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## INTRODUCTION

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**O**ur attempts to write a regular introduction were to no avail due to our agony and frustration for being unable to express our outcry against what has recently been happening in Turkey. We, therefore, decided to come out with a pitch black cover to stand for our speechlessness in the darkness of civilian deaths and defamation of peace demands.

**Nurseli Yeşim Sünbuloğlu**  
**On behalf of Editorial Board of the Masculinities Journal**

## ARTICLES

# Violent American, Violent Me: On Violence and (Masculine) Self in Edward James Olmos' *American Me* (1992)<sup>1</sup>

Amaia Ibarra-Bigalondo

University of the Basque Country, UPV/EHU

## Abstract:

Everything in Santana's life began with the violent riots. *American Me* (1992), Edward James Olmos' directorial debut, is a harsh reflection of the inevitably violent existence of Santana Montoya (performed by Olmos himself), an inmate from the Folsom State Prison. The movie recounts the story of a young Santana and his lifelong friends Mundo and J.D., who playfully and almost innocently create their own *clicka*, (gang), *La Primera*, and end up in juvenile hall in the same, almost accidental manner. This first step toward the de-socialization and institutionalization of the youngsters will become the catalyst of their future lives and identities, which will be marked by extreme violence. This essay aims at analyzing the several layers in which violence is constructed, assimilated, and enforced in *American Me*, paying special attention to the "supposedly inherently violent" performance of a hypermasculine self.

**Keywords:** American Me, Edward James Olmos, prison, masculinity, *macho*, violence.

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## Şiddet Dolu Amerika, Şiddet Dolu Ben: Edward James Olmos'un *American Me* (1992) Filminde Şiddet ve (Eril) Benlik<sup>2</sup>

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Bask Ülkesi Üniversitesi, UPV/EHU

### Özet:

Santana'nın hayatında her şey şiddet ayaklanmalarıyla birlikte başladı. Edward James Olmos'un ilk yönetmenlik deneyimi olan *American Me* (1992), Folsom Devlet Hapishanesi'nde mahkûm olan, (Olmos'un kendisi tarafından canlandırılan) Santana Montoya'nın kaçınılmaz şiddet dolu varlığının sert bir yansımasıdır. Film, eğlencesine ve masumca sayılabilecek bir şekilde kendi çeteleri *La Primera*'yı kuran genç Santana ve yakın arkadaşları Mundo ve J. D.'nin yine tesadüfi sayılabilecek bir biçimde çocuk hapishanesinde biten hikâyelerini konu edinmektedir. Yiğit delikanlılığın kurumsallaşmasına ve toplumsaldan uzaklaşmasına giden ilk adım, aşırı şiddetle damgalanan gelecekteki yaşamlarını ve kimliklerini aktifleştirmek olacaktır. Bu yazı *American Me* filminde şiddetin inşa edildiği, asimile edildiği ve zorunlu kılındığı farklı katmanları, özellikle aşırı erkekliğin özünün "sözde doğal olarak şiddet dolu" performansına odaklanarak analiz etmeyi amaçlamaktadır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** American Me, Edward James Olmos, hapishane, erkeklik, maço, şiddet.

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<sup>2</sup> Bu yazı, İspanyol Ekonomi ve Rekabet Bakanlığı ve Avrupa Bölgesel Kalkınma Fonu tarafından finanse edilen projenin (kod: FFI20114-52738-P) bir bölümüdür. Bask Hükümeti ve Bask Ülkesi Üniversitesi tarafından fonlanan araştırma grubu REWEST'in desteğiyle tamamlanmıştır.

Everything in Santana's life began with the violent riots. *American Me* (1992)—Chicano actor and director Edward James Olmos' directorial debut—is a harsh reflection of the inevitably violent existence of Santana Montoya (performed by Olmos himself), a Folsom State Prison inmate. The movie recounts the story of a young Santana and his lifelong friends Mundo and J.D., who playfully, and almost innocently, create their own *clicka* (gang), *La Primera*, and end up in juvenile hall in the same, almost accidental, manner. This first step toward the de-socialization and institutionalization of the youngsters becomes the catalyst for their future lives and identities, which will be marked by extreme violence. The film's narrative line begins with the young boy entering prison, and the narration then recounts Santana's life story, moving between the past and the present. A flashback introduces Santana's parents, in an episode that accounts for the Los Angeles Zoot Suit Riots<sup>3</sup> between *pachucos*<sup>4</sup> and marines in the 1940s. The narrative then turns to the moment that *La Primera* is formed in a Los Angeles barrio and the subsequent incarceration of the main protagonist. The core of the movie revolves around Santana's life in prison, and his release after several years inside. Santana organizing a powerful prison gang and the personal and group relationships that occur within the walls of Folsom State Prison form the essential narrative content. When the protagonist is eventually released from prison we are presented with the difficulties he encounters trying to adapt to "normal" life. These eventually land him back in prison, bringing about his final end within the prison system. Violence is omnipresent throughout the movie, marking Santana's life, identity, and destiny. This essay aims to analyze the several layers in which such violence is constructed, assimilated, and enforced in *American Me*, paying special attention to the supposedly inherently violent performance of a Mexican/Chicano hypermasculine self.

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3 A series of conflicts that occurred in June 1943 in Los Angeles between US servicemen and Mexican-American youths, the latter of whom wore outfits called zoot suits (Coroian).

4 Pachuco and Pachuca are terms coined in the 1940s to refer to Mexican-American men and women who dressed in zoot suits or zoot suit-influenced attire (Zoot Suit Discovery Guide).

In the prison context, where the individual is institutionalized, relationships are limited, individual freedom coerced, and cross-gender relationships non-existent, the notion of gender identity—especially masculinity—is altered and requires redefinition. Men in all-male prisons cohabit in an all-male microcosm and the power relationships that develop within this enclosed system are often based on sexual subjugation and dominance. Male rape is pervasive and power is exerted by means of control over “weaker” inmates. Man and Cronan state that the prison subculture,

which relies on an aggressive conception of masculinity, places the quest for power and dominance at the forefront. Behind prison walls, male inmates are stripped of most traditional means of asserting their masculinity and, consequently, turn to intimidation and aggression. To be sure, this mindset often is responsible for men raping women, but outside the confines of an all-male prison population it rarely results in men raping other men. In a prison society where each of its members is male, many inmates seek to reestablish their sense of dominance by using rape as a means of forcing other men to assume a submissive role that is perceived as feminine with that society. (130–1)

The film industry—and particularly Hollywood—has made frequent representations of the prison world throughout the last decades, and although the critic Paul Mason (2003) speaks of the impossibility of defining a “prison film” genre, he also states that many of the movies representing the prison world use similar constructions. Among the different resources for representing and constructing the “world within,” overt description of—mostly male—prison violence is commonplace. *American Me* can be classified as belonging in this category of film, thus bringing with it a clearly identifiable discourse of violence. The construction of the prison individual Santana Montoya—as part of the construction of the prison movie narrative *per se*—is in this way inevitably and intrinsically linked to a predictably violent existence and

identity.

Butler and Kariminia (2006) argue that, according to penologists, prison violence responds to two different models of behavior. The first is “importation”, or “cultural”, behavior. This depends on the identities of inmates before entering the institution: the life of these prisoners-to-be are oftentimes marked by—among other things—a lack of education, unemployment, social exclusion, mental illness, and/or drug abuse. The theory is that the prisoners perform the same attitude and forms of misconduct in the restricted environment inside the prison walls as they did when free. The second model—the “deprivation” or “prisonisation” model—points at the enclosed, crowded, and restricted environment of the prison as the main factor of the inmates’ patterns of violence (Butler and Kariminia 2006: 17–18). As regards the character of Santana Montoya, his personal environment outside of prison is presented as “innocently violent,” with the gang game performed by the kids in the barrio being portrayed more as a “kid’s game” than something that involves criminal violence. Nevertheless, even if the young Santana and his friends enter the gang world in this rather playful way, the initial scenes of the movie hint that the barrio environment, lacking proper living and educational conditions, is socially violent and personally non-fulfilling. The incarceration of the protagonist—his deprivation of freedom and thus of personal identity—gradually turns him into a seemingly irrecoverably violent individual, shaped by the restrictive and inherently violent institution that is the US prison system.

The representation of the prison world and subculture found in this kind of movie—like the violence inside the prison walls—is in many cases directly connected to the ethnic/racial segregation of the inmates. Many prison movies deal with the internal hierarchical organization and the consequent quest for power that such division entails. Gangs, and gang violence, are represented as intrinsic elements of the prison world. There is plenty of data providing evidence for the existence of gangs in prisons, and filmic representations of the prison environment tend to focus on this aspect of prison subculture, portraying violence as performed through or by such gangs.

Latinos, African-Americans, Whites, or others, pledge allegiance to their respective gangs; the members faithfully serving gang and leader. Santana's Mexican prison gang *La Eme* existed in reality and was one of the first to be organized in the California penal system. Its means of subsistence was drug trafficking—both inside and outside of prison—and this is clearly recounted in the movie (Fleischer and Decker 2001). The seemingly inherent violence of the prison world is, once again, linked to the “deprivation-model” depicted above. In the case of Santana, the fact that he comes from the gang world and soon aligns himself with prison gang culture drives him towards a violent identity and existence that he is supposedly then unable to extricate himself from.

When analyzing the several layers of violence contained in Santana's character—which he is portrayed as inevitable linked, or doomed, to—we need to also consider his Chicano masculine identity. Chicano sociologist Alfredo Mirandé has done extensive work on the conceptualization, theorization, and stereotyping of Chicano masculinity. Mexican/Chicano masculinity has always been equated with “machismo”, and this concept, in turn, with a negative understanding of male identity. Mirandé argues that descriptions of machismo fall under two models. The first is the “compensatory” model—supported by Samuel Ramos and Octavio Paz—explains the Mexican (and later on the Chicano) macho's need for domination as “ultimately motivated by feelings of powerlessness that can be traced to the Spanish conquest of Mexico (...) The powerless, colonized man thus compensates for feelings of inadequacy and impotence by assuming an overly masculine and aggressive stance relative to women and the rest of the world” (Mirandé 1986: 67). The second, “ethical”, model is more positive and accounts for a male/*macho* figure that

is not cold and insensitive but warm and emotional. Rather than being driven by feelings of inferiority or a desire to control others, his behavior is motivated by the desire to uphold his own honor and the honor and integrity of the group. The essential components of *machismo* are not violence, aggressiveness, or virility, but honor, respect,

dignity, and bravery. A real *macho* is a man who has earned the respect of his family and community. Within the family, the wishes of the man as titular head of the household are more likely to be heeded because he is honored and respected than because he is feared. (Mirandé 1986: 68)

Chicanos, although their present reality differs from that of their Mexican ancestors, are defined by a rich and complex cultural heritage as a result of the amalgamation of different cultures and geopolitical and historical situations. In this regard, they are oftentimes similar to their forebears. The Chicano male/*macho* is also described as a dominating individual “because Mexican Americans often experience dissociation from predominantly white US culture, generally leading to feelings of inferiority, the power a *macho* male possesses within the family structure represents his primary outlet of self-expression (...)” (Baugh 2003: 4). The compensatory model, along with Baugh’s explanation of male power and domination, accounts for this aggressive masculinity being a direct product of a social and historical context in which men exist and develop their individual and communal identity. In the case of Santana Montoya it is the prison world. Following on from the above analysis of the causes of violence within the prison world, the compensatory model is directly linked to the “cultural” model that accounts for prison violence. That is to say, the inmate brings along to the prison a predisposition for violence, and this predisposition is exacerbated by the restrictive, hierarchical prison world. According to these theories, the socioeconomic reality of Santana Montoya’s barrio and ethnic cultural background provide the perfect breeding ground for the development of his violent masculine identity.

*American Me*—a movie about men in prison—interestingly opens with a woman’s (Julie’s) words: “You are like two people. One is like a kid, doesn’t know how to dance, doesn’t know how to make love. That’s the one I care about. The other one . . . the other one I hate. The one who knows, the one who has his rap down, the one who knows how to run drugs, who kills people” (*American Me*). As the narrative goes on, these words will come to denote the core of the protagonist’s internal conflict.

When they are spoken, Santana is looking at an old picture of his mother. The scene then moves, via a flashback, to the city of Los Angeles in the 1940s, and the viewer learns that Santana's parents (both *pachucos*) were unintentionally involved in the Los Angeles Zoot Suit Riots, which arose from tensions between *pachucos* and marines. His father was harshly beaten, then arrested; his mother was raped by Anglo marines. The next scene jumps forward some years to the adolescent Santana, when he and his two friends J.D. and Mundo have formed their first gang, *La Primera*. After an incident with a rival gang, the boys break into a store for protection; the owner finds them, shooting J.D. in the leg. They are taken to juvenile hall. From this point on, their story will be linked to the penitentiary system, and all of their endeavors will be aimed at gaining respect and power within this overtly violent, masculine context. Santana will become the creator and indisputable leader of the most powerful and violent prison gang, *La Eme*—the Mexican Mafia. He is released some twenty years later, if only for a short while. While out of prison, Santana's encounter with rehabilitated ex-gang member Julie—who is conscious of the fact that much of the oppression suffered in the barrios arises from the drug-dealing business of gangs such as *La Eme*—shatters his convictions about life, personal relationships, and his own identity, and splits him into the two people Julie refers to in the quote above.

This brief summary of the narrative line of the movie shows that Santana's existence revolves around his need to dwell within or between two worlds (the prison and the *barrio*); two people (his prison self and his free one), and two gender identities, or performances of gender identities (his *macho* self in prison and his male self who is together with Julie, outside of prison). In this sense, Santana is the personification and embodiment of a constant sense of in-betweenness and disassociation of the self. Santana is thus presented as fully embedded in, and limited by, a given social context and *milieu* that provokes the need for adaptation in a quest for survival. Inside, he is a tough and violent Mexican *macho* man. Outside, he needs to negotiate who he is and start anew both in the social and personal spheres. Santana is, there, a "man in progress"—a person

questioning himself and attempting to discover a new, milder, more social identity. This internal conversation that Santana is having is a step toward his probable eventual socialization and the abandonment of his aggressive, hypermasculine self. However, his fate seems unavoidable: it appears there is no choice for Santana but to be what years of confinement and violence have turned him into.

It is in this complex moment that—in a way that echoes his first, almost accidental incarceration in juvenile hall—Santana is taken back to prison for carrying someone else's very small amount of drugs with him. Thus, Santana, one of the biggest drug dealers in the L.A. area, is imprisoned for carrying an insignificant amount of drugs, which, moreover, he had snatched from an ex-convict drug addict in an attempt to help him. On his return to prison, however, he is a different person, dominated by an internal conflict that ultimately leads him to surrender and let himself be killed by his own mafia members.

The ending of the movie closes the circle with the first scene. We hear Julie's words while Santana sits in his prison cell awaiting his own death at the hands of friends. The viewer thus concludes that the protagonist's identity (in this case, his over-masculine and overtly violent identity) is defined by the setting, thus proving the idea described by the preventive model of prison violence. The experience of life outside of prison teaches him that what he thought were the essential values for survival—aggressiveness, ruthlessness, a totally rational existence, the denial of feelings, etc.—are no longer valid. On the outside, he has to reinvent himself and leave some of these values aside; a step his mates perceives as a mark of weakness. However, the dramatic end of the movie proves that the presence of the two people—the tough convict and the weak man—Julie mentions at the beginning of the movie is just an illusion, as there seems to be no choice but for Santana to live inside prison walls. There, his personal endeavors are aimed at the maintenance of his status as a man: a Mexican man, but—most of all—a violent Mexican man.

*American, (Macho), Me*

The greater part of the movie develops in Folsom State Penitentiary, and men perform almost all the scenes that occur within the prison. Folsom Penitentiary is a male prison; it is an entirely masculine world. The appearance of women is rare, here, except for a scene in which J.D.'s girlfriend smuggles some drugs for *La Eme* in her vagina. However, the spiritual and emotional presence of women is essential to the development of Santana Montoya's story, and both his mother and Julie are key characters as his life and identity evolves, both as a convicted, institutionalized individual, and as a free, socialized one.

The narration of Santana's life is relayed through a (his) masculine point of view, and, in the same way, the representation of life within the walls of Folsom is completed through a (his) masculine gaze. Olmos's strategy when creating an all-male setting, and presenting women as secondary—albeit highly relevant—characters, subverts the traditional male/female power relationship and creates a new hierarchical order based on arrangement into strong male/weak male. As a result, the viewer soon understands that the key concepts of life in Folsom are masculinity and power. One needs to be a “strong male” in order to survive, and the most “*macho macho*” man becomes leader. In such a homogenous, de-individualized, and gendered setting, the exaggerated performance of masculinity becomes essential to the hierarchical organization of the convicts. The most authoritative man becomes the leading figure in this pyramid, and the rest need to prove their manliness in order not to become inferior (feminized) and thus subjugated (raped/killed). This new authoritative order (strong/weak male) is presented to the audience through the leader's point of view, thus adding a new connotation to what Laura Mulvey calls the “male gaze,” which “projects its fantasy onto the female figure, which is styled accordingly” (1999: 837). In *American Me*, the powerful *macho's* attitude and gaze turn the other, weaker, inmates not into sexualized, eroticized objects of pleasure, but into objects of domination—including sexual domination when necessary.

In this context, the inmates relate to one another through a strict code of behavior, which aims at proving one's strength and, hence, one's masculinity. Inside the prison, the marks of respect and honor are exactly those qualities that Alfredo Mirandé (1997) defines as the most negative aspects of traditional Mexican and Chicano masculine identity, such as exaggerated masculinity; authoritarianism; violence; aggressiveness, and self-centeredness (69–71), or those described as belonging to the “compensatory” model (Ramos, Paz). Because the prison is a homogenously gendered space, there is a strong and violent hierarchy between those in power (the most aggressive individuals) and those who lack these traits—the inferior males associated with a feminized and weak version of masculinity, and who are therefore punishable/abusable. In relation to this, Brett Levinson (1996) argues against Paz's conviction that biological determinism marks the paradigm of machismo, since gender/sexual difference is here so clearly constructed and performed: “whoever annuls the other, (...) becomes masculine/male; and whoever is “nothinged,” penetrated is feminine/female. (...) It is a matter of who can and who cannot cover up the split, the essential incompleteness.” (15) Santana's endeavors in prison are totally devoted to annulling/analling the others, and thus becoming complete; becoming (American, *macho*) Me.

This extreme *machismo* and its most negative attributes are maintained within the prison system through indiscriminate exertion of psychological and physical violence, both among the inmates and against the system itself. Accordingly, masculinity (or hyper masculinity) and violence (or extreme violence) are portrayed as symbiotic, interdependent factors, forming the essence of prison life. One of the most evident means by which this violent masculinity is performed is rape. Rape recurs throughout the movie and is depicted as one of the origins of many of the twists in Santana's life. Those who require mild punishment are raped, and those judged to deserve a stronger punishment are killed.

The beginning of the movie, which focuses on the Los Angeles Zoot Suit Riots and exposes the rape of Santana's mother, provides a

significant reference to the end of the film, when his father (with whom Santana has always had a difficult relationship) explains that he is the offspring of one of the Anglo marines that raped his mother. In this sense, the protagonist works as a symbol of Octavio Paz's (1950) idea of conquest exemplified by the Spanish conquerors raping the Aztecs—a historical fact that has ever since stigmatized the essence of the mestizo community in general, and that of the Mexican male in particular. Santana and his mother are the direct victims of the oppression—and personifications of the violence—of the Mexican/Chicano community in the United States. In the movie, this oppression will be turned into rage and disconformity, feelings that will lead the protagonist to a marginalized existence. Santana is thus portrayed as a victim of an inescapable situation, as well as of his historical heritage. However, his ultimate aim in life is to overcome his fate and become the executioner of power and control over others, turning his rage into what he calls respect. It is when he is raped, on his first night in juvenile hall, that he understands that his single aim must be to gain and maintain such respect. By killing his offender, Santana earns back the dignity and honor that was taken from him in the violation. Looking back, he says, "( . . . ) the respect I earned made me think I'd found the answer" (*American Me*). The answer is power, control, and violence. His life thereafter will be devoted to maintaining his status of superiority and control. However, the movie shows us that recreating and enacting the violence that governs the system also traps him within the system. Up to this moment, violence is portrayed as inseparable from his life: he was conceived through an act of violence, and he first became "somebody" as the victim, and then as the perpetrator. In this sense, he embodies the assimilation of Foucault's (1977) description of the body as the a site of punishment within the prison system; as "an instrument, and intermediary: if one intervenes upon it to imprison it, to make it work, it is in order to deprive the individual of a liberty that is regarded both as a right and a property" (11). Intervening upon it physically—violating it—thus becomes the uppermost indication of domination and power. In the same way, Man and Cronan contend that,

Whatever sense of power a prisoner once had on the outside essentially is stripped upon entry into the controlled environment of prison. Added to this sense of disempowerment is the absence of women, which prevents inmates from satisfying their sexual needs with women and eliminates the category of people that they look to in establishing their sense of power and superiority.

