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T rue, each conflict is unique. Yet, every conflict feeds a culture of violence. While it has been constructed around its own cultural codes, every conflict has relied on a masculinist necessity. A culture of violence consisted of a discourse naturalizing masculinist norms glorifies values attributed to the masculine. Currently, on a political atmosphere that is, unfortunately, not estranged to state violence, some of the articles published in this issue are timely. Discussing protests, political military struggles, armed conflicts with a gender lens offers a significant field of inquiry for those who are interested in reading current socio-political contexts. Although this issue is not a special issue on violence, well-timed publication of the works dealing with conflicts and also Muslim cultures that have come to be known as war torn societies would enable researchers to have contextual information and transgress Islamic norm of masculinity. Hence, the fourth issue of *Masculinities: A Journal of Identity and Culture* covering masculinity in relation to topics as varied as guerilla movements, protests, crisis of Islamic masculinity, Muslim masculinities and femininities, the other men and also men within subcultures welcomes readers.

In Luisa Maria Dietrich Ortega's article entitled "Multiple Masculinities in Guerilla Movements: Co-existence of Hegemonic and Non-Hegemonic Patterns in Gender Relations Among M-19 Militants in Colombia", an internal armed conflict is discussed with a gender lens focusing on militarized masculinities. With a special focus on 19th of April Movement, a guerilla movement emerged in 1970s in Colombia, she argues that constructions of masculinities in guerilla movements do not always conform to gendered constructions related with militarised contexts.

Talina Hernandez, in her paper, “Masculine Protest and Gender Performance Among Mexico City’s Young Offenders”, analyzes masculine protest as a performative act. Based on an ethnographic fieldwork, testimonies gathered in focus groups with 84 boys, the writer examines juvenile delinquency so as to understand how the contours of the cultural codes of masculinity have been shaped.

The third article from another yet familiar context to readers from Turkey is written by Şahinde Yavuz. “A Passionate Mood of Masculinity: ‘Modified Tofaş’ Youth” provides a discussion on a men’s group who have modified their car. Yavuz discusses this group as a subculture and puts specific emphasis on their forms of consumption with a focus on individualization.

The book review section for this issue touches upon important discussions as article section does. We give utmost importance to book reviews. In this issue, there are three of them, which weigh theories on masculinities and add to the strength of discussions in original articles. Haktan Ural from Ankara University reviews a newly published book entitled “Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures” edited by Gül Özyeğin. Özyeğin’s book sheds light on Muslim identities’ lived experiences of sexuality. In his review, Ural clearly depicts how Özyeğin composes those valuable experiences in different themes such as transformation of masculinity in different Muslim socio-cultural contexts, constructing and manifesting gendered Muslim identities as well as valuing Muslim women’s struggle against the oppression of their bodies. Another book, “The Crisis of Islamic Masculinity”, on a similar context but with a different focus written by Amanullah de Sonny is reviewed by Çimen Günay-Erkol from Özyeğin University. Günay-Erkol, an editorial board member of the Journal, reviews de Sonny’s exploration of diversity in Islamic masculinities considering Indian-Pakistani history, which is in a striking contrast to the prevailing perception of a singular Islamic masculinity in Western perspectives. The final review on “The Other Guy: Media Masculinity within the Margins” by Derek A. Burrill is written by Semih Sapmaz from Middle East Technical University. Sapmaz, in his review, recites how Burrill

traces the other guy as a tactic in his analysis on how the other guy is represented in Hollywood and US films, TV shows and advertisements, popular music and reality TV.

Finally, as a journal that is still developing, having received excellent contributions from various disciplines has encouraged us a lot. Especially, on the edge of starting the organization for the 2nd International Conference on Men and Masculinities, having inspired by the very positive feedbacks on the first one held in Izmir, we, the members of the ICSM (Initiative for Critical Studies on Masculinities), welcome all encouraging energies and support. We also invite all scholars and activists to submit their works for our next issue which will be online in February 2016.

Selin Akyüz

On behalf of Editorial Board of the Masculinities Journal

ARTICLES

Multiple Masculinities In Guerrilla Movements: Co-Existence Of Hegemonic And Non-Hegemonic Patterns In Gender Relations Among M-19 Militants In Colombia¹

Luisa Maria Dietrich Ortega

University of Vienna

Abstract :

This article engages with the constructions of militarised masculinities in the context of insurgent armed struggle. It argues that guerrilla movements organisations generate a different gender regime than standing armies operating in conflict contexts. This reconfiguration of gender relations amounts to alternative, non-hegemonic constructions of insurgent masculinities and femininities that refrain from legitimising hierarchical gender relations. Resorting to recent discussions among scholars engaging with *hegemonic masculinity* this article aims to disentangle hegemonic from non-hegemonic practices that circulate alongside in the context of insurgent armed struggle. It aims to further the gendered knowledge production on non-hegemonic masculinities in armed conflicts through an empirical exploration of gender constructions within the *19th of April Movement* (M-19) in Colombia (1974-1990). Using eight semi-structured interviews with former militants of the M-19 (three female and five male) conducted in the course of fieldwork in 2010 in Bogota this research will distinguish un-hegemonic patterns in gender relations that circulate alongside hegemonic patterns.

Key words: Latin America - Colombia – Movimiento 19 de Abril – guerrilla – hegemonic masculinities – alternative masculinities - insurgent masculinities – Insurgent femininities -

¹ I would like thank Stephanie Tam for her insightful comments and thought-provoking discussions during the development of this article.

Gerilla Hareketlerindeki Çoklu Erkeklikler: Kolombiya'daki M-19 Militanlarının Toplumsal Cinsiyet İlişkilerindeki Hegemonik Olan ve Olmayan Örüntüler

Luisa Maria Dietrich Ortega

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Özet :

Bu makale militarist erkekliklerin direnişçi silahlı mücadele bağlamındaki oluşumunu ele almaktadır. Makale gerilla hareketlerinin çatışma ortamında faaliyet gösteren daimi ordulardan farklı bir toplumsal cinsiyet rejimi oluşturduğunu savunmaktadır. Toplumsal cinsiyet ilişkilerinin bu yeni konfigürasyonu, hiyerarşik cinsiyet ilişkilerini meşrulaştırmaktan kaçınan, alternatif ve hegemonik olmayan direnişçi erkekliklerin ve kadınlıkların oluşması anlamına gelir. Hegemonik erkeklikle ilgilenen araştırmacıların son dönemde yürüttükleri tartışmalara dayanan bu makalenin amacı, silahlı çatışma bağlamında görülen hegemonik olan ve olmayan pratikler arasında bir ayırım yapmaktır. Makale, Kolombiya'daki 19 Nisan Hareketi (M-19) (1974-1990) içindeki cinsiyet kurgularını ele alan ampirik bir araştırma vasıtasıyla, silahlı çatışma bağlamında ortaya çıkan hegemonik olmayan erkekliklerle ilgili cinsiyet perspektifli bilgi üretimine katkıda bulunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Üçü kadın, beşi erkek, sekiz eski M-19 militanı ile gerçekleştirilen adet yarı yapılandırılmış mülakatlara dayanan bu çalışma, hegemonik örüntülerin yanı sıra görülen hegemonik olmayan cinsiyet ilişkilerinin farkına dikkat çekecektir.

Anahtar kelimeler: Latin Amerika, Kolombiya, Movimiento 19 de Abril, gerilla, hegemonik erkeklikler, alternatif erkeklikler, direnişçi erkeklikler, direnişçi kadınlıklar

The present article explores the co-existence of hegemonic and non-hegemonic patterns of gender relations in the context of the 19th of April Movement or *Movimiento 19 de Abril* (M-19), a guerrilla movement that emerged at the beginning of the 1970s in Colombia. Over the past decade researchers in the field of critical masculinity studies have increasingly explored militarised masculinities in the context of armed conflict. Scholars have identified distinct constitutive elements that shape constructions of masculinities in accordance with specific militarised institutions, such as the armed forces (Barrett 2001), peacekeeping missions (Bevan and MacKenzie 2012, Withworth 2004), private security contractors (Higate 2012, Joachim and Schneiker 2012) and insurgent guerrilla movements (Gosses 2001, Dietrich 2012). Different researchers have used Raewyn Connell's concept of *hegemonic masculinities* to explore complex gendered power relations within social groups (*Masculinities* 37). This concept posits that, at any given time, one form of masculinity, in contrast to others that also exist, is culturally exalted or hegemonic and maintained through subordination of femininity, as well as marginalization of these other masculinities (77ff.). The perspective of hegemonic masculinity to understand gender constructions in militarised institutions is particularly fruitful as the "army is an institutional sphere for the cultivation of masculinity; war provides the social space for its validation" (Cock 58). In this context, the privileged male connoted values and behaviour encompass physical strength, displays of violence, weapon use, a fighting spirit, ability to endure hardships, courage and determination (Apelt and Dittmer 71, Barrett 81, Goldstein 268). As combat activities are decidedly constructed as masculine, they require the devaluation of female connoted traits (Hooper 47-48). In consequence, the successful embodiment of militarised masculinities lies in soldiers' ability to distance themselves from feminine qualities (Whitworth 2004). This is achieved through contemptuous references to women, which also aim to associate femininity with weakness, vulnerability and feebleness (Cock 61) and

“often result in the performance of an aggressive and frequently misogynist masculinity” (Theidon 4).

While the link between militarisation and hegemonic masculinities has been well established in academic literature, some of the underlying assumptions around gendered constructions in militarised contexts, such as binary gendered conceptions, gender difference, and devaluation of femininities and superiority of masculinity cannot be squarely mapped onto every militarised institution. For example, guerrilla movements have been known to build insurgent masculinities alongside a comrade identity, which is not based on salient gendered difference or the devaluation of femininity (Dietrich *Looking beyond violent militarised masculinities* 491). McKeown and Sharoni argue that militarised institutions operating in *contexts of liberation* – in contrast to *contexts of domination* – involve practices, policies and discourses designed to bring about freedom, justice and equality, and thus seek to radically transform existing institutions and change the political status quo. These organisations have the potential to be more flexible, mobile and susceptible to change (McKeown and Sharoni 3-4). In consequence, gender arrangements within insurgencies do not appear to display some of these hegemonic qualities. Therefore, in this article I argue that constructions of masculinities in guerrilla movements do not always conform to gendered underpinnings associated with militarised contexts displaying hegemonic patterns in gender relations. Instead, the specific location, the opposition to the status quo, the context of asymmetric warfare with political-military organisations should be considered to capture nuances, complexities and contradictions.

Empirical research suggests that constructions of masculinities within guerrilla movements in Latin America differ from other militarised institutions in so far as their political-military struggles to topple state power shapes insurgent norms and practices that make gender difference and hierarchical and complementary gender constructions less salient. The operational efficiency in the context of asymmetric warfare requires to access diverse militant capacities to obtain a competitive advantage over state armed forces. The

introduction of gendered difference and strict sexual division of labour in this context would make insurgent practices less efficient. The comrade identity that circulates in insurgent organisations does not appear to require a differentiation or devaluation from the 'feminine other' for the construction of insurgent masculinities. Despite operating in a militarised context of armed struggle, in which male connoted values - such as physical strength, courage, capacity to handle weapons and decision-making skills - prevail, insurgent organisations do not conclusively employ a rationale that guarantees the dominant position of male militants and subordination of female militants in its political-military realm. On the contrary, as gender difference and its complementary hierarchy are less important, male and female militants create and identify spaces to shape alternative gender arrangements. In this article, I attempt to explore to what extent hegemonic and non-hegemonic patterns in gender relations circulate within guerrilla movements and the constructions of masculinity and femininity that emerge in the context of insurgent armed struggle.

This article has two interrelated objectives. The first is the exploration of the particularities of insurgent gender constructions within the specific context of a the M-19 guerrilla movement, which operated from 1974 to 1991 in Colombia. Unlike other rural guerrilla movements operating at the time in the country¹, the M-19 emerged as an urban guerrilla movement, which gradually expanded to rural areas. The M-19 adopted democracy as the basis for its political and military project (García Durán, Grabe Loewenherz, and Patiño Hormaza 15) and was characterised by the strong emotional bonds among militants that allowed for their informality and flexibility and particular insistence on equality (Madariaga 120ff.). In consequence, the M-19 understood the more than 30% female participation (Londoño and Nieto 42) as a contribution and proactively involved women in visible political and military positions². These elements indicate the M-19 disposition to promote alternative constructions of masculinity and femininity.

This article's second objective is to explore the role of different insurgent femininities as co-constitutive forces of the masculinities embedded in a context in which hegemonic and non-hegemonic patterns of gender relations co-exist. In this article I apply Mimi Schipper's *Gender Hegemony Framework* (86-89), which provides practical guidance for empirical explorations to identify multiple gendered constructions in localised contexts. To distinguish hegemonic from non-hegemonic patterns in gender relations, Schipper's framework establishes a clear definition and calls for consistent labelling of hegemonic characteristics, qualities and practices that perpetuate male dominance and circulate a legitimising rationale for women's subordination (87). According to Schipper, *hegemonic masculinities* are the "qualities defined as manly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to femininity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Schipper 94). Focusing on characteristics, qualities and practices that disseminate a legitimising rationale for male dominance and women's subordination generates inconsistent use of the concept (Beasley 2008, Connell and Messerschmidt 2005). A critical review of the empirical applications of this concept indicates that its inconsistent application has resulted in labelling men who have comparatively more power than others in a given context as expressions of hegemonic, despite the fact that these masculinities may actually do little to legitimate men's authority over women (Beasley 88). A critical revision also shows that hegemonic masculinities are not necessarily the most common or most socially celebrated in a localised context (Beasley 89). This article thus distinguishes hegemonic patterns in gender relations in the context of the M-19, which are based on gendered difference and in which hierarchical complementarity is salient and demonstrate the emergence of hegemonic features (Schipper 90-91) versus non-hegemonic patterns. As gendered relationality between female and male insurgents is prioritised and proactively disrupts hierarchical complementarity that secure male dominance and privilege, non-hegemonic patterns in gender relations diminish the importance of

gender difference. Non-hegemonic patterns thus hinder the circulation of legitimising rationales that promote male superiority and subordination of femininities.

Schipper's gender hegemony framework acknowledges the role of femininities as co-constitutive force of masculinities and advocates for a more consistent focus on femininities in masculinity research. Paying attention to constructions of femininity is crucial to unveiling idealised gendered attributes that circulate as well as characteristics that members of each gender category are assumed to possess and in this manner articulates and defines gender positions and their mutual relationship (Schipper 90). Understanding femininities as co-constitutive of masculinities suggests that female and male insurgents must have a required buy-in for the installation of these hegemonic patterns in their daily practice. Through the identification of which instances specific constructions of femininities serve the interest of male dominance and benefit men as a group, three distinct femininities emerge: *hegemonic femininities* that require buy-in, *pariah femininities* that overtly challenge the former and *non-hegemonic or alternative femininities* that resist and subvert attempts to install hegemonic patterns in insurgent practice. *Hegemonic femininities* are the "characteristics defined as womanly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Schipper 94). Since the qualities of *hegemonic masculinities* must remain unobtainable to women in order to guarantee men's exclusive access to these characteristics, Schipper proposes the empirical identification of *pariah femininities*, which are those practices and characteristics that when embodied by women are considered a threat to existing hegemonic masculinities and femininities, and thus require their stigmatization and feminization (Schipper 95ff.). This distinction between hegemonic femininities and pariah femininities allows for a conceptual space to identify *alternative insurgent femininities* that do not comply with nor are stigmatised in relation to

hegemonic masculinities and promote practices that counter hegemonic patterns (Schippers 95).

This article is conceived as an empirical exploration that uses data gathered in interviews with five men and three female ex-combatants of the *19th of April Movement* in 2010 in Colombia. The selection criteria centred on M-19 militants who were formally embedded in the organisation and were engaged in political and military tasks, holding various ranks. The interview questions aimed to explore prevalent insurgent norms and practices that shaped insurgent gender arrangements. Engaging with ex-combatants two decades after their formal disarmament and demobilisation meant that these people had a space to critically reflect on their involvement and the guerrilla movement. The interviews, which took place in recurrent sessions and included some interviews in pairs were transcribed and analysed using the qualitative data analysis software Atlas-ti.

Prior to presenting the analysis of the primary data, the following section provides a brief summary of this guerrilla organisation in the Colombian context. The first section of the analysis of the primary data focuses on the emergence of non-hegemonic gender relations in the operational sphere and in the second, hegemonic patterns of gender relations within affective relations are addressed. The third section maps the multiple insurgent gender constructions in a context of co-existence of hegemonic and non-hegemonic insurgent gender relations. In the conclusion, I identify the key findings and propose additional areas of research to further the understanding of multiple gender constructions in insurgent contexts.

The M-19 in the Colombian context

Colombia's internal armed conflict is currently the longest armed confrontation on the American continent. The complex dynamics of multiple and intertwined conflicts allowed for the emergence of a variety of armed actors that challenged the state's monopoly of

legitimate use of physical force. Over time, the evolving objectives of armed actors resulted in varying intensities of multiple conflicts, such as land-grabbing or drug-related conflicts. The conflicts started decades before the M-19 emerged in 1974 and continued well after the 1990 bilateral peace negotiations between this guerrilla organisation and the Colombian government, which paved the way for demobilisation.

The M-19 originates in the rigged presidential elections held on 19th of April 1970, which resulted in the defeat of retired General Gustavo Rojas Pinilla and his *National Popular Alliance Party* (ANAPO) (Chernick 199). Concurrent with losing the presidential seat, the conviction that political participation through elections was an unviable option gained ground among M-19's predominantly young and urban founding members³. Following a period of consolidation in the early 1970s, on 17th of January 1974, the M-19 made its first public appearance in a symbolic action that was to characterise the group's modus operandi in the years to come. A M-19 commando took the sword of independence hero Simón Bolívar⁴ from a museum in Bogotá, stating that its services were needed for a 'second struggle for liberation in South America' (García Durán, Grabe Loewenherz, and Patiño Hormaza 9). The M-19 had a nationalist, democratic and revolutionary agenda (Guaqueta 421), started as largely urban revolutionary project, rejected foreign dogmatism, advocated for guerrilla unity and built an emotional community among militants:

The urban guerrilla of the M-19 carried out armed propaganda actions to address the needs of impoverished people, and ensured increased levels of acceptance of their uprising (Guaqueta 424). Audacious military operations included the theft of 5,700 weapons from the Colombian army installations at *Canton Norte* in December 1978, using a tunnel dug from a nearby home (García Durán, Grabe Loewenherz, and Patiño Hormaza 13). In February 1980, M-19 militants took 50 people hostage from the embassy of the Dominican Republic in Bogotá demanding liberation of the group's political prisoners (Chernick 199). Public opinion was negatively affected by the M-19's assault on the Palace of Justice on 6th of November 1985, which provoked severe

government repression and resulted in approximately a hundred deaths (García Durán, Grabe Loewenherz, and Patiño Hormaza 14). While concentrating its actions in urban centres, the M-19 increased its technical and tactical military capacity so as to engage in armed battles with the Colombian Army in rural settings and to develop ‘mobile’ guerrilla fronts throughout the country (García Durán, Grabe Loewenherz, and Patiño Hormaza 13). Ascendancy within the M-19 played out along the rural and urban divide and shaped gendered power dynamics between women and men, as I explain below.

Additionally, in ideological terms, the M-19 placed Colombian context at the centre of its actions instead of mirroring international ‘revolutionary’ developments in Russia, China, Cuba or Albania (Toro 53). Opposing traditional Marxist doctrines, the M-19 distanced itself from sacrifice, heroism and martyrdom that prevailed in other organisations at that time (Toro 53). The M-19 also saw their historical role as an intermediary between the government and the ‘common people’ in addition to building bridges among different guerrilla organisations. The creation of the *National Guerrilla Coordination* in 1985 brought together five political-military organisations aimed at exerting pressure on the government through a common political and military front (Chernick 200). From 1987 onwards, this joint guerrilla front, re-named *Guerrilla Coordination Simon Bolivar*, was reorganised to include the country’s strongest insurgent group, the FARC. The openness of the M-19 to different social justice causes also encompassed the highlighting of female participation as symbolic capital and thus, increase the organisation’s credibility as an agent for social change in the country.

The M-19 also developed a particular spirit and emotional community (Madariaga 115). In the M-19 worldview, passion, more than ideology or theory, was capable of unleashing emotions and enthusiasm to mobilise people for the insurgent’s cause (M-19 1995:1). The guiding principle of the *chain of affection* was that strong emotional bonds and tenderness between supporters and family, and among militants, served as a shield against fate and danger, which “rendered the militant almost

immortal” (M-19 162). The M-19 asserted cheerfulness, pleasure and enjoyment in the course of its militancy, which it considered “a struggle for life” (Madariaga 117):

The M, more than a political group, was always a way of being, of doing, of seeing, an attitude towards life, which was the same in politics, enjoying things, talking the language of the people, incorporating the magic; it is like a mentality and an alternative way to resolve problems (Vera Grabe, commander of the M-19, cited in Toro 49).

This emotional community bound by a strong comrade identity shaped the particular gender arrangements within the M-19, as detailed below.

The strategic shift of the revolutionary goal from socialism to democracy enabled openness towards political negotiations with the government throughout the struggle⁵. In January 1989, the bilateral negotiations between the M-19 and the government led to the establishment of a camp in Santo Domingo (Cauca) that included sectors of civil society to the peace talks. In March 1990, the M-19 signed a peace agreement that fostered the installation of the National Constituent Assembly, which led to Colombia’s progressive Constitution (1991). The M-19 ceased its insurgent operations and integrated with a new legal political party, *Democratic Alliance M19* (AD-M19), in which many of its former members were candidates in national and municipal elections (Guaqueta 421).

1) Emergence of non-hegemonic gender relations in the operational sphere

Based on the localised context of the M-19, this section explores the norms and practices developed within the guerrilla movement to demonstrate that the introduction of non-hegemonic patterns of gender relations was linked to the organisation’s political-military struggle. The M-19’s efforts to enhance operational functionality of insurgent militants for armed struggle in a context of

asymmetrical warfare between the guerrilla movement and the armed forces of Colombia enabled the organisation to foster non-hegemonic gender relations.

Concurrently, the M-19 introduced idealised constructions of the revolutionary 'new man', which promoted a willingness to engage in individual as well as collective change (be better), and additionally encouraged a conscientious rupture with the prevailing civilian norms and practices (be different). Jaime Bateman, general commander of the M-19, has explained:

The revolutionary struggle, due to its dynamic, creates a 'new human/man' [*hombre nuevo*] different from the normal human being who is created in a bourgeois society, who is individualistic, who is solitary, lacking perspectives, who lives exhausted, who lives frustrated. The revolutionary struggle creates a totally different individual, who lives from the community, from collectivism, from his [her] own action, not of the action of others, who lives from idealism and from the healthy things in life (M-19 121).

Despite the fact that the concept of the 'new man' was framed in male terms, it was understood among militants as a generic term for 'human', comprising idealised traits which female insurgents also aspired to embody. The M-19 assumed that its members were revolutionaries in the making and had not yet achieved the goal of social justice, an argument recurrently used to explain, if not to excuse, prevailing gendered inequalities.

we are people in a process of transformation because we are not yet transformed. We come from a society with vices and within the organisation this equality was the objective; it was a process of construction (Man 1).

This process towards individual and collective transformation shaped idealised gender constructions within the M-19.

Combining the drive for operational functionality and the disposition to live up to the expectations of becoming a 'new human', the M-19 introduced a new *comrade* identity which put forth ideals of collectivism, idealism and zeal to achieve the revolutionary goal. This *comrade* identity enabled a reconfiguration of gender relations within the M-19, which made gender difference between female and male militants less salient than those on which male dominance was conventionally based. In consequence, the comrade identity allowed for the introduction of new insurgent masculinities and insurgent femininities and promoted alternative modes of engagement between these, based on comrade complicity. According to one woman interviewed:

It seems that gender relations do change. It is not very noticeable or conscious but yes, they do change. Because a level of relations is built during militancy between women and men that allows for a type of complicity which is not possible in other levels of life; and it has an immense strength (Woman 2).

The gendered underpinnings of the 'new man' promoting social change and aiming to counter injustices foster idealised versions of human behaviour that impacted a type of restraint and self-control within insurgent masculinities. Further, these idealised traits led to a retreat from claiming customary male privileges that ensured male control over women, particularly in the political-military realm, such as accepting the military ranks of female combatants and their orders and recognising female comrades as militants in their own right. These constructions along the lines of operational efficiency were not without frictions, but male militants seemed to accept these practices and derive an emotional benefit since they were seen as a step towards embodying revolutionary ideals.

The 'new femininity' installed by the M-19 promoted idealised versions of the *compañera política* or the female political comrade (Dietrich *La compañera política* 105), which dissociated female comrades from political passivity and financial and emotional

dependence on men. In turn, ideal notions of female militants included assertiveness, self-reliance and creativity. During armed struggle female combatants were encouraged to refrain from care responsibilities associated with motherhood, free from social sanctions or labelled as unfeminine. In this sense, the M-19 enabled the introduction of a new insurgent femininity with traits and attributes functional to advance the armed struggle in a context in which male connoted values prevailed. I posit that the constructions of the female political comrade constitutes an alternative femininity, rather than an erasure of femininity through masculine assimilation (Bayard the Volo 421, Molyneux 39) or as male equivalents (Bernal 149). The female political comrade identity also shaped insurgent masculinities.

