977) argues that it is closely

aligned with hegemonic masculinity in its hedonistic, action-centred machismo and drama and sense of mission. Young (1991) supports this conceptualisation while Heidensohn and Brown (2008) have examined the ways in which the macho culture of policing impacts on women in the force, exploring sexist attitudes and the ways in which women are expected to adopt and integrate, or are consigned to the more "feminine", police roles. This is well illustrated in *Life on Mars* (BBC, 2006-07) where the character of WPC Annie Cartwright provides an opportunity for the representation of sexist police activities prevalent in the 1970s. Annie is shut out of conversations seen to be "man talk" or "grown-up" talk, and is subject to sexual harassment and jibes about her appearance (Garland & Bilby, 2011). This extract from Series 2, Episode 2 provides a good illustration:

> You see, this is why birds and CID don't mix. You give a bloke a gun and it's a dream come true. You give a girl a gun and she moans it doesn't go with her dress. Now start behaving like a detective and show some balls. (Garland & Bilby, 2012, p. 126)

A study by Prokos and Padovic (2002) illustrates that, rather than being consigned to humorous representations of 1970s' policing, these attitudes are still alive and kicking in the reality of modern-day police training. Their study was described as "participant observation in a law enforcement academy to demonstrate how a hidden curriculum encouraged aspects of hegemonic masculinity among recruits" (p. 439). Prokos and Padovic investigate what they identify as a cultural practice in a law enforcement academy in the U.S., which they describe as "the creation of masculinity in police academy training" (p. 139). Building on work by Balles and Gintes (1976) and Martin (1998), they identify a hidden curriculum in law enforcement training in which women are treated as outsiders through the creation of social, physical, and linguistic barriers; the exaggeration of gender differences; the denigration and objectification of women; and resistance to powerful women. Prokos and Padovic (2002) concluded that men's resistance to women in policing (as in the military) is reflective of "a particular type of masculinity defined by men's control of violence" (pp. 454-455) and draw on the literature on men's organised violence (Connell, 1987; 1995; Messerschmidit, 1993) to strengthen their case.

METHODS

As Carrigan et al. (1985) and Connell (1995) have noted, hegemonic masculinity is juxtaposed in relation to other forms of masculinity as well as femininity and this is well illustrated through the representation of hegemonic masculinity in Peace's *1974* (Channel Four, 2009). The filmed version of David Peace's *1974* (Channel Four, 2009) was viewed and analysed using the approach of bricolage as a research method. Wibberley (2012, p. 6) state that "bricolage brings together in some form, different sources of data" and that "the consideration of the process by which bricolage is built—however emergent—is an important aspect of the overall work". Kincheloe (2005) argues that bricolage is grounded in cultural hermeneutics and this locates a research study within a cultural, social, political and his social framework. He states: "Focusing on webs of relationships instead of simply things-in-themselves, the bricoleur constructs the object of study in a more complex framework" (Kincheloe, 2005, p. 323). Thus, the method, argues Kincheloe (2005),

draws the researcher to go beyond the boundaries of particular disciplines in addressing the complexity of the real world, a mingling of material reality and human perception. This active construction of a method which interacts with the object of inquiry may, for example, include the focus (as in the case of this particular study) as a central text (i.e., a particular film text) but may also include what McKee (2003) refers to as intertexts about the texts (e.g., the author's own thoughts on his work) plus newspaper reports of the events used in the text and written versions of the text itself or the events described therein. Works by Levi-Strauss (1972) and Freeman (2007) talk of making sense of knowing, using a number of sources and this is similar to McKee's (2003) idea of using intertexts about texts as a part of their analysis. Mol (2002) sees a blurring of disciplinary boundaries as an essential part of the bricolage approach.