While incarcerated, these inmates lack any option but to turn to male inmates as an object for their dominance and aggression. Prison rapists rewrite their previous conception of homosexual behavior into an acceptable masculine role, which is hugely physical and powerful, and transform their male victims into surrogate of women. The “men” in prison seek the appearance of control over themselves and exert control over others. With their former modes of expression of masculinity unavailable, inmates resort to rape to signify power. (2001:150–1)

Santana and his gang continuously utilize rape as a tool of domination, as exemplified in the rape of the son of the Italian mafia leader Don Antonio Scagnelli. The Italians do not accept that *La Eme* takes over all control of the drug business; consequently, *La Eme* convicts rape Scagnelli’s son. This act, which closes with the boy’s death, is the representation of the total subjugation of an individual; the suppression of personal will and honor, and thus of respect. The violation depicts the gang’s usurpation of the boy’s dignity as an individual (and finally, of his life), and the public verification of their own power, both inside and outside of prison. The obviously active/passive performances conveyed by the act of rape, and the active/passive roles of the performers are non-negotiable, and rape becomes a brutal act of domination *per se*. This forced sexual act is traditionally linked to the male/female relational sphere. In the case of an all-men environment such as the prison, the subjugated males are emasculated and turned into “women.” In this sense,

Taking into considerations the roles of masculine identity

in males, incarceration is in many ways an act of stripping ones “manhood”. Self-determination, privacy, freedom, independence, employment, are all taken away and withheld from the individual upon entry to a corrections facility. Standard prison protocol for the newly admitted inmate is to break him down, to humiliate and put him into a position of obedience, of subordination, symbolically a feminine role. The prison environment thus becomes a vicious arena of power struggle; an all-male jungle where the Darwinian principles of the “survival of the fittest” come into play as a brutal pecking order is established among the inmates namely based on the very masculine traits of physical size and aggression. The motivation for rape and sexual domination among prisoners is not so much for sexual gratification, but rather as a display of the individual’s masculine dominance over another prisoner by making the victim “a woman” through an act of sexual violence. (Kualapi World v2.0)

Hence, rape is not only an act of overt violence and a means to prove one’s power, but it also reaffirms one’s manhood. Rape within the prison system is a mark of dominant masculinity. Once again, Olmos portrays violence as a direct consequence of the sociohistorical context and setting in which it is performed. However, not all the violations in the movie are male-to-male. Some occur outside the prison walls and respond to the socially assimilated version of male-to-female sexual abuse and violation.

Rape is also present in Santana’s relationship with Julie outside prison (which occurs after almost thirty years inside). Santana, who feels lost in the company of a woman, has his first heterosexual sexual encounter with her, in a highly violent scene. Even though their intercourse starts in a very romantic and conventionally heterosexual fashion, Santana ultimately rapes her—an act that will tear them apart forever. He experiences his own awkwardness as an act of weakness, both in the social sphere and in his most intimate personal relationships,

and this puts his masculinity into question. As a way out, he opts for the only device he knows to gain his respect and, thus, his dignity as a man: violence, thus fulfilling the *macho* curse:

Chicano men, as marginalized men, have been structurally blocked from resources (i.e. good education and jobs) necessary for the performance of dominant male breadwinner masculinity, and instead they have often relied on aggressive behaviors, such as the use of physical force or the exercise of control over women, in order to assert their dominance and masculinity. (Baca Zinn in Orozco Flores 2013: 477)

Following this idea, we could add that, since Santana is an inmate and thus a doubly marginalized individual with no active role in the “outside” world, Julie’s rape is afforded a further layer of meaning. It shows the inevitability of his violent attitude when it comes to relating to people. Santana has learnt that he is the man in charge and that he should therefore have access to whatever he wants, which in this case is Julie. In an extremely violent scene, Santana rapes Julie anally, revealing his homosexual practices and—ultimately—desires. Interestingly enough, the most *macho* males in prison—the dominating ones—practice homosexual rape in order to perform and assert their ruling masculinity. Chicano scholar Frederick Luis Aldama (2005) suggests that this is because “same-sex desire can be represented because, there is no alternative; same-sex lovemaking (men-men, women-women) is coded as a result of the lack of “natural” heterosexual coupling within the walls” (123).

However, the code of domination Santana has internalized and performed in prison never fulfills the same function in the outside world. Julie, who will eventually reject him for what he has done to her and for what he represents, will open a whole new world for him, which leaves Santana without relational resources. He now understands the need to assimilate a totally new language and code of behavior, or else return to his “natural” space—the prison system. Inside prison, he has power and

respect. Outside, he feels alien and awkward in a spatial and social context the norms of which he does not understand. Outside, he needs to learn how to become a man, to have feelings (and follow Mirandé's ethical model of masculinity). On the inside he does not need these feelings, as there he is "the Man":

Inside prison, masculinity resources are severely limited. Inmates have the lowest status in the wider society, are without work, have little or no money, are unable to express heterosexuality, have no distinctive clothing, little autonomy, no freedom, and are likely to be poorly educated and from a racial or ethnic minority. Thus male inmates seeking interactional confirmation of their masculine status are much less able to exploit standard cultural markers of hegemonic masculinity: socio-economic status, a reputable profession, fashionable clothing, independence, whiteness, and heterosexuality. (...) Inmates believe it is necessary to present a hypermasculine public façade that may conflict with a more nuanced private identity. (Karp 2010: 66)

Once he has his freedom, this façade loses its validity. Outside of prison, and in a different hierarchical and organizational context, Santana loses his power. Many still regard him as a powerful man, the leader of *La Eme*, but others see him as just a man. This is the case with Julie, who not only does not recognize the gang as an entity worthy of respect, but even despises it. If he wants to survive in this new context, he needs to reinvent himself in a social space in which his priorities and his way of relating to others have to change. In this sense, Julie symbolizes the only sense of hope in the movie, as she is the only character that is able to escape the violence and fate of the *barrio*, leaving gang life behind and opting for an education and a way out. Julie and Santana's relationship is mutually affirming. Julie sticks to her idea to defend the future of the *barrio* kids, and to her total rejection of gang life, or—in sum—of everything Santana represents. For Santana, on the contrary, his encounter with this other life outside prison puts him in dialogue with a self, an identity, that he had fought to erase, in favor of a more stoic,

defensive, *macho* and, ultimately, aggressive self. Meeting Julie makes him see his other self, the one who has feelings and does not fear showing softness and social clumsiness. As he awaits death, he shares his recognition and acceptance of this other self, reflecting on Julie's words: "I see that you are right. Until now, I would have thought it a sign of weakness to even listen to what you said to me that night. I am two people" (*American Me*). This acceptance will lead him to "showing weakness" and, consequently, to his death.

### **American, (Mexican), Me**

The hierarchical ethnic division, and the constant struggle for the preservation of this power structure, within Folsom Penitentiary is made obvious from the outset of the movie. *La Eme* rules the prison, and controls the drug trade within it. Similarly, the lives and movements of *La Eme's* members, the rest of the inmates, and even the guards are in the hands of this Mexican gang. Many scenes corroborate the clear ethnic division in the prison—especially in the prison yard—showing that the different groups do not relate to each other, except through the inevitable exchanges related to the drug-dealing business or when there is some kind of violent confrontation. An example of this occurs when *La Eme* burns a black convict to death after he tries to rip off the gang. Following this assassination, The Black Guerrilla Family tries and fails to confront *La Eme*.

Within the exaggeratedly homogenizing efforts of the prison system, which attempts to erase any hints of individuality—providing numbers for identification, uniforms, etc.—ethnic and cultural characteristics become indelible traits (in addition to physical ones) facilitating the grouping of the convicts within the penitentiary space. The convicts are organized into three main ethnic collectives that reinforce their difference to others while at the same time serving to homogenize them and their origins. As Santana himself explains: "[in prison] they ain't no barrios, just blacks, whites and Mexicans."

(*American Me*) Any attempt to divide the Mexican group—as occurs with the formation and gradual acquisition of power of another Mexican gang, *Nuestra Familia*—is brutally stopped, in this instance by the killing of *Nuestra Familia* leader Chucko Pérez, because, “It is not just about being weak that we can’t accept. It’s about other people even beginning to think we are showing weakness” (*American Me*). This hierarchical relationship is, again, performed through the exertion of indiscriminate and extreme violence. Santana and the other convicts not only represent the violence they exert upon others and themselves, but they are also the products of institutional violence, portrayed as intrinsic to the prison system.

The prison is visually presented as a violently enclosed space; it is a high security prison. The first minutes of the movie provide the viewer with a deep sense of enclosure and human degradation. The noise of iron doors opening and closing and the voice of a guard giving orders to the convicts (to undress, move, bend), create a setting that is clearly defined by discipline and lack of freedom. At the same time, the images of the prison exterior and some of the aerial shots give proof of this, revealing the prison as a compact, enclosed setting surrounded by barbed wire and security posts. But there seems, at the same time, to exist a lack of institutional control over the life inside. The presence of the guards is obvious and yet secondary to the real control, which is exerted by the inmates themselves. Santana Montoya, as the head of the leading gang, stands at the top of the hierarchical structure that governs life within the walls of Folsom Penitentiary. His power controls not only the drug-dealing business inside—and eventually outside—of prison, but also the lives and destinies of his fellow inmates, whose right to live is decided by *La Eme* and Santana. In his own words, “Power became our game. Power to provide everything you find outside. Power to make every inmate pay rent. (...) The Black Guerrilla Family and the Aryan Brotherhood shared the yards, but Folsom belonged to us. *La Eme*, the oldest *clicka*, the Mexican mafia.” (*American Me*)

One could assume that within a system that deprives its members of all hints of individuality, and that endeavors to homogenize

them, parameters such as class and gender would not be essential in the graded divisions of social status. However, this movie shows how there are indeed class-structures within the homogenous institution of the prison, and race and gender—or the performance of a hypermasculine, aggressive, and subjugating gender and sexuality—are essential to the exertion of dominance of some, and the subsequent submission of others. In fact, “race is used as a method of rationalizing one’s violent domination, as in the case of minority-cultured inmates who feel that their oppression should become someone else’s” (Inside Prison).

### **American, (Violent), Me: Conclusions**

*American Me* portrays the lives and destinies of its protagonists as marked and conditioned by an inherently violent existence. Life is violent, both inside and outside, and the characters are forced to cohabit within this aggressive environment, which forms one of the most defining traits of their identity. Santana, in particular, embodies the complete amalgamation of institutional, social, and individual violence. His life is marked and decided by physical and psychological violence from the very outset. In Huaco-Nuzum’s view, Santana is:

a composite of many histories and complex social realities, which have made him who he is: a killer and a victim of his environment and social conditioning. Santana presents a stoic façade perfectly executed by Olmos, a figure devoid of affect who, when threatened by perceived danger, is able to mobilize quickly as a panther to disarm and exterminate his adversary—whether it be a member of his own “familia” or a rival gang. (2006: 92)

Huaco-Nuzum is clear about the cause–effect bond between one’s social reality and environment, and one’s individual identity. In Santana’s case, everything began with rape and riots. His conception sets off an existence full of hatred, rejection, and the adoption of an aggressive

stance. His life inside prison is the struggle for the control and maintenance of honor, respect, and power, which he knows how to gain only by exerting violence against others, and—ultimately—against himself. His brief acquaintance with reality outside—with life in the barrio—presents the inevitability of a violent quotidian of violent relationships, and the violent pursuit of survival in a context marked by gangs, drugs, and lack of educational and social resources.

Violence thus grows to be essential to the development of individual identity, which, in the protagonist's self, becomes representative for the development of a defensive masculine identity that embraces the most negative aspects of what has been described as the key traits of Chicano masculinity. In sum, *American Me* portrays violence and masculinity as conjoined concepts that stand in a natural and essential relationship. In the hostile, subjugating environments of the prison and the barrio, they are essential to survival, causing men to appear unable to develop an identity that may show weakness, instead portraying them as survivors who, finally, subjugate the weak in a vicious and unbreakable circle. Santana is represented as a victim of his sociohistorical environment, and his attempts to break with this fate seem impossible and void. Even if *American Me* may be regarded as reductionist and as portraying a very fixed and stereotyped vision of Chicano masculinity—and Chicano prison masculinity in particular—it undoubtedly raises question concerning the effects established by a long history of social and personal alienation and subjugation; of stereotypes and normative notions of the self; of what a punitive prison system may do to the individual in general, and to a working class minority male individual in particular.

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# **“You can’t forge a womb”: The 1929 Birth Control Clinic Raid and Changing Notions of Masculinity in Early 20<sup>th</sup> Century America**

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## **Abstract:**

The case of a 1929 police raid of a New York birth control clinic offers a revealing lens into the connection between early 20th-century Americans’ stances on contraception and their underlying assumptions about masculinity. *People v. Sideri* suggests that those who opposed birth control adhered to an antiquated, Victorian construction of savage masculinity, while those who supported contraception held more modern assumptions about gender construction. This story thus helps delineate the slow evolution in 20<sup>th</sup>-century attitudes about the nature of masculinity. To make sense of these changing conceptions, I first describe how perceptions of masculinity developed in the years leading up to the trial. I then present the story of the raid, and the trial that followed, in light of such perceptions. By doing so, I hope to show how the counsel for the doctors and nurses on trial built a non-threatening case for the use of contraception – one based on public health – that reflected real changes in the public understanding of gender roles.

**Keywords:** Contraception, Victorian, immigration, savage masculinity, law, sexuality, obscenity

## “Sahte rahim düzenleyemezsiniz”: 1929 Doğum Kontrol Kliniği Baskını ve Erken 20. Yüzyıl Amerika’sında Erkeklik Nosyonundaki Değişiklikler

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### Özet:

New York doğum kontrol kliniğinin 1929 polis baskını olayı, erken 20. yüzyıl Amerika’sında doğum kontrolü ile bunun altında yatan erkeklikle ilgili varsayımlar arasında bir bağlantı sunar. *People v. Sideriolarak* anılan bu olay eskiye sağdık doğum kontrolü karşıtlarını ve yabani erkekliğin Viktoryen inşasını ortaya koyarken, gebelikten korunmayı destekleyenleri ise toplumsal cinsiyet inşası ile ilgili daha modern varsayımlarla ilişkilendirir. Bu hikâye, 20. yüzyılda erkekliğin doğası hakkındaki tutumların yavaş değişimini tasvir etmemizi sağlar. Düşüncelerdeki bu değişimi anlamlandırmak için öncelikle yıllar içinde gelişen ve duruşmaya zemin hazırlayan erkeklik algılarından bahsedeceğim. Daha sonra yapılan baskının hikâyesini ve onu takip eden duruşma sürecini bu algılarla birlikte ele alacağım. Böylece duruşmadaki doktorların ve hemşirelerin dava vekillerinin, doğum kontrolü için cinsiyet rollerinin kamusal algısındaki gerçek değişikliklerini yansıtan tehditkâr olmayan bir durumu -biri halk sağlığı odaklı- nasıl yarattıklarını göstermeyi umuyorum.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Doğum Kontrolü, Viktoryen, Yabani Erkeklik, Hukuk, Cinsellik, Müstehcenlik.

We all want to congratulate you upon the way you handled the case of Mrs. Sanger's Clinical Research Bureau. It certainly was masterly, and you made District Attorney Hogan look like an ape. The poor little creature stuttered around so in his cross examination and showed such a woeful lack of knowledge of anatomy and the sex functions that one might almost have pitied him, unless one realized, as a taxpayer, that he was being paid by all of us.

—Penelope Huse to Morris Ernst, 1929.<sup>1</sup>

On the morning of April 15, 1929, eight uniformed New York City police officers raided the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau in Manhattan. The police arrested five of the clinic's employees for violating the New York State Obscenity Act, and seized hundreds of items, including confidential medical records (Mrs. Sanger's Birth Control 1929).<sup>2</sup> The case, which became known as *People v. Sideri*, provoked a large public outcry, and hundreds of people appeared at the courthouse in hopes of witnessing the trial.<sup>3</sup> The raid, the subsequent public outrage, and the raucous *Sideri* trial demonstrate how expressions of masculinity were being transformed during the first decades of the twentieth century. The above letter from Penelope Huse, the Executive Secretary for the American Birth Control League, to Morris Ernst, the ACLU attorney who defended those arrested in the raid, highlights this difference. A man like Ernst, who was "masterful" in his "knowledge of anatomy and the sex functions," represented modern masculinity. Those who were ignorant of such matters, Huse suggests, were little better than apes.

The *Sideri* case offers a fascinating glimpse into the connection between early 20th-century Americans' stances on contraception and their underlying assumptions about masculinity. *Sideri* suggests that

birth control opponents adhered to an antiquated, Victorian construction of savage masculinity, while those supporting contraception held more modern assumptions about gender. This case helps delineate the slow evolution in 20<sup>th</sup>-century attitudes about the nature of masculinity. Specifically, *Sideri* illustrates the growing, if grudging, public acceptance of the idea that sexuality and sexual agency was not solely relegated to men. To make sense of these changing conceptions, I first describe how perceptions of masculinity developed in the years leading up to the trial. I then present the story of the raid, and the trial that followed, in light of such perceptions. By doing so, I hope to show how the defense was built a non-threatening case for the use of contraception – one based on public health – that reflected real changes in the public understanding of prescribed gender roles, wherein men could be envisioned as ceding some of their real and presumed sexual authority, and women might be granted greater sexual agency.

### **The narrative of savage masculinity and the call for male self-control**

Only a few decades before Huse ridiculed the simian-like work of the District Attorney, the narrative of men-as-savages (if not apes) still held popular currency. E. Anthony Rotundo has suggested that the 19<sup>th</sup> century American home was conceived as a feminine space, where women would domesticate the wildness of the males in the family. As Rotundo concisely puts it, the nineteenth-century view was that the masculine sphere “depleted” virtue while the feminine sphere “renewed” it (Rotundo 1993, p. 23). In this construction, and in absence of women’s supposed domesticating influence, men could go wild. Jacqueline Moore demonstrates how one American icon, the cowboy, embodied masculine American savagery in the late nineteenth century, as he employed violence to regulate the behavior of women as well as minorities. Cowboy culture “involved conspicuous lack of control over passions” (Moore, p. 32). “Respectable” women were not a presence

at cowboy saloons and taverns (p. 40), presumably because they would be both assumed to be prostitutes and at risk of sexual assault from the untamed cowboys. The shift away from such attitudes may have its origins in the 1890s, a decade that Harry Brod describes as “widely perceived as encompassing an acute ‘crisis of masculinity’ (Brod 1987, p. 47).” Brod and others have suggested that during the late nineteenth century, industrialization, urbanization and the influx of immigrants began to transform how men and women perceived themselves. Fewer men were their own bosses, and this decrease in autonomy influenced the way that Americans would perceive gender in the coming era. As Michael Kimmel explains,

Rapid industrialization, technological transformation, capital concentration, urbanization, and immigration—all of these created a new sense of an oppressively crowded, depersonalized, and often emasculated life. Manhood had meant autonomy and self-control, but now fewer and fewer American men owned their own shops, controlled their own labor, owned their own farms (Kimmel 1996, p. 83).<sup>4</sup>

Assumptions that masculinity was in crisis may have stemmed, in part, from the idea that men were inherently wild beings. Psychologist G. Stanley Hall, who founded the American Psychological Association in 1892 and published the hugely influential two-volume textbook, *Adolescence*, was pivotal in popularizing this perspective (Nye 2005, p. 1945-46). Hall argued that boys were, in fact, essentially savage and needed to be civilized. As Kevin White suggests, the Victorian conception of masculinity assumed sex to be an unfortunate necessity for procreation, since male sexuality was a danger to the family and society (White 1993, p. 3-4). City life, especially, was full of temptation, and so self-control was crucial in forging solid morals. Fears of what Barbara Dafoe Whitehead calls “unruly sexual energies” were predicated on the assumption that masculinity was wild (Whitehead 2000, p. 21). As Allan Brandt has shown, this assumption carried into adulthood, and even informed the way in which early twentieth-century doctors educated and treated both their male and female adult patients. “Just as education

for men followed the Victorian assumption that men were sexually aggressive,” Brandt writes, “instruction for women focused on the notion of the passionless, dutiful woman” (Brandt 1997, p. 28).

According to this narrative, the key to overcoming this savagery was an education in self-control. For instance, a 1920s educational government pamphlet, *Healthy Manhood*, suggested that self-control was crucial for young men to become strong, powerful adults:

Every young man should understand that from a biological standpoint, from the age of 12 to 21 the body of the boy is being made into the man, and that nature has no large amount of vital energy that may be safely wasted in excesses of any kind during the adolescent period, for all the forces of the body are needed for rebuilding. Sexual excesses particularly during that period are certain to be followed by a dwarfing or stunting effect on the mental and physical development of the man. Self-control is necessary (NYS Dept. of Health, undated; p. 13-14).

Similarly, the pamphlet *Manpower*, issued in the 1920s by the United States Public Health Service, promotes this narrative. The cover of *Manpower* has a drawing of a burly, rugged white man who wears outdoorsy hiking clothes; he is pursuing just the kind of healthy physical outdoor activity that the pamphlet claims is necessary to maintain one’s sexual self-control. The man seems to have just conquered a mountain, and as he rolls up the sleeve of his right arm, his left arm in a fist, he seems to be seeking his next conquest (which, readers were led to believe, was assuredly not of a sexual nature). According to *Manpower*, “If a man uses his reason, stops and thinks, he knows that he must either indulge his sex appetite or control it. For an unmarried man indulgence means self-abuse or prostitution, both of which endanger his health and rob him of his self-respect” (U.S. Public Health Service, undated; p. 13). Masturbation is thus likened to prostitution, and “prostitution,” which the pamphlet implies is intercourse with any woman other than one’s wife, inevitably leads to venereal disease (p. 5-11).<sup>5</sup> In addition, the

government's pamphlet suggested that men who do not control their sexual urges before marriage threaten their own manpower. "The man needs the full power of his will to keep his sex desires from leading him into practices that weaken and destroy himself and others," the government warned (p.16).