However, power differences in non-hegemonic patterns were discernible, although these failed to legitimise a rationale ensuring the subordination of insurgent femininity. Messerschmidt distinguishes two patterns of non-hegemonic masculinities among masculinities that failed to culturally legitimise patriarchal relations, namely dominant masculinities and dominating masculinities. Dominant masculinities refer to the most powerful or the most widespread types in the sense of being the most celebrated, common, or current forms of masculinity in a specific social setting (72). In the context of the M-19, *dominant* insurgent ideals emerged were associated with the 'heroic' rural combatants. One woman interviewed explained: "Of course, there was a myth centred on the rural guerrilla fighter. Those who had not gone through the rural armed experience in the mountains had not yet completed their initiation ritual" (Woman 2). In consequence, the ascendancy of rural combatants required the devaluation of urban lifestyle. Another female former combatant explained: "Those of us who came from urban operations were seen as lazy, going from restaurant to restaurant, and having a good time. In the city there is money, there are cars - there you have everything" (Woman 3). Despite being considered the most widespread type and associated with idealised and valued attributes, *dominant* versions were not hegemonic, as they reconfigured militant relations along urban rural divides and not along gendered lines.

Dominant features cannot be strictly mapped onto male or female insurgents; female rural combatants had ascendancy over urban male combatants as the former embodied physical strength in rural struggle. The frictions resulting from this reconfiguration of power relations for male urban combatants is explained by one male former combatant detailed:

Seeing a female comrade that is carrying wood and swinging an axe and finishes by saying: '*compañero* [comrade], you are rather slow' is a terrible aggression. And she carries a backpack with 2 to 3 pieces of wood, but you are barely able to carry one. Those are complicated moments and on top of it she is saying those kind of things out loud (Man 1).

This reflection underpins gendered expectations of the man interviewed, in so far as he interpreted the assertion of the female rural combatant in a dominant position as aggression and public humiliation, while failing to demand authority in this rural context. At the same time, this man implicitly acknowledges the female combatant's capacities in the specific context as functional to advance the insurgent cause. Despite the fact that physical strength, a conventionally male connoted value, continues to be promoted as a core value within the insurgent armed struggle, female rural combatants embodying functional physical strength could gain ascendancy over urban male combatants. Consequently, conventional gendered power relations were able to shift within the insurgent armed struggle, while making gendered difference less pertinent.

The value given to merit and capacity linked to the advancement of insurgent armed struggle resulted not only in female and male combatants being held accountable to the same behavioural standards, but also in applying the same rewards and promotion policies to militants. This practice, which disrupted the constructions of gendered difference, superseded the promotion of men on gendered grounds as is

characteristic of hegemonic practices. Expounding on this point, another male former combatant stated:

In my experience, I did not see it in the sense of being a man or a woman. I don't know if for a woman to be ascended implied an additional challenge or not. I couldn't tell. For us, as men, to ascend..., I don't think that I had any advantage to become an officer, nor do I think that any of the other men had. The advantage is constituted by your organisational capacity and your capacity of command, of how you handle difficult situations, in the battle, in combat, that you can control the situation (Man 4).

This explanation demonstrates the manner in which internal norms and practices that reward certain behaviour undermined constructions of gendered differences.

Despite the frictions that emerged from the introduction of new insurgent masculinities and femininities, militants recurrently stated that no distinction existed between female and male capacities and shared the assumption that there was already an improvement with regards to gendered inequalities prevailing in Colombian society in general. In consequence, male and female insurgents who were not very conscious about gendered inequality did not proactively examine the manner in which gender difference remained intact in their other daily interactions.

Dominating masculinities, understood as those commanding and controlling specific interactions and exercising power and control over people and events ("calling the shots" and "running the show") is the second pattern of power differences within non-hegemonic masculinity (Messerschmidt 72). Rank and related authority, particularly that rooted in merit and capacity used to determine promotions, did not necessarily legitimate male dominance over women. To the contrary authority conferred by rank on men or women could enforce practices of enhanced gender equality. I posit that the hierarchy or rank in the insurgent context cannot be simply labelled as hegemonic, despite the fact that it

yields power to individual militants. Militants' buy-in of the hierarchical structure was possible since it was linked to operational functionality, as a male former commander from the M-19 states:

There is no time in war. The times in war are very precarious; the times in war are not defined by you/us, but always defined by 'the others'. There is often not enough time to engage in consultations. Therefore the command structure is important and hierarchies are very important and hierarchies are contrary to equity, so, the military life is an accepted life of inequality and accepted subordination (Man 4).

In this context, rank structure contributed to operational efficiency and was not interpreted as a contradiction, but as a contributing factor to M-19's aim to achieve social justice.

Although the hierarchy of rank accepted subordination, it ensured further buy-in through 'meritocracy' that structured access as promotion dependant on leadership and military skills and recognition by subordinate militants. This practice enabled women's access to positions of high political and military rank. The M-19 promoted women to command positions, most notable among them being Vera Grabe and Nelly Vivas, who were members of the *Senior Command*, while in the early 1980s three other women commanded political-military structures in the capital city of Bogota (Sanchez-Blake 62). When the M-19 existed, the access of women into high ranks was unprecedented. Although this situation was used for propaganda purposes, it should be noted that throughout the history of the M-19 women never constituted half of the members of the *Superior Command*, nor did any woman ever become of the general commander of the organisation.

However, hierarchical rank structure was not introduced to subordinate women and the structure had the potential of disrupting female subordination through rank based on merit and capacity as one woman former militant describes:

There is one thing in armed struggle that allows for more equality; in the context of armed struggle, there is no merit that you didn't need to earn, because life itself was at risk (...) There is no such thing as 'he is more handsome', those things do not matter (...) and if it's a woman or a man does not matter. What matters is getting us out of this problem, so it is about who is most capable (Woman 3).

Some militants were able to take advantage of the space for non-gendered subordination provided by the meritocratic system, while others remained immersed in gendered relations that affected their power over others.

Hierarchical structure of rank, characteristic of *dominating* power relations, in practice promoted non-hegemonic practices. The command structure that issued orders, regardless of the gender identity of the person in charge, were complied with. Seeing women in command positions, acknowledging their merit and capacity in different armed actions and obeying to female command, had an impact on insurgent gender relations and intrinsically challenged the circulation of hegemonic rationale that legitimised masculine superiority based on the subordination of femininity. Thus, rank structure per se should not be viewed as always hegemonic since it can entail the opportunity to reconfigure gender relations with regards to gendered difference and complementary hierarchy. However, this potential depends on the manner in which it is applied in practice since the abuse of rank authority also has the potential of installing and fostering hegemonic patterns.

Despite the prevalence of male connoted attributes, the drive for operational functionality, in particular the need to capitalize on the capacities and contributions of all militants, the M-19 enabled the introduction of norms and practices that did not require subordination of female militants and thus promoted non-hegemonic patterns in insurgent gender relations. Although the alternative gender constructions of insurgent masculinities and femininities, which were

not based on gendered difference and hierarchical complementarity that guarantees male privilege, did exist, elements of friction for male and female insurgents were also present.

2) Affective relationships: as space to assert hegemonic patterns of gender relations

The installation of non-hegemonic patterns in gender relations through insurgent norms and practices did not necessarily translate into full gender equality in the M-19. Rather operational functionality limited gendered discrimination, made gender difference less important in the distribution of tasks and granted access to command positions based on merit and capacity. Instances of gendered inequality based on gender difference and conceptions of hierarchical and complementarity in gender relations coexisted with the former, serving to propagate assumptions of male superiority. However, these cases emerged less in the political-military realm of the M-19, but more in the continuation of affective (heterosexual) partner relationships. Despite its disposition for change in the political-military realm, the M-19 constructed operational functionality in such a way to maintain (heterosexual) partner relationships as an ordering principle to regulate relationships under the pretence of avoiding negative impacts on militant efficiency. This normalisation of partner relationships generated gender difference based on a different set of rules and behavioural expectations for women and men and allowed for complementary hierarchies, in which men could assert their masculine prerogatives by subordinating femininities. A female interviewee highlighted the distinct gendered expectations that coexisted with comrades and with male partners:

Among the comrades, gender relations do change, but among couples they do not. Comrades are one thing and husbands are another. I cannot talk about all male militants. I like men, but, god, beware of 'husbands'. The whole

gender dimension plays out when they (men) become one's husband or the husband of any of the female militants (Woman 2).

A distinct set of rules and expectations governed the affective partner realm versus that of the militant comrade realm, thus demonstrating the entanglement between hegemonic and non-hegemonic patterns in insurgent gender relations. Female guerrilla fighters navigated the two realms of contradictory gendered expectations. In the political-military sphere, female militants were expected to be self-assertive and claim their space as political and military actors. In the affective partner sphere, women were expected to accept their male partner's authority and manifest their subordination. Multiple insurgent femininities and masculinities were shared by the extent to which insurgent women bought into, complied or resisted these contradictory gendered expectations.

Hegemonic patterns of gender relations in the M-19 were more salient in the affective partner sphere, particularly with the assertion of male privilege and the recourse to establishing men as the dominant partner. According to Schippers, *hegemonic masculinities* are "qualities defined as manly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to femininity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Schippers 94). Since in the context of the M-19, qualities linked to *hegemonic masculinities* coexisted alongside idealised traits of the revolutionary combatant, the full embodiment of hegemonic characteristics were not culturally celebrated, thus limiting its prominence. Nonetheless, the practices associated with male dominance continued to circulate and to be asserted through the conflation of male superiority with operational functionality and efficiency. Male dominance as 'heads of household' was legitimised through the assumed naturalisation of complementary gender relations and the continuity to ensure 'order' in partner relationships and avoid the disruption of operational efficiency in the political-military realm. Since jealousy or inter-partner violence were considered as disruptive of operational

functionality, the M-19 aimed to regulate these issues for their potential to disrupt political-military efficiency. Concurrently, other tendencies to assert hegemonic patterns in the militant realm were not addressed. In consequence, insurgent men aimed to assert certain hegemonic qualities in the realm of their relationships free from the threat of sanction, effectively undermining un-hegemonic practices prevalent in the political-military realm. Example of hegemonic qualities that were asserted by male insurgents in the militant realm include enforcing gendered difference that allowed male insurgents to maintain multiple concurrent affective relationships, a practice that was sanctioned when overtly practiced by women. Additionally, the attempted appropriation of female partners' political work was not sanctioned since it was viewed as a privilege rooted in complementary gendered conceptions. Another example was the maintenance of rank authority in private relationships, in which informal and formal power was granted to female partners so men could opt out of the responsibilities of paternity under the guise of alleged incompatibility between parenthood and militancy.

Furthermore, hegemonic patterns in gender relations were asserted around monogamy. As one women interviewee stated, manliness was proven through an active sexual drive and multiple relations: "They (men) have a position in which they sleep with ten women, they do not miss out on a single opportunity" (Woman 2). In contrast, gendered expectations for women established an ideal of fidelity in which women's overtly promiscuous behaviour was suppressed, as one women interviewee explains:

The famous phrase of that (male) commander was 'it doesn't look good that these insurgent women change male partners like they change their underwear'. Consequently, the commander reprimanded women, based on morality, while at the same time he had his formal partner and another woman by his side (Woman 1).

Women's open promiscuity was generally constructed as a threat to internal order and a transgression of militant discipline and treated as

disruption of operational efficiency. In consequence, women's sexuality required regulation, which sometimes occurred with a public reprimand, as one of the female former combatants suggested:

She was an outstanding combatant; she was a talented sharp shooter. But in the political meetings, she was always criticised for having too many partners. They admonished her to put order in her relationships, to change her behaviour and to stop acting 'crazy' being with one partner and then another. Women like that existed and they were suddenly removed them from the (guerrilla) forces; their image destroyed. They removed them or the women themselves, defeated, asked for leave (Woman 4).

In this context, promiscuous femininities constitute *pariah femininities*, which are expressions embodied by women who threaten to contaminate hegemonic gender relations and consequently face stigmatisation and feminization (Schippers 96). Since qualities of *hegemonic masculinities* must remain unavailable to women to guarantee men's exclusive access to these characteristics, women's open promiscuity was constructed as threatening male privilege. These promiscuous femininities were inescapably constructed as feminine ('acting crazy') and sanctioned (removal of threatening women from the guerrilla forces) (Budgeon 8). The defence of the masculine hegemonic privilege of maintaining multiple relationships took precedence over operational efficiency, as 'an outstanding combatant' and 'talented sharp shooter' was separated from the fighting forces. However, the threat of public sanction for visible promiscuity did not end this practice, as women became increasingly cautious and less visible in their multiple relationships. Ironically, hidden promiscuous practices were actually enabled through elements of operational efficiency, such as available birth control measures, enforced compartmentalisation in the context of clandestine actions, tasks and whereabouts, which granted women spaces of autonomy. In this sense, operational functionality generates spaces, but regulates them in accordance with what is considered to be disruptive the internal order.

The tendency to extend male privilege from the affective partner realm to the militant realm was also manifested in the attempt of male partners to appropriate women's work as their own, as this was considered a legitimate resource of complementary partner relationships:

Operating in a the world of men also meant to eventually fall in love with someone who attempts to use this feeling to obtain benefits from your work, nd being aware that this might happenand that you have to take care of your political work. The feelings are one thing and political work is another. This also happened to me. Well, I fell in love with someone who knew that I was involved in leading the urban political work for the organisation and he wanted to take advantage of my political work so he could figure prominently. 'This woman is in love with me, so I take her work and it is mine'. Because it is the traditional way of (doing) things; women usually relinquish the merits of their work. When I say, 'no, wait a moment, this work is mine', his argument in public was: 'You criticise me, because you are in love with me' (Woman 3).

This male militant attempted to usurp his partner's political work by co-opting the altruistic and collective values important to operational efficiency for his own gain and in assertion of male superiority. The resistance of the female militant to relinquish her work is framed as her being 'emotional', 'selfish' or guided by her desire for recognition. Further, this demonstrates the resort to an aggressive form of stigmatisation within an insurgent logic, namely to allege that a woman prioritises personal interests over the organisation's revolutionary goal, while ignoring the man's attempt to undermine the meritocratic system of the militant realm.

Hegemonic masculinity further draws strength from the naturalisation of gendered difference and the establishment of reproductive care-work as an exclusive female-coded sphere. Within the

M-19, motherhood was not constructed as idealised trait of insurgent femininity since it diminished operational functionality for armed struggle. The apparent incompatibility between maternity and insurgent responsibilities led to the argument that motherhood should be postponed until the end of the armed struggle and supplemented with the availability of contraceptive pills and the option of abortion. Despite the fact that pregnancies were allowed within the M-19, there was a social sanction attached to prioritising 'an individual choice' over the collective goal, as expounded by one male interviewee:

Within (the M-19) there is a regulation or orientation to not to provide more children for this war, for the oligarchy. And it was like saying: "sister, you knew about this rule, why did you mess up?". It was a way to sanction this decision to continue with the pregnancy (..) (Man 1)

When female combatants decided to continue their pregnancies, the double burden of militancy and care-work was placed strictly on them, as one woman explains:

I told them (male comrades): when I have a husband like your wives, my life is going to be easy. But in the meantime one has to work double for her militancy and has the work of raising children. I had my first child under very difficult circumstances. So, it is not the same for them (men) to maintain their militancy and be fathers than for one of us to be a militant and to be a mother. For us, it was much more difficult (Woman 1).

In terms of child-rearing responsibilities, insurgent mothers were not only overburdened, but held to the same standards as other militants and faced criticism when not being able to fully comply, as one woman former militant explained:

In a certain manner, male militants had some help because they had a woman who washed the clothes, and made his food; she would also wake him up in the morning so he

wasn't late for his appointments. But not (for) women. This was very much discussed when I had my daughter. To fulfil the tasks as a militant, I woke up at 4 am, I washed her clothes, I made baby food, I prepared her soup, I heated hot water for the thermos. I had to do many things to be able to leave at eight and when I arrived late at an appointment, the comrades then were already there and for them it seemed like I was failing to comply with my responsibility (Woman 3).

The maintenance of gendered difference associated with parenthood overburdened women as it maintained the same requirements and expectations for operational efficiency and functionality, which intrinsically heightened male dominance.

In contrast, male insurgent militants had the option of fathering children without gendered expectations of responsible paternity and could even disown their children, alleging – in line with operational functionality – that paternity was not compatible with militancy. When asked about how he handled paternity during his insurgent militancy, a male militant replied: “You did not live paternity in the mountains. I don't have children. Yes, there are some kids that have my surname, but they have not been my children” (Man 2). While operational functionality theoretically could also extend the same option to female militants, in so far as motherhood is not an idealised trait of insurgent femininity, this was not as prevalent among women as among men.

The maintenance of two spheres governed by contradicting norms and practices was furthered with the acceptance of complementary gender relations among affective partners. For example, female militants were often relocated their high-level male partners changed locations in Colombia. The relocation of women contradicted the meritocracy installed in the political military realm by privileging the emotional stability of male partners over the efficient use of the women's militant capacities. This situation resulted in a weakening of women's standing within the organisation, as a female former militant recalls:

At that time Carlos Pizarro⁶ asked me to sacrifice my development within the organisation so that my partner at that time, a young urban militant he believed in could develop his capacities in a military setting. So, I had to repeat the training, which I had already completed in order to accompany this young man because Carlos Pizarro wanted him to be militarily trained and this was detrimental to my own development. Carlos recognized this and said: 'When you come back, we'll talk again, but now go with him because he would not stay at the training because he is in love with you.' I was foolish enough to accept that proposal. Stupid me (Woman 1).

This woman's reflection highlights the gendered expectations for female partners and their expected willingness to sacrifice their career opportunities and limit their personal advancement for the benefit of their male partners. Male privilege was again concealed by collapsing it with the overarching objective of the collective revolutionary struggle. Although female insurgents generally ended up accompanying their male partners on their missions, at times when this did not occur, female insurgents' resistance severed relationships, as one woman interviewee states:

In my case for example, my comrade was a more military than political cadre, and our arguments were eternal, every day, from morning to night. I think that these arguments would not lead anywhere and there is a moment where he is sent to complete tasks in rural operations; and they start looking for a place for me in the military structures where he will be sent and I say, 'no, no.. my life is here. And what I do is this (political work). So, goodbye' (Woman 3).

These examples suggest that gendered complementary and hierarchical relations were based on the assumption of women's subordination.

Finally, *hegemonic masculinity* is enforced through maintaining the hierarchy of militant rank within affective relationships; this

practice, ensuring male dominance, was not readily available for female commanders who had to actively claim their position, as detailed below. Male commanders within the M-19 had the privilege to transfer informal and formal power to their female partners. This was possible with the introduction of the figure of 'first ladies'. This pattern emerged with increasing institutionalisation of the organisation and became particularly visible during the peace negotiations between the M-19 and the government, particularly "when the Movement opened up and daily life of the M-19 became more public and accessible through installation of peace camps" (Women 1). The figure of 'first ladies' furthered gendered difference in the access to hierarchy, as "women have the power of 'sleeping-up' the hierarchical ladder, a factor of power that men don't have" (Man 3). However, this so-called 'factor of power' was precarious since female partners were replaceable and this "first lady" position was based less on their merit as militants than on their qualities as affective partners. As a result their formal and informal powers were temporal and finished concurrent with the relationship's end. Effectively, the idea of first ladies undermined the meritocracy since these women often lacked a formal position in the rank structure since they were often young and/or new to the organisation. But more importantly, the existence of the figure of the first ladies trivialised the capacities of those women in important support and representative functions of the M-19 command structure, as one women close to this situation remembers:

Despite the fact that they also fulfilled strategic functions as political advisors, thematic delegates, command representatives and mediated between the command structure and the troop, in some instances they were not recognised as 'reserve structures of the command' [*estructuras reserva del mando*] instead their political role was reduced to sleeping with some guy (Woman 3).

Moreover, this dynamic also weakened the role of women who had ascended in the ranks based on their own capacity and happened to maintain a relationship with a commander.

The assertion of male privilege, which originated in partner-relations, in the militant realm illustrates the co-existence of hegemonic and non-hegemonic patterns of insurgent gender relations. The following section will use these findings to identify the multiplicity of masculinities and femininities that existed within the context of the M-19.

3) Multiple insurgent gender constructions and the co-existence of hegemonic and non-hegemonic insurgent gender relations

As previously stated, femininities are co-constitutive of insurgent masculinities. Based on this premise, the distinct and multiple gender constructions within the M-19 can be mapped. In a context of co-existence of hegemonic and non-hegemonic patterns of gender relations, it is important to identify attributes and practices that can be embodied at different times by the same persons, rather than singling out types of women or men.

As explained in the previous sections, the M-19 required operational functionality from their militants who prioritised the collective revolutionary project over individual life choices and demonstrated commitment to the revolutionary goals. The idealised attributes of the comrade identity had gendered underpinnings and enabled the construction of alternative insurgent femininities and masculinities that were functional for the advancement of the political-military struggle in a particular context. Excessive constructions of gendered difference and complementary hierarchy were overlooked, which led to the co-existence of rationales that legitimised superiority of masculinities and subordinated femininities.

Hegemonic masculinities and femininities

Patterns of *hegemonic masculinity* emerged from the naturalisation of heterosexual affective relations that were maintained as functional ordering principle. This principle ensured male dominance of the role of 'heads of household'. Gendered constructions based on gendered difference and hierarchical and complementary relations between female and male militants served to maintain male privilege. Contradictions between the militant and partner identities emerged as male privileges were no longer restricted to affective relations but rather extended, successfully or not, to the operational political-military sphere largely governed by non-hegemonic norms and practices. The assertion of superiority of masculinity often relied on co-opting or appropriating the concepts of operational functionality and altruistic militant values for personal gains.

As it contradicted the individual transformation of the "new man" and relied on the abuse of hierarchical authority, the embodiment of *hegemonic masculinity* countered the idealised version of the revolutionary and heroic combatant. For example, the male rank and file combatant recalls the attempts to separate him from his female partner under the guise of operational functionality (i.e. developing their potential as insurgent militants) so higher ranking commanders could establish a relationship with her, he claims:

At that time and until today, *la Flaca* [the skinny one—a nickname] was a very beautiful woman. And how could I, as rank and file combatant, have such a beauty by my side? So they said: 'Let us see how we can separate them, move her away in order to seduce her'. And that was what they did. But I only realise this now. At that time, I did not think about it this way. I was convinced that the commanders saw her capacities and wanted to develop her potential and also wanted to develop my capacities for the armed struggle – which now can be interpreted as a rather machiavellian and macabre move. So they convinced me,

‘Comrade, you have been chosen to conduct this task’. (..) We spent seven years together (..) Although they tried to separate us, they were never able to. We only separated after the demobilisation (Man 1).

At the time, the existing trust in the organisation prevented the male comrade from identifying these decisions as an intentional move to separate him from his partner, motivated by selfish interests of male leadership in the organisation.

The attempt to assert dominance over other insurgent men through the ‘possession’ of comrade’s female partners was a more common abuse of the rank structure. In the following example, a male commander resorts to continuous subordination and public ridicule of a male rank and file militant in order to assert his own privilege as commander in order to ‘get the woman’, as one women interviewee states:

In the early days of the organisation, there was a case involving a comrade who came originally from the *National Liberation Army* (ELN), with traditional ELN formation that had mobilised in popular struggle and came from a really rough neighbourhood. He cast his eyes on the prettiest girl around, who was the partner of a rank-and-file militant, a university student, a swimmer; he was a very sweet boy, not at all *machista*. They had been a couple since they were fifteen years old. So the commander starts to seduce her. And how does he do it? Here is where the issue of masculinities comes in – all the time ridiculing the rank-and-file comrade, humiliating him, destroying him, using his rank to his advantage. The commander assigned this man the most difficult tasks, ridiculing him when he did not accomplish them. And eventually he takes his woman and the commander became ‘the man of the hour’ who gets the woman (Woman 1).

This narration stresses the abuse of authority to assert male superiority in the political-military realm. Furthermore, this example constitutes a hegemonic feature in so far as the 'possession' of women as sexual objects was used to buttress hierarchies among male combatants. In this case, this abuse of authority was eventually sanctioned, as the superior command structure also relieved this commander from his responsibilities. While this sanction was interpreted as 'progressive' by many militants, a female combatant had a different assessment of the situation: "of course, the *macho commanders* were defending the affront that another man has been stripped of his property (...) they were all saying, 'well, this can happen to me, too' (...) and this sanction indicates male complicity" (Woman 1). While in this particular case, the transgression of the code of conduct was sanctioned, other less visible attempts, such as the separation of couples were not acknowledged and were perpetuated through male complicity.

The perpetuation of hegemonic patterns in gender relations also required the buy-in, acceptance and contribution from women, who resorted to *hegemonic femininities* when embodying "characteristics defined as womanly that establish and legitimate a hierarchical and complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity and that, by doing so, guarantee the dominant position of men and the subordination of women" (Schippers 94). In the context of the M-19, womanly characteristics implied assertiveness as political-military agents for change, engaging in combat, as well as deciding against or postponing motherhood. The result was the legitimisation of a hierarchical and complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity, such as the case in which women accepted their male partners' promiscuity. One women interviewee narrates: "Those men easily maintained three female partners at the same time. And the three women knew perfectly that they were three (..) They slept and lived together in the same house" (Woman 1). Moreover, *hegemonic femininities* within the M-19 accepted the appropriation of their work by selflessly renouncing the acknowledgement and merit of their actions. In addition, they assumed a subordinated role when they were deployed alongside their male

partners, contributing to the male heads of household privilege. Hegemonic femininities also meant the acceptance of the double burden as militants and mothers to compensate for irresponsible paternity. These hegemonic femininities also ensured a complementary relationship to hegemonic masculinity by living up to gendered behavioural expectations as, one woman interviewee characterises as “the good girls’, who only slept with their partners, did not get drunk, and did nothing wrong” (Woman 2). In other words, the avoidance of so-called disruptive behaviour such as promiscuity, excessive complaining or voicing jealousy, were avoided.