The "faction" (fiction of the facts) at work in *Red Riding* can itself be seen as a form of bricolage in its drawing on real events and characters, woven together through fictional dialogue and mirroring the past in the present. Lincoln (2001, p. 693) sees bricolage as "the assembly of mythic elements, motifs, allusions, characterizations and other stock materials to form stories". In this sense then, Peace's work also represents the approach of the bricoleur. Kincheloe's (2005) notion of the object of study as culturally inscribed and historically situated is reflected in Peace's *Red Riding Trilogy* (Channel Four, 2009). This approach is supported by Levi Strauss' (1977) ideas on the complexity and unpredictability of the cultural domain and Lincoln's (2002) notion of the bricoleur as anthropologist.

The use, then, of bricolage to analyse texts, what Bentley (2005) has conceptualised as a post-structuralist approach in his study of 1990s' British fiction, was seen by the authors as highly relevant and appropriate. The reflexive commentary (Wibberley, 2012) offered on *1974*, then, draws on a number of texts and sources. The authors drew on contemporaneous news accounts of events in *1974*, as Peace himself did when writing the novels (Channel Four, 2003), the accompanying films in the *Red Riding Trilogy* (Channel 4, 2009) [1980; 1983] were also viewed and the written text *1974* (2008) was read. Interviews with David Peace, in which he discusses his works (Peace, 2003, 2009) were also accessed. A textual analysis approach using a search for specific language, phrases and signs and signifiers was devised, based on a framework suggested by Fairclough (1995), McKee (2003), and Van Dijk (1993). The idea of using core texts separated in time also forms part of an approach to bricolage (Wibberley, 2012) and resonates with Peace's argument that time and distance is necessary to contemplate events fully, and that writing about "now" is not always the best way to explore the present (Channel Four, 2003).

1974: REVIEW OF THE YEAR

Christmas bombs and Lucky on the run, Leeds Utd and
 the Bay City Rollers, The Exorcist and It Ain't Half Hot Mum.
Yorkshire, Christmas 1974.
I keep it close.
I wrote truth as lies and lies as truth believing it all

(David Peace: *1974*, p. 127)

Contrasting the obsession with the ephemera of popular culture associated with the 1970s, a more considered analysis of the politics of the U.K. in the 1970s can be

found in Francis Wheen's *Strange Days* (2010). Wheen's is a key text in the exploration of the political crisis that form the backdrop to the novels *1974* and *1977*. A brief review of the key events of the year, will give a flavour of the feeling of crisis that dominated the time. It can be seen as the interregnum between the end of the Fordist-Keynesian era in the West and the arrival, in the shape of Thatcher and Reagan, of neoliberalism that would come to dominate the economic, political, social, and cultural landscape of the next forty years. The 1973 oil crisis, a key factor in the collapse of the Keynesian economic management of the world economy, ended in March that year, when OPEC lifted its five-month embargo of oil exports to the U.S., Europe, and Japan. President Nixon resigned in August in the aftermath of Watergate. In February of 1974, the kidnapped heiress Patty Hearst was photographed taking part in a bank raid along with members of the radical group the Symbionese Liberation Army, who had taken her hostage. *Helter Skelter* (1974)—the account of the Manson murders was published in this year along with Thomas Pynchon *Gravity's Rainbow* (1974), which was nominated for the Pulitzer Prize.

A general feeling of paranoia, impending violence, and darkness at the heart of American society was reflected in cinema which was dominated by the works of the new wave of directors such as Coppola, Bogdenavich, and Scorsese, with releases such as *The Godfather Part II* (1974), *The Conversation* (1974), *Alice Doesn't Live Here Anymore* (1974), and *A Woman under the Influence* (1974). More mainstream films such as *The Taking of Pelham One, Two, Three* (1974), *Thunderbolt and Lightfoot* (1974), and *Death Wish* (1974) indicate the emerging change in attitudes to the Criminal Justice System and offenders. In addition, in the popularity of the film *American Graffiti* (1973) and the TV series *Happy Days* (1974-84) one can see nostalgia for an alleged golden period in American history.