Contraception challenged these Victorian assumptions about masculinity. Men who mastered self-control in line with the *Manpower* model would direct their energies towards non-sexual activities, and thus would have no need for contraception. If men were inherently savage, had no autonomy, and were increasingly engaging women in the public sphere, then birth control might very well entice men into sinful practices – and could even put mankind at risk. Following an era of increasing waves of immigration, these concerns took on a heightened importance. After *Harper's* published a series of articles defending birth control in 1915, one reader, Dr. R.C. Brannon, wrote a letter warning that birth control "is shortening the lives of the human race, making weaklings in mind and body the children of strong men, and wrecking the nerves and bodies of women who ought to be the proud and happy mothers of a dozen healthy children" (cited in *Battle Over Birth Control 1915*, p. 339)<sup>6</sup> Exactly how birth control made men's children into "weaklings" isn't clear from the physician's comments, but anti-birth control activists frequently presented the Darwinian argument that birth control would dilute the white race and undermine white power, and the doctor's remarks fit this pattern. In any event, it is clear that Brannon saw a definite correlation between contraception and weakness. His implication is that the very act of female control of sexuality could undermine the strength of the family. As Brannon's letter to *Harper's* suggests, racist and nativist fears were often intrinsically linked to perceived threats to masculinity. Those like Dr. Brannon who opposed birth control during this era often invoked fears of a watered-down race or even race suicide.<sup>7</sup>

Coming almost 15 years after Brannon's warning against contraception, the *Sideri* case revealed just how quickly popular assumptions about masculinity were changing. Men, after all, now spent

more time outside the home and were increasingly interacting with women who were not their wives (Rotundo 1987, p. 61). Women who had entered the labor force did not necessarily envision or value self-control in the way that Victorian mores prescribed—indeed, some were immigrants whose ideas about sexual morality differed greatly from the lingering moral influence of the Victorian era. Anxieties over sexual behavior did exist, to be sure. Such anxieties, as Jeffrey Moran argues, were “fueled by middle-class fear of a changing moral and social order.... Uneasiness over the new immigrants was thus bound up with concern for sexual morality, sometimes explicitly” (Moran 2000, p. 29).

But for men like Morris Ernst, who embraced birth control as a public health benefit, concerns about sexual morality were unfounded, based as they were on the assumption that men were inherently savage. Ernst, himself a son of immigrants, sympathized with the outsiders who provoked such anxieties. As he later recalled, “I was told that I was Jewish, and for that reason, inferior” (Ernst 1968, p. 127). In the media coverage Ernst so aggressively sought, journalists invariably mentioned his smallness – though he stood at 5’8” - and alluded to his ethnicity for years to come. *Time* magazine, for instance, drew attention to Ernst’s size, describing him as “swarthy, small and solidly built” (Compact Disgust 1931, p. 55)— “swarthy” being a code word for “non-white”—or as “lively, liberal little Manhattan Lawyer Morris Ernst” (Guild v. AP 1935, p. 57). In 1934, when artist Peggy Bacon included Ernst in *Off With Their Heads!*, her aptly-titled book of portraits, she included a tiny drawing of Ernst as a jack-in-the-box—not an image one would associate with manliness (Bacon). *Life* described Ernst as a “smallish, darkish man” (Rodell 1944, p. 97). Even in a favorable 1938 *Scribner’s* portrait of Ernst, the prominent historian Marquis James described Ernst as a small man (James, p. 57). For men like Ernst who did not fit traditional conceptions of manliness, the debate over birth control provided an opportunity to posit a new ideal of masculinity. After all, arguments against contraception seemed to assume that men were barely-contained savages whose self-control would be overcome by the temptation of consequence-free sexual intercourse that birth control granted. For

Ernst, a less-threatening construction of masculinity – one, that is, which was based on logic, reasoning, and scientific methodology – proved essential to his arguments in favor of birth control. Not coincidentally, such a modern conception of masculinity, which championed civility, education, and wit, also benefited Ernst himself. Those were, after all, qualities that Ernst displayed publically and which enabled him to overcome his own sense of inferiority as a “small” son of Jewish immigrants.

### **Savage masculinity in play: police raid the clinic**

**M**argaret Sanger, the famous birth control advocate and the founder of Planned Parenthood, opened the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau in 1923 and served as its director. Court documents and initial media reports suggested that the 1929 raid of Sanger’s clinic was facilitated by a woman, identified only as Mrs. Tierney (Birth Control Backers Ready 1929). According to the trial documents, on March 22, 1929, Tierney went to the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau in Manhattan, with a poignant story that revolved around her alcoholic husband, his low wages as a truck driver and their three children, age one-, three-, and five-years old. Tierney first talked with a nurse, identified in court records as “Jane Doe.” Tierney told Nurse Doe that after having birthed those three children in five years, she worried about the economic consequences of having more (Birth Control and the Law 1929). Her husband, she said, only earned \$40 per week (Court Frees 5 Taken 1929). After the nurse further questioned Tierney about her menstrual cycle and other medical history, she told Tierney to make an appointment for a consultation (Mrs. Sanger’s 1929)

Tierney returned to the clinic on April 3 and, according to the *Herald Tribune*, received contraceptive advice, a tube of medicine, and a “device,” for which she paid five dollars. A nurse told Tierney that the device was a rubber contraceptive which she was to “draw over your womb before sexual intercourse with your husband.” The nurse

explained that the tube of medicine was a jelly “which will kill every living germ that comes from your husband and prevent the pregnancy.” After Tierney received the goods and paid her fee, the nurse instructed her, “Now go into the toilet and take your bloomers off and wait in the adjoining room until the doctor is through with other patients” (*People v. Stone*, Affidavit, n.p.). Tierney returned again by appointment on April 10, at which point the clinic’s director, Dr. Hannah Stone, asked her how she was doing with the contraceptive. “Not very well,” Tierney reportedly replied; she had experienced some difficulty in inserting the device. The doctor examined her, gave her further instructions, and told Tierney to come back to the clinic in six months.

Mrs. Tierney, however, would never again return to the Birth Control Clinical Research Bureau. Tierney’s real name was Anna McNamara, and she was an undercover police officer. On the morning of April 15, 1929, based on McNamara’s investigation, eight uniformed police officers raided the clinic and arrested five of its employees (Mrs. Sanger’s; Garrow 1994, p. 23-24). Assistant District Attorney John Hogan charged Stone, as the clinic’s medical director; Dr. Elizabeth Pissort; and three nurses, Antoinette Field, Sigrid Brestwell, and Marcella Sideri with violating the provisions of Section 1142 New York State Penal Law. All five staff members were accused of the “unlawful distribution of any instrument, article, or any recipe, drug or medicine for the prevention of conceptions” (*People v. Stone*, Affidavit).

In addition to arresting the doctors and nurses, police seized hundreds of items and interrupted the examination of patients, some who were stages of undress. The list of seized objects, according to defense attorneys, included 249 pessaries, then used as a kind of diaphragm, and seven tubes of contraceptive jelly. But police also took speculums and “metal instruments” used for medical examination—items, in other words, that could be found in numerous doctors’ offices. By confiscating legal, widely-used medical equipment, which was indisputably used to examine patients, the police were challenging the authority of doctors everywhere. Even more importantly for the defense’s case, the police seized 150 index cards, each of which

contained private medical information about patients. The idea that the police could indiscriminately seize and view private medical records troubled doctors, nurses, and patients alike (Schur 1929). But it may ultimately have been the image of male policemen trying to barge into examination rooms containing naked women—there were about 30 patients in the clinic at the time—that provoked the greatest outrage and excitement in the community and most damaged the prosecution's case (Mrs. Sanger's 1929). One nurse told a reporter, "We had to work to keep (the police) out of the room in which a patient was undergoing an examination, but they finally consented to wait until she dressed before they entered" (Mrs. Sanger's 1929). Regardless of their position on birth control, many readers must have placed themselves in the position of that undressed patient, or sympathized with her plight in the face of such savage masculinity.

### Masculinity on trial

**A**t the first day of the trial, some 500 women attempted to get one of the 86 seats in the tiny Jefferson Market courtroom (Kuhn 1929). The *Evening World* described the courtroom as "jammed": "Every seat in Jefferson Market Court was occupied this morning long before the hearing....Standing room was not to be had when the hearing started, six rows of men and women having choked the space between the back of the rear row of seats and the wall" (Court is Jammed 1929). By all accounts, women constituted the majority of those who tried to gain a seat at the spectacle. Some newspapers suggested that the women seeking a spot in the audience were well-positioned economically, if not socially. "Most of the crowd," reported the *Evening Sun*, "which so filled the room that many were standing around the wall, was made up of women. It was a more distinguished group than attends the average magistrate's Court hearing" (Birth Control Hearing Ends 1929). The *New York Graphic*, while describing a more heterogeneous crowd, pointedly emphasized that professionals were on the scene: "Scientists, professors,

students of medicine, doctors, laymen and women from all walks of life jammed the court to overflowing numbers crowding on the steps to devour each morsel of testimony as it was passed back in whispers” (Women Jam 1929). The clear message was that most spectators had links to the upper stratum of society and that, despite the eagerness for “each morsel of testimony,” the audience was not present simply for titillation.

Such an audience was quite amenable to the scientific approach Ernst used to defend his client. Science, after all, seemed like an objective and fair measure of reality, and data and statistics seemed to cut through superficial differences. Like Alfred Kinsey, the entomologist-turned-sexologist, Ernst believed that science held the key to demystifying sexuality. Kinsey, after studying thousands of gall wasps and identifying variations in every one, applied this idea of variation to human sexuality (Capshew, Adamson, Buchanan, Murray & Wake 2003). While Kinsey’s findings about human sexuality were published some 20 years after Ernst’s use of scientific evidence during the *Sideri* trial, both men, to some extent, were employing science to liberate sexuality. When Kinsey published his findings about male sexual behavior in 1948, Ernst co-wrote a gushing book extolling the virtues of Kinsey’s research. “The Kinsey Report has done for sex what Columbus did for geography,” exclaimed Ernst and co-author David Loth. “It makes a successful scientific voyage to explore an unknown world which had been open only to speculation and suspicion-the sex life of human beings” (Ernst & Loth 1948, p. 11 ).<sup>8</sup> Though Ernst fully credits Kinsey’s work, the fact that he used science in the courtroom perhaps helped him envision himself as a member of such a historic voyage, if not as Columbus himself. Ernst’s book, entitled *American Sexual Behavior and the Kinsey Report*, did more than report on the highlights of Kinsey’s research. Ernst used the book to discount and discard what they considered antiquated notions about sexual morality. For instance, in discussing Kinsey’s data on extramarital affairs, Ernst and Loth cite Kinsey’s findings that at least one-third of all married men commit adultery. After affirming that marriage is “our avowed ideal,” the authors apply these data in a radical way:

There are also those occasions when extra-marital relations actually save a marriage. This is not supposed according to our customs to be admitted, but it happens. It may quench the man's curiosity or teach him that his wife is a better companion than he thought, or bring him wisdom. Certainly not every adulterous act ends the marriage (Ernst 1948, p. 87).

With evident glee, the authors dismissed practically every Victorian assumption about sexuality with scientific data on homosexuality, the sexual behaviors of single men, divorce, and so forth.

Kinsey's work thus legitimized the longstanding assumptions that Ernst was testing out in the courtroom. If Kinsey's findings normalized certain behaviors, to some extent they also normalized religious and ethnic backgrounds and physical attributes since, presumably, science knew no prejudice. By 1929, Ernst was already relying on the scientific method to make his arguments, both in the courtroom and in his many books. His clients benefited from this strategy, of course – Ernst won almost every case he ever argued – but by endorsing this vision of masculinity as based on rationality, rather than on savagery, Ernst himself earned respectability, popularity, and prestige as well.

Indirectly, then, scientific data could help a once-insecure, cerebral Jewish man like Ernst perceive himself as just as masculine as the nineteenth-century model of the athletic, Christian man. This intimate understanding of sex, together with Ernst's drive to be seen and heard, made Morris Ernst a new kind of man in the twentieth century, even if his contemporaries did not always envision him in masculine terms. Before completely selling the court on science, however, Ernst needed public support and sympathy for the accused, and this he easily secured. Thanks to newspaper reports and editorials, and due in part to Ernst's knack for generating publicity and shaping the news, the public was extremely interested in the story. *Sideri* had all the ingredients of a spicy story: the testimony of a female police officer who had gone

undercover and disrobed; the tales of undressed women; and the gritty details of the goings-on at a birth control clinic where, however clinically, women discussed sex. Certainly the newspapers understood that angle; the *Daily News* reported that McNamara, whom the reporter identified as a “woman sleuth,” herself blushed when questioned about her conversations and experiences at the clinic, and highlighted the blush in its headline to the story (Kuhn 1929).

After the first day of the trial, most newspapers concluded that Ernst’s team had already made a better case for birth control. The *New York World’s* April 20 headline, for instance, was “Birth Controllers Win First Skirmish.” The *World* reported Ernst’s revelation that the birth clinic staff had provided “Mrs. Tierney” with critical advice. At trial, Ernst pointed out that McNamara had told the staff that she had just weaned a child. He then cited statistics showing that infant mortality increased when only one year elapsed between births. There were 146 deaths per 1,000 births when only one year elapsed between births, Ernst said; that figure dropped to 96 deaths per 1,000 when 2 years elapsed between births. The clinical staff had thus given the fictional Tierney information that would have greatly reduced the chances that her next baby would die. This type of matter-of-fact scientific data trumped the prosecution’s claim that the clinic’s activities were obscene. Judge Abraham Rosenbluth would later highlight this same evidence in his ruling. But Ernst also exploited the savage masculinity of the police by asking McNamara to discuss, in graphic terms, her physical examination in front of the mixed courtroom audience of some 200 women and men. “In one part of her testimony,” the defendants’ brief states, “the complainant admitted....that the doctor put her hand inside of the patient’s vagina....” (*People v. Sideri et. al*, Brief of Defendants, p. 6) McNamara’s response to this line of questioning resulted in the famous “blush” reported by the *Daily News* (Kuhn 1929). Her embarrassment at Ernst’s frank discussion of her physical examination helped the defense make the case that authorities had violated patient confidentiality: if an undercover officer felt uncomfortable discussing the results of her investigation, how might the clinic patients have felt after the raid?

The press actively helped Ernst in his endeavor. Newspapers consistently published sympathetic stories about the plight of the clinic's staff and patients. In his column for the *New York Evening Telegram*, Heywood Broun, who was also Ernst's longtime friend and client, personalized the fight and belittled the prosecution: "Young Mr. Hogan, an Assistant District Attorney, is in charge of the case against Doctors Stone and Pissort," wrote Broun. "May I in all charity ask just what on earth young Mr. Hogan knows about the medical issues involved?" (Broun 1929). Broun's acidic comments are especially revealing for two reasons. First, Broun suggests that Hogan is young, innocent and ignorant of medical issues—and, by extension, sexual ones. The condescending tone places Hogan in a camp of less masculine men; someone like Hogan, as opposed to Broun himself, could not be a real man because he was sexually naive. To punctuate this point, Broun then attacked Police Commissioner Grover Whalen, and imagined a future conversation in which "a great and gallant woman" like Margaret Sanger would be remembered while Whalen would be all but forgotten: "Don't you remember that little fellow that was Police Commissioner for a little while? Oh, you know, that fellow that wore a flower in his buttonhole and didn't solve the Rothstein case."<sup>9</sup> Broun dismisses Whalen as a "little fellow," an obvious slight which readers could interpret in multiple ways. In addition, Broun suggests that Whalen is less than manly by using Whalen's attire, ineffectiveness and apparent lack of intelligence as evidence. Though Broun here does not mention Ernst by name, his column sets up a clear contrast between the masculine sexual incompetence of the prosecution and the manly sexual intelligence of the defense.

On the second day of the trial, over 200 people squeezed into the small courtroom (Nichols 1929). The prosecution tried to mitigate the gains the defense had made by drawing from the nineteenth-century sexual strategy of self-control. Yes, the prosecution conceded, there are "some cases where further conception may mean death or create invalidism for the mother." But birth control, the prosecution continued, is not a solution; "there is but one answer to this question," namely,

abstinence (*People v. Sideri*, People's Memorandum, n.p). A contemporary audience could find this approach to be reasonable. After all, it was absolutely true that refraining from intercourse was a surefire way of avoiding pregnancy. The prosecution's next comments, however, reveal how out-of-step the State was with contemporary attitudes about gender roles.

Marital continence ...is the only ethical course for a man when the life of the woman whom he has promised to love and cherish, the mother of his child, is placed in jeopardy. Of course, this is not easy, but to say that is impossible is to deny the heroic in every-day life. Maternity demands heroism, the daily struggle to support wife and children demands heroism. Honesty in business demands heroism....What is needed is self-control, not birth control (*People v. Sideri*, People's Memorandum).

The prosecution focuses on the man as responsible; continence is his "ethical course," and not that of the couple. The long-held assumption revealed in the People's memorandum that sexuality was confined to men had been already challenged throughout the 1920s, especially in New York City, where women and men spoke openly about sex in Village cafes (Stansell 2001). The very idea of self-control as a social mechanism promoted during the Victorian era (which, again, attributed the sexual passion that necessitated such control to men) was also being challenged as new research emerged suggesting that masturbation was not harmful. If many doctors no longer considered masturbation to be dangerous, then perhaps sexual self-control itself was no longer necessary. Modern science had also produced birth control; many contemporaries must have wondered why birth control couldn't replace self-control. Birth control could presumably give women more of a say in the sexual decisions made in the home. In short, the assumptions inherent in the prosecution's brief—that it was the man who ultimately decided whether to impregnate his wife; that the resulting offspring was "his" child; that if the couple abstained from sex it would be the man who was heroic (because, presumably, the wife lacked sexual desire); and even

that the man demonstrated heroism in supporting his family and being honest at work (couldn't wives also be heroic?)— were in tension with the changing realities of 20<sup>th</sup> century life.

Such attitudes clearly touched a nerve in many court spectators and contributed to a charged courtroom atmosphere. As a result, those who had mobbed the courthouse to see or take part in court theater were not disappointed (Ross 1929). Given the fact that Ernst had openly discussed the vagina of a policewoman during prior testimony, one might have expected some nervous giggling or embarrassment. In fact, as one reporter described it, the proceedings devolved into “turmoil.” The solemn atmosphere of the courtroom began to dissipate during the testimony of Dr. Foster Kennedy. Testifying that “too frequent pregnancies imperiled the mother’s constitution” which endangered the unborn, Kennedy affirmed that patients who thus had given birth within a year should be given contraceptive advice (Ernst & Lindey 1940, p. 156). The judge then suggested that some patients might try to deceive doctors to get such advice:

“But what if the patient is lying? Wouldn’t it be better practice to check the official birth records to find out whether the patient is telling the truth?”

“Judge,” replied Dr. Kennedy, “we doctors examine a patient before we prescribe. You can forge a birth certificate but you can’t forge a womb” (156).<sup>10</sup>

The spectators “roared” with laughter, Ernst recalled, and the judge threatened to clear the courtroom if there were further outbursts. Ernst himself provoked the next outburst by gently mocking the judge. The result was, as one newspaper put it, that the trial “waxed uproarious” (Nichols 1929). The outburst and subsequent chaos occurred during the testimony of Dr. Lewis I. Harris, the former Health Commissioner of New York City, who proclaimed the clinic “beyond reproach” and gave his stamp of approval to the doctors’ examination and treatment of McNamara, which he deemed “unusually thorough.” “But isn’t it most important to find out whether the patient is married or not?” Judge

Rosenbluth interrupted. The audience laughed, nearly drowning out Harris's response that doctors were obliged to believe their patients. Then Ernst struck: "Do you know of any situation where a doctor sends out a detective to find out whether his patients are married?" (Ross 1929). By illustrating the absurdity of the marriage requirement and, by extension, the silliness of the judge's question, Ernst enraged Rosenbluth. "Unless there is absolute silence I shall clear the courtroom," said Rosenbluth, whom the *Herald Tribune* described as "annoyed." "On second thought, I shall clear it anyway. Out you go—all of you!" (Ross 1929).<sup>11</sup> As court attendants "herded" spectators out of the courtroom, Kitty Marion, a woman the *Herald Tribune* identified as a veteran birth control advocate, shouted: "Sweet land of liberty—land of dumb, driven cattle!" (Ross 1929). Immediately afterwards, a coalition of "fur and gardenia adorned ladies" drafted a petition and presented it to Chief Magistrate William McAdoo, who reversed Rosenbluth and allowed the spectators back into the courtroom. (Birth Curb Backers 1929). The audience, thus emboldened, did not remain quiet once they returned to their places. On his cross-examination of Pissort, the assistant district attorney's finger-wagging and line of questioning resulted in more laughter. After it emerged that McNamara actually had two children, and that her youngest child was seven years old, Hogan asked Pissort, "Couldn't you tell that this woman had not had a baby a year ago—that, in fact, her last child was seven years old?" all the while, in dramatic fashion, "leaning over the rail and shaking a finger in Dr. Pissort's face." She responded, "How could I?" resulting in another bout of laughter (Birth Curb Backers 1929). The humor here, at least, was at the expense of the prosecutor, not the judge, and the trial continued. Hogan's question suggested that, unlike Ernst, he was not well-versed in reproductive health. This interpretation did not go unnoticed by the press. Like Broun, the *New York World's* Dudley Nichols teased Hogan, describing him as "a pleasant young man who had done a young man's best" (Nichols 1929). The implication was that Hogan was, at best, unsophisticated in matters relating to sexuality.

Despite his earlier outburst, or perhaps because of his embarrassment at being reversed by his boss, on May 14 Judge Rosenbluth ruled in favor of the defendants (Court frees 5 taken 1929). The judge framed his decision around the clinic's diagnosis. The prosecution, he said, had the burden of proof to demonstrate that the diagnosis was made in bad faith. Yet, in response to Ernst's statistics showing how the spacing of births could affect infant mortality, the prosecution failed to present evidence that challenged the clinic's diagnosis. Basing his decision on the precedent of *People v. Sanger*, the judge ruled that "(t)he law is plain that if the doctor in good faith believes that the patient is a married woman, and that her health requires prevention of conception, it is no crime to so advise and instruct therein" (Decision of *People v. Sideri*)

## Conclusion

While the idea of birth control could be threatening to those who clung to traditional nineteenth-century constructions of masculinity, by stressing marriage and health in his ruling, the judge managed to uphold certain components of those constructions. First, since the ruling only applied to married women, single women would not be able to obtain contraceptives and, accordingly, their sexuality would presumably be kept under control. The great fear of vice-societies and others who rallied against birth control was that contraception would lead to promiscuity. There were contemporary critics who warned against the sins of licentiousness which, they claimed, would in turn lead to unwanted children, disease and race suicide. An underlying fear was that men might somehow lose power in the process. So long as women were constantly having and raising babies, they would not be members of the labor force, where they might compete with men (or distract them with their feminine wiles). Birth control, as the argument went, might also allow women to take multiple

partners without fear of getting pregnant. In short, unlimited birth control would burst apart the separate spheres beyond repair.