The embodiment of *hegemonic femininities* in the M-19 implied balancing contradictory gendered expectations in which women militants were assertive political comrades and women in affective relationships served as submissive complements to their male partners.

Non-hegemonic masculinities and femininities

N*on-hegemonic* expressions of femininity aimed to live up to the militant comrade ideals while resisting gendered expectations of subordination as partners and implementing non-hegemonic norms and practices in their affective partner relations. *Non-hegemonic femininities* were motivated by the contradiction between militant practices put forth for operational functionality (meritocratic rank system, idealisation of the ‘new man’ and attached aspirations for transformative change) and gendered expectations of subordination to male authority.

Many female insurgents, refusing to embody *hegemonic femininities*, resisted the assertion of male privilege that had its origins in affective partner relations in their interactions with other. This included the refusal to give up the acknowledgement and merit for their actions, publically criticising the attempts to appropriate their work, or insisting on respect of their rank positions within affective relationships. They further resisted by arguing with their partners, refusing to comply or

raising formal complaints with the leadership structure. The following interviewee explains how she resisted her male partner's attempt to control the household finances, she states:

The arguments with my partner were about his wanting to control our finances and only give me what I needed for a trip. But I had a higher rank and I was in the *National Directorate*, not him. Because there's an idea that men manage the couple's finances, while I had the higher hierarchy. Those were really tough discussions. (..) His argument was that the Commanders had given him the money. So I ended up stating that he had to give me exactly half of everything or I would not go on this trip because I was not going to risk my safety and in the case of an emergency and I would not have the means to go elsewhere. This is a manner in which the commanders highlighted the power of the male partner, even if he had no hierarchy and had less rank than I did and could also reject my commands (..) There is complicity among them and also his expecting that he could control me with money. The money they gave to him, who normally did not have any, power over me (Woman 1).

This example indicates how the assertion of male dominance often relies on complicity from other males, in this case those in higher command structures who gave the money to the man, undermining her higher rank.

As I have demonstrated embodying *non-hegemonic femininities* came at the cost of being branded selfish or considered disruptive of operational functionality and often implied tough decisions, such as separation from male partners. However, the guerrilla environment provided space for manoeuvring and navigating the contradictory and co-existing gendered expectations for female militants. When these did not overtly threaten hegemonic masculinities. When resistance was an outright challenge to *hegemonic masculinity*, such as the case of women

daring to practice aspects of *hegemonic masculinity* as seen in the example of *pariah femininities*, these female insurgents were stigmatised, considered a threat to operational functionality and often received public sanctions.

Beyond the resistance to specific attempts to assert male dominance, *non-hegemonic femininities* were also possible with the acceptance of *non-hegemonic masculinities* that emerge in complicity between comrades. Insurgent men embodied non-hegemonic gender patterns when they accepted their female peers on equal footing, acknowledged the meritocratic system as an ordering principle and respected rank positions regardless of gendered identity of the commander in charge. On a personal level, embodying non-hegemonic patterns entailed embracing the idea of transformative change by renouncing male privileges. The *dominant* or most frequent expressions of masculinities embodied by rank-and-file militants were those that aimed to live up to the idealised versions of the revolutionary fighter and were culturally celebrated within the M-19 rationale. Even when they held rank positions, as *dominating* versions of insurgent masculinities, commanders could engage in practices that promoted non-hegemonic practices and decisions that challenged subordination of femininities on gendered grounds.

The culturally celebrated versions of non-hegemonic masculinities were those that came the closest to practicing revolutionary ideals that integrated militants in the facets as combatants and as partners. In several instances, alternative insurgent masculinities co-existed with hegemonic masculinities. While some men might comply and actively enforce non-hegemonic patterns in the militant realm, the experiences analysed indicate that these same men could assert their privilege in the realm of their affective relationships. In other words, these male militants could buy-in but they did not have to, highlighting the manner in which non-hegemonic practices and hegemonic practices could, and did, co-exist.

Conclusion

By placing femininities at the centre of my analysis, I have aimed to explore multiple masculinities in the context of a historic guerrilla movement in Colombia. Insurgent organisations, as temporary institutions opposing the status quo and proposing social change, often generate an operational functionality that allows for non-hegemonic patterns in gender relations originating in the political-military sphere, while maintaining hegemonic idealised attributes of complementary relations of (heterosexual) affective relationships. Despite operating in a militarised context, in which male connoted attributes continued to be valued, alternative gender constructions in this case examined did emerge, but rather than replacing one system for another, hegemonic and non-hegemonic patterns co-existed. The reconfiguration of gender arrangements linked to the political-military sphere was made possible with the introduction of a new comrade identity that circulated idealised attributes and gendered behavioural expectations. These new gender arrangements also entailed changes for male insurgents in which women were viewed as their political peers and they abstained from exercising male privilege. At the same time, female combatants were encouraged to assume political and military roles and depart from prevalent roles as mothers and dependants.

Focusing on the constructions of insurgent femininities, particularly viewing these as co-constitutive of multiple insurgent masculinities, brings to light the diverse manners in which hegemonic and non-hegemonic patterns co-existed in insurgent gender relations. My identification of practices as militants and in affective relationships rather than on 'types' of women and men provides the conceptual space to capture the complexities and dynamics involved in the continuous (re)negotiations of gender arrangements. Multiple insurgent masculinities and femininities can be discerned in the women's and men's decisions to buy-in, resist or challenge everyday practices and gendered behavioural expectations. As I have shown, this occurs when male insurgents aim to assert their partner privileges with female

militants; when female insurgents maintain the rank structure in relation to their male partner or when female militants challenge gendered expectations by engaging in the same sexual practices as their male comrades. As such, I posit that 'pure' non-hegemonic or hegemonic masculinity do not exist as both depend on the specific context and concrete actions taken by female or male insurgents to comply with or challenge gendered behavioural expectations in the different realms.

My efforts to distinguish conceptually hegemonic from non-hegemonic practices aims to transcend discussions surrounding the possibility of gender-equality in insurgent contexts. Employing interviews with women and men former militants, I have mapped out instances in which male and female combatants identified improvements, changes, ruptures or continuation regarding insurgent gender relations within the larger context of gender arrangements in Colombian society in the 1970s and 1980s. Female ex-combatants interviewed valued the space that the M-19 gave to women in terms of their participation in a project of national liberation, being acknowledged as valued members of this political project and access to increased spaces for to exercise their agency, which for lack of a more precise concept, these women labelled 'more equal gender relations' between male and female combatants.

Furthermore, the consistent application of only labelling as hegemonic the practices that disseminate a legitimising rationale of superiority of masculinity and the subordination of femininity opens the possibility of exploring gender dynamics that emerge in the context of non-hegemonic power asymmetries, for example along urban-rural divides. This exploration has also demonstrated that hierarchies of rank are not intrinsically hegemonic features, but can enable hegemonic practices with the abuse of authority. Similarly, as much as the idealisation of the heroic insurgent combatant strongly corresponds to male connoted attributes valued in a militarised context, its construction is not always linked to the devaluation and subordination of insurgent femininities, and as such, cannot be labelled hegemonic. In addition, the assertions of hegemonic masculinities in the political-military sphere

were marginalised since it was counter to the idealised construction of the heroic combatant that conflicts with the male appropriation of women's work, advancing individual interests to the detriment of the collective project, and even entails sanctions when the practice involved an obvious abuse of power.

In conclusion, the findings presented in this essay aim to inform the research of other scholars interested in unpacking militarised gender constructions in the context of insurgent armed struggle. As I continue research on this topic, I envision the further exploration of the constructions of multiple masculinities and femininities in the context of the M-19 throughout the organisation's existence. In particular, research is needed that engages with the manners in which increasing institutionalisation of guerrilla movements entail shifts in gender norms and practices, starting with and the clandestine early work through the expansion of actions from urban to rural settings and finally culminating in the peace negotiations. Further, the co-existence of hegemonic and non-hegemonic patterns also opens the possibility of identifying the multiple constructions of masculinities and femininities in different work areas, such as political and community mobilisation, intelligence gathering, combat units or international diplomacy.

Secondly, to apply findings emerging from this exploration to map the constructions of multiple gendered constructions in other insurgent contexts, in order to establish to what extent the disposition for change and operating in a context of liberation can be generalised to other guerrilla movements.

Lastly, scholars interested in gender dynamics in the transitional justice period (transition from a context of armed conflict towards post-conflict) my findings have contributed elements to better explore the manner in which gender relations are affected by the dismantlement of insurgent organisations and the disappearance of the comrade identity within the context of disarmament and demobilisation, particularly the gendered mechanisms in the context of reintegration into civilian life.

It is my belief that my research and future explorations on connected topics contribute to furthering our understanding of how multiple gender constructions are created through constant re-negotiation embedded in which hegemonic and non-hegemonic patterns co-exist.

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- Woman 3. Personal interview on 2 April 2010 and 7 April 2010 in Bogota.
- Woman 4. Interview on 19 November 2002 in Popayan.
- Man 1. Personal interview on 18 April 2010 in Bogota.
- Man 2. Personal interview on 13 April 2010 and 16 April 2010 in Bogota.
- Man 3. Personal interview on 3 April 2010 and 16 April 2010 in Bogota.
- Man 4. Personal interview on 13 April 2010 in Bogota.

¹ These include the Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia (FARC), the National Liberation Army (ELN) and the People's Liberation Army (EPL).

² For example, the M-19 leadership designated Carmona Cardona, alias *Chiqui*, as the chief negotiator in the hostage take-over of the embassy of the Dominican Republic in 1980, which for a long time was considered the most important action of the M-19.

³ The founding members, as well as many of the collaborators and sympathisers of the M-19 in the popular neighbourhoods of cities like Bogota, came from the socialist ANAPO. Its commanders were dissidents of the *Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia* (FARC) and the Communist Party (Toro 52).

⁴ Simón Bolívar was the 19th century liberator that resulted in independence of many Latin American nations from Spain.

⁵ Starting with the (failed) cease-fire agreement (1983), searches for political negotiations included the agreement of *Truce and National Dialogue* (1984-1985), which allowed for the installation of 'peace and democracy camps' that served as the space for deliberation or creation of a *Commission of Democratic Co-existence* (1987), which was to construct a peace proposal for consideration of the government (Prieto Rozos 266-267).

⁶ Carlos Pizarro was commander of the M-19 between 1986-1990. After the peace agreements, he became the presidential candidate of the *Alianza Democrática M-19* for the presidential term 1990-1994. He was assassinated during the election campaign on 26th of April 1990.

Masculine protest and gender performance among Mexico City's young offenders

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Abstract :

The increase in violence in Latin American cities during the first decades of the XXI Century has caught the attention of the local governments, civil society and international organizations, who seek to explain the phenomenon and provide solutions through public policy. Regardless of local contexts, the main protagonists of social violence in the region are mainly marginalized young men, who convert their neighborhoods into trenches of meaning and make a tool out of violence in order to claim the power of patriarchy they cannot achieve by other means. Based on the testimonies collected through focus groups with 84 young offenders in Mexico City's prison system, I will analyze juvenile delinquency from a cultural perspective that allows us to observe it as a performative act of the gender order, and to describe the symbolic meanings that relate the exercise of juvenile delinquency with a masculine protest, as defined by R.W. Connell.

Key words: Masculine protest, Mexico City, young offenders, young males, violence

Eril Protesto ve Mexico City'nin Genç Suçlularının Toplumsal Cinsiyet Performansları

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Özet :

Yirmi birinci yüzyılın ilk on yıl yılında Latin Amerika şehirlerinde artan şiddet, bu olguyu anlamaya ve kamu politikaları ile çözmeye çalışan yerel hükümetlerin, sivil toplumun ve uluslararası örgütlerin dikkatini çekti. Yerel bağlamdan bağımsız olarak, bölgedeki sosyal şiddetin ana karakterleri genelde kenara itilmiş genç erkeklerdir. Bu erkekler mahallelerini “anlam siperlerine” dönüştürürler ve başka bir yöntemler elde edemeyecekleri ataerkinin gücünden paylarını almak için şiddeti araçsallaştırırlar. Mexico City cezaevlerinde yatan 84 genç suçlu ile gerçekleştirilen odak grubu çalışmasını temel alarak, kültürel bir perspektiften çocuk suçluluğunu inceleyeceğim. Bu perspektif, çocuk suçluluğunu cinsiyet rejiminin performatif bir eylemi olarak değerlendirme ve çocuk suçu eylemlerini, R. W. Connell'in tanımladığı şekliyle, eril protesto ile ilişkilendiren sembolik anlamları tarif etme imkânı tanıyor.

Anahtar kelimeler: Eril protesto, çocuk suçluluğu, Mexico City, genç erkekler, şiddet

According to the 2013-2014 Regional Human Development Report of the United Nations Development Programme (V), Latin America had an 11% increase in lethal violence in the first decade of the XXI century which represents over a million dead people, most of them were young men. In Mexico, the World Bank's Report on Youth Violence (27) showed that between 2000 and 2010, the annual homicides rate per every 100,000 inhabitants was 1.4 for women and 10.8 for men. From 2007 to 2010¹, that number was multiplied by 2.6 for women and 3.4 for men. Young men are also the main perpetrators of social violence. According to the National Survey on Victimization and Perception of Public Security 2013 (INEGI, Tab II), 86.5% of crimes in Mexico were committed by males only². The highest percentage of offenders, 33.5%, were under 25 years old, while the 30.2% was aged 26 to 36, and only 18.5% was over 36 years old.

Statistics show that crime in Mexico is a social problem related to youth and masculinity. This is undoubtedly a multifactorial phenomenon, however, an analysis from the perspective of masculinity studies will overcome the visions that criminalize young men, and will confirm the close relation between the cultural construction of masculinity and the exercise of violence expressed in juvenile delinquency.

Throughout this article I will argue that is possible to observe a gender logic related to masculinity in the exercise of Mexico City's juvenile delinquency. This logic is presented in the form of "masculine protest" (Connell 109) and is a performative act that showcases the cultural discourses associated with social construction of marginalized masculinity.

Focus groups with young offenders in Mexico City

This research arose from a long term fieldwork at a center for young offenders in Mexico City's prison system. In 2012, the period in which

this research was conducted, the center received over 4,000 young men and women who were accused of committing a crime in the city. In that same year, 90.5% of the detained young offenders in Mexico City were prosecuted for theft, 13 % for rape, and 2.73% for murder³.

A total of 84 boys, aged 13 to 20, participated in 18 discussion groups conducted from March to December, 2012. During the discussion groups, subjects were asked to converse about topics such as violence against women, masculinity and community violence in their neighborhoods. The participants also narrated the experience of being arrested. As Canales and Peinado (290) describe, discussion groups allow observing the speech of the research subjects in the context of a dialogue situation, which made this methodological strategy ideal for this research interested in observing the social discourses of masculinity in the context of peer group.

Minimal intervention of the researcher during the discussions was also a good methodological option for this study because young offenders have gone through constant psychological, legal, and social work interviews that make them suspicious and reluctant to cooperate. It's not unusual to hear them say they are tired of telling their life to strangers, that they are bored or that they just do not understand what benefit will come from these interviews.

In recognition of the symbolic violence involved in the interview, especially in the context I have just described, I decided that the boys should act as interviewers, while my role was limited to establishing and briefly presenting the general topic, and controlling the duration of the discussion. They elaborated their own questions and the discussion group was carried on as an informal conversation between them.

This exercise was useful in several ways. First, the boys asked questions that I had not initially considered, as they have a deeper knowledge of the social environment they were referring to in the discussions. In addition, topics took unexpected directions and ended up discussing social phenomena they observe in their communities but do not have any opportunities to talk about in public, such as the

discrimination they receive from adults, the impact that violent events have on them and the tense relationship with the police. Finally, it seems significant to note the change in the power relation, since they ceased to be passive interviewees and became active interviewers.

Social marginalization and masculine protest

Mexico City is the location with the lowest urban deprivation rates in the country, nevertheless, the highest percentage (17.8%) of the participants in this research lived in marginalized neighborhoods of Iztapalapa, one of the 16 boroughs that Mexico City is divided into, and the region of the city with highest urban deprivation: 369, 716 people, 20.6% of the total population of the borough, live in “high” or “very high” levels of marginalization (CONAPO 2010).

Male population in these neighborhoods has a “low” average education level, which means that the typical men studied 8.7 years. Only one of the participants in this research lives in a zone where education level average reaches university. The testimonies of the boys that participated in the discussion groups show a tense relationship with the education system. They perceived school as a place they don’t belong to, and abandoned it very early. On the other hand, many of them were expelled from school after their detention because they were seen as a bad example or because their teachers thought they were too irresponsible and dangerous; others decided not to return to school because they feared rejection.

The percentage of male unemployment in these areas of the city is above the national average, 5.12% in July 2013, and in some cases the percentage reaches 25%. It is worth mentioning that most of the neighborhoods where participants live have been historically associated with crime, insecurity, and informal trade. Most of the boys were working with relatives in temporary or casual jobs: helping at informal food or clothing stands, selling candy on the public transport, working as truck or bus drivers, or as apprentices in manual labour or trades. In

other cases, they accepted risky jobs related to gambling or cockfighting, because this activities represented higher gains.

As Nayak (813-815) argues, these boys face complex transformations in the economic system that impact upon masculine identities, endangered by the uncertainty of labour market. However, precarious conditions in Mexico and Latin America completely alienated marginalized men from the working class, and eliminated their possibilities of accessing the legal labour market because they are excluded from the increasingly specialized training required by the productive sphere.

These structural conditions of historical marginalization that permeate and difficult planning paths of life for young men in Latin America, create a scenario in which the masculine protest is presented with higher levels of violence, elevated social costs and involve a larger percentage of the population. Currently, as the conditions of inequality deepen and the gap between the rich and the poor grows, expectations for young people in marginalized areas become even worst. Labor options for these young people are increasingly being reduced to crime and informality (ILO 1-2).

In order to analyze these specific relations between masculinities in diverse contexts, Connell and Messerschmidt (849) suggest observing hegemonic masculinities at a local, regional and global level. In doing so, we will be able to recognize relations between different forms of masculinity and particularities in the different levels. Young offenders in Mexico City, as observed in this research, perceived hegemonic masculinity as a distant model that do not corresponds to their own lives but still, manages to create an ideal image of what they consider to be “a good man”. As Connell and Messerschmidt explain “these models do, in various ways, express widespread ideals, fantasies, and desires. They provide models of relations with women and solutions to problems of gender relations.” (838).

In contrast, the performative act of violence shows a close relationship between the exercise of juvenile delinquency and “protest masculinity”, defined by Connell and Messerschmidt as “a pattern of

masculinity constructed in local working-class settings, [...], 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.” (848).

As we will see in the following pages, young offenders in Mexico City seek access to the power of patriarchy and try to transit from the childhood condition to the male hierarchy of adult males through exaggerated demonstration of masculine characteristics that offer prestige in the local level. The condition of marginalization sets its own cultural codes to acquire prestige and power according to the resources they have access to, which are often limited to the exercise of violence.

The performative act. Masculine practices in juvenile delinquency

The normative dimension of the gender order is responsible for establishing requirements and prohibitions according to the position occupied in gender relations. These requirements and prohibitions can be punished or rewarded socially and, according to Scott, they “set forth interpretations of the meanings of the symbols, that attempt to limit and contain their metaphoric possibilities. These concepts are expressed in religious, educational, scientific, legal, and political doctrines and typically take the form of fixed binary opposition, categorically and unequivocally asserting the meaning of male and female, masculine and feminine.” (1067). According to José Olavarria, in the case of males, compliance with these requirements and prohibitions ensures the membership of the individual to the male world. On the other hand, disobeying the norm can mean rejection from the other men but also from women (Olavarria 123-124).

The existence of a normative dimension of the gender order shows that the acts that subjects perform to meet the standards of masculinity, are involved in a grid of social meanings and power relations that go beyond the subject and precede him in social life. “Surely, there are nuanced and individual ways of *doing* one’s gender,

but *that* one does it, and that one does it in *accord with* certain sanctions and proscriptions, is clearly not a fully individual matter.” (Butler 276).

Youth is a particularly important step for men, since they must undergo a series of tests or performative acts that allow them to entry adulthood and 'become a man'. Norma Fuller understands adolescence as a liminal stage, in terms of Victor Turner, in which young people still lack the attributes necessary to be recognized as men, but are no longer children. In this liminality, "masculinity is defined as a status to achieve and as certain qualities to be developed" (Fuller 73).

Masculinity is not obtained directly but must be earned and constantly proved. Men receive demands and pressures to show their manhood. Olavarria ensures that, in response, young men may justify some practices that are inconsistent with their own moral values, under the arguments of responsibility and honor.

Adolescence is perhaps one of the stages of men's life in which this crossroads are presented with more strength, because it is the period of initiatory tests that permit the passage to adulthood. The terms of the dominant / hegemonic masculinity begin to be consciously embodied and impel them to be tested against themselves and against others. This is one of the stages of men's life in which a series of violent behavior is warranted as responsible practices (124).

Connell coincides with Judith Butler when she says that this staging of the normative dimension of the gender order is not individual but social. However, frustration and helplessness caused by not being able to fulfill the mandates of masculinity do have effects at the individual level and the construction of identity.

The difference is that this is a collective practice, not something within a person. [In the street gangs of the working class] there appears to be no pattern of equal development, except, of course, the level of tension caused by poverty and a violent

environment. Through interaction with this context, the child learns to show a tense facade, strange, claiming a power where it is clear that there are no real resources to obtain it.

These young people have great concern about maintaining this facade; they spend a lot of energy trying to exhibit certain aspect. (Connell 160).

Mexico City's young offenders make huge efforts to maintain the facade, but also take great risks. Awareness of the risks is what confers value to the act, if they were not aware of the benefits that can be obtained and the symbolic capital that involves assuming them, there would be no sense in risking life and freedom.

In the testimonies and discussions that occurred during the focus groups, the practices related to masculinity that young men were mostly concerned about, were related to earning enough money for them or for their family, the ability to protect, physical and emotional strength, respect from peers, and the exercise of violence.

Labour has not the same significance for the new generation, youth does not have the same appreciation that their parents or grandparents gave to it, and however, it still remains relevant in terms of independence. Young people want to work in order to stop depending on their parents, to have a girlfriend, to stop obeying the rules, or to leave home; but the idea of supporting the family in the context of precariousness still persists.

The participants in the discussion groups explained that many of them used to rob for ambition, because they wanted to have 'easy' money to spend on clothes or to afford expensive things when they go out with their girlfriends. They also said that having money made them feel independent. The possibility to consume, rather than the fact of having a job, allowed them to feel the sensation of being adults.

Permanent job is still present in the discourse and imagery of youth when building a virtual masculinity that exists in the discourse but not in the practice. According to the following testimonies obtained in

the discussion groups⁴, this characteristic distinguishes them from 'honest' and 'responsible' men, and separates them from hegemonic masculinity represented in the 'good men' who have 'decent' lives.

An honest man is someone who works and keeps his money.

An honest man knows how to allocate his money: some for his wife, some for his children. It means having your money well assigned, and being able to organize your life.

There was a shared belief that the money 'ill-gotten' they earn, vanishes really fast. They said that sometimes it even disappeared from their pockets or they just spend it all inviting friends to eat or drink, but they should do so because when they did not have any money, their friends invited them.

The money you earn badly, badly disappears. Very fast, it disappears. The money well earned you can give it to your mom and you don't have to hide from the police.

Adolescents who were close to adulthood or those who were firstborns expressed the need to fulfill the requirement to contribute financially to the household. Those who had children of their own felt uncomfortable when living at their father's house, especially when the father was the main provider, instead of themselves. Precarization of labor, exclusion and lack of opportunities, hamper efforts to get money legally.

Changing practices in gender roles is also present virtually in the discourses of these young men, most of them agreed that couples should communicate to share expenses and that it is increasingly common for women to participate as providers in their families. But a large part of them saw things differently when it came to their own life. They sustained that, although they understand the importance of gender equality, society doesn't approve disobedience of gender roles regarding the supply of money and activities at home, and therefore, their image would suffer if they disobeyed. They expressed this change in gender roles as follows:

It is not always the man who holds the family but when it's done by a woman, it's not appropriated.

One thing is that your girlfriend pays for your ice cream or something. That would be different. But I pay when we go to the movies, I pay for everything. That's what men are made for, for paying! Women were made to be treated tenderly, lovingly.

Just as a woman looks bad drinking beer, a man looks bad washing dishes. What will the neighbors think if they see me?

The act of protection is powerfully linked to masculinity and demonstration of strength, courage and responsibility. Several teenagers were arrested for fighting other men in response to what they considered an insult or a threat to a woman. One of them narrated the moment of his detention and explained that he was on the street with his friends when they saw a girl walking alone on the sidewalk and then she was attacked by another group of men. He and his friends decided to defend her, but the other group reacted and caused a pitched fight that attracted the police. Another one claimed that he and his family got involved in an automobile accident that was followed by a heated discussion with the other driver, who ended up insulting the boy's mother. He tried to defend her but the other person called the police and accused him and his mother of injury, so they were detained.

Some of the teenagers committed the crime for loyalty, fear or imitation to those men located at a higher position of the male hierarchy in which they operate and represent the models of masculinity they want to follow. Most of the time it comes to close relatives such as parents, uncles or older siblings. For example, two of the boys were detained because the older brother of one of them assaulted a man in the street. They tried to stop him but he told them it was time they learned and called them 'brats'. The threat of infantilization made them support the crime. In other cases, adolescents defended other men younger than

themselves, whom they considered they should protect, as the next testimony explains:

They caught me with my cousin, he got into trouble because he fought a guy and the guy shoved a cell phone in his backpack to say he had stolen it. When I arrived, the police men were beaten my cousin and they arrested me for defending him.