In the U.K., 1974 was a year of political crisis, there were two General Elections in March and October both won by Harold Wilson's Labour Party. The miners' strike that had led to the downfall of Heath's Conservative Government had led to the introduction of a three-day week (Wheen, 2009). 1974 was one of the most violent years of "The Troubles" in Northern Ireland. Eventually, a state of emergency was declared and direct rule established. The IRA mainland campaign saw the M62, Guildford and Birmingham Pub bombings which resulted in the introduction of the Prevention of Terrorism Act. The original convictions in these cases—Judith Ward, The Guildford Four, and the Birmingham Six—would all be quashed. As Wheen (2010) notes, rumours and conspiracy theories abounded including the possibility of a military coup. This febrile atmosphere was increased with the disappearance of Cabinet Minister John Stonehouse, who faked his suicide and was eventually found in Australia. This period of uncertainty was exploited by the Right Wing National Front which gained over ten percent of the vote in the London local elections. The notion of a country in decline was strengthened by England's failure to qualify for the World Cup and the sacking in May of World Cup winning manager Sir Alfred Ramsay. Scotland did qualify for the first time since 1958. The air of decline is reflected in Le Carre's (1974) *Tinker, Tailor, Soldier, Spy*.

IN THE YEAR OF OUR LORD, 1974

David Peace's four Red Riding novels (*1974*; *1977*; *1980; 1983*) were published from 1999-2002, initially in the U.K. and Japan, and filmed in 2009 as *The Red Riding Trilogy* (*Red Riding: In the Year of Our Lord*, *1974*; *1980*; and *1983*, respectively) for

Channel Four and Screen Yorkshire in the U.K. There are no heroes in these novels, only the morally corrupted. Characters such as detectives Molloy and Holland in Peace's work reflect wider problems in terms of the construction of masculinity. They are forced to confront extreme misogyny and violence. They are overwhelmed by the brutality, misery, and degradation in the places that surround them. However, they share many of the attitudes rooted in local places that are at the root of the hideous crimes they must investigate, the attitudes being embedded in the institutions in which they operate (King & Cummins, 2013).

1974 is based on the Stefan Kisko case in which a troubled, isolated man of Ukranian origin, suffering from hypogonadism, was convicted of murdering and sexually assaulting a schoolgirl, Lesley Moleseed, a verdict overturned 33 years later. In *1974*, a young man with learning difficulties, Michael Myskin, is arrested after the disappearance and murder of a schoolgirl. A confession is beaten out of him. The novel then traces the efforts of a local journalist to uncover the truth about the links between several schoolgirl disappearances, leading to the uncovering of violence and corruption in the West Yorkshire Police Force. Peace's 1970s' Yorkshire is a bleak unforgiving place and the racism, corruption and misogyny are recurrent themes throughout the films (King & Cummins, 2013).

RED RIDING AND HEGEMONIC MASCULINITY

Kaufmann (1987) highlights a well-established tradition of men's violence to women, among themselves, and to themselves. Hearn (1998) sees violence as the prime source of power, both material ("the use of the body and the affecting of the body of others": Hearn, 1992, p. 17) and discursive, often associated with notions of naturalness attributed to male aggression (Ardrey, 1966; Dabbs et al., 1987). The "violences of men" (Hearn, 1998) are explained by social constructionist theorists, "as part of the inherent badness of people" (Hearn, 1998, p. 20), a set of acts which both maintain and disrupt social structures and as cultural violence, as explained by social learning theorists (Bandura, 1973). The inherent "badness" of police officers and criminals alike plays out in an environment of violence (Hearn, 1998) based on learning, socialisation, modelling and imitation, what Dawkins (1976) has referred to as *mimetic behaviour*. Owen (2012) suggests that furthermore, violence may be used to maintain power by privileged groups and that violence is central to gender politics and a way of asserting "masculinity".

