

ROUTLEDGE RESEARCH IN GENDER AND SOCIETY

Marginalized Masculinities

Contexts, Continuities and Change

Edited by
Chris Haywood and
Thomas Johansson



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Across Europe we are witnessing a series of events that are drawing upon representations of men and masculinity that are rupturing the social fabric of everyday life. For example, media reports of social unrest, misogynous hate crime, religious extremism, drug trafficking and political Far Right mobilization have often been at the centre of the discussion the figure of the apathetic, disenchanted, socially excluded young man.

Marginalized Masculinities explores how men in precarious positions in different countries and social contexts understand and experience their masculinities, focusing on men who are viewed as being marginal in a range of fields in society including the family, work, the media and school. By focusing on atypical or marginal masculinities in each subfield, Haywood and Johansson provide an informed understanding of what it means to experience marginalization. Indeed, within this enlightening volume the chapters engage with the issue of whether it is necessary to name 'a' dominant masculinity in order to make sense of and understand the nature of marginalized masculinity.

This insightful title will be of interest to researchers, undergraduates and post-graduates interested in fields such as Gender Studies, International Studies, Comparative Studies and Men Studies.

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**Edited by Chris Haywood and
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To Sandra Haywood and Elycia Haywood



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Introduction

Chris Haywood and Thomas Johansson

Introduction

Across Europe we are witnessing a series of events that are drawing upon representations of men and masculinity that are rupturing the social fabric of everyday life. For example, media reports of social unrest, migration, misogynous hate crime, religious extremism, drug trafficking and political Far Right mobilization have often been at the centre of the discussion the figure of the apathetic, disenfranchised, socially excluded young man. At present, discussions of men, social and political dysfunction remain highly dependent on media-led narratives that report on the problem *of* men in society. These media narratives are dovetailing with contemporary discussions about improving gender equality at global levels. More specifically, existing work on men and women suggests that there are reasons to be doubtful regarding a linear process towards gender equality. Many of the developments are contradictory and context-dependent (Haavind and Magnusson, 2005; Holter, 2007). For example, in recent Nordic research and political investigations there are indications that certain groups of men are particularly unlikely to identify with the political agenda on gender equality, and that certain groups of men even feel hatred towards feminists and politicians fighting for a gender-equal society. Today, these types of sentiment may be increasing, suggesting that gender equality may not be seen as advantageous ‘from all points of view’ but also that the pursuit of gender equality may not be possible. One of the interesting themes from broader discussions on gender and equality is an implicit assumption that men have power. At present, existing work on gender equality and masculinity often ‘blames’ men for their lack of awareness and reflexivity. In effect, gender equality is often viewed as a problem of men. However, more information is needed to explore men’s specific needs and responsibilities to understand how gender equality is a problem *for* men.

In this introduction to the book we will frame issues of gender equality, power and exclusion by unpacking the concept of marginalized masculinities. Initially, we will discuss the concept of marginalization and focus on the dynamic and complex interaction between marginal and dominant. After that there is a section on class, gender and marginalization, pointing towards the importance of including intersectional perspectives in analysis of marginalization.

The following two sections focus on international and methodological perspectives on marginalization. The contributors in this book have used this introduction dialogically in order to frame the themes and issues being explored throughout the chapters. Therefore, each of the chapters has been written with the brief to engage with one or more of the following sections on marginalization in the context of how we theorize it, how we research it and what relevance the concept has at a global level. In doing so, we connect with four main guiding questions:

First, what do we mean by marginalized masculinities; how do we define these terms? What is involved in the process of investigating the relationship between gender equality, marginalization and hegemonic masculinities? Is it simply about men? Do boys have masculinities? What about female masculinities?

Second, what are the experiences of those who are marginalized and those who are doing the marginalizing? For example, are tendencies towards marginalization producing identification with political goals on gender equality, and is, for example, anti-feminism connected to certain groups and the social configurations of men (class, age, living conditions etc.)?

Third, how do patterns of marginalization and masculinity vary between different countries, regions and local contexts? Related to the previous point, it is important to explore who has the power to define what is marginal and how categories of marginality differ temporally and spatially.

Fourth, what does it mean to research marginalized masculinities? Underpinning each of the chapters is a critical reflexivity about how we research marginality. Intricately connected to research practices are the different ways in which marginalization is conceptualized, thus the theoretical lens of the research will shape the nature of the data being collected.