The exercise of violence and the adoption of risk behaviors for demonstrating courage and gaining respect from the peer group are socially required in the context of marginalization, but they also represent a personal challenge that needs to be constantly demonstrated.

Most adolescents said they were aware that violence does not necessarily make them brave. A recurring phrase in the discussion groups was that someone is brave when he dares to say 'no', referring mostly to refusing to give in to peer pressure that leads them to stealing, drinking or using drugs. Again, this was only in the discourse, but in the practice, their worries for social pressure were evident when they talked about 'defending oneself', 'making people respect you', or 'pulling out the claws'. They spoke of a great need to show that no one can 'mess with you' and if they do, there must be consequences.

Action is what produces the sensation of meeting the demands of gender normativity and, therefore, gives identity. This is exposed by the following testimony, which shows that the act of stealing generates the feeling of courage that the gender order demands. Same happens with the acts of fighting, alcohol and drug abuse, feminizing insults, and the defense of honor.

In order to feel brave I started to rob, I felt that I would never be caught or than if I was caught and they take me where ever they take me, I will resist, for I was brave.[...] When I was high and stuff, I felt brave, I felt badass. I used to put myself in danger because I just went and robbed and

didn't know what was going to happen. Felt brave because when some kids stared at me, I used to tell them things or hit them.

The normative dimension of the gender order not only establishes specific requirements for men to achieve, it also enacts prohibitions. The most recurrent prohibitions in the life stories of young offenders are referred to the demonstration of affection, expression of feelings, and request for help. Their family histories include breakups, violence, terminal illness of close relatives, and consistent losses of affective bonding. At the discussion groups, adolescents commented that instead of expressing how they feel about their family situation, they prefer to avoid the problems by being away from home as long as possible, going to parties or using drugs and alcohol. Alcohol and drug consumption is identified as an indicator of adulthood and masculinity: consumption makes you feel older, it makes you a man, and it makes you brave; but it also allows that during the influence of alcohol or drugs, men express the feelings and worries, which is socially prohibited at other moments.

The space / scenario

The negative implication that has been symbolically assigned to the private spheres of social life generates a rejection of male subjectivity that seeks to distance itself by joining the relations of production, characteristics of the public sphere. The symbolic inferiority of private space not only affects those subjects who, because of their biological conditions, have been socially oriented to reproduction; it also forces out into the public space those who have been historically associated with physical labor and economic productivity.

In "Masculine Domination" Bourdieu explains how the logic of domination manages to instill in women the same negative image the dominant logic has imputed to them, but he also describes men's need to distance themselves from the private sphere associated with femininity, and to strengthen their position of power in relation to women, but

especially over other men regarding dominance within the economic and political order.

This symbolic violence explains the heightened need of men to accomplish a satisfactory performance in rites of passage, even by risking life and freedom, in order to demonstrate their ability to enter the public arena of competition, the relations of production, power and politics, and to abandon the private sphere considered feminine, weak, emotional or childish. Only this demonstration, supported by other men, will allow them to succeed in the public sphere and to be considered competent to occupy a privileged place in patriarchy power.

Masculinity studies have succeeded in describing that the transition from private to public space happens from different rites of passage that are met primarily during adolescence, and whose target audience is the peer group. Teens must show they are no longer children and that they are able to get away from the female domestic sphere. The performative characteristics of masculinity often include violence in the form of fights, violence, unsafe sex and accidents related to alcohol and drugs.

Research on masculinities and violence in Mexico (Rodríguez; Sánchez) show the relationship between masculinity and youth mortality, whose main causes are associated to injuries from fights, murders with firearms, traffic accidents related to alcohol and speeding, and suicides. This occurs in the public sphere and has a direct relation with masculinity, peer group pressure to show courage, and taking risks to establish hierarchies within the group. In the case of suicide, there is often a frustration of being unable to meet the demands of gender structures or a relation with social prohibition regarding the demonstration of sensitivity, weakness, or asking for help (Seidler).

Moving away from the private sphere also includes emotional distancing from family relationships, that is why social relationships established with the peer group become vital in shaping youth identity. Peer group is responsible for establishing behaviors that will be considered masculine or reject and punish –symbolically and physically– those considered childish or feminine. Furthermore, a series of alliances

and emotional ties are built in it, as a result of the complicity involved in transgressing together the rules and regulations established by the adult world.

Among marginalized young men, the neighborhood [*el barrio*] represents the primary peer group with which alliances, hierarchies, meanings and identities are constructed. According to Valenzuela, the neighborhood is one of the most important spaces for youth socialization in Mexico:

The neighborhood is a structured and structuring space for power relations. The street or neighborhoods are important places in youth meeting. Among poor and middle class youth, *el barrio* participates as one of the fundamental components of secondary socialization, where codes, meanings, routines and, generally, cultural praxis from which young people signify life and shape their styles and formations of life (Valenzuela Arce 31).

Olavarria ensures that access to public spaces is one of the many areas in which males have greater resources than women. Since boys have more freedom to go out, they are less required for domestic activities and are motivated by their parents to the appropriation of the street, which is understood as a masculine space where men socialize and conduct tests that allow them to settle in the male hierarchy.

The appropriation of the street becomes central to the formation of the identity of marginalized young men, who cannot compete for public space in the productive and political spheres. The tests required to accomplish the transition in this context involve risky behaviors related to masculine protest, which constantly have as outcome the violation of the law, either on purpose or by accident. Furthermore, the control and defense of territory becomes so relevant that it deserves to risk life and liberty, when threatened by rival groups.

Tests for the appropriation of street in juvenile delinquency involve minor tasks without much responsibility, but relevant enough to show that the actors are able to join the public sphere of the

neighborhood and the gang. Some activities include being 'shoplifters', i.e. stealing products in supermarkets or department stores for a larger band, usually led by adults. They are also responsible to keep an eye or warn if anyone approaches while others commit the crime.

Regarding the confrontations for the defense territory and community violence in their "*barrios*", the boys said there were certain streets they could not walk through because they had problems with kids who gather there. They also explained that one thing that could save them from everyday violence were alliances and loyalties with other men recognized within the male hierarchy. To achieve these alliances they had to go through tests that sometimes involved a fight or an act of violence, but assured them protection of the group for further occasions. Another way to avoid the violence was the family relationship with a man who had an important position in the male hierarchy, as the next testimony explains:

I live in a slum, nobody enters there. Near my house drunks come together and if you go out there they'll yell things at you. But they don't mess with me because my uncle is with them and if they do anything to me, they will have to deal with him.

The neighborhood is the scenario where young offenders present their male performance related to violence. In Spanish, the phrase "*el barrio*" has two meanings, the first one refers to it as space, the neighborhood; and the second one refers to the peer group, the gang. It is constructed from the cultural codes of masculinity but it also confers meaning and builds identities. It is the physical representation of *habitus* and the material expression of gender normativity that is present through peer group in order to evaluate, reward or punish, physically and symbolically, performative acts of its members.

Building a frightening body

Based on the foundations of *Queer theory*, theories of performative masculinity state that being a male consists of series of acts - regulated by gender normative- that make appear as natural what is actually the result of a great performative effort. These acts are punished or rewarded with symbolic capital, which can later be exchanged for other types of capital (Nuñez Noriega 55).

This theoretical posture allows observing masculinity not as something natural, essential or permanent, but as the result of a complex process of everyday performative acts that put on the stage symbolic and normative dimensions of masculinity and build the actor's body during the process. From this explanation, it is easier to understand the relevance of the performative act and its acceptance by the peer group since, without it, the construction of identity, space and the body itself becomes meaningless.

Regarding the status of youth, another element considered biological, José Manuel Valenzuela proposes the need to question what biological elements of youth are actually socially conditioned, and how social and material conditions modify the ways in which the bodies go through the different biological stages, for example, the tendency of young peasants to join adulthood faster than urban young people from the upper classes (22).

The intensity of time allows us to identify unequal forms of aging, for time is inscribed on the face and body, and participates in defining projects and personal and social expectations. The concept of social time allows breaking down the perspective of a linear time and understanding social and individual processes that denote social discontinuities ... (Valenzuela Arce 24).

Mexico City's young offenders are a clear example: bodies, faces and expressions are modified and hardened to show courage, strength and toughness. The constant proximity to danger, marginalization and the conception of death as an everyday possibility, modifies the notion of

vital time and causes accelerated aging that can be clearly seen when comparing the physical appearance of a teenager from any poor neighborhood with one of a higher economic level.

Besides the elements considered biological, as gender and aging, the bodies of marginalized young men are loaded with meanings. Daily life in the neighborhood requires a display of masculine power that exalts strength and courage. Corporal adornment is essential for the performance of masculinity, for resisting the oppression of the adult world, and for sending messages to intimidate authorities and rival groups. Tattoos, piercings, haircuts and specific brands of clothes decorate the frightening body.

The body is the only material possession on which marginalized young men may have some kind of autonomy. Although always restricted by social control, they use their skin to resist oppression from the adult world, to bring the neighborhood wherever they go and to send clear messages, as specified by Alfredo Nateras: "If the body is a territory and a space inhabited, (...) the body speaks and is a kind of map susceptible to reading and interpretation of their validity." (Nateras Domínguez 233).

Foucault's biopower concept states that the mechanisms of power try to steer or impose the will of the people over their own bodies. José Manuel Valenzuela argues that despite the existence of this type of control, people do not assimilate the power automatically; instead, they generate resistance through the same bodies. The use of the body for building opposition, resistance and identities is defined by Valenzuela Arce as bioculture.

Bioculture involves the biopolitical dimension defined from the set of devices established by the dominant groups in order to control, discipline and generate disciplined bodies acting in accordance with their interests, in the sense that Foucault, Heller and Agamben meant, but it also involves bioresistance, defined as the set of ways of living and body meaning by persons or actors and social groups in obvious resistance, dispute or challenge of biopolitical provisions (Valenzuela Arce 27).

The resistance of Mexico City's young offenders consists on performative elements that decorate the actor's body: piercings, haircuts, specific clothing brands and muscular enlargement. Many of them carry colored bracelets they learned to braid in the crafts workshops they assisted when they were detained. These bracelets are an undeniable feature related to former convicts, and are desired even by those members of "*el barrio*" who have never been in prison. Body decoration creates discrimination against youth, however, the same elements that marginalize and exclude, provide recognition and locates marginalized young men in the highest places of male hierarchy.

The body is also a victim of the violence that marginalized young men exert over themselves, young men adopt risky behaviors that endanger their own bodies through "the culture of endurance" (Maffia 195), which consists of using the body to prove their loyalty to the gang or to prove to others they are ready to abandon childhood. It also includes endurance contests, alcohol and drug abuse, and unprotected sexual practices.

The bodies of Mexico City's youthful offenders constantly have black eyes or swollen lips, consequences of everyday physical confrontations. They show scars that reveal ancient fights or accidents, and self-inflicted wounds especially in arms and legs, as a result of the discharge of anger, frustration or depression on themselves; they also use to mark their skin with lines that symbolize the time spent in prison. With alarming frequency, teens have neuronal damage due to consumption of solvents and other highly destructive drugs.

Finally, many young men are parents of unwanted children product of unprotected sex, but also as a result of social conditions that give value to parenthood. Teens said there are two ways to abandon crime: meeting a nice woman that persuades them to change their life, and becoming a father. The illusion of fatherhood is a way 'to become a man' that can exceed the masculine tests related to violence, however, the social construction of fatherhood tends to exclude them from the affective process and the responsibilities involved.

Concluding thoughts

The aim of this research was to observe the presence of gender discourses related to masculinity in juvenile delinquency. By analyzing this social phenomenon as gender performance and masculine protest, it is possible to observe the existence of a communication system composed of cultural codes of masculinity, from which marginalized young men who commit crimes transmit messages in order to get recognition of the peer group, to accomplish the status of manhood, and to position themselves in the male hierarchy in which they operate.

These codes are related to the normative and symbolic concepts of gender order that establish the ways of being a man or a woman. This involves the symbolic construction of private/public spheres that places private space as inferior and public space as superior, this power relation leads young men to take possession of the public space represented by the street or the neighborhood. The criminal act is also replete with codes of masculinity that confer meaning to the action, such as the importance of being a successful provider for family economic needs, honor, courage and loyalty. Masculine codes of strength, toughness, endurance and risky behavior are embodied and define the way in which subjects go across the stages of life.

The exercise of juvenile delinquency is a staging that demonstrates the importance of peer group acceptance for the formation of masculine identity. Under the conditions of marginalization and proximity to crime, it represents a path for social mobility that will allow them to position themselves in the male hierarchy that grants recognition and respect under their own codes of honor and loyalty.

The effectiveness of the performance put on scene by actors is endorsed or rejected by the peer group and social institutions, which reward or punish them socially, physically and economically. This shows that violent acts are not isolated individual acts, but the enactment of a larger cultural structure composed of gender norms, codes of

masculinity and power relations that determine the action. Therefore, public policy designed to reduce crime and juvenile delinquency should include solutions focused on social structures and not on individual acts.

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¹ During this period of time, former President Felipe Calderon conducted the security strategy against Drug cartels. The general homicides rate per every 100,000 inhabitants increased from 8.4 in 2007 to 23.8 in 2010.

² 5.3% was committed only by women, 5.5% was committed by several persons among whom there were men and women, and in 2.7% of cases the victims were unable to specify the sex of the person who committed the crime.

³ Felonies described refer only to those committed by teenagers who were arrested and legally prosecuted by the prison system, but do not represent the total of crimes committed in the city.

⁴ The Law of Justice for Adolescents in Mexico City protects the identity of the under aged population in the prison system. For that reason, the author of this paper is not allowed to provide any private data such as name, nickname, age or address of the informants.

Erkekliğin Tutkulu Hali: Tofaş Modifiye Gençliği

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Özet :

Erkekliğe ilişkin kabuller yirminci yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren değişime uğramıştır. Ekonomik ve toplumsal açıdan erkeklik ayrıcalıkları sürmekle birlikte kadınların işgücüne artan şekillerde dahil olmasıyla, iş, aile ve cinsiyet kimlikleri de değişime uğramış, kimliklerin şekillendiği alanlar olan özel ve kamusal alan arasındaki ayrımlar eski kesinliğini yitirmeye başlamıştır. Ekonomik açıdan yaşanan değişim, kültürel alanı da değiştirmiştir. Tüketim alanı da yaşanan değişime paralel olarak değişmiş, özellikle genç erkekler arasında tüketmek kimlik duygusunun vazgeçilmezleri arasına girmiştir. Modern kapitalist toplumun sınıf, cinsiyet, kişilik rollerinde sağlamış olduğu göreceli sabitlik post modern dönemde aşınmış, oturmuş/tutunmuş kodları yerinden etmekle tehdit etmektedir. Tüm post kimlikler gibi “erkeklik” de çok değişime açık, istikrarsız ve parçalı bir yapıya sahiptir. Kapitalizmin evcilleştirici, ticarileştiren dalgasına karşı alt kültürler değişik tepkiler vermektedir. Alt kültürler toplumsal yapı içindeki kültürün normlarına uyan, ancak kendi normlarını da yaratarak var olanların kültürüdür. Bu araştırma, Tofaş marka modifiye araç kullanan genç erkekleri bir alt kültür üyesi olarak kabul etmekte, bu gruba mensup erkeklerin erkekliklerini yaşama biçimlerini, erkekliklerini nasıl deneyimlediklerini ve kent dokusu içinde kabul gören/meşru bulunanın dışında kalan kimliklerini nasıl kurduklarını bulmayı amaçlamaktadır. Sabit olanın ve geleneğin altının sürekli

oyulduđu bir ortamda tutunumlu bir yapı kurmanın da gerekli oluřunun yarattığı paradoks, erkeklđi de iine alır. Bu anlamda Tofař modifiye aralara sahip olmak, bireyselliđin bir biimi olarak karřımıza ıkar. Bireyselliđi yařayabilmek ve farklılařmak iin arabaları dolayısıyla genlerin sahip oldukları manevraya bađlı olarak deneyimlenen erkeklikler, modern erkeklđi anlamaya yardımcı olacaktır. Arařtırma bu genlerin kimler olduđunu, kendi aralarında kullandıkları dilin, giyim ve sa tarzının, mzik ve boř zamanları deđerlendirme biimlerinin neler olduđunu bulmayı hedeflemektedir.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Modifiye Tofař Arabaları, alt kltr, erkeklđin dnřm, bireyselleřme

A Passionate Mood of Masculinity: “Modified Tofaş” Youth

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Abstract:

Assumptions regarding masculinity have been subject to change since the second half of the twentieth century. Although men continue to enjoy their economic and social privileges, with the increasing participation of women in the workforce, gender identities at work and in the family have started to transform, blurring the previously clear-cut distinction between the public and the private spheres – the sites of identity formation. This shift in the economic realm has led to a transformation in the cultural realm. Forms of consumption have changed accordingly, particularly making the act of consumption an inevitable part of young men’s identity. The relative stability in the roles based on class, gender and identity in the modern capitalist society has eroded in the postmodern era, threatening to disrupt the steady codes. Similar to the other “post-identities”, masculinity too is subject to change, instable and fragmented. Subcultures respond differently to the commercialization and the taming nature of capitalism. Subcultures survive by creating their own norms while they also comply with the norms of the broader society. This paper regards young men who drive “modified Tofaş” cars as members of a particular subculture and aims to explore the ways in which they experience their masculinity and construct their identities which are outside the boundaries of the accepted and

the legitimate in the urban space. Masculinity is influenced by the paradox of the need to build a coherent identity in an era in which the notion of stability and traditions are constantly undermined. In this context, owning a modified Tofaş becomes a form of individualisation. The study of masculinities experienced by young men through ownership of their cars modified to distinguish themselves from others will contribute to our understanding of modern masculinities. This study aims to look into who these young men are – their language, clothing and hair styles, their taste in music and pastime activities.

Key words: Modified Tofaş cars, subculture, transformation of masculinity, individualisation

Giriş

Erkekliğe ilişkin kabuller, yirminci yüzyılın ikinci yarısından itibaren değişime uğramıştır. Ekonomik ve toplumsal açıdan erkeklik ayrıcalıkları sürmekle birlikte kadınların işgücüne artan şekillerde dâhil olmasıyla, iş aile ve cinsiyet kimlikleri de değişime uğramış, kimliklerin şekillendiği alanlar olan özel ve kamusal alan arasındaki ayrımlar eski kesinliğini yitirmeye başlamıştır. Ekonomik açıdan yaşanan değişim, kültürel alanı da değiştirmiştir. Tüketim alanı da yaşanan değişime paralel olarak değişmiş, genç erkeklerin de arasında olduğu kişiler ve topluluklar arasında tüketmek, kimlik duygusunun vazgeçilmezleri arasına girmiştir. Modern kapitalist toplumun sınıf, cinsiyet, cinsiyet rollerinde sağlamış olduğu göreceli sabitlik, post modern dönemde aşınmıştır, bu aşınma oturmuş/tutunmuş kodları yerinden etme tehdidi içermektedir. Tüm post kimlikler gibi “erkeklik” de değişime çok açık, istikrarsız ve parçalı bir yapıya sahiptir. Sabit olanın ve geleneğin altının sürekli oyulduğu bir ortamda tutunumlu bir yapı kurmanın gerekli oluşunun yarattığı paradoks, erkekliği de içine alır. Erkekliğin yapılandığı önemli alanlardan biri olan gençlik altkültürleri de kapitalizmin evcilleştirici, ticarileştiren dalgasına karşı değişik tepkiler vermektedir. Alt kültürler toplumsal yapı içindeki kültürün normlarına uyan, ancak kendi normlarını da yaratarak var olanların kültürüdür. Bu araştırma, Tofaş marka modifiye araç kullanan genç erkekleri bir alt kültür üyesi olarak kabul etmekte, bu gruba mensup erkeklerin erkekliklerini yaşama biçimlerini, erkekliklerini nasıl deneyimlediklerini ve kent dokusu içinde kabul gören/meşru bulunanın dışında kalan kimliklerini nasıl kurduklarını bulmayı amaçlamaktadır. Tüketim dolayısıyla kimliği kurma sürecinde modifiye Tofaş araçlara sahip olmak, bireyselliğin bir biçimi olarak karşımıza çıkar. Bireyselliği yaşayabilmek ve farklılaşmak için arabaları dolayısıyla gençlerin yaptıkları manevraya bağlı olarak deneyimlenen erkeklikler, modern erkekliği anlamaya yardımcı olacaktır.

Kendi sürücülük deneyimim açısından modifiye araç kullanmanın doğası olan sinyal vermeden şerit değiştiren, emniyet şeridinden sol

şeride makas yaparak geçen arabalarla aynı yolda araç kullanmanın zor ve tehlikeli bir durum olduğunu biliyordum. Önce kızgınlık sonra merakla başlayan bir soru bu araştırmayı başlatmış ya da tetiklemişti: Kim bunlar? Arabayı modifiye ederek farklılaştırmanın, kuralları ihlal ederek araba sürmenin anlamları nedir gibi sorular ardı ardına gelince, araştırma başladı. Yücel ve Lüküslü, "tehdit olarak gençlik" ile "kaynak olarak gençlik" yaklaşımlarının var olduğunu belirtir. Gençliği "tehdit" olarak gören yaklaşım, gençlerin sorunlarına odaklanmaktan ziyade gençlerin toplumda yol açtıkları sorunları ele alırken, gençliği "kaynak" olarak gören yaklaşım ise gençliğin iç mekanizmalarını, sorunlarını çözme pratiklerini ciddiye almakta ve geniş ölçekteki toplumsal sorunu onun parçalarından birinden hareketle anlamaya çalışarak, yurttaşlık bağlamında gençlerin demokratik kurumlardaki etkileşimlerini ve katılımını önemsemektedir (Yücel ve Lüküslü 13). Bu araştırmada modifiye araç kullanan gençler bir tehdit unsuru olarak kabul edilmemekte bunun yerine onları anlamak ön plana çıkmaktadır. Skirrow'un (1986), "araştırmacının, popüler kültürü araştırırken, kendisini çevresinin yaşanabilir olup olmadığını koklayan bir sağlık müfettişi gibi hissetmemesinin tek yolu, popüler kültürün kendisinde tutkulu duygular uyandıran bir boyutunu ya da biçimini incelemesidir" (akt. Van Zoonen, 1997) ifadesini doğrulayarak, arabalarını modifiye yaparak kullanan erkekleri anlamaya çalışmak, ancak onları sorun yumağı olarak görmeden, farklı bir bakış açısı takınarak mümkün olabilir.

Araştırmanın Yöntemi

Bu araştırmada elde edilen veriler; derinlemesine görüşme aracılığıyla toplandı. Araştırmacının kendisi tarafından, 12 modifiye araç sahibi gençle görüşmeler yapıldı. Görüşmeye katılan genç erkeklerin bulunması için önce araştırmacının tanıdığı bir ustanın verdiği referansla, kendisi de otomobil ustası olan bir gençle görüşme yapıldı. Bu görüşmede araştıran ve araştırılan arasındaki güven sorunu çözülerek dostane bir hava yaratılmaya çalışıldı. Ancak bunun da

kısıtlılıkları vardır, çünkü akademik camiadan ve en önemlisi bir kadın olmak, araştırmacı ve araştırılan olarak aramızda aşılması zor bir engel gibi duruyordu. Olumsuz gözüken bu durumla baş etmek için, araştırmacı olarak mesafeli bir tutum takınmadan görüşmeleri sürdürdüm. İlk modifiye araç kullanıcısı olan katılımcı ile görüşme sağlandıktan sonra, onun tanıdığı ve kendi deyimiyle “konuşabilecek” arkadaşları ile iki odak grup görüşmesi yapıldı. Odak görüşmesi bu araştırmada daha faydalı bir sonuç alınmasını sağladı. Daha önce “akademik” dünya ile pek karşılaşmamış olan görüşmeciler, bire bir görüşmede daha tutuk bir konuşma sergilemişler, odak grup görüşmesinde sohbet havasında süren konuşma ise katılımcıları rahatlatmıştır.

Ancak odak grup görüşmelerinde sık sık görülen bazı katılımcıların sessiz kalmak yönünde direnç gösterme tutumu bu araştırmada da gözlemlendi. Görüşülen modifiye Tofaş kullanıcısı genç erkeklerin yaşları 20 ile 28 arasındadır. Katılımcıların üçü evli, diğerleri bekârdır. Katılımcıların üçü ilkokul mezunu, diğerleri “lise terk” diye tabir edilen durumdadır, yani ortaokul mezunudur. Katılımcılardan biri otomobil tamircisi, biri kuaför, ikisi babasının dükkânında çalışmakta, ikisi elektrik ustası, ikisi tezgâhtar, üçü işsizdir, biri de güvenlik görevlisi olarak çalışmaktadır. Modifiye Tofaş kullanan gençler, ortaokul mezunu ya da liseyi bitiremeyen bu nedenle eğitim dolayısıyla bir mesleğe sahip olamayan kimselerdir. Çalıştıkları işler (tamircilik, tezgâhtarlık, elektrik ustalığı, kuaför) gibi çıraklıktan girilerek öğrenilen mesleklerdir. Kendi işlerinde çalışanlar hariç tutulduğunda katılımcılar, çalışmaları karşılığında asgari ücret almaktadır. Görüşülen gençlerin hepsinin ailesi kentte yaşasa da, köyle olan bağları güçlüdür ve aileler yazları köyde yaşamaktadır. Katılımcıların hemen hepsi üç ve daha fazla kardeşe sahiptir. Hepsi milliyetçi ve dindar olduklarını, cumaları mutlaka camide namaz kılarak, inançlarını tazelediklerini söylemişlerdir. Görüşmeciler, zaman zaman aile içi çatışmalar yaşasalar da ailelerine ve özellikle annelerine düşkün olduklarını belirtmişlerdir.