Violence as an acceptable part of police procedure can be seen as central to 1970s' cop culture (Reiner, 2000) and is well illustrated in Peace's *1974* (Channel Four, 2009). Jamie Nuttgens, co-producer of Channel Four's *Red Riding Trilogy* (2009) sees the films as a set of "guilty men stories" (Nuttgens, 2011) in which men use violence for gain, where the violences of men are part of a criminal/police culture, where men do terrible things to women, themselves and each other before paying the ultimate price à la film noir (Bolton, 2005). Peace's work has been described as Yorkshire Noir (King & Cummins, 2013) and the darkness at work within the behaviour of the character and the role of place as central to the creation of a dark and violent environment (King & Cummins, 2013) forms an essential part of the bricolage of *Red Riding* (Channel Four, 2009). Nuttgens (2011) sees *1974* as Peace's love/hate relationship with masculinity in which men seem, on the one hand, to have total freedom (at a number of points in the trilogy groups of police officers/corrupt business partners are seen toasting "the North, where we do what we want") but in the end

are punished for their crimes/sins. Peace, Nuttgens (2011) argues, incorporates the rise of 1970s' radical feminism and the conceptualisation of men as the "the enemy" (the rapist; the warmonger) into his work to produce what he describes as "a fucked up version of ourselves".

Three examples of male characters featured in *1974* provide an illustration of the ways in which discourses of hegemonic masculinity are present in the text and provide an illustration of the representation of masculinities in a particular historical period.

Eddie Dunford—Journalist

Eddie Dunford (played by upcoming young actor Andrew Garfield) is central to the narrative of *1974*, as a journalist investigating the disappearance of a number of young girls. Dunford uncovers corrupt links between the West Yorkshire police force, business developers and eventually, as fully revealed in the film *1983* (Channel Four, 2009), a local paedophile ring involving members of the force and the local business community. *1974* begins with Dunford's return to the North from a job on a Southern newspaper, just in time for his father's funeral. There are a number of intertextual links to other "Northern" texts; the journey North is redolent of the 1970s' thriller *Get Carter* (1971), while Garfield's chosen Northern accent is based on Tom Courtenay in *Billy Liar* (1963). While his physical appearance in the opening scenes is reflective of changes in 1960s' fashion for men, a more feminised look (King, 2013), consisting of leather jacket, large collared shirt and flared trousers (later he is seen in a Lord John Carnaby Street suit), the settings in which he is seen—the press room of the Yorkshire Post and a downstairs drinking club with strippers, darts and pool table, smoking and drinking pints, places him firmly in the 70s North of Eddie Waring and Tetley Bittermen (BBC, 2011) rather than the artistic, kitchen-sink drama, Beatle-related North of the 1960s (BBC, 2011 ; King, 2013). The Northern pub provides the setting of many of Dunford's meetings; with colleagues, police officers and the mother of a missing child, with whom he has an affair. These signs and signifiers (Hall, 1997) of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995) are also linked to his relationship with women/girls which form the basis of his investigations. The girl from his office, who he sees on a casual basis, becomes pregnant and has an abortion. His relationship with Paula Garland, mother of a missing child, is characterised by an intensity bound up with violence. Anal sex as a form of sexual dominance is a theme which features in the written *Red Riding* quartet but, as Nuttgens (2011) notes, this was much more difficult to get past censors in the filmed versions. This is a theme which is referred to as part of the discourse of hegemonic masculinity in other 1970s' texts, a good example being the big-screen version of the *Sweeney, Sweeney!* (1977) in which call girls are procured for wealthy Arab businessmen in a plot which, like *1974* (Channel Four, 2009) centres on corrupt power relations including politicians, the police force, and big business. On being told of her evening assignment, one of the call girls is told that he "likes it rough" and is "another backgammon player", a less than subtle reference to anal sex. The only reference in *1974* is when one of the secretary's at the Post is asked if she likes it "up the trapdoor from Jack." The missing girl at the centre of Dunford's investigations, Clare Kempley, is discovered dead, sexually abused with the words "4luv" carved into her stomach and swan's wings stitched to her back. Peace himself has questioned the level of detail and portrayal of violence towards

women in the written version of *1974* (Peace, 2009); the detail of the rose inserted into the vagina does not make the filmed version either.