The dialogical basis for this collection was embedded in a project that sought to bring those working in the field of men and masculinity together to look at different areas of marginalization, including: Theorizing Gender; Unemployment and Whiteness; Fatherhood: The Art of Not Taking Paternal Leave; Internet, Hate-groups and Anti-Feminists; and, Lost Boys? Schooling and Marginalization. This group has an underlying commitment to equality in areas such as gender, 'race'/ethnicity, age, sexuality and disability, and as part of the dialogue we continued to explore how marginalization operated across and within different social categories. Although the contributors in this book are largely from Northern Europe, we aim to connect to a global agenda where the concept of marginalized masculinities might be critically explored and scrutinized in the pursuit of establishing its empirical viability and conceptual purchase in global, national and local contexts. The contributors are highly aware of how theories and concepts embedded in the West are often unproblematically applied to other, non-Western contexts. As a result, contributors have been asked to write their chapters to connect to the main themes underpinning this collection.

Theorizing Men, Masculinity and Marginalization

The questions raised, and the topics we have chosen to discuss in this volume, have their 'home' in the field of critical studies on men and masculinity (Hearn, 2004). This field of research has roots in the 1980s discussion on masculinity and gender in different countries, especially Denmark, Norway, Sweden, the United Kingdom, Australia and the United States. During the 1990s, this field of research expanded considerably and revolved mainly around theoretical issues and definitions of the field, but today we can see how a rich and extensive empirical field of research is gradually developing. Certain areas, such as fatherhood, violence, gender equality and sexuality have received a lot of attention, whereas others – alternative masculinities, subordinated men, marginalized men – have attracted little. Through the introduction of a number of important concepts, such as hegemonic masculinity and marginalized masculinities, Raewyn Connell (1987; 1995) initiated both a theoretical discussion on how to frame and understand developments in masculinity and actualized a number of important empirically oriented questions on gender, sexuality and identity. Another important influence came from Susan Faludi and her book *Stiffed: The Betrayal of the Modern Man* (1999) in which she focused on men in different precarious occupations and positions, including those who were unemployed and marginalized. Such work has been accompanied by a range of developments in the literature on men and masculinities. This field of research has become an established sub-field within gender studies.

More recently, attention has also been given to issues on both transformations of hegemonic masculinity and, to a lesser extent, men who are not able to occupy or demonstrate qualities associated with this dominant position. In this book, we have directed out attention towards different forms of marginal and/or marginalized masculinities, but we maintain an overall dimension to knit these disparate fields together. This 'joined up' approach focuses on three different 'fields' in society: Crisis, Risk and Socialization; Transformations, Work and Unemployment; and Marginalization, Bodies and Identity. Our fourth 'field' or area of inquiry, Rethinking Marginalization, explores how we can begin to develop ways of thinking about marginalization. Through zooming in on atypical or marginal masculinities, we will get a closer picture of how men in precarious positions in different countries, social contexts and situations experience and relate to the political ambition to create gender-equal societies. In doing this, we will lean heavily on international research already completed in these areas, specifically in family research, gender and masculinity studies (Gavanas, 2001; Hearn and Pringle, 2006; Holter, 2007; Johansson and Ottemo, 2013). We will also frame these discussions in the context of developments in the welfare state, European discussions on gender equality and gender politics (Esping-Andersen, 1990; EIGE, 2012) and broader social and economic changes within a global context. In the book, we will furthermore focus on and discuss the theoretical and conceptual developments in the field of critical studies on men and masculinities. In particular, we will look closely at how central concepts such as hegemonic masculinity, homosociality,

heteronormativity and marginalization can be developed, as well as adapted, to different countries and contexts. Recently there have been extensive discussions and elaboration on the concept of hegemonic masculinity (Connell, 1995; Hearn *et al.*, 2012; Haywood and Mac an Ghail, 2012; Johansson and Ottemo, 2013). The ambition is to follow up on these discussions and theoretical developments and also to make a considerable contribution to this field of research.

Although the focus in this collection is primarily on boys, young and older men, the contributors to the collection strongly emphasize masculinity as being a relational concept. It is relational in a number of ways. One of the themes of the book is to consider how marginalization is manifest at a generational level. It is important to see how masculinity as a concept can 'contain' male and female bodies of all ages. This means that when we think about masculinity it is often used indiscriminately and applied to males of all ages, assuming the same logic of identity and practices of a three-year-old child with those of a middle-aged man. We recognize how the concept of masculinity is used across a range of populations. The concept shifts from being analytical to being descriptive; we need to think about how gender explains marginalization in generational terms. This means that to understand masculinity we need to recognize the interdependency between masculinity and femininity. We need to hold in focus Raewyn Connell's (2000, p. 40) claim that 'masculinities do not first exist and then come into contact with femininities. Masculinities and femininities are produced together in the process that constitutes a gender order', which is echoed by Connell (2005, p. 27): 'We must remember that gender is relational, that women are as much involved in the formation of masculinities as men are'. But, where relationships between men and women are discussed there is a reductionism that suggests that it must take place either through codes of compulsory heterosexuality, in a sense of replacing homophobia, and/or the practice of antipathy or violence against women. Therefore, in this collection, masculinity and femininity act on each other in a relational manner, shaping and informing how they are lived out and experienced.