Araştırmada, katılımcıların demografik bilgileri alındıktan sonra, onlara neden Tofaş markasını modifiye ettiklerini, arabayı

kişiselleştirmenin anlamlarının neler olduğunu, modifiye araç kullananların boş zamanlarını geçirme biçimlerini; müzik, film tercihlerini, bir araya gelen modifiye araç kullanıcılarının neler yaptıklarını, modifiye araç kullananların aile ilişkilerini, politik tavırlarını, kadınlarla ilişkilerini anlamaya yönelik yarı yapılandırılmış sorular yöneltilmiştir.

Bu alan araştırması, ilgili konuyu genelleştirme ve temsil etme iddiasını taşımamaktadır. Görüşmeler katılımcıların izni alınarak kaydedilmiştir. Çalışmada mahremiyetlerine özen göstermek için görüşmecilerin gerçek isimleri yerine takma isimler kullanılmıştır. Görüşmelerden elde edilen bulgular; tüketim toplumu ve alt kültür üyeliği, bir tutku olarak modifiye Tofaş, sosyalleşme mekânları ve karşı cinsle ilişkiler başlıklarıyla çözümlenmiştir. Araştırmada modifiye gençlik kültürleri bir alt kültür yapılanması olarak kabul edildiği için, bu konudaki kuramsal bir tartışmalar özetlenmiş, altkültür biçimi olarak modifiye Tofaş grupları tartışıldıktan sonra, araştırma bulguları yorumlanmıştır.

Altkültürler Hakkında Akademik Tartışmalar

Altkültürlere ilişkin teori ve araştırmalar, toplumbilim, suçbilim (kriminoloji) ve gençlik çalışmaları içinde yer almaktadır ve altkültürlere ilişkin ilk araştırma, Chicago Okulu'nda 1928 yılında yapılmış bir araştırmaya dayandırılmaktadır. Chicago Okulu gençlik çalışmaları, gençliği “sapkın” davranışlar çerçevesinde değerlendirmiştir. Albert Cohen, alt sınıflara mensup gençlerin suçluluk alt kültüründen söz eder. Kuramın temelinde alt sınıftan gençlerin, orta sınıfın yani toplumun genelinin benimsediği ve ulaşılması gereken hedefler olarak gösterdiği yerleşik kurallara ve değerlere uyum gösterememeleri dolayısıyla karşı olmaları yatar. Genel kurallara uyum sağlayamayan bu gençlerin pek çoğu, olumsuz davranışlar içinde kendilerini toplumun genelinden farklı görmeye başlamakta, alternatif mekân ve grup arayışına girmektedirler (akt. Can ve Kara 43). Alt kültürlere ilişkin tartışmalar İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrasında yoğunlaşmış ve alt kültürün tanımı etrafında bir dizi

tartışma yapılmıştır. Alt kültür kavramı ile modernleşme süreçlerinin toplumlara yaşattığı derin hayal kırıklığıyla maddi yoksunluğa düşenleri, bireysel olarak başarısız, toplumsal konumu itibarı ile dezavantajlı pozisyona bürünmüş olanların çaresizce, bir çıkış yolu olarak hâkim kültürden uzaklaşmaları anlatılır. Bu kavram, toplumsal olarak alt sınıfları ve düşük statülü bireyleri, sapkın davranışlar sergileyen madde bağımlılarını, toplumda farklı olarak algılanan gençlik gruplarını tanımlamak için kullanılır (Yaman 58-59). Altkültür grupları, genel olarak toplumla olan uyumsuzluğu, suçu, olumsuz durumları açıklamak için yararlı bir başvuru kaynağı olarak görülür. Ana ya da hakim kültürün belli formları olan iyi bir eğitim, iş ve gelir dolayısıyla makbul bir sınıfa dahil olamayanların kültürünü anlatır, alt kültür tanımları. Marshall (1999) da *Sosyoloji Sözlüğü'nde* altkültürü, bir toplumsal yaşantıda o toplumun arzuladığı kültürel hedeflerine ulaşmanın meşru araçlarını elde edemeyen ya da onları kullanmak istemeyen bireylerin oluşturduğu kültür olarak tanımlar. Bu bireyler için engellenme, umutsuzluk gibi faktörler nedeniyle kültürel hedefler ile kurumsallaşmış araçlar arasındaki ayrışma arttıkça, onlar yalnızlaşmakta, bu uçurumu dengeleyecek alternatif araçların arayışına girmekte ve bu durumun sonucunda altkültürel aidiyet geliştirecekleri grup oluşumları ortaya çıkmaktadır (akt. Can ve Kara 42). Pozitivist sosyoloji, toplumsal hayatta uyumu, toplumun işlevinin yerine getirilmesini ölçüt olarak aldığı için ana/hâkim kültürden ayrılan kültürleri “alt” kabul etmekte ve onu olumsuz bir damgayla incelemektedir. Bu durumu aşmak yani hâkim kültürden farklı grubun farklı düşünce ve inançlarını ortaya koymak için “karşı kültür” kavramının kullanılması önerilmektedir (Jenks 25).

Cohen'in *Delinquent Boys* (1955) adlı çalışması, altkültür araştırmalarına öncülük eden ilk araştırma olarak kabul edilir. Bu kitabında Cohen, altkültürü işçi sınıfı gençlerinin paylaştıkları sorunlara kültürel çözüm ürettikleri bir biçim olarak ele almıştır. Bu çalışmada ait oldukları sınıftan dolayı düşük statüde bulunan bu gençlerin, oluşturdukları altkültür dolayısıyla alternatif kriterli bir statü aradıkları gösterilmiştir (akt. Jensen 2-3). 1950'li yıllarda bir taraftan altkültürü sapkın olarak niteleyen çalışmalar yapılmaktayken, bir taraftan da

altkültürleri sorun çözme, çıkış bulamayanların alternatif üretme mekanizması olarak değerlendiren araştırmalar yapılmıştır. Ancak altkültürlerin bir direnme mekanizması olarak işleyişini açıklayan çalışmalar için Kültürel Çalışmalar Yaklaşımı'na dayalı araştırmaları beklemek gerekecektir.

Sapkınlıktan Direnişe Altkültürler

1970'lerde İngiltere Birmingham Çağdaş Kültürel Çalışmalar Okulu üyeleri, bir dizi çalışmayla altkültür araştırmalarına katkıda bulunmuştur. İngiliz Kültürel Çalışmalar Okulu üyeleri Chicago Okulu ile temsil edilen bakış açısına itiraz ederek, gençlik altkültürlerini ana kültürden sapma olarak değerlendirmekten çok, bu altkültürleri, savaş sonrası İngiltere'sinde oluşan yapısal değişimlere işçi sınıfı gençliğinin toplu yanıtı olarak ele almışlardır. Örneğin Phil Cohen'in (1972) çalışmasında altkültürler, 1950'lerde yeniden yapılanan şehir hayatının sonucu geleneksel işçi sınıfı topluluklarının dağılmasına verilen yanıt olarak değerlendirilmiştir. Cohen'e göre, altkültürün buradaki gizli kalmış işlevi, ana kültürdeki çözülmemiş ve saklı çelişiklere bir tür "büyülü" açıklama ve çözüm getirmektir (akt. Bennett 601). İngiliz Kültürel Çalışmalar Okulu üyeleri olan Hall ve Jefferson'ın derlediği *Resistance Through Rituals* (1993) adlı kitapta da, altkültürler işçi sınıfı gençliğinin farklı şekillerde direnme biçimleri olarak değerlendirilmiştir.

Hebdige (2004), *Altkültür: Tarzın Anlamı* adlı kitabında "punk", "hipster", "reggae", "teddy boys" vb. grupları altkültür olarak incelemiş ve altkültür işlevini kurmada tarzın önemini araştırmıştır. Hebdige, İkinci Dünya Savaşı'ndan sonra, İngiltere'de sınıfsal ayrımların ve bu ayrımların, kültürde dışa vurulduğu biçimlerin dramatik bir şekilde değiştiğini, kitle iletişiminin gelişimi, aile okul gibi iş kurumlarındaki değişikliklerin, çalışma ve boş vaktin göreceli statüsünde kaymaların bir dizi marjinal söylem üreterek işçi sınıfını böldüğünü ve kutuplaştırdığını belirtir. Hebdige'e göre, gençlik altkültürlerinin gelişimi, bu kutuplaşmanın yalnızca bir boyutu olarak görülmelidir (72). Jensen

(2011), İngiliz Kültürel Çalışmalar Okulu mensuplarının altkültürleri, işçi sınıfı gençlerinin hem kuşak, hem de sınıflarından dolayı oluşan problemlere verdikleri yaratıcı kültürel yanıt ya da çözüm girişimleri ve sosyal baskıya karşı direnme biçimi olarak değerlendiklerini aktarır. Ancak İngiliz Kültürel Çalışmalar Okulu'nun altkültürlere ilişkin ortaya koyduğu direnme ve hâkimiyet kurma açıklamasında ırk, toplumsal cinsiyet, sınıf ve etnisite dikkate alınmamaktadır. Örneğin McRobbie (1980), altkültürlerin hemen hepsinin erkekleri kapsadığını, kadınların alt kültürünün bulunmadığını, bu sonuçta araştırmacıların erkek olmasının dışında, altkültür üyelerinin mekânlarının caddeler ve sokaklar olması dolayısıyla kadınların bu mekânlarda yer almayışının da etkili olduğunu söyler.

1990'ların sonlarında altkültürel çalışmalar içinde gelişen yönelimle birlikte postmodern bakış açısına yaslanan çalışmalar, İngiliz Kültürel Çalışmalar Okulu'nun altkültür yaklaşımına eleştiriler getirmiş, sınıf hâkimiyeti ve direnme kavramlarına karşı şüphe duyulmaya başlanmıştır (Bennett 1999; Jensen 2011). Cohen (1987) altkültürü "sınıflararası politik savaş alanı" olarak değerlendirerek, İngiliz Kültürel Çalışmalar Okulu üyelerinin direnme kavramını ele alırken konuya romantik yaklaşıtlarını belirtir. Muggelton (2002) da çağdaş toplumun postmodern olup, kitle toplumu olgusunun yok olduğunu, böylelikle direnç gösteren altkültürlere karşı bütünlüklü olarak hâkimiyet kuran bir kültürden bahsedilemeyeceğini söyler. Ona göre, altkültürler sınıfa bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan kolektif sorunlara grupça çözüm üretmezler, yapısal durum ve kültürel pratik arasındaki ilişki hiçbir zaman İngiliz Kültürel Çalışmalar Okulu üyelerinin gösterdiği gibi onların çalıştığı altkültür üyelerinin zihinlerindeki politik ve teorik fikirleri basitçe yansıtmaz. Muggelton'a göre, altkültürler, hâkim kültüre direnç göstermekten çok, sıklıkla onun eğilimlerini radikalleştirir (akt. Jensen 5). Bennett ise altkültürleri, modern geç tüketim toplumlarının durağan olmayan ve değişen kültürel birliklerin öncül örnekleri olarak görmekte, onların 'tutarlı' ve 'belirli' tarzlarının olmadığını söylemektedir (605). İngiliz Kültürel Çalışmalar Okulu'na yöneltilen eleştiri, altkültürleri sadece direnişin bir biçimi olarak ele almalarıdır. Oysa altkültürler aynı

zamanda tüketim toplumunun aktif üyeleridir ve tarzlarını kurarken tüketirler. Direnme kavramı akademik camianın altkültürlere bir yakıştırması olarak da değerlendirilebilir. Post altkültür çalışmalarının bireyin kendini ifade etme biçimi olarak tanımladığı altkültür, bu araştırmanın da bulgusu olarak karşımıza çıkmaktadır.

Post altkültür çalışmaları, altkültürleri akışkan, parçalı ve çok yönlü olarak görürler. Bireyler altkültür dizilerinin içinde ya da dışında kalabilir, aynı anda birden fazla altkültürün üyesi olabilir. Muggleton bu nedenle altkültürlerin kimliği yapılandırıldığını ve altkültürlerin postmodern dünyada paylaşılan sorunlara toplu bir direnç ya da toplu bir yanıt olmaktan çok, bireyin özgürlüğünün ve kendini ifade etmesinin seçilmiş bir aracı olduğunu düşünmektedir (Muggleton akt. Jensen 6). Bennett ise altkültürleri oluşturan grupların birey için odak olmaktan çok onun seçtiği geçici rol ya da kimliği için odak ya da mevki dizilerinden biri olduğunu söyler. Ona göre, grup terimi bireyin kendi isteğiyle belirlenen, istediği kadar o grupta kalmasını sağlayan bağları içerir ki, bu grup tanımı altkültür teorisinin grup tanımından oldukça farklıdır. Bu terim daha çok kabileyi çağırıştırır. Bennett (606), Maffessoli (1996) ye dayanarak kabileyi aşına olduğumuz, belli bir çekicilik, ruh hali ve hayat tarzı tercihiyle açıkladığımız, katı olmayan bir örgüt olarak tanımlar. Modern tüketim toplumunda kabile kimlikleri, bireylerin kendilerini kolektif olarak açıklama ve yeniden inşa etmelerini sağlayan kolektif kimliklerin geçici doğasına dayanır. Geçici birliktelik üzerine yapılan vurguya dayalı yeni kabileler, son zamanların sosyal olgusudur ve postmodern bir görünüm sergiler. Modern kimliğin meslek, kamusal ve/ya da özel alandaki görevleri etrafında oluşumuna karşılık, postmodern kimlik görünüşler, imajlar ve tüketime dayanan boş zaman faaliyetleri çevresinde kurulduğundan (Kellner 207) tüketim, bu kimliği ve benliği yapılandıran önemli bir unsur görevini üstlenmektedir.

İngiliz Kültürel Çalışmalar Okulu'nun çalışmalarında altkültür, kültür ve toplumsal yapı arasında buluşma noktası olarak görülürken, post altkültür çalışmalarında çağdaş gençlik kültürleri ele alınırken, toplumsal yapı değerlendirme dışında bırakılmaktadır. Carrington ve Wilson'a göre (2004) yapısal eşitsizlik ve güç kavramlarının analiz

dışında bırakılması, altkültür çalışmalarını depolitize eder (akt. Jensen 7) ve altkültürü bu şekilde kavramsallaştırmak onu tehlikeli bir biçimde neo-liberalizme yaklaştırır. Bu nedenle gençlik altkültürlerini araştıran pek çok araştırmacı, genç insanlar ve onların kültürlerinin bir dereceye kadar sosyal ayrımlar ve eşitsizliklerce çevrelendiği için altkültür araştırmalarında toplumsal yapı, sınıf, etnisite ve ırk ile ilişki kurmaya devam etmektedir. Jensen'e göre ırk, sınıf, etnisite ve toplumsal cinsiyet hem kimliği kuran hem de insanların yaşadıkları hayatın sosyal koşullarını belirleyen unsur olarak karşılıklı işler (Jensen 2011). Görece ayrıcalıklı gençlerin altkültürleri ya da beğeni kültürleri arasında farklılıklar vardır ve altkültürü oluşturan gençler sosyal ve politik açıdan ayrıcalık sahibi değillerdir. Shildrick ve MacDonald'a (2006) göre, post-altkültür çalışmaları dikkatlerini beğeni kültürlerine yoğunlaştırdıkları için diğer çağdaş gençlik altkültürlerinde yapısal eşitsizliklerin ne ölçüde rol oynadığı konusunda değerlendirme yapamamaktadır (akt. Jensen, 2011). Post-altkültür çalışmaları bireysel beğeni ve tüketim aracılığı ile kimlik kurmaya odaklanırken, altkültür üyelerinin sınıfsal konumunu, etnisitesini, ırkını ve toplumsal cinsiyet örüntülerini ihmal etmektedir. Bu ihmal onların analizlerini kısıtlamakta ve politik açıdan neoliberalizmin söylemine yakınlaştırmaktadır.

Türkçe literatürde de altkültür daha çok müzik grupları üzerinden tartışılmıştır. Arıcan (2005) Türkçe Hip Hop müzik yapanları, Ercan (2013) hipsterları, Ongur ve Develi (2013) rock müziği yapanları altkültür grubu olarak değerlendiren araştırmalar yapmışlardır. Gençlik gruplarını altkültür olarak değerlendiren araştırmalar arasında Yaman (2013), Doğan (1993), Tıgılı (2012), Can ve Kara'nın (2011) çalışmaları sayılabilir. Bu araştırma, sayıca az olan gençlik altkültürleri alanını zenginleştirmeyi hedeflemektedir.

Modifiye Tofaş'a Tutkun Gençlerin Altkültürü

Bir aracın modifiye edilmesi, isteğe bağlı yapılan değişikliklerle onu orijinalinden farklılaştırmak demektir. Bu araştırmada katılımcılar özellikle Tofaş markasının Kuş Serisi arabaları olan

Serçe, Şahin, Kartal ve Doğan modeline sahip araçlarını modifiye etmektedirler.

Vehbi Koç'un öncülüğünde 1968 yılında kurulan Türk Otomobil Fabrikası A.Ş. (TOFAŞ), 1971 yılında ilk seri üretime geçmiştir. İlk üretilen otomobil "Tofaş 124" modelidir. Tofaş serisinden 1977 yılında Murat 131 modeli üretilmiş, aynı model 1981 yılında İtalyan Fiat'ın parçalarıyla tasarımı güncellenerek "Şahin", "Doğan" ve "Kartal" isimleriyle farklı modeller olarak piyasaya sürülmüştür. Tofaş 124 modeli ise "Serçe" adını alarak yenilenmiştir. Bu seriden "Şahin" ekonomik aile sedanı, "Doğan" daha lüks donanımlara sahip sedan ve "Kartal" station wagon olarak piyasaya sürülmüştür. Kuş serisi farklı yıllarda yenilense de 2001 yılında üretimden kalkmıştır (http://tr.wikipedia.org/wiki/KuC5%9F_Serisi). Artık üretilmese de Tofaş'ın bu arabaları, hem araçların hem de yedek parçalarının ucuzluğu ve bolluğu nedeniyle, modifiye edilmek için en çok tercih edilen arabalardandır. Tofaş'ın Kuş Serisi araçlarına gençler rağbet göstermektedir. Çünkü gençler bu araçlarını kolaylıkla ve ucuz maliyetle modifiye ederek, kendi zevk ve beğenilerine uygun bir araç yaratmakta, araçlarını benzerlerinden ayrılmasını sağlamaktadır. Modifiye edilen araçlar, modifiyeyi yapan gençler tarafından sosyal medya platformuna taşınmakta ve gençler bu platform üzerinden arabalarının modifiyesi konusunda birbirleriyle yarışmakta ya da birbirlerinden fikir almaktadır. İletişim çağının bir göstergesi olarak gençler sosyal medyanın yardımını alarak haberleşirken, çeşitli organizasyonlarla bir araya gelmektedirler. Görüşme yaptığım katılımcılar Giresun'da toplanmaktadır. Yüz yüze yapılan görüşmeler de modifiyeye olan ilgiyi arttırmakta, tutkuyu ateşlemekte, yeni modifiye fikirlerinin doğmasına yol açarken, benzer düşüncedeki erkeklerin bir araya gelmesini sağlamaktadır.

Bireyselliğin Alanı Olarak Modifiye

İçinde bulunduğumuzu dönemin bireyselliğe, bireyciliğe yaptığı vurgu önemlidir. Kentleşme bireylere hem toplumdaki ayrılma hem de kendilerine benzeyen kişilerle buluşma olanağı sağlar. Kentin

yabancılaştırıcı etkisi, baş döndüren karmaşası, kalabalık yapısı içinde bireyler kendilerine benzeyenlerle birlikte bireyselliğin neden olduğu kaygılardan, korku ve endişelerden uzaklaşmak için bir araya gelir, bir grup aidiyeti oluştururlar (Bauman 187). Kentin karmaşası içinde kendileri gibi düşünen, hayata benzer amaçlarla bakan, aynı zevk ve fikirleri paylaştıkları insanlarla ilişki kurarak, bir topluluğa ait olma deneyimi yaşarlar. Fisher, kentlerin altkültürel oluşumlara çok açık olduğunu, kent nüfusunun ayrımlar yarattığını bu ayrımlardan ortak ilgi ve dünya görüşünü paylaşan altkültürel grupların doğduğunu belirtir (1320). Kent içindeki altkültürler bu deneyimi herkesin paylaştığı, genel geçer kabullerin dışında gerçekleştirerek bir alternatif yaşam tarzı kurarlar. Kent yaşamı, bir tarza sahip olma gereksinimini ve dolayısıyla da bu amaca yönelik tüketim motivasyonunu arttırmaktadır. Bireyler, belirli bir gruba ait olmak isterken, bunun yanında bireyselliklerini ve farklılıklarını da korumayı ve ortaya koymayı isterler. Modifiye Tofaş araç kullanan gençler de kent içinde bir kimlik kurmak, kendilerine ait bir alan açmak için bir araya gelen kişilerdir. Bu gençler, çalışıyorlarsa işlerinden kalan zamanda çalışmıyorlarsa vakitlerinin büyük bölümünde, Tofaş arabaları üzerine sohbet etmektedir. Selami bazı arkadaşlarının daha paraları yokken bile nasıl bir Tofaş araba istediklerine karar verdiklerini söylemekte, “Ben bordo araba, beyaz veya lacivert araba alacağım, şunları şunları yaptığım zaman benim arabam daha tatlı olacak” dediklerini aktararak, gençlerin hayallerinde bile Tofaş’ın yattığından bahsetmektedir.

Gençlik altkültürü olarak adlandırılabilcek bir tanımlamanın oluşabilmesi için bir grupta üç özelliğin olması gerekir; bunlardan ilki, altkültür gruplarının boş zamana sahip olması gerekliliğine vurgu yapar. İster uzayan eğitim, isterse okuldan ayrıldıktan sonra uzun süreli ve yaygın işsizlik nedeniyle gençler, yeterince "boş zaman" sahibi olduklarından bu durum onları başıboş gençlik olarak tanımlanmasına yol açmaktadır. Altkültür grubu sayılmanın ikinci gerekliliği, akran ilişkilerinin sosyalleşme ve topluma katılım süreçlerinde asıl belirleyici unsur olmasıdır. Bir grubun gençlik altkültürü sayılabilmesinin son koşulu, bu gençlerin dil kullanımlarından, giyim kuşam alışkanlıklarına,

müzik tercihlerinden, bedeninin görünür şekillerine değin pek çok bileşeni özenli şekilde kurguluyor olması gerekliliğidir (Yaman 61). Bu anlamda modifiye Tofaş kullanan gençler boş zaman kullanımları ve akran ilişkileri çerçevesinde sosyalleşmeleri ve Tofaş arabaları modifiye etme süreçlerinde tüketimleri, arabalarının sürme, süsleme biçimleri ile bir altkültür grubu olma özelliğini yakalamaktadır. Altkültür aktivitesi birçok çalışmada sembolik bir direnç olarak yorumlanmaktadır (Hall ve Jefferson 1993; Hebdige, 2004) ancak bu araştırmada altkültürel bir oluşum kabul ettiğim modifiye Tofaş araç kullanan gençlerin bu aktivitelerini eğlence, bir arada olma, ortak bir ilgi etrafında kenetlenme, stres atma, sohbet etme vesilesi olarak gördükleri ortaya çıkmıştır. Synder (2011), profesyonel olarak paten kayanların altkültürünü incelediği çalışmasında, altkültür gruplarının mutlaka sapkın olması gerekmediğini söylemekte, anaakımdan farklılaşan ilgi ve inançları paylaşan bir grup olarak altkültürler üzerinde çok az teorik çalışmanın yapıldığına dikkat çekmektedir. Günümüz tüketim toplumunda bir altkültür üyeliği, bireye kentin karmaşasında aidiyet sağlar. Modifiye Tofaş araç kullananların birlikteliği kendilerine kimlik kazandıran, kendileri gibi düşünenlerin bir araya gelerek oluşturdukları, adeta onlara nefes alma olanağı sunan bir birliktelik biçimidir. Katılımcıların ifadelerinden çıkarsandığı kadarıyla Tofaş arabayı modifiye etmek ya da modifiye etmeyi hayal etmek, bir yaşama biçimi, hayatı katlanılır kılan bir unsurdur.

Muggleton'ın (2000) kimliği yapılandıran, bireyin özgürlüğü ve kendini ifade etme aracı olarak gördüğü (akt. Jensen 6) altkültürler, modifiye Tofaş araç kullanan gençler için de geçerlidir. Görüşülen katılımcıların ifadelerine de dayanılarak söylendiğinde, modifiye Tofaş ile uğraşmak genç erkeklerin uğraşısı/hobisidir. Biraz yaşlanınca bu uğraşı bırakılmaktadır. Bu durum, postmodern kimlik kurucu yapıların ve tüketimin geçici doğasına işaret eder. Tofaş marka arabalarının ister sahibi olsunlar, ister ilerde sahip olmak istedikleri Tofaş'ları hayal etsinler, bu tutku etrafında birleşen gençleri bir araya getiren olgu, sisteme yönelik bir eleştiri çevresinde değil, daha çok araba parçası tüketimiyle gelişen bir imaj etrafında şekillenmektedir. Onların

muhallıflığı; ana kültür ile uzlaşma yollarını eğitim, maddi gelir, kültürel sermaye yoluyla sağlayamadıklarında, kendilerini arabaları yoluyla var etme çabası sürecinde gelişir. Trafik kurallarını hiçe sayma, ucuz arabaların çeşitli teknik aksamalarını değiştirerek onu çok daha pahalı bir aracın özelliklerine benzeterek taklit etme, hız tutkunluğu, erkek cemaati içinde sosyalleşmeleri onları ayıksı kılar.