Dunford provides an interesting example of changing representations of feminised masculinities (King, 2013) in the 1960s/70s. His "young Turk" appearance and swagger are juxtaposed with more traditional hegemonic representations; the other crime correspondence on the Post, Jack Whitehead, is an old school drink-sodden "hack" who taunts Dunford's upwardly-mobile persona: "what happened to all those novels you were going to write?" he asks him as they confront each other in a pub toilet. His "otherness" is also highlighted when two police officers beat him up to warn him off his investigations, calling him a "little puff" while rough-handling his genitals. His investigations lead him into "caring" male, a feminized position (Kimmel et al., 2004; King, 2013), a fact emphasised in his dealings with Paula Garland, and it is this relationship which provides the platform from which to examine Dunford as representation of 1970s' man; different yet the same, in many senses, in relation to the notion of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995). Dunford is a good example of Brittan's (1989) argument that masculinism is adaptive and that plural versions, incorporating subtle change, can challenge the masculine ideology without power relations being altered. Dunford references David Bowie's androgynous self-presentation in this period, and the character of BJ, a rent boy with a Bowie-like appearance, caught up in the vice and corruption central to *1974*, provides a good example of this.

In the end Dunford is subjected to the violences of men (Hearn, 1998) in the form of police officers who strip him, burn him, torture and beat him, as well as showing him the body of Paula Garland who they have also murdered. In a series of scenes which are difficult to watch his more feminized (King, 2013) version of masculinity is defeated by the forces of traditional hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995), his attempts to uncover their power network and links to sexual violence and corruption is met by the cultural violence (Bandura, 1973) of 1970's policing, portrayed without any of the charm of the *Sweeney* (Euston Films, 1975-78) or the comedic value of *Life on Mars* (BBC, 2006-07).

Bill Molloy—Police Officer

In direct contrast to Dunford's more feminized and confused masculinity is the character of D.I. Bill Molloy, a representation of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995) at large in 1970's Yorkshire. Molloy is played by actor Warren Clarke, well known for his portrayal of another no-nonsense Northern detective in the series *Dalziel and Pascoe* (1996-2007) and his large-framed bluff Northerness is also redolent of The North of Eddie Waring and Tetley Bittermen (BBC, 2011). Molloy head up the newly established West Yorkshire police force and, as the plot of *1974* unfolds, is seen to be at the heart of the corruption, vice, violence and sleeze that surrounds the property developer John Dawson and his plans to build a U.S. style shopping mall in West Yorkshire. Molloy's nickname—Badger Bill—links him in the third film of the trilogy (*1983*), to the paedophile ring (all of whose members have animal "nicknames") responsible for abducting young girls.

Molloy's positioning in terms of hegemonic masculinity is established in an early scene where Eddie Dunford visits his office to ask him about the link between the case of missing Clare Kempley and two previous abductions in the area. A picture of the queen behind his desk links nation, royalty, and hegemony (Gramsci, 1971),

framing his hegemonic masculinity (King, 2013). In the exchange that follows he is the dominant presence, experienced parent to Dunford's questioning child. "You're not the first to make that link", he tells Dunford, before concluding the interview with, "You do your digging and I'll do mine. Now fuck off!" He exemplifies Carrigan et al.'s (1985, p. 586) notion of hegemonic masculinity as a variety to which others are subordinated "among them young, effeminate and homosexual". It is obvious that Molloy sees Dunford as being in at least one of these categories, the proof of the dominance of his form of hegemonic masculinity is illustrated late in the film when he oversees Dunford's arrest, and torture, the violences of men carried out by his subordinates which lead to a mock shooting followed by Dunford being thrown from the back of van, which leads to his eventual suicide.