Approaches to Masculinity and Marginalization

Despite the rising attention paid to men and masculinity, relatively little work has been carried out on those men who occupy marginal spaces in society. This collection in particular makes a critical intervention into this discussion by responding to Jackson and Moshin's (2014, p. 2) question: 'How can men, who are often in positions of privilege be understood as marginal?' Central to this discussion is that it is not self-evident what is understood by 'marginalization' as this term covers a wide range of identities, communities and contexts (Danaher *et al.*, 2013). A key definition of marginalization is provided by Cheng (1999, p. 295): 'When we speak of "marginalization," we are broadly referring to inter-group and/or intragroup relations, "activities between and among groups" (Alderfer, 1987, p. 190). Specifically, marginalization means peripheral or disadvantaged unequal membership, disparate treatment.' Schiffer and Schatz (2008,

p. 6) provide a more context-specific approach which argues that ‘Marginalization describes the position of individuals, groups or populations outside of “mainstream society”, living at the margins of those in the centre of power, of cultural dominance and economical and social welfare’. In many ways, marginalization can refer to a zero-sum notion of power where levels of marginalization can be understood along a continuum of those who have and those who have not. For example, marginalization may refer to men experiencing physical or mental disability (Gartrell, 2010). Totten (2003) talks about male youth as being marginal due to their lack of economic support, being subject to physical abuse by their families and living away from home often in poor housing conditions with low educational attainment. In relation to older men, economic change in many Western countries has led to a drop in the number of occupations within industry and other professional fields that have traditionally been occupied by men. Industries such as coal mining, ship building, engineering, car production, fishing and agriculture are undergoing transformations that have often resulted in their contraction, fragmentation or collapse (World Trade Organization, 2000). In other industries, it is suggested that there has been a feminization of various sectors including hotel, banking and other service-related industries (Breugel, 2000). As a result, there is a casualization of men’s work that is often connected with high levels of labour turnover and organizational restructuring.

This focus of the discussion on marginalization connects a lack of access to social, economic and cultural opportunities and resources to a marginal status. Interestingly, in this approach there is little need to draw upon masculinity as an explanatory tool as men become subject to social, economic and cultural circumstances resulting in a range of positions that may include high levels of poverty, low educational opportunity and poor access to health and social welfare and housing provision. Thus, men may be marginalized because of their social, economic and cultural location rather than the version of manhood in which they invest and perform. Therefore, in this sense, marginalization is caused by the structural organization of social and economic relationships that affect men. From this explanation, there is little information on the problem of *being* a man who may be experiencing a high level of social exclusion. Therefore, rather than simply focusing on measuring rates and levels of exclusion/inclusion, we can also begin to understand marginalization as a *social process*. This focus on marginalized masculinities as part of a socially constituted process has been identified in a range of research settings that include race/ethnicity and the media (Jackson II and Moshin, 2013), sports (Hirose and Kei-ho Pih, 2010), schooling (Tischler and McCaughtry, 2011), health (Evans *et al.*, 2011) and crime (Abrams *et al.*, 2008). From this perspective, we need to locate often highly volatile responses to gender equality within the changing social and economic contexts such as the fragmentation of the material, cultural and symbolic structures through which men have traditionally asserted authority, legitimacy, control and dominance (Mac an Ghaill and Haywood, 2007).

One of the key theoretical contributions to understanding marginalized masculinities as produced through a social context has been Connell’s (1995)

approach to marginalization within a framework of hegemonic masculinity and the privileging of patriarchy. In this approach, marginalized masculinities are often referred to as 'outcasts' (Phillips, 2005) or, as Cheng (1999, p. 295) suggests, those men who have 'disadvantaged unequal membership'.