Modifiye Tofaş kullanan gençler, toplumsal planda “soğuk diyalog” (Yaman 23) temelinde değerlendirilmektedir. Yani bu gençler eğitim, iş sahibi olma süreçleri, yaşadıkları sosyal çevrede var olma biçimleri, kent merkezinde sosyalleşme imkânları açısından çoğu zaman sorunlar yaşamaktadır. Toplumsal yaşamın kabul edilebilir davranış tarzlarını temsil etmeyen bu gençler ile toplum arasında, normlara uymama açısından sorun ve “soğukluk” yaşanmaktadır. Toplumun baskın kültürünün ve onu temsil eden kesimlerinin altkültür ile baş etme yöntemlerinin başında, bu grupları “öteki” olarak tanımlayıp, toplum nazarında önemsizleştirme gayreti gelmektedir (Hebdige 91). Miraç Yaman'ın *Apaçi Gençlik* başlıklı araştırmasında da Apaçi gençlerin sürekli istihza, hakaret, küçük görme ve aşağılanmayla karşılaştıkları ortaya konmakta, Apaçılığı toplumsal sorunların ve kentleşme süreçlerinin mağdurları açısından bir çıkış kapısı olarak görülmesi gerekliliğine işaret eden çok az çalışma olduğu gösterilmektedir (57). Modifiye Tofaş kullanıcıları da toplumsal hayatta hâkim söylemin dışında kalır. Onların araçlarıyla kurdukları ilişki ve trafikte yol alırken yaptıkları sürüş taktikleri, çoğu zaman kızgınlık, aşağılama/önemsizleştirme sözcüklerini barındırır. Hebdige'in (86) aktardığı İngiliz alt kültür grupları için söylenen “garip şeyler, tıpkı fareler gibi ancak sürüyle avlanan hayvanlar” sözüne benzer şekilde modifiye Tofaş kullananlar da çeşitli sosyal medya platformlarında aşağılayıcı ifadelerle değerlendirilmektedir. “Commun” takma isimli *Ekşi Sözlük* yazarının 2008’ de Tofaş Şahin kullananlara dair yazdıkları, adeta dijital forumlarda modifiye Tofaş araçları kullananları aşağılayanların süzülmüş sözlerini içerir. Bir paragrafta, “Commun” tarafından, modifiye Tofaş’a binenlerin eğitim düzeyleri, televizyon dizi seçimleri, giyim kuşamları, kadın erkek ilişkileri, evlilik tercihleri özetlenmiştir. Commun

lakaplı yazar, sınıfsal olarak kendini çok üst bir konumda tutmaktadır ve muhtemeldir ki hayatında hiçbir modifiye Tofaş araç kullanan kişi ile karşılıklı bir bardak çay içip, sohbet etmediği için, onları zararlı haşereler gibi değerlendirmekte, yok edilmelerinin uygun olduğunu dile getirmektedir.¹

Bir Tutku Olarak Modifiye Tofaş:Tofaş Sürmek Bir Ayrıcalıktır

T ofaş arabayı modifiye ederek kullanmak, görüşülen gençler arasında tutkulu bir tavır olarak gözlemlenmiştir. Hasan, internetten gördüğü farklı bir marka aracı almaya İstanbul'a gitmiş ve alacağı arabanın sahibiyle görüşürken, kapalı kepengin altında iki takoz ardında Doğan marka aracı görünce, alacağı farklı marka arabadan vazgeçip, 19 yıllık araca 9500 lira vererek satın almıştır. Kendisi zaten oto tamircisi olduğundan, döndüğü gibi arabayı modifiye ederek, kullanmaya başlamıştır. Hasan'a göre bir arabanın modifiye

¹ liseyi 1. sınıftan terk edip " yaw okumak bana göre değil hocaları dovüyodum hep" diye oraya buraya övünen, genellikle tofaş üretimi olan arabalardan baba parası ile bir tane alan,onu modifiyeci Salih usta'sına götürüp ahmet'in, mehmet'in, cemal'in arabalarından gördüklerini sentez hale getirip, uzun burun ayakkabı, beyaz gömlek, siyah pantolon giyen, saçları polat alemdar kesimi olan, çorabında mutlaka çakısı hazır olan, internet kafeci arkadaşları kerime, 2-3 tane boş cd verip "yaa kerim şunlara dıp-tıslı müzik koy,birisine de full damar at bergen, ibo, müslüm olsun haa alemciyi de unutma" diyen, bileğine gümüş bileklik, parmağına kurtlar vadisi yüzüğü takan,siyah güneş gözlüklerini takıp; kızlara şahiniyle bakış atan ve bunun onları etkilediğini düşünen, gömleğinin cebinde kısa 2000 veya 2001 sigarası her zaman olan, annesini çok seven, babasıyla ise kavgalı olan, babasıyla kavga ettiğini gururla herkese anlatan, milletin kızına bacısına sulanan fakat biri kendi bacısına baktı mı bıçak çeken, kız ayarlayıp yatağa atmak isteyen fakat evleneceği zaman helal süt emmiş, bakire, başı kapalı namazında niyazında bir kızla evlenmek isteyen, siyasetle ilgili görüşü başbuğlar ölmez olan, arkadaşlarıyla şehirde yarış yapan iğrenç, bu ülkeye zarar, pislik, ortadan kaldırılması vatana hizmet olan insanlardır (07.11.2008 02:56commun (<https://eksizozluk.com/modifiye-sahin-insani--1803937>)).

edilebilmesi için, başlangıç olarak onun fabrika çıkışından sonra hiçbir işlemde geçmemesi gerekir. Yani arabanın daha önce başkaları tarafından modifiye edilmemiş olması gerekir ki modifiyenin tadı çıksın. Bu anlamda “orjinallik” çok önemli bir olgudur. Sakarya’da esnafılık yapan, sosyal medyadaki çeşitli Tofaş gruplarında yönetici ve üye olan Volkan İnci, AA muhabirine Kuş serisinin hayatlarında önemli bir rol aldığını dile getirirken, “Farklı bir araç aldım fakat 92 model Doğan L aracımı satmaya kıyamadım. Zaman zaman sorunlar yaşasam da aracımı kendi isteğime göre modifiye ederek zevkle biniyorum” (<http://www.haberler.com/turkiye-de-kus-serisi-tutkusu-devam-ediyor-5286475-haberi/>) ifadeleriyle Hasan’ın görüşlerini doğrular. Sorun çıkarmasına rağmen tutku ile kullanılan Tofaş marka arabaların yerini hiçbir arabanın tutmadığını söyleyen Nazmi, arabayı yeterince temizlemiyor ve pis bakıyor diye kardeşine kızarak, Tofaş arabasını satın yerine Renault Clio bir araba almıştır. Arabasını sattığı günden sonra, konuşma anında da defalarca belirttiği gibi bu kararından çok pişman olmuştur. Şimdiki hedefi, elindeki Tofaş olmayan arabayı satın, dokunulmamış/orijinal/modifiye edilmemiş bir Tofaş bularak, satın almaktır. Nazmi, Trabzon’da Tofaş marka bir araba beğenmiş, sahibine yüksek bir miktar teklif etmişse de arabanın sahibi ona satışı yapmamıştır. Konuşma esnasında “Arabanın rengini gör var ya...” diyerek, alamadığı Tofaş marka arabaya karşı hala koruduğu hayranlığından bahsetmektedir

Hasan’ın ifadesine göre, bir araba modifiye edildiğinde, daha hızlı gidebilmesi için motor gücü artırılır, genişleyip arabayı hızlandırması için lastikler sporiye yapılır, yayları kesilerek yere yakın hale getirilir, bu sayede arabanın yol tutuşu sağlam olur ve hızla viraja girildiğinde araba savrulmaz; camlar filmle kaplanır, egzost sistemi değiştirilerek filtre kiti bağlanır, ışıklar değişir. Işıktaki tercih mavi ve mor ışıktır. Trabzon’da modifiye yapmak için, daha çok bordo renkli Tofaş arabalar tercih edildiğinden, mavi ışık Hasan’a göre arabayı ‘çok daha tatlı göstermekte, akşam giderken parlayan farlar, bakmayan bir insanın bile dikkatini çekip arabaya baktırmaktadır’. Modifiye işleminde jant değişimi çok önemlidir. Hasan, her Tofaş alan çocuğun rüyasının, jant taktırıp,

arabanın yaylarını kesip düşürmek olduğunu söylerken, Erhan arabanın lastiklerinden birinin ayakkabısı gibi olduğundan ve ayakkabı gibi, modifiye arabada en çok jantların dikkat çektiğinden bahsetmektedir. Kendisi araba tamircisi olan Hasan, yapılan işin sade olması gerektiğini savunmaktadır.

Hasan'ın modifiye tutkusu, kendi babasına ait olan, ancak onun ölümünden sonra satılan Murat 124'ün yeni sahibini bulup, arabasını geri almakla başlamıştır. Arabayı 2000 liraya geri alan Hasan; aracının motorunu değiştirmiş, hızını arttırmış, koltukları deri kaplama yapmış, Hollanda'dan sunroof, Amerika'dan Ford arabasının dikiz aynalarını getirtirmiş, minder kafalıklarına televizyon monitörü koymuş,- kendi ifadesine göre ilk televizyon monitörlü arabanın sahibi olmuştur-camları otomatik cam yapmış -ki camlar açıkken kapılar kapandığında, camlar kendiliğinden kapanmaktadır- motor ve diğer aksamaları yenilemiş, son olarak da 10.000 liraya Pioneer ses sistemi takmıştır. 2000 liraya alınıp 20.000 lira masraf yaparak modifiye edilen araç, onun ifadesiyle, "herkesin kıskandığı" bir arabaya dönüşmüştür. Ona göre, "Tofaş araba sürmek bir ayrıcalıktır". Hasan, Avrupa markalı araç sürmenin kolay olduğunu söylemektedir, paran varsa ya da bankadan kredi çekebiliyorsan her arabayı almak mümkündür. Hasan'a göre asıl önemli olan, eski bir arabayı "yeni ve benzersiz" kılmaktır.

Avrupa arabaya şu anda binmek kolay örnek veriyorum. Gidersin bir bankaya konuşursun araba için, banka zaten alıyor parayı, servise veriyor. Arabayı alıyorsun ayda belki bin lira ödüyorsun, belki sekiz yüz lira ödüyorsun yani şu anda önemli olan, o arabayı almak değil. Araba alırsın, arabayı istediğin her yerden alırsın çünkü bankalar sağ olsun tüm, herkese kredi veriyor. Araba ipotekli, önemli olan Tofaş'a binebilmek, Tofaş sürebilmek.

Görüşüğüm katılımcılar Hasan'ın bu görüşünü doğrulamaktadır. Onlar modifiye edilmemiş araca binmeyi reddederken, daha pahalı olmasına rağmen farklı marka araçları da tercih etmemektedirler.

Hasan'ın modifiye edilmiş Tofaş Murat 124 marka aracı

Modifiye tutkusunu örneklemek için Ali, kimsenin bir diğeri Tofaş marka bir aracı modifiye yapmak için zorlamadığını söylerken, Tofaş tutkusunun parayla ilgisinin olmadığını anlatmaktadır:

Sokakta sor, 5 yaşındaki çocuk bile büyüyünce Tofaş araba alacam diyor. Her mahallede illa ki iki üç modifiye yapılmış araç var, millet görüyor, egzostunu vs. ister istemez Tofaş arabası istiyor. Samsun'da bir arkadaşımız var, babası altına Audi A6 çekti, çocuk babasına dedi ki 'baba ben bunu süremiyorum'. Geldi buradan bir Tofaş aldı gitti, Samsun'a. Tofaş'a bağıllık parayla ilgili değil.

Erhan modifiye tutkusunu özetlerken, Tofaş'a değil, Avrupa arabaya bile binse onu modifiye edeceğini söylemiştir. Orçun modifiye edilmemiş, onun ifadesiyle "düz bir arabaya binmektense, yürüme gideceğini" eklemiştir. Erhan Tofaş arabalara yönelik ilgisini anlatırken:

Annem, trilyonluk adam olsan yine Tofaş mı dedi. Trilyonluk da olsam yine Tofaş dedim, ben kimseyi rahatsız etmiyorum, 50 yaşına gelsem de gene onu süreceğim. O zaman tamam gözümde gözlük olacak ama bu paradan bağımsız, alakası yok bizim benimsediğimiz zevk, mutluluk,

heyecan" ifadeleriyle modifiye Tofaş'a olan bağlılığını söze dökmüştür.²

Modifiye Tofaş arabaya binerek arabalarını farklılaştıran sürücülerin, araba sürüşleri de farklıdır. Araba, görüşülen katılımcılar için bir yerden bir yere götürme aracından ziyade, hız, tehlikeli sürüş heyecanı demektir. Hasan, modifiyeli aracıyla nasıl gittiğine, neler yaptığı sorusuna dair soruyu şöyle yanıtlamıştır:

Drift atarız yani drift atmak arabayı olduğu yerde döndürmektir; arabanın kafasını sabitlemek, kavşağı arabayı yan yatırarak döneriz. Emniyet şeridinden sağ şeride geçmek, egzost bağdırtmak arabayla yaptıklarımızdan. Bilinçli olarak gaza basarsan egzost bağdırır. Beş vites araba, dışarıdan gören der ki 15 vites, debriyaj gaz, debriyaj gaz, ya da yarım debriyaj başlarsın sonra başlar egzost ötmeye.

Hasan, sinyal lambasını zaten kimsenin kullanmadığını belirtmiş, acil iş varsa dörtlülerin yakıldığını, modifiye edilirken arabanın ön kısmına zaten sinyal lambası takılmadığını ve sinyallerin park lambalarına bağlanarak direkt yandığını sözlerine eklemiştir. Nazmi, sis farlarını bile park lambalarına bağlamıştır; park lambası yandığı zaman sis ve sinyal lambalarının hepsi bir arada yanmaktadır. Modifiye Tofaş araç sürücülerinin trafik kurallarını ihlal etmeleri ile kendi yere yakınlaştırılmış arabalarını bozuk yollarda sürerken çok fazla dikkat göstermeleri arasında, ilk bakışta bir zıtlık varmış gibi gözükmektedir. Ancak trafik kuralı ihlali bu sürücülerin alameti fârikalarıdır. Onlar Gürkan'ın deyimiyle "arabanın huyunu suyunu öğrenerek, arabalarıyla konuşarak" yaşamaktadırlar.

² Erhan'ın parayla ilgisinin olmadığını söylediği Tofaş marka araçlar, gözlemlediğime göre modifiye söz konusu olduğunda salt zevkten değil ucuzluğundan ötürü de tercih edilmektedir. Buradaki "parayla ilgili değil" vurgusunun modifiyeye olan tutku ile bağlantılı olduğunun gözden kaçırılmaması gerekir.

Arabaların modifiyesinde en önemli amaç, onun hızını arttırmaktır. Katılımcılardan Hasan, arabasının motorunu güçlendirirken; “bu Volkswagen ile, Audi ile yarışır” diyerek modifiye etmekte ve modifiye sonrasında gerçekten arabasını bu araçlarla yarıştırmaktadır. Orçun, Doğan arabasını Porsche ile yarışırma hususunda “Biliyorum geçemeyecek ama” diyerek çekincesini belirtirken yine de arabası dolayısıyla gücü deneyimlemenin hazzından bahsetmektedir. Sayar’ın da (2007:12) belirttiği gibi, yeni kamusal alan olan yollarda pedallarla oynayan, direksiyon çeviren kişi bir arınma yaşar. Araba sürmek gerektirdiği yoğunlaşmayla bizi hayatın dertlerinden ve içe bakıştan kurtarır. Arabasının başındaki insan, arabaların geçtiği anonim dünyada, özlemini çektiği sorumluluk ve güç duygusuna kavuşur. Tutkulu bir eylem olarak modifiye Tofaş araç kullanma, katılımcıların tüm enerjilerini verdikleri ve sonuçlarından haz duydukları bir eylem olarak görülmelidir. Hazların paha biçilmez olduğu ve küçümsenmeyeceği gerçeği de, postmodern dönemin bir olgusu olarak karşımıza çıkar.

Tüketim Toplumu ve Altkültür Üyeliği

Modifiye Tofaş gençlerinin arabaları dolayısıyla toplumsal hayatta kapladıkları alan, onları dolaysız biçimde tüketim toplumunun bir üyesi kılar. Gençlik altkültürlerinin önemli özelliklerinden birisi, kesinlikle tüketim ile olan ilişkileridir. Bu kültürlerin, “kendilerine ait tüketim gelenekleri vardır” (Hebdige 97). Modifiye Tofaş araç kullanan gençler, modifiye araç kullanmayan “ana akım sürücülerden” farklılaşabilmek için, araba parçalarına çok fazla para harcamakta, 3000 liraya alınan arabaya 20000 lira masraf yapabilmektedirler. Çünkü baskın kültüre alternatif geliştirmek, kendi içlerinde protesto dili kullanarak farklılaşma çabasında görsellik önemli bir yer tutmakta, farklılığı sağlamak için başvuru alanı brikolaj, yani ayrı parçalardan yeni bir biçim yaratma (Hebdige 97) çabası diğer gençlik altkültürleri gibi modifiye Tofaş gençlerinin de başvurdukları bir yol olmaktadır. Bir araç modifiye edilmek istendiği zaman, o kişinin parasına

ve zevkine göre pek çok deęişim yapılabilmektedir. Her ne kadar bu kültürü tanımayanlar modifiye araçları “it kopuk arabası” olarak deęerlendirse de gerçekte hiçbir modifiye araç motor, egzost, lamba vs. açısından birbirinin aynısı olmamaktadır. Bu da bize, bu gençlerin kapitalizm döngüsü içinde kendilerine bir manevra alanı açma konusundaki arzularını gösterir. Hayatlarını deęiştiremeyen, farklılığı eğitim, iş/kariyer alanında sağlayamayıp, gelirini arttıramayan, mahallesine hapsolan genç, arabasını deęiştirerek bir ayırım yaratır. Tüketimin araba parçalarına yöneldiğı altkültür örneğı olan modifiye Tofaş gençleri, kazandıkları her parayı, araçlarında yapacakları deęişikliğe harcamaktadırlar. Orçun haftalık 100 lira aldıysa, tamamını araba modifiyesine yatırdığını, bazen arabaya 10 liralık yakıt koyduğunu, gerekirse arabaya yakıt bile koymadan modifiyesine devam ettiğini belirtirken bu olguyu doğrulamaktadır. Erhan ise “arabayı sürmek deęil bakmak bile yetiyor, sürmen deęil, içine binmen deęil, bakman yeter” diyerek modifiye tutkusunun boyutlarını gözler önüne sermektedir. Bir otomobili eline para geçtikçe modifiye ettirebilme, kişiyi devamlı bir tüketim sarmalı içinde tutar. Hatta Orçun, taktığı bir parçadan sıkıldığında dięer hafta başka bir parça taktığını, mutlaka arabasında her ay deęişiklik yaptığını söylemektedir. Hayatlarında çok bir deęişim gerçekleşmeyen modifiye tutkunları, araba parçalarını deęiştirdikçe hayatın ritminin deęiştii hissine kapılmakta ve Orçun’un deyimiyle “bu onlara yaşama sevinci vermektedir”.

Bocock, statü gruplarının farklı bir yaşam tarzı, yeme, içme, giyinme gibi tüketim üzerinden kendini tanımladıklarını, başkalarıyla aralarına sınır çizdiklerini ve kendilerini ayırarak toplumsal ve kültürel saygınlıklarını korumaya çalıştıklarını söyler (16). Avustralya’da Harley Davidson kullanımını inceleyen Schrembi (2008), yıllık toplantı ve bu motor kullanımına ait çeşitli geleneklerin, sosyal etkileşimin ürün deęerinin ötesinde olduğunu ve postmodern tüketicinin, obje tüketiminden ziyade özel nesnelerin sağladığı sosyal bağ ve kimlikle ilgilendiğini söylemektedir. Modern tüketim statü ile yakından ilişkili iken, postmodern dönemde tüketim kişinin statüsü ile birebir ilişkili olma halinden uzaklaşmıştır. Arabaları ya da nesneleri iletişim aracı

olarak gören modifiye Tofaş kullanıcısı gençler, arabalarının kimsenin arabasına benzememesinden duydukları övünçle postmodern tüketiciyi örnekler, arabalarında yaptıkları değişikliklerle kimliklerini yansıtır. Hasan'ın ifadesine göre, tüm modifiye Tofaş araba kullanıcıları “Benim arabam daha güzel, benim arabam daha hızlı” iddiasına sahiptir ve ona göre herkes istediği gibi araba yapamamaktadır. Bu, parasal zorluklardan ziyade zevkle de ilişkilidir ona göre:

Tabi her araba farklıdır. Örnek veriyorum; kimisi çingene gibi iş yapıyor, geliyor yanımıza, abi diyor arabam nasıl oldu? Şunu yapmana gerek yoktu, bunu yapmana gerek yoktu diyoruz. Bir hafta sonra geliyor yanımıza, şu arabamı sen toplar mısın? Bir günde arabasını topluyorum. Abi diyor, ben bunları yaptım ama gerçekten salaklık yaptım diyor. Bizde de aksesuar konusunda şu vardır: Arabanın sadeliği hoşumuza gider. Her şeyin sadesi hoşumuza gider.

Bir arabanın herkesinkinden farklı özelliklere sahip olabilmesi için, onun sürekli yenilenmesi gerekir. Serdar da bazen sıkılarak, arabanın daha önce değiştirdiği parçalarını çıkarıp yeni parçalar eklediğini söylemektedir. Bu durum bitimsiz bir araba parçası tüketimini beraberinde getirir. Kendi aralarında bir cemaat oluşturan Tofaş kullanıcıları, arabaya olan tutkularını besleyebilmek için evlerinde bu parçaları bulundurmaktadır. Hasan'ın terası, Furkan'ın yatağının altı, Enes'in evinin bir balkonu tamamen Tofaş malzemesi ile doludur ve Enes eşine “Buna sen dâhil dokunamazsın, bir parça kaybolursa sana sorarım, bu benim dünyam” tehdidini savurarak, ailesi ile tutkusunu ayırmıştır.

Kendine özgü altkültürel bileşimlerde bir araya getirilen uygun nesneler, “grup yaşamının çeşitli yönlerini yansıtmak ve dışa vurmak için oluşturulmuşlardır. Seçilen nesneler, orijinal ya da uyarlanmış biçimleri içerisinde, altkültürün temel ilgi alanları, etkinlikleri, grup yapısı ve kolektif özalgılamasıyla benzer. Bunlar altkültür üyelerinin, korunan ve yansıtılan temel değerlerini görebilecekleri nesnelerdir (Hall 1976 akt. Hebdige 114). Modifiye Tofaş araç sahiplerinin de gruplar olarak korudukları ve gözettikleri temel değerler incelendiğinde, araba

modifikasyonunda tercih edilen araba rengi, konulan süs, takılan jant, egzost, motor, cam filmi gibi ayrıntıların kimi zaman şehirden şehre farklılık gösterdiği görülmektedir. Nazmi'nin ifadesine göre Trabzon'da en çok, bordo Tofaş'lar modifiye etmek için uygun araçlar olarak görülmektedir. Bunda arabaya mavi renk de katarak Trabzonspor'un renkleriyle arabalarını boyama arzusu ön plana çıkmaktadır. Modifiye araç sahipleri, genellikle "Apaçi" olarak değerlendirilip küçümсенirken, Trabzon'da görüşülen modifiye araç sahibi gençler, kendilerini farklı değerlendirmektedirler. Arabaya beş kişi oturup, müziği sonuna kadar açarak, kızlara laf atan, arabalarını farklı çıkartmalarla süsleyen gençleri kendileri "Apaçi onlar" deyip küçümsemiş ve aralarında bir farklılık yaratma çabası içine girmişlerdir. Aynı ifadeleri, "Apaçi" olarak adlandırılan gençlerde gözlemleyen Yaman (2013), görüştüğü hemen hemen hiçbir gencin kendine Apaçi olmayı yakıştırmadığını gözlemlemiştir. Apaçılık bir temsil biçimi olarak olumsuz anlama sahip olduğundan, kimse kendini o topluluğa ait tanımlamak istemektedir. Ayrıca araştırılan ve araştıran ikiliğinin kurulduğu ve bu ikiliğin başından itibaren dengesizliği barındırdığı bir ortamda, kişiler kendilerini apaçık olumsuz olanla özdeşleştirmek istemeyeceklerdir.

Küresel kapitalizmin yaşam felsefesi olarak doğan yeni bireycilik, benliğin sürekli keşfi, değişim karşısında büyülenme, olaylara dair kısa vadeli düşünme biçimi, hız ve dinamizm üzerine yapılan vurgu (Elliot ve Lemert 9) ile şekillenir. Modifiye Tofaş araç kullanan gençler, kendi kısıtlı tüketim olanaklarına rağmen yeni bireyciliğin bu özelliklerini örneklerler. Benliklerini sürekli değişiklik yaptıkları arabaları aracılığı ile tatmin etme, süreksiz işleri nedeniyle hayata dair çok yönlü bir planlama yapamama, arabalarının hızını yükselterek kendi arabalarından daha iyi model bir araba ile yarışmak ya da kendi başlarına hız denemeleri yapmak suretiyle dinamizm isteği, onları kapitalist döngünün aktif üyesi kılar. Tüketim onaylanan bir davranış biçimi olduğu zaman, kadınların ve erkeklerin tüketimleri karşılaştırılarak modifiye yapan erkekler tüketim döngüsündeki yeri meşrulaştırılmaktadır. Enes şöyle demektedir:

Kadınlar nasıl kuaföre gidiyor canları her sıkıldığında ya da evden çıkmadan önce gözlerini boyuyor, bizimki de öyle.