Second, the ruling focused on the health benefits of birth control, rather than the question of women's authority over their sexuality. Health policy, as Ernst quickly realized, could be quantified, and the data and statistics he cited in trials would bolster his defense by suggesting a degree of neutrality. Science, after all, was neutral, and how could one refute scientific facts that pointed to a healthier, safer society? Indeed, in this case, the prosecution did not challenge Ernst's data on the advisability of spacing births. And in fact, Ernst's approach actually helped to cement certain traditional gender assumptions. Why was it, after all, that infant mortality was higher for women who had births closer together? Under long-held conceptions of women, they were the "fairer sex," a gentle way of suggesting that women were weak—and, by extension, that men were powerful. By framing birth control this way, as a necessary medical treatment, rather than a woman's right, Ernst appealed to the public's sympathy and its assumptions about the relative weaknesses of women, and the judge codified that view.

*Sideri*, in Ernst's own words, "aroused" the medical profession and helped solidify public support for birth control (Ernst & Lindey 1940, p. 157). Arguing this case enabled Ernst to perfect his own masculine model and polish its repertoire of citing scientific data, statistics, and health benefits in defense of his clients. It also placed men like Ernst, who could speak confidently and openly about sex, in stark contrast to men like Hogan, who fumbled nervously when broaching the subject of sexuality. Ernst's own popularity soared, and he moved happily onto other controversial cases, all the while fomenting his image as the modern man confident in his own masculinity. And the case itself helped add credence to the growing sense that Victorian sexual mores and assumptions about masculinity and gender were primitive, antiquated, and a threat to modern progress.

Although the *Sideri* case took place over 85 years ago, it may help shed some light on the reasoning, motives, and values of United States

policymakers and cultural spokesmen who continue to oppose contraception, even today. In 2012, after Sandra Fluke testified before Congress in support of insurance coverage for contraception, the conservative talk show host Rush Limbaugh called her a “slut” and a “whore” (Stelter 2012). While American presidential candidates generally state that they have no opposition to birth control, some politicians embrace “personhood” legislative initiatives, which are ostensibly crafted with the professed intent to ban abortions, but which could also end access to certain types of contraception (Robertson 2014). Modern-day opponents of contraception, and of the women who use it, may be recalling a romanticized era when masculinity was less a function of brainpower than “manpower,” and when science took a backseat to idealized notions of self-control and abstinence. When men and women chose to support the idea and use of contraception in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century, they also chose to accept an image of masculinity that differed from the savage Victorian model. Today, with conservative critics and legislators attacking the legitimacy of contraception, the organizations that provide it, and the women who use it, the 1929 *Sideri* case remains startlingly relevant.

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<sup>1</sup> P.B.P (Penelope) Huse was Executive Secretary for Margaret Sanger's American Birth Control League.

<sup>2</sup> Mrs. Sanger's Birth Control Clinic Raided. (1929, April 16). *New York Herald Tribune*, 1. Print. See also Garrow 23-24.

<sup>3</sup> The full case title, *People of the State of New York v. Marcella Sideri, Sigrid Brestwell, Antoinette Field, Elizabeth Pissort, and Hannah M. Stone*, was also referred to as as *People v. Stone*.

<sup>4</sup> See also Pettigrew (2007) and Murphy (2008).

<sup>5</sup> The pamphlet calls such women "charity girls" or "loose." Over eight decades later, contraception opponents still equate sexually-active single women with prostitution. See, for example, Stelter (2012).

<sup>6</sup> Brannon's letter originally appeared in the October 2, 1915 edition of *Harper's*. For an analysis of the connection between masculinity and racism, see Bederman (1995).

<sup>7</sup> For one case study on how eugenicists used such fears of "racial suicide" in Virginia to justify discrimination in the 1920s, see Dorr (2003)

<sup>8</sup> Ernst, it should be noted, served as Kinsey's attorney.

<sup>9</sup> "Rothstein" was Arnold Rothstein, a Jewish gangster murdered in 1928 who was the inspiration for F. Scott Fitzgerald's character, Meyer Wolfsheim, in *The Great Gatsby*. For more on Rothstein's legacy as "the Moses of the underworld," see Cohen (1998).

<sup>10</sup> Kennedy was Chief Neurologist at Cornell University and, interestingly, an enthusiastic supporter of eugenics.

<sup>11</sup> The press reported that only the lawyers, the accused and the reporters were allowed to stay. Inexplicably, according to Ernst and Lindey, court attendants also allowed Carlo Tresca, "the well-known radical" to stay as well.

# **Between Recognition And Betrayal**

## **The migrant man in the mixed couple: the management of masculinity(ies)**

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### **Abstract:**

This paper is based on the life stories of couples, of which the man is an immigrant, originally from countries with Muslim traditions, now married to an Italian woman. Such mixed couples, over-exposed to the public discourse on *difference*, give us a privileged focus on an atypical form of male migration, which breaks the endogamic rule due to a sentimental choice. The reconciliation among themes of migration, memory and parenting is framed within a further complexity. On one hand, the men try to distance themselves from the hegemonic public discourse which associates Muslim men with religious fundamentalism, sexism, and control over women; on the other hand, they must demonstrate to their families of origin and to co-nationals that they have not betrayed their culture by crossing boundaries - either geographically, through migration, or symbolically, through their union with Italian women. Focusing on two meaningful everyday scenarios, this paper highlights one of the peculiarities of the biographical trajectory of male partners, analysing their management of masculinity: the visit of couples to their partners' country of origin and their relationship with co-nationals within the context of migration. Masculinity thus appears in relational processes performed by the social actors involved in its construction. New paths of masculinity emerge: *strategic*, in their attempt to find a new balance within the family context, and at the same time *flexible*, to create new kinds of friendship networks.

**Key words:** Mixed marriages, Christian-Muslim couples, Muslim masculinity, migrant men.

## Tanınma Ve İhanet Arasında Karşıcins Çiftlerde Göçmen Erkek: Erkeklik(ler)in Yönetimi

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### Özet:

Bu yazı, erkeklerinin göçmen olduğu, aslen Müslüman geleneklerin hâkim olduğu ülkelerden geldiği ve şu an İtalyan kadınlarla evli olduğu çiftlerin yaşam hikâyelerine dayanmaktadır. Kamusal söylemlerde *farklılık* vurgusunun sıkça yapıldığı bu tür karşıcins çiftler bize duygusal tercihleri içermesi dolayısıyla içevliliği yıkan, erkek göçünün tipik olmayan bir formuna odaklanabilme olanağı sağlar. Göç, bellek ve ebeveynlik temaları arasındaki uzlaşma yeni bir karmaşa içerisinde çerçevlendirilir. Öte yandan erkekler kendilerini Müslüman erkeği dini tutuculuk, cinsiyetçilik ve kadın üzerinde tahakkümle ilişkilendiren egemen kamusal söylemlerden uzak tutmaya çalışır. Diğer taraftan geride bıraktıkları ailelerine ve vatandaşlarına sınırı geçip -coğrafi olarak- göçle veya -sembolik olarak- İtalyan bir kadınla evlenerek onlara ihanet etmediklerini kanıtlamalıdır. Bu yazı erkek partnerlerin biyografik göçüşatlarındaki bu alışılmamışlığın altını, onların erkekliği yönetme biçimlerini inceleyerek çizecek ve iki anlamlı gündelik senaryoya odaklanacaktır: Çiftlerin memleketlerini partnerleriyle birlikte ziyareti ve göç bağlamında vatandaşlarıyla olan ilişkileri. Böylece erkeklik, kendi inşasına karışan toplumsal aktörler tarafından performe edilen ilişkisel bir süreç içerisinde görülmektedir. Bu da erkekliğin yeni yollarını ortaya çıkarmaktadır: aile bağlamı içerisinde bir denge kurma çabası sebebiyle *stratejik* ve aynı zamanda yeni arkadaşlık ağları kurabilmek için *esnek*.

**Anahtar Kelimeler:** Karşıcins çiftler, Hristiyan-Müslüman Çiftler, Müslüman erkeklik, göçmen erkekler.

## Introduction

This paper examines the life stories<sup>1</sup> of couples who are male migrants, originally from countries with Muslim traditions, now married to Italian women.<sup>2</sup> One of the essential aspects which make Christian-Muslim couples particularly interesting for sociological analysis lies in their relationship with the social context, in which the concepts of heterogamy and homogamy, endogamy and exogamy, are constructed and legitimated. The social construction of *difference* implies that cultural and religious characteristics work as boundaries between the social groups to which the partners belong. As several disciplines are involved in the concept of *mixité conjugale* - sociology, anthropology, literature, linguistics, psychology, statistics and jurisprudence - mixed marriages have become an interdisciplinary object of study. According to Varro, the concept of *mixité conjugale* (marital mixedness) represents a limitation to the family sphere of the much broader concept of *mixité*, which involves the whole of society. *Mixité* refers to several concepts and enters many debates on identity and culture, integration and assimilation, citizenship, nation and nationality. Studies of mixed marriages have adopted several approaches, most of which are based on

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<sup>1</sup> These interviews were collected through the technique of life stories according to the method explained in detail in Bertaux, Daniel. *Biography and society: the life history approach in the social sciences*, London: Sage, and in Bertaux, Daniel. *Les récits de vie*, Paris: Editions Nathan. 1998.

<sup>2</sup> The paper was composed from material acquired during my PhD (2009-2012), which examined the processes of *mixité conjugale* in the life stories of 15 mixed couples. Participants' observations and ethnographic interviews were the results of more than 50 meetings with families living in various parts of the Veneto region, north-east Italy. Individual interviews with their partners and sometimes also their children, and other key interviewees, such as relatives and friends, were conducted in the participants' homes. In view of the particular nature of the Muslim presence in Italy, characterised by various fragmented ethnic groups, I decided not to limit the field of study to one ethnic group, but to maintain the complexity of the identification of "being a Muslim in Italy", examining the inner complexity of Islam described in "L'Islam in Italia" (Saint Blancat). In order to differentiate the groups of interviewed couples, I then examined this heterogeneity, choosing couples in which the male partner came from Morocco (6), Palestine (2), Senegal (2), Egypt (1), Lebanon (1), Kashmir (1), Syria (1) and Turkey (1).

the poorly defined idea that a mixed marriage is some kind of monolithic entity<sup>3</sup>. Qualitative studies on these couples' everyday lives may open up new perspectives, going beyond the rigid concept of identity and religion, and exploring what multiculturalism is producing in a growing number of mixed couples and families (Barbara 1; Froese 38; Arweck and Nesbitt 41; Cerchiaro, Aupers, Houtman 44).

A sentimental union becomes "mixed" only relatively and contextually, not objectively and autonomously, in the social context in which it originates (Bertolani 1). The so-called Christian-Muslim couple represents an emblematic case study within the phenomenon of "mixed" couples, since it is linked to an implicit macro-dimension which assimilates differences called "strong" in the public discourse on the family social space (Saraceno 89).

This work analyses the asymmetric relationships which couples produce and represent: migrant men and their Italian partners combine to create the macro-relation between the Italian/Veneto context and that of emigration. In this sense, studying mixed couples offers a privileged focus on an atypical kind of male migration which breaks the endogamic rule by following a sentimental choice. This paper examines the processes of masculinity construction on the part of the migrant partner, in order to throw light on his personal experience of diaspora<sup>4</sup>. It also aims at understanding to what extent the relationship with a partner from a hegemonic culture influences the attribution of meanings to a man's sense of his masculinity. The macro-discourse on Muslim masculinity thus identifies an element which can significantly orient the system of partners' mutual expectations and the construction of *difference* of the couple within the Italian social context.

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<sup>3</sup> The concept of "mixed" has often been approached (and reified) as a single phenomenon, assuming that partners with different religious backgrounds constitute mixed marriages by definition (Kalmijn 787; Breger and Hill; Kulczycki and Lobo 203).

<sup>4</sup> The concept of diaspora is linked to the capacity for managing a specific relationship with the host society and, at the same time, "distancing from the society of origin in order to choose integration strategies and the identification and socialisation criteria" (Saint Blancat 17).

As Ryan and Webster pointed out: “[...] while mainstream theorizations of migration may assume a male migrant, his masculinity is simply taken for granted, rather than being a focus of analysis and research. [...] Men’s relationships with women, in families, workplaces, in the host and native society are important to an understanding of how identities are formed and developed over.” (5). The impact of migration on men and masculinities significantly contributes to extending the understanding of gender and migration issues (Kofman 245; Ryan and Wester 12; Mahler and Pessar 58). Therefore, understanding the specificity of the male partner’s experience means that we can frame men’s studies within the analysis of masculinity construction processes within this already consolidated branch of gender studies<sup>5</sup>. On an international level, several empirical researches and theoretical reflections have focused on the analysis of virility and masculinity representations in relation to social and cultural changes in a given social context. These researches have also focused on the plural aspects of the “gender crisis”, especially in cases when the traditional conception of male identity has suffered the strongest repercussions (Mosse 77; Kimmel 121; Hearn 71; Levant 223; Hopkins 300; De Sonty 91). Masculinity, observed both as a lens of analysis and as a context, emerges as psychic and social identity (Tosh 68). It is neither genetic nor fixed by social structure, but is socially constructed through the actions and resources of men in a certain social contexts (Connell 90; Connell

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<sup>5</sup> I use the term *men’s studies* to refer to the “study of masculinities and male experiences as specific and varying social-historical-cultural formations” (Brod 40). *Men’s studies* have rapidly developed, especially in the last 15 years, and have almost exceeded quantitatively *women’s studies*, particularly in the Anglo-Saxon and American cultures, although they are still not widespread in Italy, with the exception of the works of Bimbi and Castellano, Bellassai, Dell’Agnese, Ruspini and Ventimiglia. *Men’s studies* appeared in the US and UK in the mid-1970s, focusing on the critical literature of the male experience in Western societies. The early researches on masculinity were methodologically influenced by *women’s studies*. Development and diversification gradually began during the 1980s: reflections on the body, paternity, couple relationships, male cultures in the military and sports environments, literature and mass culture, have all entered the “literature on masculinity” (Tosh 69). From the 1990s onwards, masculinity, as an interpretative category, has also significantly developed from a publishing point of view.

and Messerschmidt 836); masculinity becomes visible when it is perceived as a problem, challenged by the hegemonic struggle between greater cultural models (Connell 9); it also changes from one culture to another and within the same culture, during the life of a man and among differing groups of men (Kimmel and Messner 164; Connell 90; Hopkins and Noble 813).

I also analyse here narratives<sup>6</sup> in which masculinity construction processes emerge, considering not only recounted by men, but also by family members involved. Hence, I refer to a reflection by Pascoe (5-6), who criticises the fact that sociologists have often approached masculinity by focusing their analysis only on the male body among men. Instead, Pascoe believes that masculinity appears in the relationship with a “multiplicity of bodies, spaces and objects” (9) which actively define and construct it in a choral process. In order to understand masculinity, we must go beyond the bounds of the same field of analysis to which it has often been confined.

This study focuses on two particularly significant everyday scenarios which emphasise the variety of aspects linked to masculinity construction processes (men unmasked) and relationships with their original communities in the migration context (suspected of betrayal).

### **Masculinity and Islam: the public discourse on Muslim men**

**A**nalysis of these couples’ experiences is a privileged *locus* in which to understand the mechanisms of identity construction, cohabitation, alliances and common meanings created by partners. Increasing interest in the intersection of interpretative levels which combines analysis on masculinity with the themes of migration and religion has appeared in recent studies, filling the gap in the “under” theorisation of this new research field (Archer 80; Ouzgane 1; Hopkins 301; Nilan and Donaldson et al. 24; De

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<sup>6</sup> Discussions with the 15 ‘mixed couples’ studied here were originally transcribed in Italian. Since in many cases the immigrant men’s spoken Italian was very poor, the English translation reflects the imperfections of their speech.

Sondy 5).

At the centre of the hegemonic discourse on phenomena linked to migration, there are now migrants from countries with Muslim traditions. Scholars such as Pace, Allievi, Guolo and Roy deconstruct the hegemonic discourse focusing on Muslims' identities perceived as a "problem" *a priori*. The permeability of "their" cultural model and relationships with the cultural and religious pluralism of the Muslim "Western" community are discussed here. Comparisons with other cultural codes emblematically include the problem of gender and, consequently, the interpretation of identity and redefinition. This complexity in particular characterises the definition of the self created by men from Muslim countries in a context which includes, on one hand, the "Islam of the flesh" (Allievi 18), composed of varying biographical directions and, on the other, the representation of monolithic and unchangeable identities linked to that interpretation of Islam with the Koran as the sole source of rigid gender models (Ghoussoub and Sinclair-Webb 234, Mernissi 61; Ouzgane 88; De Sondy 91).

The strategies adopted by Muslims to face the public discourse which often represents Muslim women as passive victims of a patriarchal and fundamentalist Islam (Dwyer 51; Mernissi 29; Hopkins 301; Hopkins and Noble 816; Salih 410), emblematically question masculinity as a key issue in understanding the life stories of these men, now married to Italian women.

Except for the work by Ghoussoub and Sinclair-Webb, Ouzgane, and De Sondy are the only scholars who have so far systematically explored Muslim masculinity, putting it at the centre of the wider discussion on Islam fragmentation and the Muslim community. According to the latter authors, this discourse often implies a monolithic concept of Muslim masculinity, opposed to the alleged and often essentialised Western masculinity.

Lahoucine Ouzgane states: "The dominant masculinity within Islam cultures has remained for a long time a non-recognised category, which maintains its power precisely in the refusal to recognise itself"

(88). *Islamic masculinities*, by collecting multidisciplinary works all having a constructionist approach, examine the different aspects of masculinity in several Muslim societies, from Pakistan to North Africa, from Turkey to Yemen. Their works demonstrate how gender roles within Muslim cultures have been created by a mixture of components which refer more to patriarchal cultures prior to Islam, rather than to rigid interpretation of the Koran.

In his recent work, De Sondy extends the rigid concepts of masculinity inherent to the Muslim world, showing how they have generated a crisis of global Muslim communities and have been used, through a debate on God and women, to produce and reproduce rigid gender roles in the (failed) search for a “single Koranic masculinity” (91). Focusing on the Indian and Pakistani examples, De Sondy shows on one hand the variety of spiritual paths inherent to Islam and, on the other, the political distortion of Islam theology which considers only one type of masculinity and femininity to be “right” or “wrong”. The same concept of “submission to God” and the religious identities of Muslims’ definitions and perceptions have therefore been manipulated: “Such narrow interpretations of submission to God by some have demoralised many Muslim men and women who have been forced to accept that their spiritual existences are in some way inferior. This has led many to label themselves as secular or nonreligious Muslims [...]” (De Sondy 180).

The construction of *female* and *male*, the main irreducible difference of every couple, in this case reaches a deeper degree of complexity and self-reflection, since processes of *mixité conjugale* force partners to discuss what “*taken for granted*” means.

### Unmasked men?

The visit of the couple to the husband’s country of origin is emblematic of a pivotal step, in which the system of expectations of “masculinity partner” emerges. There are not only the Italian partner’s expectations; there are also those of the man’s family.

Referring to some everyday episodes, the couple recall their lives with the interviewer, who represents the hegemonic context of migration. In these narratives, identity is clearly at stake, and the actors' performance gives it meaning. The partners show the performing aspect of identity, in which *doing gender* (West and Zimmerman 125) emerges as role-play and a balancing of interests, created as a result of perceptions and interactions with the *alter*. As Lerner noted: "Life course events and transitions usually involve a change in social roles and situations, often altering the basis for the social relationships that were formed in the context of the role" (182).

In this way, the symbolic struggle between the partners' cultural worlds takes place within the gender arena. In the following narration, the *alter* representations, in the performances of Mohammed and Giovanna, create a sociologically extraordinary picture. Round the kitchen table, the division of housework and expectations regarding family gender roles construct the traditional gender relationships which Giovanna refuses to accept. By behaving in this way, she breaks and changes the ritual of a "taken for granted" situation in her husband's family and country.

Giovanna: The first time in Morocco for me was a devastating experience. Well ...I cried a lot. It was a tragedy for me. I did not expect something like this and, after all, we never spoke about these things before. It was worse than the worst of the worst...I had never imagined. [...] He has got two sisters and five brothers. The first time I went there everybody was in the house around the table for lunch. Men didn't move a finger...and when they said "I'm thirsty"...their sisters run to bring them a glass of water. Well ... I saw women who worked very hard while men...women served men in everything. Everything. In conclusion. I did not accept what I saw.

Interviewer: Have you ever talked about these things before your journey?

Giovanna: Listen... I've always had the impression that Mohammed wanted to keep things separated... probably because he knew that to see these dynamics was dangerous for me...so I insisted at that time to meet his family in Morocco. Here you are. We stayed there for a month... and it was a traumatising month.

(Giovanna)

The narration clearly introduces us to two important aspects. Mohammed, in Giovanna's words, tends to manage cultural divergences by separating them, in order not to be obliged to face his wife's opposition. Giovanna's performance is also characterised by the claim of differentiation against the gender relationships implied in her husband's family.

In his tale, Mohammed refers to the same episode to explain his specific "suffering" as a Moroccan man married to an Italian woman. He describes how the first meeting between his wife and her family represented a conflict in the management of gender relationships taken for granted in both Italy and Morocco.

The dichotomy represented by the role interpretation of a "Moroccan man" and an "Italian woman" is explicitly interiorised and narrated to illustrate how two social interactions and masculinity models, which should not have met, are managed.

Interviewer: You often refer to difficult periods. Could you tell me more about that?