This unequal membership is produced in the process of making masculinities. Alongside this, Connell's concept of the 'protest masculinities' might be salient. This is a masculinity that is enacted by men who are in a dialectical relationship with the State. Although they mirror elements of the State, such as being tough, athletic and violent (qualities that often designate hegemonic masculinities) they exist in opposition to it (Curran and Abrams, 2000). What differs is their social, cultural and economic location, and as Connell and Messerschmidt (2005, p. 848) suggest, protest masculinity is:

a pattern of masculinity constructed in local working-class settings, sometimes among ethnically marginalized men, which embodies the claim to power typical of regional hegemonic masculinities in Western countries, but which lacks the economic resources and institutional authority that underpins the regional and global patterns.

In this way, marginal masculinities are those masculinities that operate in ways that restore their lack of power. This can often be achieved through deviant behaviours such as criminality. The key point to recognize is that marginal masculinity is defined in relation to those men who have power. As Cheng (1999) suggests:

The hegemonic definition of manhood is a man in power, a man with power, and a man of power. We equate manhood with being successful, capable, reliable, in control. The very definitions of manhood we have developed in our culture maintain the power that some men have over other men and that men have over women.

(p. 300)

Thus, in many ways, marginalized masculinities are often located and defined in relation to men that hold cultural privilege. From this perspective, masculinity becomes the resource through which marginalization takes place.

More specifically, men's positionality as marginal is dependent on what is deemed as central. This approach suggests that we can know and understand marginal masculinities through their relationships with those masculinities that are socially, culturally and economically elevated. Importantly, it is those masculinities that are dominant that are able to define and sanction those which are deemed subordinate. As Champagne (1995, p. xxv) suggests: '... the Other functions as an oppositional term for the formation of a normalized subjectivity'. According to Champagne, the Other – that which is marginal – cannot be too radical in its composition as this would reduce it to a position beyond normalization.

Thus, the marginal has to be constituted in relation to the centre and the centre to the marginal. Therefore, the Other ‘... is not posited in a relation of absolute alterity to the center but rather is usefully maintained in a certain place of opposition on which the dominant depends’ (ibid.; p. xxvi). In a similar vein, Jackson II and Moshin (2014) suggest that margins determine what the dominant is, not as the margins define identities in a negative manner. Or as Phillips (2005, p. 220) suggests: ‘Marginalized masculinities or “outcasts” from the norm are constructed in the productive wake of the ideal, and as the conditions necessary for the ideal’s production and “natural” appearance’. The implication of this is that the dominant and the marginal belong together in a relationship that mutually informs their status.

The issue here is that marginal masculinities remain framed through the dominant cultural logic of difference and how such processes of difference are experienced. In other words, we need to think about those who operate outside of that relationship. As Blagojević (2012) suggests:

It seems to me that in a certain way we reduce *the other* to their (our?) otherness, we fix and ‘freeze’ their (our?) identities, and by doing so, we strengthen the binary model which reduces the other to the difference that reflects the normative identity, the forms and patterns imposed on us by culture itself.

(p. 68)

Even then, Blagojević argues, cultures will produce their own spaces of alterity. This has particular implications for how we research, identify and explain the nature of marginal masculinities as the Centre will frame not simply what we know, but also what we are able to know. As such, a potential space emerges around issues regarding the potential for men to be elevated and marginalized at the same time. Thus, it is possible to be culturally elevated, such as black masculine hip-hop culture, and yet at the same time occupy a socially and economically marginal position. A similar situation is evident around masculinity and bodybuilding, where men with high levels of muscularity may be socially desirable, but the chemical enhancements may infract social and legal norms. An interesting theme emerges around the possibility of the marginal being outside of the official registers, for example, those of the State or institutions, which sanction the possibility of being marginal. Dahl-Michelson (2014) develops the notion of marginalized masculinities as not only those that could not meet hegemonic standards, but also did not operate or make sense of their identities through hegemonic gender norms. This means that men might recognize the Centre/Marginal dichotomy and occupy a position on the outside of the binary. Marginality, in this case, should not be interpreted as an array of inequalities embedded in categories such as gender, ‘race’/ethnicity, sexuality or age. Rather, the emphasis is on the *systems* of signification that create the possibility of marginality, dominance and Otherness. The implication of this is that we should not simply consider the empirical characteristics or attributes of marginalized men,

rather we need to begin to focus on the complex, often unstable, systems of signification and representation that sanction or warrant those attributes.

One of the difficulties of thinking through men, masculinity and marginalization is that there is a tendency for those approaches that focus on theoretical and conceptual dynamics as a cultural formation, to underplay how the materiality of the experience of marginalization is lived out across a range of different social contexts. It is this limitation to which we now turn.