Sosyalleşme Mekânları, Karşı Cinsle İlişkiler

Modifiye Tofaş kullanan gençler, boş zaman buldukları her an bir araya gelerek, birlikte etkinlik yapmaktadır. Erkekliğin homososyal erkek gruplarında öğrenilip, öğretilip revize edildiği bilgisi ışığında (Sancar 260), modifiye Tofaş araç kullanan erkeklerin bir araya gelmesi şaşırtıcı bulunmamaktadır. Homososyal mekânlar, kadınların giremediği kahvehane, pavyon, meyhane gibi mekânlardır. Modifiye Tofaş gençleri de kadınların çok az uğradıkları “sanayi”de buluşmaktadırlar. Eğer sanayi dışında bir araya geleceklerse, mahallelerinde ya da Maçka yolundaki piknik alanlarında toplanıp sohbet etmektedirler. “Bir araya geldiğinizde neler konuşursunuz” sorusuna tüm katılımcılar ‘arabalardan’ yanıtını vermiştir. Bu sohbetlerin birini örnekleyen Orçun, “Değirmendere semtinde bir arabanın olduğunu ve cezasından dolayı garaja çekildiğini ve arabanın çok iyi modifiye olacağından bahsettiklerini” söylerken, Nazmi “Trabzon’da herkes biliyor onu, oradan geçerken bakmadan geçmem” diyerek sohbetlerinin bu minvalde ilerlediğini söylemiştir.

Görüştüğüm modifiye Tofaş ile uğraşan gençler, arabalarına bu denli tutkuyla bağlanmışken kadınlarla nasıl iletişim kurduklarını sorduğumda, onlara arabalar kadar ilgi göstermediklerini söylemişlerdir. Orçun’un kız arkadaşı, ilişkileri sonlanmadan önce ona “Arabayı sevdiğin kadar beni sevseydin, aya çıkardık” demiştir. Hasan, önce arabasının, sonra eşinin tutku olarak önde gittiğini söylemiştir. Evli olan Emre de, ailesi ile arabaları ayırırken:

Aile ve araba ikisi arasında bağlantı ayrı. Bu kişisel bir şey. Eşim bana bütün gün arabanla uğraşacağına bizimle olsana, dedi. Olabilir ama ben bi yerde psikolojik. Sabah saat 8 de 9 da işe gidiyoruz, hepimiz ailemize destek olmak onlara bakmak için çalışıyoruz. Binlerce insanla münakaşada para

kazanıyorsak senin yerin ayrı, çocuğun yeri ayrı, benim kendi yerim ayrı. Bu psikolojiyi atamıycam. Sen bana güzel sözler bile söylesen ben rahatlamıycam, onu atmış değilim.

diyerek aile yaşantısından ziyade arabalarının onun psikolojisini düzelttiğini söylemiştir. Tofaş arabaların modifiye edilişi, bununla uğraşanlar için ağır yaşam koşullarında yaşamın sıkıntılarını atmaya yarayan bir işlevdedir. “Tofaş’la uğraşıp eve geldiğinizde kendinizi nasıl hissediyorsunuz?” sorusunu yanıtlayan Emre:

Kanat açmış bir melek gibi, eşim ne isterse onu yapabilirim, ne isterse alsın. Bir bayan eve girişte eşinin yüzünden, sinirli mi, mutlu mu, mutsuz mu, bir bakışta anlar. Sen şimdi melek gibi girdiğin zaman, o bayan ne isterse alabilir. Sana dokunsa da sen yine gidecen Tofaş modifiyene. Diyelim ki evde sıkıntı var ya da işte, arabayı sürmeyecek bile olsan çıkıyorsun.

Eve ekmek parası getiren rolüyle kendisinin değer verdiği hazları net bir şekilde ayıran Emre, ataerkil toplumun tüm kabullerini yansıtarak, kendini ailesini geçindiren bir erkek olarak konumlamakta, rahatlama biçimi olarak modifiye Tofaş kullanımını hak kabul etmektedir. Emre gibi görüşülen diğer katılımcılar da, ruh halleri iyiyken ya da kötüyken de modifiye Tofaş’a binmeyi tek rahatlama biçimi olarak görmektedir.

Schouten ve McAlexander, HarleyDavidson kullanıcıları üzerine yaptıkları etnografik çalışmada, Harley Davidson kullanımını dini bir ritüele benzetmişlerdir. Araştırmacılar, bir yönetici evine arabasıyla değil de Harley Davidson ile geldiğinde, çocuklarının onu sevinçle karşıladığını, çünkü bu şekildeki döndüğü zaman iyi bir ruh halinde olduğunun anlaşıldığı şeklinde sözlerini aktarmışlardır. Harley Davidson motor kullananların motorlarına yaptıkları bakımı, motorun temizliğine gösterilen özeni, her yol koşulunda yaşanan sürme deneyimini şamanik bir deneyime benzeterek, büyü bir ritüel olarak değerlendirmişlerdir (Schouten ve McAlexander 50). Hasan, temiz modifiye araç kullanma tutkusu nedeniyle gece saat üçte araba temizlediğini söylerken, Emre de kendisini en mutlu hissettiği zamanların arabasını temizlediği zamanlar

olduğundan bahsetmiştir. Nazmi, arabasını benzer bir özenle temizlemektedir, hatta bir gün arkadaşları onu kar yağdığı esnada araba temizlerken görmüşler, bir yandan kar yağarken, diğer yanda Nazmi arabayı temizlemektedir. Modifiye Tofaş kullanan erkekler, sohbetleri, araba temizlemeleri ile kadınlardan ayrı bir dünyanın kodlarını paylaşırlar. Harley Davidson kullanıcıları da modifiye Tofaş kullanıcıları gibi birbirlerini kardeş olarak görmekte, topluluk aynı inanç, amaç ve deneyimi paylaştıkları (Schouten ve McAlexander 51) için bu onları, kadınlardan ve diğer erkeklerden ayırmaktadır. Nazmi, sevgili yerine arabaları tercih etmektedir. Nazmi kardeşi nedeniyle sattığı Tofaş arabasının yerine yenisini koyamamanın acısını, tıpkı bir aşk ayrılığı acısı gibi yaşamaktadır.

Ben arabama daha doyamadım. Gittim Doğan'a, adam satmadı, arabaya alışmıştık, gittik Clio aldık. Boşluk oldu arabasız kalınca. Kardeşim dedi ki, bordo bir Doğan gördüm alalım dedi, ben yok dedim, sonra arabayı gördüm ki adama dedim sat bana, adam satmam dedi. Adam satmadı. Ama gene gidip alacam. Biraderle kafa kafaya verip alcaz yani.

Kadınlarla vakit geçirmektense arabalarıyla ilgilenen gençlere nasıl kızlardan hoşlandıklarını sorduğumda, Orçun, ahlaklı, gittiği ortamda onu taşıyabilen, oturmasını kalkmasını bilen, olgun düşünen bir kızla birlikte olmak istediğini söylemiştir. Benim şaşırtıcı bulduğum bir olgu, muhafazakârlığı ile bilinen Trabzon'da kızların yozlaşmış olduğu söylemidir. Orçun "Trabzon da piyasa çok kötü evlenilecek kız bulmak çok zor. Piyasa o kadar kötü ki, normal afedersin namuslu bir kız bulmak zordur" derken kadınlar hakkındaki görüşlerini yansıtır. Orçun, kendi ifadesiyle "bozulmuş Trabzon piyasasının" içinde yer almaktan kaçınmamakta, ancak bu "piyasadan" biriyle evlenmeyi istememektedir. Hasan bu durumu köyden şehre göçle açıklamakta, kızların şehirde televizyon özentisiyle açılıp saçıldığını belirtmektedir. Erhan, eskiden annelerin kızlarını daha iyi denetlediğini ve gece dışarıda kalmalarına izin vermediğini şimdi kızların annelerine söyledikleri yalanlarla isterse geceyi onunla geçirebileceğini söylemiştir. Orçun, bu konudaki

düşüncelerini “benim on tane kız arkadaşım varsa onuyla da evlenilmez” diyerek açıklama getirmiştir.

Modifiye Tofaş araba kullanıcılarının kadınlarla ilgili söyledikleri, ataerkil erkek söylemi ile bire bir örtüşür. Onlar kadınlardan, tamamen kadınlık rolleri olan özel alan işlerini; evin, çocuğun ve yaşlının bakımının, yeme içme düzeninin sağlanmasını, akraba ilişkilerinin düzenlenmesini talep ederlerken kendilerini, evin dışında oluşturdukları kamusal alanda konumlandırmaktadırlar. Katılımcıların örneğinde bu erkekler, özel alandan kendilerini itina ile ayrı tutup, tüm zevk ve kederlerini kamusal alanda icra etmektedirler. Bu nedenle, evlenilecek ve eğlenilecek kadın ayırımında kendilerini ‘beğenen’ konumunda tutmaları, kendi düşünce bağlamları içinde anlaşılırdır. Kadınları tanımak için çok fazla çaba sarf etmeyen katılımcılar, doğal olarak kadınlarla iletişim kurmakta zorlanmakta, araba sohbeti yaptıkları arkadaşlarını daha ilgi çekici bulmaktadırlar. Sayar, arabaların yeni şehvet nesneleri olduğunu, erkek araba sahiplerinin güç ve macera tutkularını makinelerine yansıttıklarını ve bu makineleri cinsel boşalım nesnesine dönüştürdüklerini söyler. Bu süreçte yollar, adeta, hayal kırıklığına uğramış egoların geçit resminin yapıldığı mekânlardır (211-12). Hızlı araba kullanmayı, arabalarını sürekli değiştirmeyi hedefleyen bir yaşam biçimini kurmak, hayal kırıklıklarının üstesinden gelmeyi sağlarken, güne başlama heyecanı vermekte ve bıktırıcı iş döngüsünü katlanılır kılmaktadır.

Sonuç

Modernin yitip, yerine konanın postmodern olarak adlandırıldığı dönemde en önemli kimlik belirleyici olgu, tüketimdir. Tüketim toplumu, grupları belirleyip her gruba ait farklı seçenekler sunarak bireyleri bitimsiz sarmalının içine alır. Zorlayıcı olmayıp, aksine gönüllü kabileler aracılığı ile tüketim toplumunu oluşturan kişiler kimliklerini ifade etmek için tüketim malzemelerine başvururlar. Tofaş arabaları modifiye ederek kullanan gençler de, modifiye etme süreçlerinde erkeklerarası kurdukları cemaat ilişkisinde

belli kriterler çerçevesinde birliktelik yaşarlar. Bu birlikteliğin ilk koşulu, Modifiye Tofaş araçları sevmek ve bir aracı değiştirmek için gerçek ya da hayali bir arzu duymaktır.

Gerçekleştirilen araştırmada da görüldüğü gibi, kapitalist toplumsal hayatın gerektirdiği eğitim, iş, gelir dolayısıyla kendilerine manevra açamayan/açmayan genç erkekler, arabalarının parçalarını sıklıkla değiştirerek, bu değişimi sergileyerek fark yaratma peşindedir. Bireyselliği yaşayabilmek ve farklılaşmak her altkültür grubunda farklı şekillerde ve farklı ürün tüketimleri aracılığıyla tezahür ettiğinden, modifiye Tofaş altkültürü saydığım gençler arasında en önemli davranış kalıbı, daha önce el değmemiş/modifiye yapılmamış bir aracı kendi zevki, bütçesi çerçevesinde değiştirmek ve bunun için çalışmaktır. Günümüzde artık tüketim dışı bir aktivite ile grup kimliğini kurmak imkanı kalmadığından bu gençler değişimi/yenilenmeyi tanınmış markalı giysiler, saç kesimi gibi ayırt edici vasıflar nedeniyle değil arabalarına taktıkları parçalar aracılığı ile yaşamaktadır. Hayatlarının geçtiği mahalleler içinde de kendi gruplarını oluşturan bu gençler, büyümeleri esnasında bu kültürün içine çekilmişlerdir. Daha başka bir hayatı düşlemek ve bu hayat için mücadele etmek belli bir iç motivasyonu ve çabayı gerektirir. Oysa araba parçası üzerinden yaşanan değişim dışsal bir motivasyondur. Arabaları dolayısıyla gençlerin kurdukları birliktelikler, onları aynı amaç etrafında kilitlemekte ve gündelik dünyalarının yanı sıra hayal etmeyi başaramadıkları yeni bir dünyanın kapısını açmaktadır. Genel geçer başarı ölçütlerinin dışında kalan bu gençler bir araya gelerek güçlenmekte, parasızlıklarını, kız arkadaşlarının olmayışını, hayatlarının tek düzeliklerini geçici olarak unutmaktadır.

Bir araya geldikleri zaman gençlerin konuşmalarının odak noktasını arabalar oluşturmuş gibi görünüyorsa da araştırmada araba modifiye ederken dahi gençlerin “şehir milliyetçiliği” yaptıkları görülmüştür. Arabalarını bordo, ışıktandırma için mavi rengi seçen bu gençler, Trabzonspor’a göndermede bulunurlarken, en iyi modifiye arabanın Trabzon’da yapıldığını iddia etmektedirler. Her şehir sakininin şehrine ilişkin az çok duyduğu gurur, Trabzon’da modifiye ile uğraşan

gençler için inanç düzeyinde sorgulanmaz bir tavırla yaşanmaktadır. Görüşmelerde milliyetçi olduklarını ifade eden bu gençler, aile, Türklük ve Trabzon şehri ekseninde erkekliklerini yaşarken, modifiye araçlar ile kimliklerini kurmaktadır.

Bir arabayı modifiye etmek bu gençler için yaşama sevincinin bir diğer adıdır. Elde ettikleri tüm parayı, çalışmaktan geri kalan tüm boş zamanlarını ellerindeki ya da hayallerindeki arabaları modifiye etmeye ayıran, bu konuda sohbet eden, sosyal medya yoluyla haberleşen gençler var olmanın, fark edilmenin herkesten ayrı yollarını aramaktadır. Ancak bu gençlerin fark edilme oyunu onay gören, desteklenen bir yol değildir. Belki de bu bile onlar için heyecan vermekte ilgili gençler bu şekilde bir altkültür kümesi haline gelmektedirler. Çağımız benliklerin ifade edilmesi yani ben çağı olduğundan modifiye Tofaş araç sahipleri de kendilerini ifade ediş sürecinde saygıyı hak ederler. Küçümsemek ya da hoş görmek modifiye süreçlerindeki benliğin sunumunu anlamamak demektir.

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Görüşme Yapılan Katılımcılar

Hasan 28 yaşında, ilkokul mezunu, kendi tamirhanesinde araba tamircisi, evli.

Nazmi, 26 yaşında, ilkokul mezunu, elektrik ustası, bekâr.

Enes, 24 yaşında, ortaokul mezunu, tezgâhtar, bekâr.

Orçun, 23 yaşında, ortaokul mezunu, kuaförde çalışıyor, bekâr.

Selami 25 yaşında, ortaokul mezunu, güvenlik görevlisi, bekâr.

Emre, 25 yaşında, ortaokul mezunu, kendi işyerinde çalışıyor, evli ve bir çocuğu var.

Ali, 26 yaşında, ortaokul mezunu, babasının yanında çalışıyor, bekâr.

Gürkan, 22 yaşında, ortaokul mezunu işsiz, bekâr.

Erhan, 27 yaşında, ilkokul mezunu, elektrikçide çalışıyor, bekâr.

Ahmet, 23 yaşında, ortaokul mezunu, işsiz, bekâr.

Kemal, 27 yaşında, ortaokul mezunu tezgâhtar, evli.

Veysel, 25 yaşında, ortaokul mezunu, işsiz, bekâr.

BOOK REVIEWS

Gul Ozyegin (eds)
Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures

Ashgate, 2015, 392 pp.
ISBN 9781472414540

Gul Ozyegin's edited volume, *Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures*, is a powerfully illuminating source for exploring a neglected field of study. This volume brings together articles examining how discourses and practices channelled by Muslim identities act upon bodily practices, intimacies, masculinities and femininities in Egypt, Pakistan, Turkey, Iraq, Syria and Iran. In fact, this collection is not the first comprehensive work debating these issues; *Women and Sexuality in Muslim Societies*, edited by Pinar Ilkkaracan (2000), has previously dealt with similar dynamics by contemplating how Muslim women's sexual pleasures and bodies are restricted by religion and nationalism. Yet, differently, *Gender and Sexuality in Muslim Cultures* refocuses attention to lived experiences of gender and sexuality. The articles in this collection bring along ethnographic and historical accounts; and taken together, they decisively draw on embodied agency, negotiations and divergences. By doing so, this volume provides an excitingly deeper insight into how sexual and gender norms are maintained or contested.

As noted in the introductory chapter by Gul Ozyegin, the theoretical framework is predicated upon the controversies with the essentialized and reified notion of Islam. Islamic discourses and practices are deemed to be interacting with global and local dynamics in specific geographic locations. On that account, formations of Muslim identities are presented in relevance to neoliberal economic restructuring, globalization, Westernization, nation-building and anti-

colonialist ideologies and movements (p.1). In light of this conception, the book presents nineteen cases of gendered and sexual aspects of Muslim identities, which are organized into five thematic parts. Part 1 is primarily focusing on masculinities; the chapters here deal with the ways that hegemonic forms of masculinity are destabilized along with socio-political or economic transformations. In part 2, the chapters provide important accounts of the manifestations of Muslim identities in 'feminine body', conjugal ties and premarital relationships. Part 3 involves the chapters examining the uses of bodies in constructing gendered Muslim identities. Part 4 incorporates debates, on the one hand, on the struggle over women's bodies to ensure their repression, and on the other hand, women's own imaginations and struggles to gain autonomy. Lastly, Part 5, having a glance at experiences in Iran and Iranian diaspora, is devoted to scrutinizing feminist and queer scholarship.

By presenting multifaceted aspects of Muslim majority countries, this volume makes substantial contributions to understanding transformations of gender and sexualities that yield liminality resulting from the juxtaposition of global and local articulations. Global flows of capital, people and ideas are overriding concerns of several authors. Among these, the crisis of masculinities comes to the fore. Cenk Özbay's chapter on shopping malls in Istanbul as a site for a workplace gives a thought-provoking account for these dynamics. His study brings forth the dissolution of boundaries along with socio-economic transformations into a post-industrial urban milieu. He therefore suggests possibilities for autonomy and visibility in women's and queer lives. On the other hand, Salih Can Açıksöz's chapter, examining state-sponsored assisted reproduction for disabled veterans in Turkey, sets another example. He dissects the recuperation of hegemonic masculinity in the making of reproductive citizenship, which draws on neoliberal welfare regimes and familialist discourses of ruling authorities. Mustafa Abdalla's chapter deals with shifting positions of men in neoliberal restructuring of Egypt. Regarding poor young men's sexual and emotional relationships with Western tourist women under the guise of

urfi marriages, he explores men's survival strategies to reinvigorate their masculinity. Likewise, Aisha Anees Malik's research on transnational migrant Pakistani men in UK illustrates how they constitute a more privileged gender identity, in their home countries and UK, through migration and marrying Western women.

Some other authors also suggest possibilities to cultivate more egalitarian and autonomous subjectivities. Fatma Umut Beşpınar's chapter on the rise of *new fatherhood* towards more egalitarian conduct of parenting, among secular segments of middle class men in Turkey, provides a penetrating account for this dimension. She presents middle class men's tendencies to avoid traditional fatherhood, which is characterized by emotional and social distance from children. She demonstrates that a strong desire to disengage from traditional values and a pursuit of westernized lifestyles are exhibited in the rise of new fatherhood. Likewise, Lindsey A. Conklin and Sandra Nasser El-Dine scrutinize the enactment of autonomy in intimate relations in their chapter dissecting the dynamics of premarital relationships among Syrian youth. Setting forth a comparative account, they portray the image of Syrian youth on account of cultural distinctions, and demonstrate how Western values surrounding premarital relationships are drawn.

Apart from these, several authors also examine certain local practices, places and meanings that shape and are shaped by Muslim identities, such as *purdah*, *mahrem*, women's genital cutting and so on. In their perspectives, the role of (especially women's) lived experiences in meaning-making processes is paramount. Hence, the authors offer insightful accounts into how these practices are linked to anti-colonialist ideologies without reducing these local articulations to women's victimhood. For instance, Maria Frederika Malmström and Victoria A. Castillo's chapters, and Faith Barton's interview with Goran A. Sabir Zangana and Maria Frederika Malmström open an intriguing discussion on female genital cutting (FGC). Malmström's ethnographic research on lower class women in Egypt elaborately reveals the gendered aspects of the Muslim purity, and how FGC is imbued with these sensibilities.

Barton's interview with Zangana and Malmström gives an informative account on how to conceptualize FGC and what certain strategies could be employed by academic scholars and policy-makers to deal with this arduous phenomenon. Likewise, Castillo provides a pedagogical perspective for pondering FGC that would potentially guide the feminist circles among scholars, activists and policy-makers.

Saadia Abid's chapter examines Pakistani women's religious dressing of *burqa* as an embodiment of *purdah*. Avoiding narrow interpretations of *purdah*, she provides fascinating observations on this clothing practice, which takes on the meaning of a puritan Muslim identity withstanding Western cultures and values. Jessica Carlisle's chapter on judicial divorce cases in Syria illustrates how religion-based social norms and legislations define the contours of gender normativity in heterosexual marriages. Elyse Semerdjian's analysis of gender relations in the eighteenth-century Ottoman *hammam* in Aleppo indicates the social construct of Ottoman bathhouse as a suspect space for it facilitates encounters between Muslim and non-Muslim women. Sherine Hafez's chapter on women members of Muslim Brotherhood organization in Egypt reveals how women's bodies are subject to struggles for hegemony between the contrasting political bodies.

In the examination of the local practices and meanings, a few authors set forth the potentials to contest the precepts of gender and sexual ideologies in Muslim majority contexts. Serkan Delice elaborates on homosexual practices and identities in eighteenth-century Ottoman Istanbul. In his analysis of homoeroticism, he depicts that sexual and emotional relationships are signs of the formation of homosexual subculture emanating from male fraternities. Sertaç Sehlíkoglu deals with the local institution of *mahrem* incorporating regulatory frameworks for gender relations in Turkey. In her analysis of a couple of *mahrem* practices, she suggests a disobedience to heterosexual cultures in Turkey. Miral Mahgoub Al-Tahawy elaborates women's imaginations reflecting their silenced desires by analysing Arab women's creative self-expression in Egypt. The case of Alifa Rifaat's writing practices is especially stimulating as it demonstrates how women's explicit writing

practices can be a powerful act against Egypt's traditional patriarchal society. Martina Censi reveals that Syrian women writers' novel characters represent women's struggle to enact their individual autonomy and sexual freedom in a socio-political context marked by religion and state authority in Syria. Leila Mouri and Kristin Soraya Batmangelichi's chapter introduces the debates on post-colonial feminist scholarship by analysing the socio-political dynamics informing secular feminist movements in Iran. Their study provides indispensable insight into relationships between feminist political agenda, religion and state. Farhang Rouhani discusses the lived experiences of Iranian diaspora drawing on a case from literary field, namely Jasmin Darznik's memoir, *The Good Daughter*. Employing a queer theoretical perspective, he regards the Iranian diaspora as having creative and emancipatory capacities.

All in all, this collection introduces rich sources of information and seminal approaches to formations of Muslim identities through the lens of gender and sexuality. The articles shed light on the lived experiences by avoiding vague conceptions and overgeneralizations about Muslim cultural contexts. Thus, this collection is an excellent contribution to the literatures of gender studies and Middle East and North African Studies. Besides, the collection would also be helpful for academic scholars and students from a range of disciplines that are interested in diverse implications of global socio-economic transformations, as a number of chapters eloquently debate these global dynamics.

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The Crisis of Islamic Masculinities

By Amanullah de Sondy

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The *Crisis of Islamic Masculinities* is a book focused on Qur'anic masculinities and masculinities suggested by the Indian-Pakistani history to measure the constraints on Muslim manhood. de Sondy emphasizes in the Introduction of the book that there are multiple Islams, and hence shows an awareness of the diverse lifestyles of Islamic cultures in various parts of the world. The book aims to trace what types of masculinities are dominant in Islamic lifestyles, paying attention to the Islamic theory and practice, and also trying to move the focus of interest beyond the Arab territories, which almost always dominated definitions of Islam and Islamic masculinities. In this sense, it is an original work and opens some very important discussions on Islamic masculinities.

In the Introduction, de Sondy underlines that his book will trace but not *enter* a theological debate, and explains the aim of the book as “to explore the way in which Islamic traditions continue to uphold the sex role theories surrounding an Islamic masculinity”. He mentions the tradition of the prophet Muhammad as the trendsetter of Islamic masculinities and develops his discussion by pivotal figures such as the twentieth century political Islamist of post-imperial India Syed Abul A'la Mawdudi, and the eighteenth-nineteenth century Urdu and Persian poet Mirza Ghalib, two contrasting figures both of which were effective in influencing a generation of men not only during their times but also beyond. Mawdudi, connected ancestrally to Mohammed, is a theologian and journalist. Ghalib, is a poet of resistance, who is fond of courtesans and alcohol, and of violating Islamic norms of his day. Moving from one

image to the other, de Sony builds a powerful questioning of Islamic “norm”s of masculinity.

In the first part of the book, he introduces Mawdudi and his political resistance with detail and discusses his view of Islam and his political project of returning back to an Islamic utopia, comparing Mawdudi with his contemporaries such as poet, philosopher and academic Allama Sir Muhammad Iqbal and also lawyer, politician and Pakistan’s first national leader Muhammed Ali Jinnah, who attracted Mawdudi’s anger because of their affinity with the Western culture. In this first part, de Sony shows how the discussion of Islam in India and Pakistan was almost always intertwined with independence movements, cultural frustrations and anxieties regarding modernization.