Mohammed: Yes. Especially the first time when she came to Morocco with me. It was difficult. Especially with my parents. You know....my parents have a vision of the woman...who helps man, washes, irons, does everything in the house...Giovanna is different. She understood what my parents expected from her and she pointed it out clearly (he mimics how hard it had been)...And this thing just made me feel ..umm...feel bad. I mean, she did not have to live

with my parents. She had to stay there just for that period. Got it? It did not...I did not want her to pretend to be another person. I did not want a fiction...but don't do like that. You (referring to Giovanna) know that here in Italy I am always with you...helping in hanging out the laundry, washing dishes, cooking...I've never caused problems. Those things are for women in my parents' vision...they think a man shouldn't even touch a glass. They tell me: "Stop! Sit there. There are women who can do this". But...Giovanna said in front of them "Hey...make it by yourself. Take your stuff and wash it". Got it? In front of them? My parents were scandalised. You know. I felt like...it's hard to explain what it means for a man.

(Mohammed)

(Mohammed, 47, Moroccan worker - Giovanna, 46, Italian, elementary school teacher, married for 21 years, two children)

This episode, demonstrating Mohammed's anguish in front of his relatives is an extraordinary example of the ambivalence of the gender performance between the two contexts.

Mohammed explains how he has adapted his views, so that he can do the cleaning, sort the laundry, and help his wife with the housework in various ways. Giovanna shows by her behaviour that she does not want to adapt to the role taken for granted by her husband's family; on the contrary, she subverts it. Mohammed's suffering is therefore caused by "unmasking" her in front of his family, a situation which represents his defeat as a man among his relatives. He loses his authority as the man of the house; he has become more "Westernised" and therefore, in his parents' eyes, weaker.

Episodes of difficulty in managing the relationship and gender role in the husband's country of origin have also been reported by other Italian partners married to Moroccan men. These couples are connected by the *mixité* they have reached, when their husbands, although they

defined themselves as Muslim, decided not to transmit their religion to their children<sup>7</sup>. This decision followed progressive estrangement from religious practices which implied attendance in the co-nationals' community and in their places of worship. In Morocco, husbands are forced by the context to re-enter a system which reflects gender roles - a thing which the wives do not accept because it is deemed degrading for women. Therefore, narratives on conflicts due to the different perception of a husband in Morocco often recur. The discrepancy in the Italian partners' narratives between "he in Italy" and "he in Morocco" shows how the process of masculinity is differently managed and performed according to the cultural context.

Below, Francesca and Claudia express their complete lack of understanding of their husbands when the two women visit their husbands' country of origin.

Francesca: Yes, once back in Morocco, he completely disappeared. All his friends came to meet him...and I have not seen him for days. It is logical that sometimes I got crazy. Over there, culturally speaking, women cannot stay on their own, while men go elsewhere. And I did not like it. And I saw that he did not know what to do...to be what he used to be in Italy or not...

(Francesca)

(Francesca, 45, Italian - Hamid, 48, a Moroccan, married for 22 years, three daughters)

Claudia: ... when I went there the first time, I had some doubts about my choice. The bad thing was that I was bringing him back to his home country, his friends, his family. He thought I had already understood their mentality, so he left me at home, alone, with his mother and sisters, and run away from mornings to nights with his friends. He did not want to show them how he was with me.

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<sup>7</sup> On the different strategies concerning children's religious education, see article by Cerchiaro, Aupers and Houtman published on Social Compass.

It was ugly. I felt lost in a closed room, in a foreign world ...  
he was back in his own world and I was not there anymore.

(Claudia)

(Claudia, 39, Italian, housewife - Jamal, 46, Moroccan  
worker, married for 19 years, a son and a daughter)

In the couple's life together, the first visit to the husband's country of origin is described recurrently as an often disorienting and anxious moment. The gender arena transversally emerges as a place where partners' recognition and misrecognition take place. The visit turns out to be a physical and symbolical experience which tears the partners in two, showing the men in a different light. The Italian partner must also face expectations regarding gender roles which her husband's family takes for granted. This visit to his family means that the man returns home, to his context of socialisation in which he finds again (or believes he finds) habits and life styles which he had abandoned. The Italian partners' narratives of fears and tension about this "rewinding" of time, which gives rise to a new debate between the couple's identities and balances, is seen in the words: *"...he was back in his world and I wasn't there anymore"*. We therefore first see a representation of the confrontation between the man and the patriarchal culture of his country of origin; housework is what women do; consequently, the Western man becomes feminised if he is asked to undertake it. This representation refers to the situated character of masculinity. The management of the two contexts is achieved through the capacity of alternating different models of masculinity. The visit, in the wife's eyes, is narrated as a sort of "unmasking" of the man whom she can now barely recognise.

### Suspected of betrayal

**T**he narratives of migration often imply misunderstanding, and sometimes fault and suspicion of betrayal (Sayad 157), in relationships with co-nationals. The allusion to relationships with

the co-nationals' community in Italy has not often been studied.

This topic could be better addressed in informal situations outside interviews - for example, during a chat at the local café or having a cup of tea with the recorder switched off.

The theme is sometimes introduced by other family members during collective moments of interaction. They recount an attitude of scorn and sometimes hostility, accusing the man of having been converted or subjugated by his wife ("Your wife is converting you, isn't she?", "Are you converting us now?", "Your wife is ordering you around, isn't she?") or finding difficulties in creating an expanded relationship with homogamic families. Even when the husband does not refer to any contrast or explicit disapproval with his friends concerning his marriage to his Italian partner, we can still see how these relationships are in any case significantly influenced. The men reveal a social transformation which is differently managed according to the context of interaction: they are secularised and "Westernised" when relating to an Italian interlocutor, but they become immigrants who share a condition of subordination when they talk to co-nationals.

The "fear" Sayad (157) described concerning his co-nationals' accusation of "leaving his own country", "being weak" and of "betrayal", in this case achieves an even more complex and to a certain extent radical meaning.

The suspicion of betrayal, even of apostasy (social and cultural, rather than religious) is a permanent feature which is obsessively present in considering migration as a practical form of conduct and category of thought; it is an "illegitimate" absence which requires intense, constant work of legitimacy (Sayad 171).

The conversation reported below is a clear example of how the male partner is obliged openly to manage when interacting with his family, with representations of the self which do not correspond to those the actor wishes to transmit.

Hamid, having "accepted" baptism and the catholic education of his

daughters, tells us about his rare encounters with co-nationals as the consequence of these choices, mainly reduced to sporadic encounters at a coffee-shop or during leisure time, when members of this family are not present or not involved. The ambivalence in the management of these relationships therefore privileges the lack of direct contacts between the two entities: his family and his co-nationals.

Hamid feels he is under pressure, due to the direct interaction of the two worlds which co-exist within him, like two mirrors that reflect his image differently. The discussion between him, his wife Francesca and his elder daughter Lara exemplifies some of the themes previously examined:

Interviewer: Before when you said "... when Lara was baptised ...", (the first child) you affirmed that the problem was "other Moroccans" ... what will they think...

Francesca: Eh ... yes

Hamid: There is still but less now...

Francesca: Mah ...

Hamid: Yes, it is still present but not like in the past. Many Moroccans know that my children are ... are...baptised.

Lara: But dad ... But you argued with Amira (the second daughter) until few years ago ...

Hamid: But no ...

Francesca: And how. "If you go to church, do not pass in front of the Moroccans' bar", "put your headscarf on".

Hamid: How many years ago? Well, Francesca, Lara ... what do you say?

Lara: It is not true. Even now you do like that.

Francesca: No? no? no? Even now, Hamid.

Hamid: It is not true.

Lara: Yes it is. Do not look at me as if I do not have to say these things.

Hamid: But no. I'm not like that ...

Interviewer: And your mom, Hamid, does she know that your daughters are baptised?

Hamid: No. My mother does not know it ... because she doesn't understand these things, these discussions. She wouldn't understand. I told it to my sisters and they understood ... my older sister less. They always say ... "do you want to baptise us now?" ... But I told them ...

(Discussion while having tea with Francesca, Hamid and his daughter Lara)

The family interaction sheds light on the complex discourse on the masculinity performance which does not emerge during the individual interview. Hamid's request to his daughter to avoid Moroccan friends when they go to church, their not "masking" themselves under a headscarf, not asking his mother's advice as regards his daughters' religious education, perfectly exemplifies the suspicion of betrayal, even apostasy, to which Sayad (171) refers. This kind of apostasy is social and cultural, rather than religious. Traces of masculinity are thus disclosed, a masculinity which becomes visible only when it is perceived in a situation of crisis, when the traditional patriarchal model is questioned and masculinity is accused of weakening *vis-à-vis* the female sex to adapt to the hegemonic masculinity of the new context of migration, betraying his father's traditions (Mosse 77; Kimmel 122; Tosh 70; De Soudy 91). Hamid's embarrassment during the interaction with his wife and daughter who contradict him in front of the interviewer clearly reveals the "deep acting" theorised by Hochschild (557-558), a situation in which the social actor tries to control his feelings, rather than manifest them. On one hand, the man has to detach himself from the prevalent public discourse which associates men from Muslim countries with religious fundamentalism, *machismo* and control over the female body. On the other hand, he has to demonstrate to his family and friends that he has not betrayed his culture by crossing boundaries more than just once: first geographically, by migrating, and then symbolically, by marrying an Italian woman.

Hamid's relations with co-nationals become limited after his marriage, not only because he, as the male partner, has to deal with family duties. If, before the union, he speaks in particular about his

relationships with co-nationals, after marriage a certain difficulty in meeting other co-nationals' families arises. Mixed families do try to create relationships, especially with other mixed families, searching for similarity and affinity on which to build new network relations.

N: When I came here I had friends that I knew in Palestine. I never made new friends. [...] We were friends. But now everyone has his family and we rarely see each other, usually alone. I have no relationship with the community here, I have no new friends. [...] When we were younger, we used to go to the bar to drink, play football, I was living with them. We came all from the same city. Then everyone made his family. Someone with Italian women other with Palestinians. Those with Palestinian families see each other and I do not see them ... I see most of those who have married an Italian woman like me.

(Nadir, 60, Palestinian - Julia, 59, Italian, married for 31 years, a son and a daughter)

In the following narrative, Mohammed expresses his difficulty in creating strong ties with co-national homogamic couples. A discourse on the perception of his marriage and his family's cultural *mixité* consequently emerges. The search by similar couples demonstrates the isolation in which they experience the social context, together with the loosening of ties between the foreign partner and homogamic couples of co-national communities in Italy.

M: I'm sorry. I had friends with whom I met, but, they (and their families) are of Moroccan culture while we are always in the middle ... so ... "half culture"...

I: What does it mean?

M: In the sense. As a couple we are half Moroccan and half Italian. But I can't say "my wife has become almost Moroccan and we can easily meet other Moroccan couples. I can not say I mixed cultures and it is easy to create relations with other Moroccan families. There had been

some attempts ... but you could not ...you could not create a strong relationship. She is still seen as Italian ... and my wife sees them as Moroccan families. We are ... special. So ... we were not able to create stable relationship over time. [...] For example ... I had two friends (Moroccan). When they were alone there were no problems. They came always to visit me and we spent time together. After they married to a Moroccan woman I did not see them anymore. And it made me suffer. We were friends.

I: And do you know why?

M: Eh. I know that there are other Moroccan families. Their wives prefer to visit other Moroccan women.

I: In the sense they prefer to meet other Moroccan families?

M: Exactly. They recreated a Moroccan community and we were excluded ... and that's why we created an association of mixed couples ... like an Italian man with an Eritrean woman, a Lebanese man with an Italian woman, a Moroccan man with an Italian woman. It was also ... to have a space to discuss issues and problems that we may have in common with the rest of the couples ... especially concerning children. It was also, as I told you, to create stronger friendships. Also to help us in some periods between us ... as mixed couples.

(Mohammed)

The search for similarity, alliances and complicity in the choice of friendships along the same marital path reflects the need for affinity as an important resource, in order to discuss, for instance, children's education with other couples (Cerchiaro et al. 2015). The self-representation of the unicity "we are a mixed couple [...]" forces that couple to enlarge the circle of friendships which can represent common ground and, therefore, the opportunity to create or enforce alliances between the partners.

The awareness of being in a minority within the context of migration leads the man to try to build ties with co-nationals married to

Italian women and with other couples, whose marriages compare the breaking of the endogamic rule and the consequent sense of loneliness and “cultural betrayal”.

## Conclusions

In the narratives analysed so far, a rich and complex portrait, reflecting differing biographical paths and related differing ways of “building a family” has emerged. The scenarios emphasise masculinities in movement, which have become visible as subject to greater reflexivity, and which face the dominant public discourse on Muslim masculinity (De Soudy 95), often in the overlapping and double presence of “here” and “there” (Waldinger 24) in the everyday family context. The two scenarios symbolically represent two important biographical steps: the close encounters between different family models (unmasked men) and the management of relations with co-national communities (suspected of betrayal). A variety of processes appear, demonstrating how gender identity has been renegotiated within the context of migration, often producing what Batnitzky, McDowell and Dyer define as “flexible and strategic masculinities” (1288). The male partner is sometimes forced to manage dissonance among the various models of masculinity which arise, particularly when family and co-national networks wish to control expectations and to make other demands concerning the man’s identity as a father, son, friend, co-national, Muslim. There is the risk that the attempt to reconcile differing life contexts often makes the male partner feel guilty of not satisfying others’ expectations twice: physically and symbolically, through migration, and then through marriage to an Italian woman. The idea that the man implicitly has the power to make decisions as a husband and father is further discussed here as a “cultural problem”, which involves the management of being both a man and a Muslim, and leads him to adopt strategies aimed at avoiding conflicts with his family and exclusion from co-national groups. The couple’s visit to the husband’s country of

origin in particular calls into question the patriarchal masculinity model and how it is linked to the risk of the man's feeling deprived of his status in front of his family of origin. Through the continual compromise between "proximity" and "distance" (Tabboni 37), "presence" and "absence" (Sayad 103), tradition and betrayal, "here" and "there" (Waldinger 24), these men show how they present different masculinities to reconcile the regulation of gender relationships in Italy and their relations with co-nationals. The importance assigned to the creation of new friendships with other mixed families in order to discuss common problems also emerges. This appears to be a strategy adopted by the two partners to diminish the consequences of breaking the endogamic rule and distancing themselves from co-national groups. These processes are framed within a *mixité* over-exposed to the discourse on difference (Saraceno 91; Allievi 12). External mediation, through networks of family and friends, influence masculinity construction processes. Hence, the narratives analysed so far offer a closer perspective on migration and masculinity processes which do not only involve transnational mobility (Hopkins and Noble 815) but also the paths of masculinity: *strategic*, in aiming to find a new balance within the family context, and *flexible*, in alternating between two roles of social interaction, moving between borders represented as conflictual and incompatible.

We not only refer here to social groups (the original family and the new one) and geographical borders (the country of origin, and that of migration), but also to identity borders, where the link with the country of origin reveals the problems in coping with memories which clash with ongoing changes in the same country. The narratives, not only of the men but of the entire family, also reconstruct only fragments of stories, which show how migration and union with an Italian partner all need constant reprocessing of masculinity. These processes are linked to the development of the relationship with the family of origin and co-nationals and with the creation of new relations, in order to build similarities and affinities which can reduce the perception of a "different" marriage. The strategies which emerge tend to reconcile

external forces which are, instead, focused on polarising and contrasting identities, religions and cultures. In view of recent attention given to this new field of study and the still underdeveloped literature, further studies could be made, starting from the deconstruction of this position on masculinity of Western scholars and the creation of a conceptual framework which considers new forms of masculinity, ones which cannot be reduced to mere polarisation of the discourse between Western and Muslim masculinity. In this sense, the present paper aims to be one piece in the puzzle. The complex processes of identity construction pass through negotiation, defence or (re)invention of a man's own sense of masculinity, through reflection which implies new forms of masculinity, bringing the theological debate (De Soudy 59) to a "flesh" debate (Allievi 18). This debate is composed of men and of many identities in its capacity to alternate various types of masculinity, just like the *mixité* which these couples build in their everyday lives.

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# **Masculinities on Stage**

## **Clients and Representations in the Italian sex market**

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### **Abstract:**

As known, masculinities on stage are plural (Connel, 1995; Ciccone, 2009), furthermore there is a continuity between the various expressions of being male, especially when considering interaction with female gender representations. Synthetically, some cultural influences contribute in a dichotomist system, amounting to a hierarchy and to the supremacy of male over female gender, which fact involves: a female citizenship always at risk, being its acknowledgement owed to the “sexual reputation”; disavowal of female physical pleasure; a collective, standardized and rhetoric imagination about Eros, crossing men and women, sex clients or not, and pinpointing highly diversified representations between male sexuality - outburst - and female one - service (Tabet, 2004).

The paper is intended to a critical approach on various erotic models and on dynamics of physical pleasure legitimating “a certain way to be male” right because of the prerequisite of male domination (Bourdieu, 1998). It arises from the outcomes of a research by University of Genoa in 2013, in range of the ETTS, a European project on fight against sexual trafficking and tourism, with a special focus on consumers of the sex market.

The research was carried out by using a number of qualitative research techniques: radio interviews through which opinions and representations were gathered on the theme of prostitution; half-structured interviews to young men and women attending the upper school; in-depth interviews to clients of sex markets, and to sex workers (women and transgender); analysis of websites more frequently visited by clients of sex markets. Having in mind that sex buying approach and practices do cross through social classes, rather than focusing on a categorization of sex consumers, the paper will focus on “masculinities” on stage, moving from the premise that clients and non-clients are equally grounded (Leonini, 1999).

**Key words:** Sex Market, Italy, male sexuality

## Görünürdeki Erkeklikler İtalyan Seks Piyasasında Müşteriler ve Temsiller

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### Özet:

Bilindiği üzere görünürde pek çok erkeklik mevcuttur (Connel, 1995; Ciccone, 2009). Özellikle kadın cinsinin temsilleriyle olan etkileşimi düşünüldüğünde, erkek olmanın farklı ifadeleri arasında bir süreklilik söz konusudur. Her zaman risk altında olan kadın ve kadın olmanın onayının “cinsel şöhretle” sağlanması; kadının fiziksel tatminini kabul etmeme; seks müşterisi olsun ya da olmasın erkekle kadını karşılaştıran Eros hakkında kolektif, standart ve retorik bir tasarım üretme; ve erkeğin cinselliği - taşkınlık - ile kadının - hizmet - arasında (Tabet, 2004) oldukça çeşitli temsiller belirleme gibi bazı kültürel etkiler, hiyerarşinin ve erkeğin kadın üzerinde üstünlük kurduğu ikili sistemlerin yapay bir şekilde kurulmasına etki eder.

Bu yazı farklı erotik modeller ve erkek tahakkümünün ön koşulu olması nedeniyle “erkek olmanın kesin yolu”nu meşrulaştıran fiziksel hazzın dinamikleri (Bourdieu, 1998) üzerine eleştirel bir yaklaşım sunmayı amaçlamaktadır. Yazıda 2013 yılında Cenova Üniversitesi’nde gerçekleştirilen, seks ticareti ve turizmine karşı savaşım üzerine yapılmış ve özellikle seks piyasasının tüketicilerine odaklanan araştırmanın sonuçları kullanılmıştır.

Araştırma pek çok niteliksel yöntem kullanılarak yürütülmüştür: seks işçiliği teması çerçevesinde bilgilerin ve fikirlerin alındığı radyo röportajı, okullu genç erkekler ve kadınlarla yarı yapılandırılmış görüşmeler, seks piyasasındaki müşteriler ve (kadın ve trans) seks işçileriyle derinlemesine görüşmeler, seks piyasası müşterilerinin sıkça ziyaret ettiği internet sitelerinin analizi. Seks hizmeti satın alma pratiklerinin ve yaklaşımlarının tüketicilerin sınıflandırılmasıyla değil toplumsal sınıf aracılığıyla ilişkilendirilmesi akılda tutularak, bu yazı görünürdeki “erkekliklere” odaklanacak, müşterilerin ve müşteri olmayanların eşit bir şekilde suçlu olduğu önermesiyle (Leonini, 1999) yola çıkacaktır.

**Anahtar Kelimeler: Seks Piyasası, İtalya, erkek cinselliği**

## 1. Introduction.

In the collective imagery, prostitution is “the world's oldest profession”, and the iconographic image of it, at least in Italy, is of a client concealed by a car's window. A client who is everybody and nobody, the protagonist and the main engine for the sex market's existence, a silent figure who is in the background of public opinion so that there is a lack of the clients' perspective in scientific representation. The client is the ‘notably absent’ (Abbatecola, 2006; Mornioli, Oliviero, 2013). Moreover, in the symbolic domain characterized by masculine domination (Bourdieu, 1998), the tendency is not to reflect upon masculinity. There is no need to explain all that dominates (Jacose, 1996), for this reason the tendency is to underestimate the very narrow link between narratives on prostitution and representations of male sexuality (Bellassai, 2006; Ciccone, 2009). We tend to talk about prostitution as a necessary disease (Danna 2004), and this seems to be coherent with the essentialist vision of male sexuality as naturally explosive, instinctive, uncontrollable, impulsive and active. Male sexuality, as it is envisaged, would respond to impulses that could degenerate in absence of an adequate outlet.

In history the auto-representations of male identity as a stratified reality between civilised and savage, good and evil, rational and irrational, could be considered an extraordinarily recurrent theme: composed, on one side, by an intrusive body, nonetheless vulgar, dirty and brutal whose violent potential is more or less hidden and whose sexual desire would be the immediate voice; and on the other side, by some superior rationality and/or spirituality capable to empower, in a manly way, the “beast” hiding in the most obscure parts of a man (let's consider the Victorian image of Jekyll and Hyde). The perception of the body, and therefore of desire, as an ignoble dimension of personal identity, has lasted for a long period in the history of gender imagery of the male (Bellassai, 2006).

In this sense, prostitution would represent a warranty safeguarding 'respectable women' and the respectability of the whole society. This way of thinking, apparently so strictly attached to a logical structure, "blocks" its entry into discussion, and we so rarely think over the fact that (Abbatecola, 2012):

The confrontation with prostitution questions how the impoverished images of male sexuality are restricted to a purely physiological "outlet" disconnected from the emotional and relational spheres, as often offered by young rapists in their defence, as by supporters of the idea that prostitution is unavoidable with a social function that "binds" male sexuality (Ciccone, 2009: 40).