Molloy is also at the centre of the ring of men including local politicians, businessmen, and newspaper editors ("we enjoy a good relationship with our newly amalgamated police force") involved in vice, corrupt business dealings, and sexual violence. This is made clear in a late scene in the film when Dunford goes to a party held by businessman John Dawson at which the "gang" is present. The links between the past and the present were emphasised recently following allegations of sexual abuse concerning the late DJ Jimmy Savile, as part of a report resulting from Operation Yewtree, highlighting failings of police forces across Britain, the BBC (2013) reported that while the report found no evidence of Savile's protection from arrest because of his relationship with members of the West Yorkshire Police Force, it highlighted "over-reliance on personal friendships" (BBC, 2013, p. 1) between Savile and police officers, particularly their attendance at his infamous Friday Morning Club, where he invited friends, including on-duty police officers, for drinks at his flat in Leeds.

John Dawson—Entrepreneur

The character of John Dawson does not appear in the *Red Riding* novels. For the film versions the property developer, Dawson, is an amalgamation of three characters (including associated plotlines) from the novels. Donald Foster, the builder, Derek Box, a used car salesman, and John Dawson, the architect, are drawn together, three masculine characters from male-dominated worlds of work, into the über-masculine John Dawson of the film *1974*. Dawson's character also borrows elements from corrupt architect John Poulson (Nuttgens, 2011) in the news in the 1960s and 1970s, another example of Peace's bricoleur's approach to his fiction of the facts. Dawson first appears in *1974* at the funeral of Barry Gannon, an associate of Eddie Dunford who had been investigating links between the West Yorkshire police force, Dawson and a number of other business interests. Dressed in a white suit and brown kipper tie he is the epitome of the 1970s' fashionable businessman (Hunt, 1998). The choice of a white 1970s Jensen Interceptor as his car is an inspired signifier of hegemonic masculinity. Hunt (1998, p. 68) draws together a number of signifiers of what he calls "Safari Suit Man", including the Jensen, easy listening music, and the loucheness of actor Leslie Phillips, as a representation of upwardly-mobile, and fiercely masculine, '70s man. The choice of Sean Bean to play Dawson, again, like Warren Clarke, associated with "Northern-bloke" roles, fits with this analysis. "Come for a spin in the Jensen, Mr. Dunford" is his opening line and as the Jensen, symbol of his upward mobility, is juxtaposed with the dark Yorkshire landscape, the local hell that pervades *1974* (King & Cummins, 2013),

Dawson makes a speech which reveals his political views and what he perceives as new and threatening developments in 1970's Britain.

> "The Country's at war Mr Dunford," he tells the journalist as he drives the Interceptor through a bleak South Yorkshire landscape. "The Government and the unions, the left and the right, the rich and the poor. Then you've got your enemies within, your paddies, your wogs, your niggers, your fuckin' gippos, the puffs, the perverts, even the bloody women. They're all out for what they can get. I tell you, there'll be nowt left for us lot." (Channel Four/Screen Yorkshire,2009)

In his reference to "us lot" Dawson draws attention to the nature of hegemonic masculinity and included Dunford in this "gang", but, like Molloy, he also plays parent and representative of traditional hegemonic masculinity to Dunford's naïve child ("You lot never fought a bloody war"), attempting to draw him in to his web of corruption by emphasising Dunford's masculinity and the similarities between them. You are like me, he tells him, "you like to fuck and make a buck and you're not right choosy how". Later, giving him a photograph of rent boy BJ with a local councillor, an enticement in terms of professional contact, he says: "I hear you're a bit of a cunt man", apologising for the content of the photograph, at the same time, emphasising a shared masculinity.