Before moving on to Ghalib, de Sony elaborates on some very important terms in the Islamic world-view such as honor, marriage, power, hegemony, and egalitarianism in two successive chapters, taking his lead from feminist interpretations of Islam in the former and giving a developed vision of Qur’anic masculinity in the latter, to be able to make the contrast between Mawdudi and Ghalib more visible. The second chapter, therefore, articulates Muslim women’s struggles with patriarchy. Referring to recognized feminist scholars such as Amina Wadud and Asma Barlas, de Sony throws a look at the intersection of the difficult question of “men’s superiority” with theological theories in Islam. Also referring to political figures such as the Pakistani stateswoman Benazir Bhutto, de Sony shows how non-egalitarian gender indoctrination separates boys from girls at a very young age at Islamic societies.

The third chapter moves to a discussion of patriarchy and phallocentrism in Islam, tracing lives of prophets, all of which were men, as exemplary figures. De Sony elaborates on lives of four prophets, Adam, Joseph, Muhammad and Jesus, as key examples of Qur’anic masculinities. Women’s exclusion from prophecy opens the door of investigation of the functioning of gender in the Qur’an, and de Sony compares and contrasts the prophets in terms of sexual ethics, marriage

having or not having a father figure, female companion in their lives, etc. finally concluding that it is impossible to say that there is a single ideal Islamic masculinity as suggested by the lives of the four prophets. Although there is no “single” ideal masculinity in Islam, says de Sony, “submission (to God) is a strong ideal in all its forms”.

Fourth chapter returns to Mirza Ghalib and de Sony develops a discussion of Islamic “norms” taking Ghalib’s hedonistic challenge as an Islamic poet in Mughal India at the explicit focus. In this chapter, Ghalib’s Turkish descent, life in a polyreligious time, marriage, and passion in poetry reveal a complicated portrait. This chapter also deals with same-sex relationships in Mughal India. De Sony elaborates on the hedonistic life of Ghalib, and shows his deep spiritual relationship to God in his peculiar way, which considers rituals such as prayers, fasting, alms giving and pilgrimage as “worldly”. Ghalib’s ultimate submission to God, with his skepticism of God included, indicates that Islamic masculinities, as a whole, escape narrow definitions.

de Sony argues that Ghalib foreshadows “the Islamic masculinity crisis of today” and moves to the final chapter of the book, which develops a discussion on Sufism, with references to mystical paths to God suggested by important figures such as Jalal al-Din Rumi, Mansur al-Hallaj etc. In this chapter, Sufism is discussed with regard to celibacy, women’s role, oneness ideals, same-sex practices etc. Discussion on Sufism is enriched with introduction of marginalized groups in South Asia such as Malangs/Qalandars who reject all property (even clothing sometimes), wear large pieces of jewelry around their necks, hands and ears, use hashish and dance with frenzy, and live celibate as wanderers. Their drastic challenge to the social order aims the perfect union with God; hence, although they defy the “norm”s, their submission is just another dimension of Islamic masculinities.

The conclusion draws from all chapters to illustrate the richness of diversity regarding Islam in India and Pakistan and shows that contrasting images of men and masculinity indeed form the convoluted whole of Islamic masculinity, what is often regarded as a simple and

singular unity. *The Crisis of Islamic Masculinities* is valuable as an initial attempt to discuss Islamic masculinities beyond the Arabic experiences, as it displays a multidimensional portrait of Indian-Pakistani masculinities with a brisk style. This is an intriguing book, perhaps one of the very rare, in which you can find a man of anger such as Mawdudi being discussed in contrast to a hedonistic man of letters such as Ghalib, next to feminist Muslims and Sufi mystics.

Although such a mélange is very compelling, the argument of “the heterogeneity of Islam” and Islamic masculinities thereof, is not original at all. Since the emergence of masculinity studies as a specific research area in 70s, it is commonsense to say that masculinity is a complex construct that allows diversity. To speak on Islamic masculinities as such can be new, but only for a specific part of Western readership, which has a narrow perspective on non-Western cultures and Islam.

The Crisis of Islamic Masculinities begins by a criticism of “the Arab dominance” on the discussion of Islamic cultures, and de Sony rightfully attempts to enlarge the territory, but the book fails to provide an incorporated discussion of its subject matter despite its territorial look at the Indian-Pakistani masculinities. Each of the successive chapters on Mawdudi, feminist challenges to Islam, Qur’anic masculinities, Ghalib, and Sufism have powerful individual agendas; however, as de Sony does not explain his reasons beneath the selection of Mawdudi/Ghalib as the pair of contrast in the beginning of the book, the overarching argument which weighs these figures and problematizes Islamic masculinities accordingly is not clearly visible.

What forces us to think two figures such as Mawdudi and Ghalib with almost a century apart, is obviously their divergence in their interpretation of Islam. Still, why Mawdudi and Ghalib, but not someone else? The book loses its argumentative strength while setting the two figures as opposite poles of the discussion not only because de Sony leaves the selection in dark but also because the chapters in-between complicate the comparative perspective. The book starts with a chapter on Mawdudi, but before moving on to Ghalib, de Sony traces feminist

responses to Islam and elaborates on the four prophets as portrayed in Qur'an, decelerating argument-wise in his discussion of masculinity. Scarcity in the book of the references to theories of masculinity also adds to the argumentative weakness. De Soudy discusses concepts such as marriage, egalitarianism, hegemony etc. assuming the role of a presenter, transferring knowledge about Muslim cultures with quotes and references from the Qur'an to the Western readership but does not initiate a thorough theoretical discussion on Islamic masculinity.

There is a specific topic of pivotal importance, which needs elaboration theory-wise if Islam is to enter the field of masculinity studies as a research question, but is erratically discussed in the book, which is militarism. While discussing the prophetic images in the Qur'an, de Soudy spends considerable energy on topics such as slavery, marriage, polygamy etc. but gives little space to Quranic interpretations of war and military masculinity, taking prophets at focus. Virtues of prophets are mentioned in several passages of the Qur'an, and in the deeply patriarchal Arabic society, some of these indeed contradict hyper-masculine norms. War, however, requires hyper-masculinity. De Soudy touches upon the warrior image in Islam only in chapter 4, while discussing Ghalib, who came from a family of soldiers of Turkish descent, and chose to become a dervish, not a soldier. Being part of the "holy war," killing in the name of the God, is a totally different way of submission to God, when compared to Sufi practices, and its gendered dimensions is an essential problem, which a book on the "crisis" of Islamic masculinities should have discussed in detail. If Ghalib foreshadows "the Islamic masculinity crisis of today," his rejection of "military" in the name of "arts" needs further elaboration and a well-developed critique to understand the crises of contemporary Muslim men all around the globe.

The merit of *The Crisis of Islamic Masculinities* is in its bringing opposite figures of Islamic masculinities under the same roof. As an initial attempt, the discussion provided in the book shows that the writer

is not afraid to challenge perspectives on Islam, despite being a Muslim believer. Overall, the book succeeds in showing “the diversity” of Muslim men but it is hard to say that comparing Mawdudi with Ghalib produces a novel idea on Islamic masculinities. De Sonny hardly explains “the crisis” in depth and does not answer why crisis, as such, relates to Muslim men only.

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The Other Guy: Media Masculinity within the Margins

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The *Other Guy: Media Masculinity within the Margins* is a book about the media representations of a particular figuration of masculinity that portrays a transitional moment for men in the U.S. The other guy, for Burrill, is a man at odds with the regressive and traditional masculinity of post-WWII America, “constantly strategizing ways to circumvent, and deny [those] masculine behavior and mores” (2) represented in the alpha male and the tough guy. While fuddled and flummoxed in the face of the social, economic and ideological changes American society has undergone in the last couple of decades, this man is constantly scrutinizing new ways of performing his masculinity. At the same time he avoids a total rejection of, or disengagement from, those forms of masculinity that he is at odds with. Through his analysis of various Hollywood movies, television shows and other popular culture products, Burrill provides a comprehensive account of other guy representations in the U.S. media allowing him to comment on the real-world other guys and their experiences.

As Burrill demonstrates, the other guy is the new white, middle-class, and predominantly straight man who is in a state of a conscious but regretful decoupling with the structures of power setting his male privilege (5). His masculinity is a manifestation of a reactive performance that seeks “a workable spot on the stereotypical gamut strung between traditional masculinity and femininity” in response to a changing social, economic and cultural context (5). With increasing awareness on gender and sexual rights, along with rising numbers of

women in the labor-force providing the essential work skills necessary for a communications/service-based economy, men no longer hold the same privileges embodied by the alpha male of traditional masculinity in the post-war era (16). The improved statuses of women and awareness on women's and LGBTI rights in American society have altered the traditional male role. As Burrill states, "like women juggling work and family, the personal and the public, men too had to develop a performance of equity, balance and evolution" (16). It is within this transitional moment that Burrill finds the genesis of the other guy. According to him, the other guy is a *tactic*, as well as being a physicality who/which emerges within the circle of white middle-class masculinity in response to this changing environment. What the other guy stands for, within this framework, is "a difference within white masculinity", identified by his conscious attempt to be detached from a structure that he belongs (5). He is, however, conflicted in his attempt as his performance is shaped by two differing impulses. At once detaching himself from the structure which he -willingly or necessarily- maintains attachment too, avoiding absolute disengagement.

This complex and conflicting status of the other guy is well reflected in his relation to the media and to popular culture products. On this, Burrill details the other guy's *synaesthetic masculinity*, which refers to "a mélange of synaesthesia and aesthetics" highlighting the key position of the media and popular culture in the formation of this alternate masculinity (7). The somewhat bewildered other guy is surrounded by a "media phantasmagoria" where he is in a constant state of exposure to conflicting and confusing information about how to be, and act as, a man today (7). His masculinity is formed within the contestation of this *sensory information* he "receives in the form of aesthetic rules and trends, film and TV, videogames, and postmodern life in general" (13). Following this theoretical and conceptual framework, Burrill's analysis then addresses a number of media and popular culture products where the other guy's contested *synaesthetic masculinity* is represented, formed and constructed.

Burrill starts his analysis with a reading of the other guy in Hollywood and U.S. independent cinema where his particular focus is on the Mumblecore genre and the Judd Apatow films. Burrill sheds light on a common theme in these films (as well as in television) whereby the other guy displays insistent and conscious *immaturity* in the face of a world, which expects him *to grow up*. Often the other guy is positioned as oppositional to the *maturity* of the traditional male figure or indeed, the fathers. The other guy appears to be the new male figure resisting *growing up*, going through its tensions, and searching for strategies to adapt to a new world with his contested masculinity.

In the case of Mumblecore -which Burrill defines as another guy specific genre- this contestation is embodied in stories of ageing “boy-men” (38, 48-9). For the author, these films are “quintessentially about the life and times of the other guy” exploring his relations to women as well as his own body (39-40). In Mumblecore movies we find the other guy’s “static transition” – his transition from “man-child” to boy-adult – rather than a “growing up” tale in its more traditional form (39-40). He understands himself as a “boy-man” while simultaneously standing for “a sign of (often discontented) effort at making meaning of a changing world in which men have waning power” (48-49).

Aside from Mumblecore, Judd Apatow’s movies (for Burrill, “a genre unto themselves”) are also given particular focus in the book (56). Apatow movies not only reflect the *growing up* issues of the other guys, but also instruct those men in forming their new guy code (53-4). Apatow films such as *The 40-Year-Old Virgin* (2005), *Knocked Up* (2007), and *This Is 40* (2012) – named by Burrill names as the “Sperm Trilogy” – have central figures who “[seem] mystified about relationships, women, other men, sex, pregnancy, children and most importantly his status as a male at the start of the 21st century” (57). The other guys in these movies are in a state of self-reflection and, not unlike the films of the Duplass Brothers but in a different fashion, trying to make meaning out of the new setting of relations they find themselves in.

Regarding television, Burrill's analysis focuses particularly on the sitcom, which usually takes men's relations to each other as an essential theme for its satire (81-2). In this section Burrill provides a detailed reading of the shows *Last Man Standing*, *Man Up!*, *Men At Work* and *Modern Family*, all of which include a contestation for other guy masculinities in different ways and degrees. *Last Man Standing* centers on a traditional male figure, Mike, a father and a husband who is portrayed as a *victim* of "a changing world that won't accommodate his traditional and true American ideals" anymore (86). The other guy in the show, represented by a young white man in his early 20s, is subordinated to Mike's regressive masculinity in a way that facilitates Mike's attack on anything at odds with his traditional values.

Different from *Last Man Standing* is *Man Up!* which centers on three other guys who are not man enough but at most "man-ish" (89). The show presents their boyhood in the form of a regressive immaturity implying a need for these men to grow up, or "man up", in order to overcome their troubles in their relations to women and life in general. Another other guy series Burrill analyses is *Men at Work* where we are privy to the stories of a group of young, straight male professionals and their relations to women and other men (93). What the author finds particularly in *Men at Work* is the "portrayal of turmoil within the male identity between generations". This is represented in the relationship between one protagonist and his boss, who also happens to be his future father-in-law (93). The other guy masculinity, in this context, is contested via the older generation's discontent over the new male's supposed lack (93). *Men at Work* ultimately presents the other guys as "downright decent" men, while at the same time presenting those figures as *victims* of their circumstances (96-7). The show in this sense reproduces another version of "white, middle-class male victimhood" - this time embodied in the other guy's masculinity (96-7).

The final show analyzed by Burrill is *Modern Family*, which stands distinct from the others via its progressive approach to difference, although confined with an emphasis on "togetherness" (100-1). The show is identified by its diverse characters and their relations to each

other where masculinity is “configured as processes of trial and error” (102). Positioning the new white middle-class male (with both straight and gay representations) in a constant state of contestation over his masculinity, the show allows a rich content reflecting the other guy’s conflicts and confusions in his rejection of the traditional.

Following his other guy readings in film and television, Burrill’s analysis focuses on the representations of the other guy’s body in a number of settings including advertisements, popular music, and reality television. This discussion centers on the changing consumption patterns for men and their implications on the other guy’s body. To put in a wider sense, today men are targeted by the marketing of various products including those that have traditionally been approached as feminine and women-only (109). The crucial component of these changing consumption patterns is strongly related to the changes in men’s relations to, and perception of, their own bodies. In this new setting beauty products for men, for example, are no longer understood in relation to “vanity, femininity or gayness” but “as an extension of [male] power” (108). In regard to this point Burrill refers to the genesis of a new type of guy in the last decade, that is the *metrosexual*, who emerged as “a rejection of the Alpha male, the Beta, and the outlier, or Omega male” (114).

The *metrosexual* male, according to Burrill, came out of a process identified by an “over-focus on the building of the body, while couching it amongst the competing lifestyle categories of health, fashion, music, dating, etc., and with the rise of violent interactive media” (114). This is also the very same framework wherein we find the formation of the other guy’s synaesthetic masculinity. As Burrill states, he stands for “an amalgamation of different male power positions and hierarchies, and the myriad body expectations and rules imposed on all men” (114). Following this line of approach then, the author finally traces the ways the other guy’s body is represented, contested, and constructed in a number of popular culture products including that of the reality show *Queer Eye for the Straight Guy*, the satire of the comedy group *the Lonely Island*, and a number of videogames.

Overall, *The Other Guy: Media Masculinity within the Margins* provides an insightful analysis on the alternative white middle-class male representations in the U.S. media. The book is based on an extensive reading of a variety of popular culture products establishing modern media masculinity today. It is important that Burrill's analysis provides a politically progressive alternative in his reading of the men-in-crisis. Throughout the book Burrill deliberately avoids relying on a discourse that *victimizes* the other guy while presenting his crisis, tensions and confusions in the face of his changing circumstances. I would, therefore, recommend Burrill's work to any reader interested in the intersections of gender, sexuality and popular culture, and in having an alternative reading of the modern male's crisis.

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Gazi Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi'nde araştırma görevlisi, 2006-2010 yılları arasında Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Halkla İlişkiler ve Reklamcılık Bölümü'nde yardımcı doçent olarak görev yaptı ve 2010 yılında doçent ünvanını aldı. Yavuz, moda, tüketim, reklam, toplumsal cinsiyet/erkeklik konularıyla ilgili çalışmalar yapmaktadır.

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Guidelines

Masculinities is an online biannual journal of interdisciplinary and critical studies of gender and masculinity. It aims to enable researchers and scholar to discuss issues in an independent and inspiring forum related to the representations of gender, particularly masculinity, formations of gendered identities, cultural, social, and aesthetic reflections of masculinity in culture and literature.

Masculinities primarily offers interdisciplinary and pioneering research in the field of gender and masculinity, necessarily outreaching into arts, literature, history, sociology, philosophy, communications, linguistics, and medicine. The editor(s) welcome scholarly and critical contributions, including articles, book and film reviews, reviews of the published articles as well as Announcements of forthcoming events, conference reports, and information on other matters of interest to gender studies and/or masculinity studies. The submissions are accepted after a double blind peer review process of evaluation and main criteria of admission are originality, theoretical and methodological sophistication, scholarly significance, and clarity. The editors reserve the right to accept or reject submissions for publication. Any changes to the text submitted will be clarified with the author before publication.

The submission of articles accepted for publication indicates a clear understanding of the following rules.

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11. You must submit your papers and reviews to both masculinitiesjournal@gmail.com. You will get a confirmation mail in return once the editors have received your e-mails.

STYLESHEET

All submissions to be considered for publication should be sent by email to the editors as a .doc file and a pdf version. Please make sure that

- Your text includes a title page on which the title of article, name and affiliation of the author(s), and contact information are provided. Page numbers should start on the first page of the text consecutively in the heading outer corner. In line with the policy of blind submission, the author's name and institution should appear only on the title page to ensure strict anonymity for both authors and referees.
- The paragraphs should be properly indented (1,5 cm)
- Notes and explanations must be inserted as end notes (if any).
- The text must be justified, except titles and headings which should be ranged left.
- Word-breaks should be certainly avoided.
- The text should be double-spaced including end notes and references.
- Any images or graphs should be supplied as separate .jpg files.
- The recommended font is Times New Roman (11 pt; end notes 9 pt).
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- Highlighted words or words in languages other than English should be written in italics.
- For in-text referencing and bibliography, all essays should conform to the current MLA Style Manual. For further information, please visit <http://www.mla.org>.
- Please avoid using abbreviations unless very necessary, except conventionally used 'etc.', 'i.e.', 'e.g.'. 'et al'.

Please do not hesitate to contact the editors should you have any further queries via provided contact information

Yayın ve Yazım Kuralları

Masculinities toplumsal cinsiyet ve erkeklik çalışmalarına eleştirel bir yaklaşımı benimseyen ve yılda iki kez yayınlanan disiplinler arası bir akademik dergidir. Araştırmacıları ve akademisyenleri, toplumsal cinsiyet, ve özellikle de erkeklik temsilleri, toplumsal cinsiyet kimliklerinin oluşumu, erkekliğin kültür ve edebiyatta kültürel, sosyal ve estetik yansımalarına ilişkin bağımsız ve ilham verici tartışmaları yürütecekleri bir platform sunmayı amaçlamaktadır.

Erkeklikler, öncelikle toplumsal cinsiyet ve erkeklik alanında ama aynı zamanda kaçınılmaz olarak sanat, edebiyat, tarih, sosyoloji, felsefe, iletişim ve dilbilim alanlarını da kapsayacak disiplinler arası ve öncü çalışmalara yer vermeyi hedeflemektedir. Dergi editörleri, her türden bilimsel ve eleştirel katılımı, makaleleri, kitap ve film incelemelerini, yayınlanmış makale incelemelerini, gerçekleştirilecek etkinlik duyurularını, konferans raporlarını, ve toplumsal cinsiyet çalışmaları ve/veya erkeklik çalışmalarına herhangi bir çalışmayı dergide görmeyi arzu etmektedirler. Gönderilen metinler, ikili kör hakemlik değerlendirmesinden sonra yayınlanırlar ve ana yayın ölçütleri orijinallik, kuramsal ve yöntemsel olgunluk, bilimsel öneme sahip olmak ve netliktir. Editörler, gönderilen metinleri yayınlamak üzere kabul ya da red etme hakkına sahiptir. Metinde yapılacak herhangi bir değişiklik yayından önce yazara bildirilecek ve onayı alınacaktır.

Yayınlanmak üzere gönderilen makalelerin dergiye gönderilmesi şu hususların net bir şekilde anlaşıldığını ve kabul edildiğini gösterir:

1. Masculinities dergisinde editörlerin ve katkıda bulunan yazarlarının ifade ettiği fikirlerin sorumluluğu kendilerine aittir.
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3. Yazarlar yazılarının elektronik ortamda (ücretsiz bir şekilde edinilebilen PDF kopya) yayınlanma hakkını editörlere vermiştir. Gönderilen yazıların içeriği tüm metin içeriğini ve buna eşlik eden yazılı ve görsel tüm materyali de içerir.

4. Yazar, yazısının kopyasını eğitim ve araştırma amaçları doğrultusunda meslektaşları ile derlemeler ya da diğer yayın türlerinde paylaşabilir.
5. Orijinal metnin herhangi bir şekilde çoğaltılması izni için yazara yönlendirme yapılacak, yazarın yeniden basım için izin vermesi ve metnin ilk basıldığı yer olarak Masculinities dergisine atıf verilmesi koşulu ile, Masculinities dergisi herhangi bir itiraz dile getirmeyecektir
6. Yazar, yayınlanmak üzere gönderdiği metnin orijinal bir çalışma olduğunu ve daha önce başka bir yerde yayınlanmadığını ya da yayınlanmak üzere değerlendirmeye alınmadığını taahhüt eder. Çok yazarlı metinlerde, metni dergiye ileten kişinin tüm yazarlar adına söz hakkını kullandığı varsayılacaktır.
7. Dergide basılacak metinler, güncel MLA formatında yazılarak gönderilmelidir.
8. Metinler, 7000 kelimayı geçmemelidir. Metne ek olarak, kısa bir özgeçmiş, 150-200 kelimelik Türkçe, 500-600 kelimelik bir İngilizce özet, anahtar kelimeler ve iletişim adreslerini ayrı bir metin dosyasında gönderilmesi istenmektedir.
9. Yazarlar hakemlerin kararı ile ilgili olarak en geç 60 gün içinde bilgilendirilecektir. Metinler, yayınlanacak ilk sayıda değerlendirilecektir.
10. Makaleler dışında, kitap, makale, konferans, akademik toplantı, film, performans, yüksek lisans ve doktora tezi incelemelerini de yayınlanmak üzere gönderebilirsiniz. Bu türden her inceleme genel itibarı ile yukarıda bahsi geçen hususlara tabidir. Ayrıca, her bir inceleme, (eğer mümkünse) yazar, başlık, basım/düzenleme yeri, basım/düzenleme tarihi, sayfa sayısı/uzunluğu, dili, fiyatı vb. bilgileri başlığın hemen altında sağlamalıdır. İncelemenin basılı metin/düzenlenen etkinliğin içeriğine dair net bir bilgi sunması ve yazar/düzenleyenler hakkında kısa bir bilgilendirme yapması beklenmektedir. İnceleme metni çalışmanın/olayın kendi alanında önemini ve etkisini olduğu kadar belli konulara değinme konusundaki yetersizliklerini de

çermelidir. İnceleme metni 1200-1500 kelime ile sınırlanmalıdır.

11. Makalelerinizi ve incelemelerinizi bu metnin sonunda verilen iletişim adresine gönderebilirsiniz. Metniniz editörlerin eline geçtiğinde bir doğrulama mesajı alacaksınız.

YAZIM KURALLARI

Yayınlanmak üzere gönderilecek tüm metinler .doc ve PDF formatında e-mail ile gönderilmelidir. Metinlerin şu hususları taşıdığına emin olunuz:

- Metin, ayrı bir kapak sayfasında makale başlığı, yazar(lar)ın ismi ve kurumsal bağlantıları, ve iletişim bilgileri yer almalıdır. Sayfa numaraları metnin ilk sayfasından itibaren üst dış kenarda yer almalıdır. Kör hakem değerlendirmesi politikası uyarınca, yazarın ismi ve kurumu yalnızca kapak sayfasında yer almalıdır.
- Paragrafların ilk satır girintisi düzgün bir şekilde verilmelidir (1,5 cm).
- Notlar ve açıklamalar (varsa eğer) son not olarak verilmelidir.
- Metin iki yana yaslanmalı, başlık ve alt başlıklar sola hizalanmalıdır.
- Satır sonunda kelimenin bölünmesinden kesinlikle kaçınılmalıdır.
- Son notlar ve referanslar kısmı dahil metin çift aralıkla yazılmalıdır.
- Resimler ve grafikler ayrı bir klasörde .jpg dosyası olarak gönderilmelidir
- Tavsiye edilen yazı karakteri Times New Roman'dır (11 pt; sonnotlar9 pt).
- 2-3 satırı geçen alıntılar için ayrı bir paragraf açmalı, öncesinde ve sonrasında bir satır boşluk bırakarak soldan girintiyi 1 cm artırmalısınız.
- İngilizce/Türkçe olmayan önemli kelimeler/terimler italik olarak verilmelidir.
- Metin içi referans ve kaynakça için, tüm metinler MLA formatına uygun olmalıdır. Daha fazla bilgi için lütfen bkz <http://www.mla.org>.

•Lütfen, çok gerekli olmadıkça kısaltmalardan kaçının, kısaltma verilmesinin gerekli olduğu durumlarda, ilk kullanımda kısaltmanın açılımını da veriniz.

Herhangi bir sorunuz olduğunda lütfen aşağıda verilen iletişim bilgileri üzerinden editörlerle temasa geçiniz.

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