Little is known about the client, beside the fact that he can be anybody (Chetwynd, Plumridge 1994; Benson, Matthews 1995; Mckeganey, Barnard 1996; Leonini 1999; O' Connell Davidson 2001; Serughetti, 2013; Morniroli, Oliviero, 2013), but in the end this seems enough. We are interested in the prostitute (Abbatecola 2011), as she is the catalyser of discontent, protestations and repressive strategies. She is the evil, especially if migrant or undocumented. This article, however, mainly focuses on the point of view of the sex market's clients. The purpose of this close examination is therefore to consider a rather new complementary perspective to the "traditional one" mainly proposed by the scientific literature of reference, that is to say the analysis of the point of view of the people selling sex in exchange of money<sup>1</sup>. The idea is to develop a critical approach on various erotic models and on dynamics of physical pleasure legitimizing "a certain way to be male". Furthermore as "Masculinities on stage" are plural (Connel, 1995; Ciccone, 2009), we suggest that there is a continuity between the various expressions of being male, especially when considering interactions with female gender representations.

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<sup>1</sup> For the Italian case see also: Corso and Landi, 1998; Leonini, 1999; Serughetti, 2013; Morniroli and Oliviero (eds.), 2013.

Hegemonic cultural models produce and re-produce a dichotomist system, where differences become hierarchies: black and white; homosexuality and heterosexuality; female and male. Referring to the supremacy between genders, the social construction processes of gendered sexualities deeply shape some dominant representations, such as: a female citizenship always at risk, as “sexual reputation” justifies a disavowal of female sexual pleasure; a collective, standardized and rhetorical imagination about Eros, crossing women and men - sex clients or not - and pinpointing highly diversified representations between male sexuality - as an *outburst* - and female one - as a *service* (Tabet, 2004).

In this paper we intend to analyse and de-construct this prevailing social imagery, usually critically taken for granted, through the outcomes of a field research conducted by the University of Genoa (Italy) within the ambit of the ETTS<sup>2</sup>, an European project on sexual trafficking and tourism involving four different countries: Italy, Spain, Romania and Brazil.

In Genoa, the research was carried out by a number of qualitative research techniques: a four week radio programme on the topic of prostitution; 15 semi-structured interviews to boys (8) and girls (7) attending the upper school; 10 in-depth interviews to clients of sex markets, all biological males aged from 34 to 65 and only one of them declared to be homosexually oriented; 5 in depth interviews to non-trafficked sex workers (women and transgender); an analysis of a 3 month long netnography of an online forum (“gnocca forum<sup>3</sup>”), which is one of the more frequently visited by male clients of sex markets.

It is important to stress that, from a methodological point of view, the stigma generally associated to the purchase of sex might affect the interview climate, altering the interviewees’ self-representation. Actually, we faced some resistances entering the field, and the dynamics of trust acquisition between the researchers and the interviewed had to be renewed constantly. Hence a “snowball method” of sampling was

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<sup>2</sup> [www.etts.eu](http://www.etts.eu)

<sup>3</sup> Translatable as “pussy forum”.

chosen, starting from one “hub” that consisted of the researchers’ friendship networks and reaching, thanks to the introduction of this gate-keeper, to other clients willing to narrate their experiences. This field strategy allowed us to conduct interviews on the basis of a good degree of initial trust, although some aspects of social desirability - as well as the recognition by the respondents of the “institutional” role of the researchers - may have affected some narratives<sup>4</sup>. As it will be further shown, in fact, some arguments (such as for example the frequency of purchasing of sexual performances) seem to have been told in order to underline the distance between them and the “other customers”. Furthermore, in order to observe the processes of construction of masculinities within the scope of the sex market through an additional perspective, we considered useful to explore also the interaction among customers on the online platform of “gnocca forum”. Our hypothesis was that the total anonymity of the forum subscribers might have represented a key factor in the perception of an equal climate among them. Actually, within this particular context of interaction we observed spontaneous accounts that allowed us to explore complementary - or, anyway told with greater richness of details - themes, with respect to those collected through the interviews. Specifically, the performative components of sexual encounters and the self-celebratory speeches about the clients’ sexual power, emerged with greater prominence thanks to the netnography. The conversations on the forum have therefore provided additional and important information regarding the grammars and the symbolic references most used for the self-representations as “clients” and, above all, as “males”. Although in this paper we will limit our analysis to the output of the interviews to clients and sex-workers, the results gathered through the netnography

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<sup>4</sup> In this regard it appears important to emphasize that, although the first interview has been conducted by a female researcher and it has given satisfactory results in terms of the openness of the interviewed person, all the remaining interviews were conducted by male researchers in order to further reduce, through this aspect of proximity, a possible additional “distancing” factor between researchers and respondents.

will be included in the interpretative perspectives applied to the face-to-face accounts.

Thus, the focus of the paper will be on “masculinities” on stage, moving from the premise that clients and non-clients are equally grounded (Leonini, 1999). The article starts with a reflection concerning the imagery that builds the hegemonic representation of masculinity, considering its “dramaturgical” translation in the context of the relationships with the sex workers as a particular scope of cultural reproduction. Then the paper focuses on the narrative strategies through which the respondents have drawn a distinction between their own visions and experiences with respect to those of the “other” clients. Finally, the article deals with the relationship between the practices of reproduction of hegemonic masculinity and the control instances regarding the expressions of “deviant” femininity, with particular reference to the issue of de-legitimization of women’s sexual desire and to the concurrent exaltation of female pleasure only when functional to the confirmation of the masculinity acted by the man.

## **2. The magic mirror. Reflecting on clients' words and analysis of imageries beneath the discourse on prostitution.**

When the men interviewed told their experiences concerning the purchase and fruition of sexual performances, the scenario was strongly centred on protagonists-clients. In a metaphorical sense, clients appear at once as directors, screenwriters and protagonists of “almost-monologues” in which the role of the “stooges” is minimal and, for the majority of the cases, it appears subaltern to the power defining the outline and the scenes. In the stories, the encounters with the sex worker is often removed and the presence of the other person can be assimilated to the one of a “magic mirror” necessary for a successful staging of the clients' desires.

...but I don't know how to explain it... I tell you something stupid... like to play at the games..... you pay you play! [Manuel; 44 y.o.; heterosexual]

It is like a bitter beverage, I don't know... it is like those participating consciously in a farce in which he is the actor, right? And therefore takes the staging for real, being conscious that it is not so, right? This is a bit more refined thinking... but I think this can happen as well. [Adriano; 42 y.o.; heterosexual]

Maybe you do it to have less problems, to let off, to outlet without any compromise... of any kind. You do it because at least you don't have any sort of problems... if by chance you're married, or you are with someone that you don't want to leave... to do something different you go with someone you know, is not going to create any problem, as far as I'm concerned it has always been a form of masturbation, to me it is the same importance you give her, as far as I'm concerned... I don't know how it is for other people [...] A lot of people do it because at least don't have to give any explanation, don't have to put anything into discussion, I think... don't have to sit down and talk and cannot, I know men, with a woman only they get paranoiac... maybe they are insecure. Whereas with them, you don't have to do nothing, nothing: if you have some money on the side, you go, half an hour later you solved your problem... [Luigi; 39 y.o.; heterosexual]

Summing up, it is, banally, a hormone outlet... summing up if it's about having relations [for money]... generally I prefer whacking off at home [...] I think there is... that solipsistic element is back, that need is back that, actually, is a need we all have in our relations. [Leonardo; 38 y.o.; heterosexual]

It is not strange that in different passages of the interviews the sexual relation with a sex worker was assimilated to a solitary form of

masturbation, stating how the presence of the other person is merely functional to personal excitement. In this scenario there is no space for negotiation neither for quality nor for the possibility of the sex worker to state her desires. There are obviously some initial pacts for which sex professionals can define a range of allowed performances, excluding parenthesis or transgressions to the rule creating, in the meantime, a context for further potential negotiation; this latter aspect seems to attract clients (illustrative, in this sense, is the negotiation regarding the use of condoms), in a frame where, anyway, the economical nature of the exchange and the constant reaffirmation of the power inequality, powers of the parts, continuously sanction the clients' "superiority".

The only thing I was asking was to touch her tits, and there were some of them that wanted me to pay more, it's so funny! I even asked them to give me a blow job without condom... one of them did it, I liked it and intrigued me a lot, and so I went back sometimes... she was one of the street, funny, I really liked it, I mean I liked a blow job like that, done by someone that wasn't my girlfriend, it seemed, I don't know... exceptional, exciting. [Marco; 44 y.o.; heterosexual]

By the point of view of the clients, relating to a sex professional means to prove themselves in an exercise of representation (therefore a mirror is necessary) of their own masculinity, but it's a desirable game only if the victory is granted in advance. As a consequence, in the majority of cases this exercise of auto-representation is felt as fulfilling only if the woman involved takes part to the staging and adheres to the prearranged script, using their "mirroring" function to give back an image carved on the desires of the client (for this reason the mirror has to be magic, therefore ready to lie<sup>5</sup>, if necessary).

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<sup>5</sup> About these reflections, it might be useful to consider the point of view of some sex workers involved in the investigation. As much as also in this domain, they cannot be considered representative of the complexity of the different points of view of the sex professionals, but their stories offer some useful perspective of the "capsizing" beliefs given by clients. First of all, as it seems obvious, the claim of a neutral and non-judging behaviour seems to be in contradiction with sex

[In a dating house in Germany] it's like the game of the hunter and the prey... you are courted a bit... because it is not a real courting... or you are the one picking, then you stop by the girl, you start talking to her and then you tell her "Come on let's go upstairs"... I preferred the aspect "I'm the one picking", maybe probably because actually... at least I'm convinced that actually they are the one picking [laughs]... I mean as males we are mere puppets! [Giuliano; 34 y.o.; heterosexual]

In this domain, the range of the representations turns around to the different aspects of what we call, in general, a traditional "masculinity": male as hunter, the sexually exuberant male capable to fully satisfy a partner, the sexually hyper-active male, the economically powerful male and conscious to be able to buy the desired services. In this sense, the group of peer male friends could be another kind of mirror (Colombo, 1999a):

One night we were 5 friends because we wanted to see the length of time each of us took... so we didn't have intercourse but oral sex. It was almost... a game: who would last longer, right? The one who lost would pay for everyone [...] I find it like... I'm paying for something, I'm choosing a sweatshirt... bad comparison... but I mean: if I go choose something I pick that sweatshirt instead of the other one,

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workers' point of view as, in fact, they share anecdotes, nicknames and opinions concerning the clients – they do judge! -, and underlie their right to refuse those who don't respect specific behaviour and aesthetic and/or hygienic standards. Concerning the mirroring function expected from sex workers, some transsexual professionals told us about clients who choose a passive role and, soon after the intercourse, expressed anger and disgust towards the sex worker. As if, once the intercourse is over, the mirror would lose its magic and becomes necessary "convince" it to give the desired image back ("real man"?). According to the transsexual sex workers' accounts, many clients find the need to affirm to the people from whom they have just been penetrated, in an aggressive way, "Look I'm not gay", trying in this way to push away the evidences that, in that context, could undermine their own perception as male exclusively attracted to traditional heterosexual practices and intercourses.

whereas if you make it as a gift to me either I like it or not I cannot say anything... I'm not saying that what I think is correct... but... I'm buying something, so in that moment I feel like something and I know that I can pay for it right? And I don't have the time to court her or ask her to do things so... [Gennaro; 38 y.o.; heterosexual]

Thus, the function of “stooge” played by sex workers is limited to a series of determined roles complementary to the male protagonist. In the interviews, clients depicted sex workers as a prey to conquer, or as professionals that – according to the notable sexual performances carried out by the client – are invaded by a sincere pleasure hence “forgetting” to apply the typical detachment of their usual role.

Some would be whores even though you had not to pay them, so they are already disposed to that sort of job, they are at ease and they suffer less than others maybe... you see it from the way they behave, you see if she likes it as well. Because some of them like to do it, you can see it. [Luigi, 39 y.o.; heterosexual]

In some other narratives sex workers are defined as nymphomaniacs, and in frequent cases where the women are not of Italian origin, their profiles drawn by clients appears strictly bounded to specific expressions concerning ethnic characteristics. Stereotypes on an ethnic basis are in fact a recurring characteristic in the interviewed clients' stories and, in a larger sense, they represent a determining aspect in the necessary objectification of sex workers in clients' visions; this objectification appears essential to safeguard the good result of the representations staged during the encounter, working as a mechanism for removal of the unknown reasons for sex workers to be on the market. The categorization is quite rigid: South-American women are supposed to be happier and more oriented to a ludic approach to sex, women coming from Sub-Saharan Africa keep a bond with a heart corresponding to animal behaviours (see also Dal Lago, Quadrelli, 2003), Chinese women and Eastern-European women are more detached and cold during the

sexual intercourse. In this sense Italian sex workers (whose offer has, according to the interviewed, drastically lowered during the recent years) seem to be more inclined to show the difficulties of their profession, ending often to be judged as less desirable or, in any case, hardly “manageable” by the client.

The sensation is that the Italian woman is always angrier to do what she is doing. The Chinese is like a robot... that's why I haven't gone with them much, just with a person that was amused by the situation to the point that she was amusing to me as well. South-American women instead are really positive people. Really positive, in the approach, talking to you, asking you if you want a tea afterwards, Italians instead I've always found them very angry. [Giovanni; 40 y.o.; heterosexual]

[Referring to the first sex worker he went to] I think she was from the East... I think... Yea, almost sure... I mean I don't know, because practically beyond the linguistic barrier I don't know how to say... she was cold, eyes... Barbie eyes a bit as well... like to say “Now we start it out...” [Giuliano; 34 y.o.; heterosexual]

Who knows now... let's say that lately they are all from South-America so... but in general I prefer South-Americans like... [...] Maybe South-Americans have that attitude... I don't know... more joyful I don't know how to tell you... I don't mean sexually, but the first approach... they might be kinder, maybe more *naïve*... I don't even know if *naïve* is the right adjective, they are... it almost seems that their problems... that problems to them are like water on a duck's back comparing to others [...] on average I think that Italians are more problematic, in any case they carry more problems than South-Americans... that happens independently from the prostitute, I think women in general. [Manuel; 44 y.o.; heterosexual]

Even the stories concerning experiences judged negative by the interviewees seem to confirm clients' expectations concerning the "neutrality" of the roles acted by sex workers; almost in all the unsatisfying or frustrating episodes told, it is in fact the non-coincidence of the professionals to the outline expected to determine an unattended result. All the – voluntary or accidental – occasions for the rise of backstage aspects of the sex workers' life are judged inappropriate. In a certain way, it seems to be, subtracting from the profiles imposed by the script, the individuality of sex professionals would be stolen on these occasions as part of the scene dominated by the protagonists-clients, creating short circuits not tolerated from the buyers – also because merely the fact of buying should represent the right to fully direct the scene. Quintessential in this sense are the passages from the interviews in which sex workers are reported as excessively detached and uninvolved, to underline the "betrayal" that these women have made to the client's initial expectations.

You see it from the behaviours... some really aren't capable... some you see they don't feel like... sometimes some seemed on drugs... I'm not one of those that uses drugs or alcohol but sometimes I remarked that some either they were drunk or they were fully on coke... occasionally I paid for it and then I went away without doing anything... if it had started badly, maybe I would have left without doing anything, and wouldn't have to pay... but sometimes... right in the middle of the performance you saw things that... you didn't like... lazy behaviours, I mean... like a vegetable... a minimum of participation has to be there, right? Anyway when a person goes with a prostitute he buys, right? [Manuel; 44 y.o.; heterosexual]

After a while she arrived [in a hotel room], I paid the girl directly and it was such a disappointing experience... like a doctor's appointment... the woman was very, very, very beautiful, let's say a magazine-girl... but... how can I say... very cold as an experience [Giuliano; 34 y.o.; heterosexual]

Within the “scenario” of paying encounters, it seems clear that the references to their own private lives should be managed by sex workers in the most discrete way, as if they were general stories regarding “other” people in (possibly) “other” places.

Sometimes I’ve talked with some girls that complain about their troubles... but it’s the same in our daily life, if you have problems... anyway... professionally speaking, right? There’s the problem of the loan you can’t pay, then we could discuss which problem is the worst, but to me the problem that I can’t pay my loan is the same as her having been beaten for months. What I mean is that... for instance, if I tell you that I can’t pay my loan you might be sorry, but you won’t say “Oh wait a sec let me give you 200 Euros to help you out”... I see it this way... [Gennaro; 38 y.o.; heterosexual]

The clients interviewed showed the tendency to censor all the possible connections to exploitation: they usually (re)built the sex workers’ s seeking “proof” confirming their entrepreneurial choices. Almost all prostitutes mentioned, according to clients’ opinion, are on the market for an individual reason made in full freedom and consciousness. The unbalanced relation based on the rigid scripts described in the earlier pages calls for the removal of the private details concerning the lived-experience of the sex worker, so hiding the clients’ view of the actual living conditions of the sex workers they interact with.

For instance, Chinese... it is clear that they’re in the racket’s hands – for this reason I haven’t gone much with Chinese – while the South-Americans, I can confirm this because I became friend with some of them, are always independent, [with them] at least you go with a person that decides to earn her living in that way, assertive, she choose to live so. When these women have the opportunity to choose other jobs, they often answer “No, I’m well organized this way. I’m independent, I gain “X” every month, and I would not go back.” [Giovanni.; 40 y.o.; heterosexual]

Ignoring the reasons why a sex worker decides to sell sex, the clients interviewed are able to draw an aesthetic representation of the sex workers' living conditions, stressing some characteristics of the sex workers' behaviours: they describe these women as particularly joyful and amused (with a further reference to their ethnic-based personality). They sometimes refer, as well, to some specific work places where the frame of luxury and relaxation is meant as a warrant to the high standards of living for the people working in it. Description of dating houses in Switzerland or Germany, for example, imply a soft representation of sex workers' working conditions thanks to frequent references to their freedom of choice (also in terms of possibility to select client) and to the sanitary praxis (perceived as a warrant for a full respect of the worker's rights). Hence, as far as negotiations and dynamics among clients and sex workers are substantially similar to the outdoors ones, in the luxury dating houses the different frame in which the situation is located - a sort of "spa" - seems to allow clients to represent their experience from an aesthetic and enhanced perspective. This also implies the possibility to share this kind of experience with friends in a free-way, as underlined in the following interview:

I saw how it [the luxury brothel] worked: every Monday the girls get a medical check-up for the principle STDs, every week so that they can have their working permit renewed. Then I also had other information when I talked to the girls about the mechanism of the structure. [...] No regrets... so I'm not ashamed to talk about it freely, I even talked about it with female friends, with male friends, with people I know without being in a close relationship... but it's something that I don't know how to say... it's like having gone to Disneyland... because fundamentally it's something beyond reality... [Giuliano; 34 y.o.; heterosexual]

I also know other friends that went to Switzerland I don't know if you've ever heard of them... those are places where you get in, you pay "X"... I think 100 Euros... there are many girls there, hydro-massages... you go around practically in

your bathrobe I've never been there... I've been told I would have liked it... I wanted to go but... if I went there I would tell you, but it's almost been four years that I [laughs] didn't have a job so I cannot afford it. [Manuel; 44 y.o.; heterosexual]

According to the words of the people interviewed it is possible to reconstruct two essential profiles for sex workers: on one side there are trafficked women who are forced to prostitute themselves mostly on the streets, on the other side there are those described as professionals, managing their job autonomously or using the services offered by the dating houses. Independently from the "status" assigned to sex workers, the general tendency is to depersonalize them, limiting their description to the merely aesthetic aspects or to the scripts acted during the encounter. Also the clients interviewed who declared themselves to be more open and "secular" in relation to the moral judgment of the prostitutes, seem somehow to fear the judgment that "the rest of society" could have on them in case the relationship with the prostitute should get deeper. In this sense, therefore, also when the women are represented as "free" and almost "amused" in doing their job, their presence in public contexts seem to be accepted only if it does not violate the borders of their role as sex workers.

...anyway these are activities that I think you can do for a certain period to put some money aside... to be able then to have a real life... because I think you cannot have a life until... I mean you can for sure be a doctor, a railwayman, a mailman and in the meantime... if you're a male or female prostitute you cannot have a family in my opinion... nor a porn-star... if you talk to a porn-star and they're married and have children... to me is crazy... I mean if you're a porn-star you cannot have a family, I'm sorry... it's also true that it concerns the sexual sphere and not the personal intimate one... but anyway, I don't know... I might be moralistic in this sense... it doesn't sound good... [Giuliano; 34 y.o.; heterosexual]

## 2. The first experiences and the categorization of “other” clients.

The first experiences of buying sexual performances are, in the majority of cases, reported as something somehow unavoidable and strictly linked to contextual conditions. The stories of the first approaches to the world of prostitution are one of the aspects of major homogeneity between the interviews collected: for almost all the clients interviewed it is a lived-experience at about 18 years old. In the narratives about the first encounters there is a recurrent reference to a ludic-explorative intent, in which the “comradely” dimension of sharing in a group of friends is often indicated as one of the major motivations to measure themselves within the dimension of sexual relations – (that for the majority of the people interviewed this is the very first experience of sex) – through the “facilitated” context of paying relations.