Dawson's plans to involve his business partners, including journalists and senior members of the police force, in plans to build a U.S. style shopping mall (the Swan Centre based on the Wakefield Ridings Centre) in West Yorkshire, draws together the violences of men in a number of ways. The senior police officers (later revealed fully in the film *1983*) have made money by investing in vice and pornographic magazines, they are instrumental in clearing the proposed site of "gypsies" in a violent manner portrayed in the film, and Dawson's fascination with swans provides a clue to their links, again revealed in *1983*, to Clare Kempley, swan's wings and a paedophile ring. "It's a weakness", Dawson tells Dunford, just before Dunford shoots him at the end of the film. "All this over a fucking shopping centre", pleads Dawson, his denial of what it is actually all about—power, corruption and the violences of men—providing an interesting conclusion. Dawson, as a character, provides a filmic representation and illustration of a number of theoretical perspectives on hegemonic masculinity, and he provides a good example of the way in which men reproduce their dominance through particular groupings of powerful men (Carrigan et al., 1985). Hearn (2004, p. 57) illustrates the relationship between "the cultural ideal and the institutional power as in state, business and corporate power". The link to vice and pornography draws in Mulvey's (1975) work on the male gaze, the idea that in cinema, all looking, through the positioning of the camera, is from a male perspective, with pornography being the ultimate example. To this, Hearn (1992) adds the idea that women in this position are usually directed and positioned by men, and that this becomes a way of displaying masculinity twice over. This can also be linked to the violences of men on display in *1974*, with Dawson and his associates in control of the violence.

In an examination of biographies of contemporary British Gangsters, Smith (2013) interrogates the interplay between discourses of gangster and entrepreneurship. He characterises "entrepreneurial criminality as hegemonic masculinity" (Smith, 2013, p. 2). Drawing on work by McElwee and Frith (2008) and Gottshalk (2010) he argues that criminals present their work as business and traces

the businessman-gangster back to Warshow's (1970) seminal work. Dawson provides a good illustration of Smith's (2013) criminal entrepreneur, often presenting as a self-made man, and of the way in which hegemonic masculinity is central to his entrepreneurial criminality.

Conclusion

This article has provided an exploration of the relationship between hegemonic masculinity and cop culture through the examination of a text set in the 1970s. In doing so it has drawn on the Popular Memory Group's (1982) ideas about the usefulness of examining public and private representations of the past and their role in helping to understand the present. David Peace (2009) has argued that distance is important in allowing scholars to re-examine past events.

Some scholars (Hearn, 2004; Owens, 2012) have challenged the usefulness of hegemonic masculinity (Carrigan et al., 1983) as a concept. The examples drawn from *1974* provide a good illustration of Brittan's (1989) notion that hegemonic masculinity can be adaptive and the central role of violence as a means through which particular groups of men maintain power and status.

Whilst journalist Eddie Dunford provides an example of the superficially more feminized man resulting from the social changes of the 1960s (King, 2013; Marwick, 1998) in terms of his visual appearance (long hair, sideburns, flares, Lord John suit), his ambitious social climbing and attitudes to women draw him back towards more traditional notions of the hegemonic male. In the scenes where businessman John Dawson tries to draw him into his web of corruption he draws attention to their similarities rather than differences and, despite their age difference, their visual appearance is similar.

Bill Molloy, a representation of old-school "Northern" hegemonic masculinity, provides a stark juxtaposition to Dunford. He is a character struggling with the social changes of the 1960's and 70's and uses violence to maintain his power and the status quo. This is also illustrated in the other films in the trilogy (*1980*; *1983*) which feature the hunt for the Yorkshire Ripper. Molloy is at the centre of the furore around deserving/undeserving victims—prostitute or "respectable" girl—at one point giving a speech (based on a similar speech given by the Head of the Ripper investigation) which seems to show empathy towards the Ripper's intentions if not his methods, characterising him as a "bad angel".

Dawson, a character drawn together for screen through an amalgamation of other hegemonic males in Peace's novels, is Smith's (2013) *criminal entrepreneur*, with violence central to his maintenance of power. Dunford, in the end, is a victim of Dawson's need to retain power and silence a dissenting voice. His overtly expressed racist, sexist, and homophobic attitudes combined with his suspect entrepreneurial activity and his centrality to a group of men involved in pornography, paedophilia, and corrupt business dealings provide a good illustration of Hearn's (2004) assertion that the articulation of cultural ideals and institutional power are inextricably linked. Dawson provides a focus for themes linked to the concept of hegemonic masculinity, themes which have currency in the U.K. at the present time, and so also illustrates the continuing usefulness of the concept as well as the value of examining the present through the past.

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