Towards a Transnational Marginal Masculinity

At present, rather than an overarching global concept of marginalized masculinity, the concept has been used in a range of contexts beyond Europe, North America and Australia. For some, the concept of marginalized masculinity provides a useful approach to understanding within a range of contexts, such as Filipino seafarers (McKay, 2007), Pakistani eunuchs (Ahmad, 2010), men in Cuba attending a mental health centre (Hernandez *et al.*, 2014), men in poverty in India (Roy, 2011) and insurgency in Latin America (Ortega, 2012). Ratele's (2014) discussion on masculinity studies and South Africa suggests that the concept of hegemonic masculinity is becoming less appropriate as global capitalism marginalizes societies. Thus, we need to think about 'marginal hegemonies' or 'hegemonies within marginality' (*ibid.*, p. 39). In many ways, we are brought back to Cheng's (1999) suggestion that men can be both dominant and marginal at the same time. Thus, although white middle-class men may have social and economic privilege on the one hand, they may at the same time lack the cultural valorization of the hyper-sexual black body on the other. It is interesting that the concept that has been able to explain masculine domination at global levels is Connell's Transnational Business Masculinity. This masculinity has been employed to describe those business and political executives who are involved in economic and political management at a global level. It is suggested that these men are egocentric, have less sense of loyalty and responsibility for others and have no permanent commitments. They are, however, involved in the subjectification of men and women in order to sustain their global hegemonic position. However, it appears that there is little discussion in the field about globalized marginal masculinities. This is revealing, because as processes of globalization intensify in areas such as finance, digital space and consumption, a question is raised about the relevance of the theorizing of marginalization within shifting relationships across the global North to the global South.

Furman *et al.* (2012) suggest that transnational flows from wealthy countries to those countries that are economically disadvantaged result in the distribution of Westernized versions of masculinity. They argue that, in the developing world, hegemonic masculinity operates through themes of corporate capitalism and that men are aspiring to meet such masculine ideals. The impact of this is that men experience gender role conflict where their aspirational masculinity cannot be realized. While they identify men in developing countries as having potential privilege over other men and women in a local context, at a global level

they are located within transnational flows such as unequal labour markets. In these fluid scenarios, it is not self-evident what marginal masculinity means in relation to (dis)continuous access to masculine resources. For example, Donaldson and Howson (2009) consider what happens to men who migrate or are resettled, and how men reclaim their masculine subjectivities in light of the social and economic change. They suggest that migrant men, on entering their host country, redouble their efforts to be 'real' men and may adopt the same strategies and resources to make their 'new' masculinities. At present, in North Africa and the Levant, there are unprecedented levels of displacement of populations due to poverty and conflict. The impact of these issues has resulted in communities experiencing levels of marginalization not only within their local contexts but also in the process of migration. Such events provide a timely reminder about the adequacy and relevance of the theoretical frames and the concepts that we use and their applicability across space and time. However, despite concerns about migration across a wide range of global contexts, there has been little explanation of how to understand masculinity, marginality and migration. Ingvarsdottir's (2016) recent study of young male refugees in Athens, Greece, is one of the few contemporary studies to address the subject. Of particular interest is how the media projects these men as dangerous and/or lazy migrants, erasing their histories as working men with families in the process. In response, these refugees are resisting media motifs by making connections with global/local grassroots movements that promote the rights of women and marginal groups mobilizing around areas such as queer activism and disability. However, these young men are also trapped within local gender hierarchies of inequality, as well as those from their homeland, and those fashioned through travelling. Thus, whilst in this collection there are a number of local contexts, it is important to consider the relevance and transferability of the dynamics of marginalized masculinity at national and transnational contexts.

Finally, a discussion of the global context not only scrutinizes the relevance and applicability of the concept of marginalized masculinity, but asks questions about the adequacy of masculinity as a concept. The difficulties of simplistically applying masculinity to male bodies is identified by Janssen (2009, p. 85) who, in relation to childhood, suggests:

At a fundamental level, one can ask whether the notions of boy and girl can be adequately conceptualised in terms of often adult-centric politicized rubrics such as masculinity/femininity, and whether they ethnographically tolerate notions of child and adolescent as generic, equivalent or 'neutral' terms.

Although much work has been focused on unpacking the meanings of maleness through multiple, differentiated and plural masculinities, there is scope to question the ubiquity of the concept of masculinity. One way in which this can be achieved is by considering how specific social and cultural context shapes and generates the specific resources for how to be a man, and how particular social