The first time as I was a little kid... I've never really liked that thing that much, but we've done it maybe together... you see? The first time you know... 2 or 3 of us went together... we were about 18 years old or a bit older... but only a couple of times... we went together for kerb-crawling, and other stuff like that... then afterwards... a few times I actually bought sex. [Luigi; 39 y.o.; heterosexual]

This fact of chasing masculinity that would find its stamp, its seal in the first act... it was during the 80s and they were Southern-Italian women. In my case it was a woman quite aged... I wonder how old she was... but the context was the one of “Bocca di Rosa”<sup>6</sup>... she would stay on the door, we

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<sup>6</sup> “*Bocca di Rosa*” is the title of one of the most known songs of the Genovese singer Fabrizio de Andrè. The song tells the story of the “impossible love” between a client and a prostitute, and in the meantime, it has become one of the most efficient and used symbolic representations of a traditional prostitute (characterized by an offer of girls almost totally of Italian origin). Often the term “*Bocca di Rosa*” is used as a nostalgic reference to a world, the one of Genovese historic city centre prostitution, that rapidly changed during the past fifty years.

came in a pair; one of the two would wait outside and the other went in... [...] I mean it was a woman that realized she was dealing with kids so she would be quite rude... she made no effort.... probably she had no fear or embarrassment from the two kids that would come there. [Adriano; 42 y.o.; heterosexual]

The link among these narratives can be identified in the echo derived from the traditional representation of the “visit to the brothel”. For the interviewed people the meaning of the first experience with a prostitute seems to correspond, at least partially, to the value of initiative rite to the adult age, although the idea that this rite confirms a “healthy” masculinity seems to be less and less entrenched. Considering that the average age of the people interviewed is around thirty-five years old, it can be hypothesized that this generation of men has personally experienced the change of cultural meanings assigned to the experience of mercenary sex fruition. For the generations before the dichotomies opposing wife and lover, mother and prostitute, holy and profane love were a cultural premise, and it was so pervasive that the brothel was perceived as a “necessary” place to experience the first experimentations of sexuality. Now, also because of the stepwise process of cultural legitimation of female sexual desire – although, as we will see later, this process still faces diverse resistances – the present generation have a wider range of casual sex opportunities, and this affects the cultural representation of purchasing sex, strengthening the potential stigmatization of clients (and self-stigmatization as well).

For the self-declared occasional clients there is always a “before” in which they put their experiences setting them away from the present or a “not anymore” to the choice of not buying commercial sex anymore.

Well at that time... now it's been awhile that I don't pay anymore because since I work for myself... now my budget is too tight. [Gennaro; 38 y.o.; heterosexual]

Anyway I haven't [bought sex] that many times, it's something I don't like, I don't like it because what I like

doing with women... first of all I like being liked by a woman, as a consequence I know already that... moreover the things I like to do with a woman I know I cannot do when other men are there with them [sex workers]... I'm picky at times so if I go to a woman's place I get disgusted about going to the same bed where other men have been... [Luigi; 39 y.o.; heterosexual]

I only told my closest friends, and not even all of them, only those that I shared some connection with, but I can say that I went with prostitutes for many years, but a few!... not that much, not always, only once in a while. [Marco; 44 y.o.; heterosexual]

The distance is not only temporal, considering how the interviewed people distinguish their auto-representation as clients from the stereotype (in the majority of cases negative) they share with “other clients”.

The construction of the “other” is functional to the distinction of their own profile and, in particular, there are some details functioning as distinctive criteria. “Other” clients are therefore stigmatised by the frequency they have of buying the performances, through the habit of meeting people working on the street instead of referring only to the “indoor “ market, for their tendency to negotiate with the victims of exploitation or by the naivety which leads them to confuse paid sex with affective relationships.

There are people who really are fanatics, there are people that I don't think they get it stiff... they go get drunk at night in bars, every week end they go for whores around... [...] Horrible degrading situations, it's something I would never do and I never did it, to take a slut home, but there are people that let them into their homes... my god! That's terrifying! But there's people that do it frequently... beside the fact that there's no other way they can go with women, I think... [Luigi; 39 y.o.; heterosexual]

As for girls in the street, I didn't feel like going with them because they were often sad. Then you immediately think of the fact that fucking is something bad, and they come to your mind, you know the movie with the pimp, the girl obliged to be a slut, or otherwise because she's poor, like in the movies, you know... every now and then I would go around and would catch girls that seemed easy, and so I would be easier as well, although that though would never leave me... No, black ones because they seemed even more sad, poor girls, at a moment I got to know that they were so exploited, you know black girls are trafficked.. I don't remember, I must have read it on the newspapers. Every now and then they write that they're practically kidnapped, or blackmailed. Then it turned out that it was like that for Albanian girls as well, Albanian mafia etcetera, who are those staying on the street right? So I understood the sadness, and I really stopped going. [Marco; 44 y.o.; heterosexual]

In summary, speaking about individual choices the habit of buying sex is considered by the clients interviewed as not being fully legitimate custom and, more importantly, it is only acceptable if done as an occasional alternative to “real” life relations, where the limit of the involved subjects' masculinities is wider. This aspect marks probably a generational change for the population of clients: the fact that falling back upon commercial sex shifts from an almost normal condition to an “uncool” custom to be ashamed of, mostly in cases where this results from being the only option for sexual encounters. It is as if masculinity became less and less of an *a priori* given category and if as if an elective domain of confirmation becomes the one of the sexual conqueror and, as markedly different from what happened for the earlier generations. This conqueror had to be obtained through a relation that is a more or less an equal one of negotiation with partners.

You know... I was short and a bit fat. Shy. I wasn't doing any sport, I was studying at a professional institute and every

once in a while I would work illegally helping out a friend of my dad. I had some friends, but just a few, we were the boring, the type that would go for a beer at the pub. My friends didn't know that every now and then I went for a slut, I was ashamed of it, it was a something uncool, right? I didn't have a girlfriend already, it was like certifying that if I didn't pay I could not fuck, as people would say "no one would come with you"... At least, during the first years [...] Whereas now, among colleagues, married or in couple at work with one or two children, with the eldest fully grown, maybe you touch upon the topic, and there you're not a loser anymore. Not that the topic is among those I talk to that important, in fact it is infrequent, but it can come up. [Marco; 44 y.o.; heterosexual]

In my opinion let's say that if one is not married, or doesn't have strange problems for which he cannot show he is going... as far as I'm concerned because I've never had problems... with women let's say that if I had had problems with women I would have not gone to prostitutes. [Luigi; 39 y.o.; heterosexual]

...if my son went to prostitutes I would tell him exactly in this way: "If you go whoring on the street with a miserable kidnapped from her village... you're a disgusting man!"... I mean that, if you go with that one in Switzerland, in Austria, in Germany, things like that, where they get a lot of money, they do it by choice, because objectively what they earn and it's earned... so I say fine... but try not to consider it your only in the sexual sphere", I mean the only thing I would tell him is not to let it be a substitute, I mean it has to be something different. [Giuliano; 34 y.o.; heterosexual]

When opinions are expressed in a more and general abstract manner, the interviewees are more comfortable declaring themselves favourable to the legalization of prostitution, often reproducing a nostalgic reflection

attributing the application of the Merlin Law<sup>7</sup> the “original sins” of progressive degeneration of Italian sex market. Through the following passages it comes back to an evidence base that some narrative formulas – and the stereotypes connected – are particularly spread - “...it's the oldest job on earth”, “... when houses of pleasure were there, control, respect and cleanliness were also there” - and applied to build an aesthetical representation – and as a consequence a morally accepted - of prostitution.

I'm favourable for the re-opening of brothels. I think it would be the best thing. In any case you won't defeat the problem. You can take them away from the streets, but there are some apartments... So, I repeat, it's the oldest job on earth, right? I don't think it will ever die. The only way, according to me, is to do the same as with gambling games... earlier it was illegal like *Totonero*<sup>8</sup>, so to say, now you can play at a Tobacconist. Totonero is always there, it has not disappeared.. I see it this way. At that point you should exploit the occasion: you control the girls who are regular, they are clean they don't have any problems like for sure the one staying on the street have. [Gennaro; 38 y.o.; heterosexual]

#### 4. The repression of female desire and the “de-legitimate” of hegemonic masculinity.

The considerations presented in the earlier pages have something directly to do with experiences and visions built through the sex market. It makes sense through thinking in terms of continuity (of

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<sup>7</sup> The “Merlin Law” ratified, in February 1958, the closure of the houses of pleasure, the abolishment of the regulation on prostitution in Italy and the introduction of penal punishment linked to the exploitation of prostitution.

<sup>8</sup> “*Totonero*” is a system of illegal betting, concerning the sportive domain (soccer in particular).

imageries, status, practices etc...) between clients and non-clients, in the same way it is important to explore the different reflections of the interviewees on the female world because the purchase of sex has a signification for the buyers also in relation to these representations.

Most of the accounts showed a gendered representation of sexualities where desire is the main distinctive dimension among women and men. According to these visions male sexuality would be mainly characterized by hormones and would determine an attitude oriented to the research of partners and encounters, whereas female sexuality would first of all have an inferior "urgency" in physiological terms and, as for the choice of the partner, would be pushed by values not depending on physical attraction.

I conceive two different sexualities... mentally... I mean that a male is more oriented to multiple experiences by his instinctive needs, although he has been given by nature the possibility to defend from these relationships... psychologically, from that point of view... whereas a female objectively can discern because she needs a companion... fundamentally because she has to raise a child.. and so the bond... it's not like the male that can have a quickie and then leave as quick . [Giuliano; 34 y.o.; heterosexual]

It's like... if I see a woman drunk. If I think about it, it's normal: the same as I can get drunk it can happen also to a woman. But if I think over the nights spent with drunk women, feeling sick afterwards, and messing up things... it bothers me it's like if they lost their femininity, when it gets too much it bothers me. But if I think to a man as well, even a friend, when he is too drunk, not tipsy, so maybe it also depends on how much a person is drunk. Dude, if I think how much it bothered me when one of us got drunk and messed up or maybe was driving, even if he was a friend, a male... in that case it doesn't matter if you're a male or a female, but for sex it's harder right?!? [Marco; 44 y.o.;

heterosexual]

Maybe it was a necessity, a physiological one, a weakness [to look for prostitutes]. Maybe I mentioned weakness because it's a bit part of the deal, I added it now, but at that time I didn't think of it as a weakness. What pushed me was the need, maybe girlfriends would come and go, but the fact to have already done it and to know how good it is, how much fun it is to ejaculate, leads you to want it more. After having had sex the first time it becomes, depending on the subjects, a need. [Giovanni; 40 y.o.; heterosexual]

Particularly significant, in this sense, is the story of an interviewee concerning an occasional encounter of his with an unknown woman: the fact that the woman “took possession” of the script of the “male predator” – using therefore the occasion of the encounter to satisfy his sexual desire and reducing the relational components to the lowest – implicating the explicit disapproval of the interviewee. As much as the interviewee talks about the episode using a certain degree of irony concerning the consequences, it is quite evident that the will to underline his distance from the woman encountered who, in this story, transgresses many expectations on her role, giving birth to a reflection on his own categories on the part of the interviewee.

Look, when I decided to talk to the psychologist and face some themes of a life that at that time didn't fit me, it was because of an episode that really affected me. It happened nearby Rome, I went into a bar, I glanced with good eye in search of the nymphomaniac of the place... I call her so as a joke, although it's a bit chauvinist... you recognize her from the laces coming out under the skirt, she stays on the left of the counter... she is the one that will say to you “Hi” bringing you over the fifty percent of the job. I ended up banging her so violently that it completely disappointed my vision of the women-kind. I don't look at a woman with that otherness like Dante for Beatrice, but I totally respect her: the

women's world is something that I really appreciate... but I perceived a violent and revanchist attitude... that really scared me. Well, the problem isn't to understand how she experienced it, but rather how I experienced it. Sorry if I take my defence [laugh]. The morning after waking up, I asked myself "Damn, is it possible to reach this brutishness?". The encounter wasn't even that pleasant ... I've always been a person that really enjoys occasional encounters. But this thing worried me to the point that I came back to Lazio and I gave myself up to the psychologist [laughs]. [Leonardo; 38 y.o.; heterosexual]

According to all the aforesaid, the fact of imagining a woman in the role of a client of commercial sex, has been experienced, by the interviewees, as a funny provocation although, de facto, completely detached from reality.

It seems strange to me [that a woman buys sex] because in any case to a woman sex is much easier with a man beside her beauty or ugliness... she finds a man... maybe not a model but anyways... to a man is more difficult finding a woman. Either he is very good looking... or you're so famous that you can bypass beauty... obviously a famous man is rich ... but if you're a normal type... [Manuel; 44 y.o.; heterosexual]

Anyway I'm convinced that women are a bit different from that point of view... because for them at least... not all of them because there are women that are worse than men... but broadly... for instance if it were my ex-wife that did something like this, I would have thought that she were psychologically compromised with the guy [Luigi; 39 y.o.; heterosexual]

Thus, also in this domain, the hegemonic vision of masculinity creates a contradiction which allows to control and, eventually, censor the disliked female expressions of desire. On one hand in fact, the opposite dichotomy

“romantic” female desire vs. “hydraulic” male desire, determines the conditions through which the male needs to seek different partners in order to satisfy his physiological needs are justified, on the other side the expression of a female eroticism “out of control” open the way to negative “sexual reputations”.

Therefore, also passing the borders of a merely erotic reflection and referring to the dimension of common sense, the matter of female “citizenship” is constantly in a precarious balance. Different interviews remark (partially at least) on an invalidation and de-legitimateness of the role of the man in “official” couples. According to this idea, in fact, the domain of stable couples would consist, from the men’s point of view, as a system of expectations and responsibilities that do not leave space for moments of “disengagement” and erotic and playful sharing. This aspect seems to be even more meaningful if one considers the fact that the majority of the interviewees declared that they were not searching - through commercialized intercourse - for an occasion to experiment with special sexual practices, because the same practices had already been tried with their own partners. As shown in other research (Monto, 2001; Di Nicola et. al 2009; Mornioli, Oliviero, 2013; Serughetti, 2013), clients usually ask for “normal” sexual practices. It is not therefore a confrontation between repressive and uninhibited sexual habits typically guided by the dichotomy “holy love vs. profane love”, but rather a search for evasion from a married life in which the conflict is always behind the corner. Therefore, talking about married clients, paying for sex is generally thought of as causing less troubles rather than a love affair.

Going back to married ones, I mean not married ones, maybe those married that don't have to demonstrate anything... I mean he doesn't have to demonstrate to be able to find a girl, on the contrary, at this point if you say that once in a while you go for prostitutes is as symptom of... that you are one that fucks, or that anyways, how they say to fool around, “keeps on liking the pussy”... you're married and you cannot mess up, with a lover etcetera... It takes time, money, investments, to go out lying... whereas if you go for

whores every once in a while you eliminate all this, and you put your lust away. [Giovanni; 40 y.o.; heterosexual]

Some of the interviewees particularly stress this aspect, representing a “risky” female world full of mermaids ready to attract the most *naïve* to satisfy their desires (which most of the times have to do with economic matters rather than erotic ones). Functional to this theme is a further reversal building stereotypes on prostitutes: with this logic the sex workers become once again an idealized image of purity, honesty and transparency expressly to contrast with the “others” therefore women hiding their actual intentions with whom it is necessary to negotiate their own manly authority.

After what I experienced with my wife [that betrayed him] and the separation... I consider more... more honest a girl that does it [the job of the sex worker]. Mainly because they have to, many that are at home do it because they do it. Right? Because it's a remarkable source of money, and after all let's be clear, once the economical is there, you do it independently from the income, you put yourself in it you don't ask anything in return... I think they are much more respectable than wives that comes back home and pretends that nothing happened, and a lot of these things happen right? [Gennaro; 38 y.o.; heterosexual]

In this frame the offer of commercial sex assumes the characteristics of “social subsidiary service”, functioning as a decompression valve considered necessary for the maintenance of “official” relationships.

When my cousin was in a huge crisis with his wife, and it all turned around the lack of a sexual relationship, and he said “I know that if I betray her we mess our whole family up” and I ironically answered all the times “for this purpose they offer a huge service”, because physically you say you have a strong and unexpressed sexual power, for this purpose they are a good social alternative... whereas he messed up his family instead with a person that has always

betrayed her men, she always messed up, then after all..  
[Giovanni; 40 y.o.; heterosexual]

## 5. Conclusions

This article was constructed in order to maintain one main orientation: to abandon the “truth of the matter” concerning clients’ practices and habits and to focus on their representations. Making reference to the grammars used by different clients to tell their stories – both in the form of a “direct” relation during the interviews and the “anonymous” and “amplified” one on the forum (not directly analysed here) – enables us to reflect on the those aspects, that more than others, determine a certain type of masculinity, the one that in different passages of this work has been defined as the “hegemonic” masculinity [Connell and Messerschmidt, 2005]. Some cultural conditioning seems in fact to involve, in a transversal way, types of people socially located at very different levels. The group of men interviewed, for instance, were characterized by a certain lack of homogeneity in terms of status: very different ages and educational levels (from secondary school degrees to postgraduates), dissimilar professions (from the barman to the teacher) and different sentimental situations. But overall, the men involved gave different profiles of themselves as clients, marking a shade going from regular to sporadic, to cases for which the experience of purchase of commercial sex is equal to a couple of episodes. Despite this lack of homogeneity, it has been possible to determine connections between the visions reconstructed through the interviews, and the shared stereotypes that are very likely to be the same, interviewing some representatives of the “non-clients” (as shown in Navarini, 1999). It is, in particular, by referring to the female “population” - and their desires - that cultural conditioning intervenes levelling the visions transmitted through common sense, because an erotic imagery is part of everyone, men and women, clients and non-clients and constitutes that *humus* in which individuals grow into men and women, and it’s in this domain that ideas

such as male sexuality as an outlet and female sexuality as service one (Tabet, 1994) strengthen.

So if sex markets appear to be embedded in the society and its cultural models, in its processes of social construction of male and female identities and in standard erotic imageries, then in order to fight trafficking and sexual tourism it seems appropriate to deconstruct these models and reflect on the grammar of pleasure – declining male desire as an impulse – relieving the “hegemonic male” of his responsibility and legitimating some of his practices.

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## BOOK REVIEWS

**By Jeff Hearn**

**Men of the World: Genders, Globalizations, Transnational Times**

Sage, 2015, 262 pp.

ISBN: 978-1-4462-0718-5

Jeff Hearn is a British sociologist with an impressive record of publications ranging from sociology, organizations and management, social policy, men, gender relations, sexuality, violence, and cultural studies. His latest work, *Men of the World: Genders, Globalizations, Transnational Times* looks at “men in the context of gender relations, intersectionality, spatialization, globalizations, transnationalizations.” (p. 3). The project is ambitious, and Hearn provides a rich theoretical argumentation interspersed with autobiographical vignettes in which he seeks to deconstruct and analyze his own positionality and privilege. Jeff Hearn’s impact on the academic community has not just been theoretical and conceptual, but during his career he has done important work on sexual violence, and he has been active in grassroots campaigns in many countries. His life is characterized by many moves and contacts with different cultures where masculinity and gender are embodied and experienced in different ways.

*Men of the World* is divided into two parts, *Introducing Men of the World* and *Transpatriarchies in Practice*. In *Introducing Men of the World*, Hearn sketches the theoretical framework of the book, whereas *Transpatriarchies* offers three main ways to look at how men move in the world and exercise their power. The book situates itself in the field of Critical Studies of Men (CSM) and is concerned mainly with three sets of issues: firstly, Hearn sketches “developments in deconstructing the hegemony of men and masculinities”; secondly, he traces the “impact of transnationalizations in changing, critiquing and deconstructing

privileged center including the hegemony of men”, and finally, he looks at the “transnationalizations of knowledge, knowledge production and knowledge communities, including virtual knowledge.” (p. 22). Hearn’s ultimate aim is that of finding a gentle way to “abolish men” through the deconstruction of their dominant positions within the transpatriarchal regimes dominating contemporary gender relations.

Hearn traces the transformations and adaptations of hegemonic masculinities and patriarchies to new socio-political and geographical orders, and analyses, through a Marxist and post-colonial approach, the structural sedimentation of power in its global and transnational articulations. Transpatriarchies, Hearn explains, is a concept used as “a way of talking about patriarchies, intersectionalities and transnationalizations at the same time. I use the concept of transnational patriarchies to speak of the structural tendency and individualized propensity for men’s transnational gender domination.” (p. 19) Especially in the first part of the book, Hearn uses the category of power as one of the crucial dimensions to assess and comprehend transpatriarchies.: throughout his analysis the lack of references to Michel Foucault’s seminal contribution on the articulation of the concept of power weakens Hearn’s argument as it fails to include power’s potentially productive force on society.

Hearn campaigns for the importance of looking at masculinities and “men of the world” in a transnational and trans-intersectional perspective. He argues that the transnational dimension is the only one able to deconstruct successfully the mechanisms of patriarchy and domination upon which men have built their power and through which they exercise subjugation of women. Hearn is very careful in making clear that it is not only “gex” (as he shortens the gender and sex continuum) defining trans-patriarchies but rather, the complex intersection of various axes of privilege, of which gender is only one.

The book is divided in two parts: in the first, Hearn lays out the theoretical framework that provides the scaffolding for the subsequent section where examples of transnational phenomena are carefully

studied: bodies of emotions, structures of organizing, and processes of flow (p. 99). Perhaps, this is the most effective section of the book because it demonstrates clearly how embodied experiences, such as those exemplified by the intensities of violence (bodies and emotion), the organization of transnational patriarchies, empires and corporation (structures of organizing), and the physical movements of people and information (processes of flow), are all imbricated in one another both at the structural and emotional level.

In the chapter on the intensities of emotions and its most ugly effects of violence and violations on other bodies, Hearn defines emotions as “material-discursive processes that contextualize and construct heightened embodied experience” (p. 104), in particular those violently performed in intimacy and those structural to the military institution. The transnational dimension of patriarchal violence is most observable in the collective sexual aggressions and violations perpetrated in war zones and post-conflict situations on women and children by soldiers belonging to international alliances.

When Hearn analyses empires, corporations, and activism as examples of structures of organizing, he begins his discussion with a cogent critique of social sciences’ dismissal of structural analysis, observing that macro-structural and macro-environmental forces unleashing all their power upon “those experiencing structural poverty, forced migration, house repossession, or climate change” and concluding that “to dismiss structures is the privilege of the privileged: the globally bourgeois, placed there by virtue of structure” (p. 122).

The chapter on structures of organizing investigates transnational and transpatriarchial structures such as the European Union and governmental systems guided by international relations where the power of men within politics, economy, the media system and the military produces also behaviors “operating out of control outside the law” (p. 131). One example of this (unlawful) transnational control is the supranational surveillance scandal that hit the United States government at the end of 2013. A second section of the chapter is

dedicated to the financial system and the gender impact on domestic economic life. Hearn concludes his analysis of men's transnational organizing with a call to mobilize and politicize men to advance and broaden a intersectional justice agenda that "involves profeminist, (pro) queer *strategies in obviously gendered policy areas*, such as health and welfare, work, family, sexuality, education, violence" (p. 147, emphasis in the original).

Hearn's study of "processes of flow" is divided in two parts: The first one examines movements of people, such as in migratory fluxes, and environmental flows. Particularly interesting is the section on "Gendering Men Migrants", especially in light of the political and humanitarian crisis that has invested Europe in 2015 as a result of the large flux of refugees coming from war zones. Here, Hearn looks at the consequences that displacement and dislocation have on men and masculinities: "Through these movements there develops the complex formation and transformation of gendered transnational classes and civil society, often peopled and led by men, whether migratory policy controllers or migrants themselves." (p. 168). The second part of the investigation on flows addresses the virtual movements generated by information and communication technologies (ICTs). In particular, Hearn is interested in mapping the construction of the transnational virtual man and how technology impacts sexuality "through the processes of technological control, virtual reproducibility, conditional communality, and unfinished undecidability." (p. 174).

Hearn concludes his book by advocating "a long-term socio-political subversion of the social category of men" (p. 200) which could open the doors to new alliances among feminisms and queer and transgender theory around the notion of *difference*. Ultimately, Hearn campaigns for the abolition of categories altogether in order to "create, produce, improvise, practice, make, a large number of possible gender positions" (p. 201).

Jeff Hearn's *Men of the World* is a thought-provoking and inspiring analysis of the many permutations that transnational

patriarchies have on society. Men are at the center of this analysis and questions of how gender relations are shaped and can change are richly and thoroughly debated. *Men of the World* should find its place in the bookshelves of scholars in gender and sexuality studies as well as grassroots campaigners and activists.

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**Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti: Erkekler Devlet, Kadınlar Aile Kurar**

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**M**odernleşme ekonomide, siyasette ve kültürde yeni olana, değişime ve farklılığa vurguda bulunur. “Batı” ülkelerini merkez alsa da modernleşme, yaşandığı her ülkede farklı dinamiklerle gelişir; bu nedenle Türk modernleşmesi de kendine özgüdür. Serpil Sancar, “Türk Modernleşmesinin Cinsiyeti: Erkekler Devlet, Kadınlar Aile Kurar” adlı çalışmasında, Türk modernleşmesini feminist perspektiften inceliyor. Sancar, Türkiye tarihinde kadınların yeri ve önemine dair araştırmaların 1930’larda sona erdiğini ve elimizde erken modernleşmenin tamamlandığı 1940 ve 1960’lı yıllara dair güvenilir verilerin bulunmadığını belirtiyor. Onun amacı, anılan dönemde Türkiye’de kadınların modernleşme arzuları ve kadın-erkek eşitliği anlayışının nasıl bir gelişme gösterdiğini açıklamaktır. Araştırma, dönemin günlük gazeteleri temel alınarak gerçekleştirilmiş. Ancak Sancar bu dönemi anlamak için Türk erken modernleşmesinin de anlaşılması gerektiğini belirterek, çalışmasının boyutlarını ilk dönemi de içine alacak şekilde geliştirmiş.

Sancar’a göre, Türkiye’nin erken modernleşmesi, ülkenin modernleşmesini sağlayacak bir ulus devlet kurarak, yeni devletin ilkelerinin öğretilmesi ve uygulanmasını sağlamak üzere modern aileler aracılığıyla rol modelleri oluşturmaya dayanır. Zira milliyetçi muhayyilede ülke, erkeğin reis olduğu bir ailedir ve kadınlar da ulusun anneleri olarak doğal/biyolojik mekanizmalarla ele alınır. Vatan ana ile özdeşleştirilir, vatanın kaybı şeref ve saygınlığın kaybı anlamına gelir. Bu

düşüncede kadının rolü vatana hayırlı/yararlı evlatlar yetiştirmekle sınırlanır.

Kitabın birinci bölümünde erken endüstrileşmiş toplumlarda 19. ve 20. yüzyıllarda yaşanan modernleşme süreçlerinde, milliyetçi siyasetin cinsiyet farklarını nasıl oluşturduğu inceleniyor. Endüstrileşerek modernleşen ülkeler ile uluslaşarak modernleşen ülkeler arasında yaşanan farklılıklar bu bölümde irdeleniyor. Sancar, Batı, Osmanlı ve erken Türkiye feminizmlerini incelerken, milliyetçilik ve feminizm arasındaki ilişkiye değiniyor. Erken endüstrileşen toplumlardan başlayarak erkeğin kadından ayrı tutulması stratejisinde, dinin ve kapital sermayenin siyaseti nasıl şekillendirdiğinin incelendiği bu bölümde, ilgili süreçleri yaşayan farklı sınıflardan kadınların özgürleşme mücadelesi anlatılıyor. Uluslaşma süreciyle el ele giden milliyetçilik ve kapitalizm, kadınları özel alanda tutmanın stratejilerini oluşturmuş ve kadınların kamusal alanlarda varlığını kısıtlamıştır. Yazar, Avro-Amerikan ulus devletlerinde feminist hareketler ile milliyetçilik arasında ilişkinin sınırlı olduğu tespitini yapıyor. Çünkü bu ülkelerde milliyetçi hareketler, ulus kurma nosyonundan uzaktır; faşizm, emperyalizm, militarizm gibi ulus devletin baskıcı karakterleri ile uyuşmuş, bu yönü ile kadın hareketleri ile bağ kuramamıştır. Kadınlar, kurulan demokrasiler çoğulcu nitelikte geliştiğinde, ulusal siyasete daha kolay katılıp, kadın odaklı çalışmalardaki hedeflerine daha rahat ulaşır.

Kitabın ikinci bölümünde yakın dönem feminist çalışmaların okunması suretiyle, geç Osmanlı ve erken Türk modernleşmesi, uluslaşma süreci temel alınarak inceleniyor. Bu bölümde Türkiye'nin yaşadığı endüstrileşme ve uluslaşma serüveni, komşu coğrafyalarla karşılaştırılıyor. Zira eş zamanlı yaşanan dönüşümler, birbirlerini tarihsel açıdan da etkilemektedir. Sancar bu karşılaştırmayı “yeni modern kamusal iletişim araçları” diyerek adlandırdığı dergi, gazete ve roman incelemelerine dayanarak geliştiriyor. Geç Osmanlı, sonrasında erken Cumhuriyet yazarları, dönemin yegâne iletişim aracı olan yazılarında muasır medeniyet, milli kültür ve insan doğasından bahsederken, dolaylı olarak hep kadınları konu alırlar. Sancar, bu erkeklerin, ülkenin geri kalmışlığının üzerinde düşünürken, modern

toplumsal alanda kadınların yokluğunun farkına vardıklarını ve bu gidişe dur demenin gerekliliği hissettiklerinden kadınların modernleştirilmesi için çaba gösterdiklerini belirtiyor. Kadınların kurtarıcısı olan erkekler, onları eğiterek toplumsal hayata katacaklar ancak onları eşitleri olarak kabul etmeyeceklerdir. İslamcı ya da Türkçü oluşlarına göre erkekler, kadınların kurtuluşu için farklı reçeteler ileri sürerken, Osmanlı kadınları da feminizme yakınlık ya da uzaklıklarıyla, çıkardıkları dergiler ve kurdukları derneklerle, kadınların özgürlüğü için mücadele etmişlerdir. Modernleşme sürecinde kadınların giyim kuşama, modernliğin önemli bir göstereni olarak muhafazakâr ya da ilerici düşünen yazarların tümünde önemli bir yer tutar. Dönemin ilerici kadın yazarı Sabiha Sertel gibi Mustafa Kemal de, kadınların giyimlerinde iffetlerini ve faziletlerini koruyarak, toplumsal alanda var olmaları gerektiğini söyler. Osmanlı'da kadınların hakları ulusa faydalılıkları ve aileye hizmet ettiği ölçüde tartışılır. Modern Türk kadını kimliği de Osmanlılığın bir devamı olarak eşit vatandaşlık statüsünü içermemiş, yeni rejim, devlet yönetimi kadrolarında tek bir kadına yer vermemiştir. Türkiye Cumhuriyeti kadınlara Türk modernleşmesinin sembolü olarak modernliğin vitrini vazifesini yükler. Kadının Türk modernleşmesinde sembolleştirilmesi, erkek odaklı toplumsal cinsiyet normlarının milliyetçilik ve muhafazakârlıkla birleştirilmesinde etkili bir rol oynar. Bu iki yakınlaşmanın bedeli, kadın kimliğinin muhafazakâr ideolojiye terk edilmesi ve eşit vatandaş olarak kadın tanımının yapılmayıp, kadın sorununun günümüze taşınması olur. Cumhuriyetin kurucu erkekleri kadınları ve buna bağlı olarak aileyi hem kendi arzularına göre, hem de yeni kurulan devletin gereksinimlerine göre tanımladılar. Buna göre kadınlar, eğitim alabilir ancak bakım hizmetleri veren öğretmenlik, hemşirelik gibi işlerde çalışabilirler. Bir kadın için en önemli olan öncelikle ailedir. Aileyi eğitilmiş analar kurmalı ve iyi evlatlar yetiştirmelidir. Dönemin kadın yazarları da benzer bir tahayyül içindedir; modern toplum için erkeklerin değişmesi yerine, kadınların eğitilmesinin ve modern yaşama uyum göstermesinin yeterli olacağı kanaatindedirler.

Sancar ikinci bölümde, erken modernleşme dönemi Türk edebiyatını da incelemektedir. Modern ulus şekillenirken devlet, ordu ve ekonomi eril bir nitelik taşımış, bu alanlar akılla ilişkilendirilmiştir. Bir yandan Batı'ya yetişmek, onunla benzeşmek istenirken, Batı'dan farklı oluş ise milli kültür alanına havale edilir. Bu alan, duyguya dayalı dışıl alandır. Milli kültür gelenek, giysi, renk, aile ve ev hayatıyla simgelenir. Doğal olarak dönemin edebiyatında modern/batılı kadının nasıl olması gerektiği temel temadır. İstenen, özet olarak aile sınırını ana sınır olarak belleyen, alafrangalığa kaçmayan, müsrif olmayan, erkeklerle gerektiğinde dayanışma kuran, kocasına sadık, iradeli, aşkını ve eşini seçebilen, vatani için her şeyi yapmaya hazır, modernleşme yolunda her tür üretimi yapan, anlamsız hürriyet istemeyen, erkeğe muhtaç olmayan kadındır. Osmanlı'dan devralınan gelenekle kurulan Cumhuriyet dönemi edebiyatında da kadınlar, kişisel ilişkilerin var olduğu özel alanda tanımlanırlar. Cumhuriyetin kuruluşunda eşit haklar için mücadele eden öncü kadınlar –Halide Edip, Nezihe Muhittin vb.- oyun dışı bırakılıp, yerine Afet İnan gibi kamusal rol modeli kadınlar yaratılır. Aynı süreçte feminizm kavramı, milli kadın hakları kavramı ile yer değiştirir.

Kitabın özgün olan üçüncü bölümünde yazar, aile odaklı modernleşmenin muhafazakâr modernlikle birleştirildiği 1945 ile 1965 arası dönemdeki Hürriyet, Cumhuriyet, Milliyet ve Zafer gazetelerini taramıştır. Sancar gazete yazılarında siyasal alan, evlilik, cinsellik, eğitim, iş yaşamı gibi başlıklarda kadınlarla ilgili yayımlanan yazıları inceler. Cumhuriyet'in erken döneminde yaşanan asrılık ve modernlik arasındaki çelişki, İkinci Dünya Savaşı sonrası dönemde muhafazakârlık, milliyetçilik lehinde dönüşüme uğrar. Bu nedenle Sancar, gündelik hayatın bir yansıması olarak incelediği gazetelerde, orta sınıf yaşamları hedefleyen aile odaklı modernleşmenin farklı ideoloji ve kültürel taleplerle nasıl uzlaştırıldığını inceler. Yazara göre Osmanlı- Türk modernleşmesi, kadınların kamusal yaşantıdaki giderek artan varlığına ilişkin kaygının tarihidir. “Geçmişten kopmadan yaratılan yeni kadın” nasıl olmalıdır sorusu, dönem yazarlarının temel endişesidir. Endişeyi giderecek en önemli adım, kadınların cahil anne olarak kalmalarının önüne geçmek, yani kadınları eğitmektir. Modern aileler eğitimle inşa

edilmek istendiğinden, yeni kadının mimarı olarak ailenin yerini okul alır. Ders kitapları modern ailenin nasıl olması gerektiğine göre yeniden düzenlenir, ancak tüm içeriklerde kadının görevi, çocuklarını daha iyi yetiştirmek için kendisini geliştirmesi üzerine kurulur. Gazeteler, kadınlara verilen ideal eş, evlilik ve ev dekorasyonu fikirleriyle doludur. 1960'lı yıllardan itibaren kadınların gazetelerde görünürlüğü artar.

Sancar, feminist bir siyaset tarihini 1965 yılına kadar incelemiştir. 1980'li yıllara kadar eril Cumhuriyet politikaları gerçek anlamda eleştiriye tabi tutulmadığı için, günümüzde hâlâ kadının yeri konusu tartışıyoruz. Tarihin yalnızca erkeklerin yapıp ettiklerini yazan, yücelten, kayda alan bir alan olmasına itiraz etmek istiyorsak, bu tarihi kadınların gözünden de anlatabilmeliyiz. Serpil Sancar günümüzü anlamak için geçmiş feminist bir tarih açısıyla yeniden okumamızı sağlarken, akıcı üslubuyla feminist literatürü zenginleştirmektedir.

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**Hayali Kahramanlar Hakiki Erkekler: Çizgi Roman ve Fotoromanda Erkeklik Temsilleri Üzerine Denemeler**

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**H**.Bahadır Türk'ün, Hayali Kahramanlar Hakiki Erkekler: Çizgi Roman ve Fotoromanda Erkeklik Temsilleri Üzerine Denemeler isimli kitabı; popüler kültür ürünlerinin kurgusal çerçevesini belli bir perspektiften ele alırken; iktidarı ve tahakkümü yeniden üreten mekanizmaları bu kurgular üzerinden bize göstermeye çalışan besleyici bir kaynaktır. 1960'lı yılların tarihi çizgi romanların ve fotoromanların süperkahramanlarından hareketle; hipermaskülinite-kahramanlık-babalık meselelerini irdeler. Bunu; geçmişin siyasal, sosyal, ekonomik, kültürel ve politik manzarasıyla şekillenen erkeklik formlarını Bahadır, Tolga veya Killing özelinde ele alarak yapar. Bir tür hipermaskülinite çeşitlemeleri üzerine kurulan bu kitap, günümüz toplumsal cinsiyet kurgularına da ışık tutması açısından önem taşır.

Türk, giriş bölümüne kahraman kimdir sorusunu sorarak başlar (p.13). Kahraman olmanın belirleyici motiflerine değinir. "Hipermaskülen" kavramına denk gelen üstün özelliklere sahip ve bu özellikleri en uç noktasında kullanan, bizden farklı olan, "toplumsal ucubeler" olarak tanımlar, kahramanı (p.14). Buradan hareketle, 1960'lı yıllardan 1970'lerin seriyal piyasasının popüler kahramanları Bahadır, Tolga, Battal Gazi gibi ya da son olarak anti-kahraman Killing'in "erkekliklerine" odaklanır. Bunu, üç deneme aracılığıyla bize aktarır. İlk bölümde, "Hiper-Maskülinite ve Çizgi Roman" başlığı altında Bahadır'ın

anatomisini ve akabinde hikâyesini anlatır (p.19-75). Sonraki bölümde, Türk tarihi çizgi romanlardaki; baba sorunsalı, babalar ve oğullar, kayıp anneler (p.75-133) üzerine bir sorgulama yapar. Son bölümde ise “öteki” olarak kurgulanan Killing’i, ölüm ve sado-erotizm üzerinden ele alır (p.133-223).

İlk kısımda, adaletsizliği önlemek için bütün kötülöklere en şiddetli biçimde karşılık veren Karaođlan gibi destansı bir figürle benzerlik gösteren Bahadır’ı; onu çevreleyen tarihi, sosyal ve kültürel dinamikleriyle ele alır. Daha özelinde, anlatı yapısı açısından basit, sınırlı bir hikâye sunan “Kahramanlık Mecmuası” Bahadır’ın, kültür endüstrisinin en sadık mahsulü oluşunu; tarihsel ve kurumsal ağ içindeki rıza dinamikleriyle açıklamaya çalışır. Bunu yaparken de iki kavram üzerine eğilir: milliyetçilik ve erotizm. Erkeklik ve kahramanlık bađını kuran, aynı zamanda milliyetçi ve erotik dinamiklerden beslenen bir diđer unsur, şiddeti de, hikayenin merkezine taşır. Bahadır’ın, “aşırı” gönlü hür, tek, “yalnız kovboy” olmasını; “aşırı” yakışıklı ve çekiciliđinin, “aşırı-cinselleştirilmiş” erotik bir nesne olarak işlev gören kadınların üzerinden kurulmasını ve “aşırı” güçlü, zeki, “aşırı” Türk olmasının ise; “aşırı” yabancı ve çirkin “öteki” düşman figürü üzerinden kurgulanmasını örnekler üzerinden tartışır. Bu yapıyı, yöntemsel olarak tercih ettiđi Hipermaskülen kodlarıyla sorgulamaya çalışır. İlk bölümün sonlarına dođru, bu aşırılıđı, aşırı erkek olma yolunda ya da onu aşan bir gösterge olarak okuyabilme olasılıđına dikkat çeker (p.69). Kar odaklı seri üretimin popüler kahramanı Bahadır’ın öyküsünü sorgularken, aynı zamanda okurlarının “mükemmel erkek olmak” arzularına eşlik eden tuhaf ve paradokslarla dolu bir haz arayışı meselesini de değinir.

İkinci kısım, babalık-erkeklik-kahramanlık nosyonlarının karmaşık ilişkilerini, tanımlayıcı bir çerçevede sunar. Türk tarihi çizgi romanlar özelinde, babalık’ın konumunu düşünerek, ona atfedilen roller ve değerlerin, normlar üzerinden nasıl üretildiđine değinir. Çeşitli babalık hallerinden beslenen bu kahramanlık hikayeleri, aslında Türk’e göre “daimi oğullar”ın hikayesidir. Baba ve ođul ilişkisini, ya da onların kahraman ođullarını; “eksik ve ikame, sembolik” babalardan hareketle

açıklamaya çalışır. İlk olarak, Bahadır gibi popüler dünyanın bir ürünü olan babasının öldürülüşüne tanıklık eden ve onun intikamını almaya çalışan Tolga üzerinden hipermaskülen anlatı dinamiğini detaylandırır. Yerleşik düzeni reddeden, aile kuramayan “eksik baba”lı Tolga’yı, kendini çevreleyen sembolik aile-yardımcı figürler, özellikle de “sembolik baba” olarak konumlanan yardımcı karakterle olan travmatik ilişkisinde analiz eder. Hakiki eril kahramanlardan, babasını hem içeren hem de aşan Tarkan’ı, bu çeşitlemenin bir diğer örneği olarak değerlendirir. Son olarak, kahramanın kendi kimliğini inşa etme sürecini veya onu aşarak ona dönüşme sürecini, baba kaybıyla açıklar. İdealizasyon pratiğine eşlik eden diğer bir unsur olarak da, anlatıdaki “silik anneler”i ya da onları cinsel yönden tatmin eden, onları bakışlarıyla onaylayan güzel kadınları gösterir. Bu türden bir anlatı mantığıyla birebir örtüşen 1970’li yıllarda yayınlanan Battal Gazi filmlerini, baba-oğul ekseninde inceler. Diğer tarihi çizgi romanlarda olduğu gibi Battal Gazi’yi de, hipermaskülen bir erkek olarak tanımlar ve o da eril kimliğini babasıyla olan bağıny yeniden kurması/keşfetmesi/onun devamı olduğunu kanıtlaması ve bunu yaparken onu aşarak ona dönüşmesi süreciyle inşa ettiğini dile getirir. Baba kaybı ve onun devamında baba merkezli intikam üzerine kurulu kahramanın yolcuğunun, “mert Türk”, “yiğit savaşçı”, “adil lider” (p.129) olma çabasının bir tür sınavı olarak değerlendirir ve bunu çeşitli ikilikler üzerinden açıklar. Hristiyan/Müslüman, iyi baba/kötü baba ikiliği ve aynı zamanda baba/oğul, baba/kız, baba/anne gibi ikili ilişkileri psikanalitik referanslar aracılığıyla da analiz eder. Buna ek olarak, “kusursuz bir erkek ideali” sunan bu anlatıların, “özcü” yaklaşımın izlerini taşıdığını ekler ve Serpil Sancar’ın, *Erkeklik: İmkânsız İktidar-Ailede, Piyasada ve Sokakta Erkekler* kitabına referansla “babaların sahip olduğu erkeklik değerlerinin “rol modeli” olarak çocuklarına da büyük ölçüde geçtiği ve “babadan oğula geçen erkekliğin büyük ölçüde doğal/biyolojik” ve dolayısıyla değişmez bir özellik olduğuna (p.129) dikkat çeker.

Son bölümde; Bahadır Türk, fotoroman türünün tarihine ve sinemayla olan bağlantısına giriş yapar ve bu akımla gelen İtalya’dan ithal edilen anti-kahraman Killing’in Türkiye’de ortaya çıkışını tarihsel

veriler ve gazete haberlerinden alınmış örnekler ışığında anlatır. Erkeklik temsillerini; 1960'lı yılların sonlarında yayımlanan 19 sayılı Killing maceraları ve daha sonraki serilerde yayımlanan Killing fotoromanları özelinde inceler. İlk olarak, Killing'in ana karakteristik özelliklerinin; insanların ötesinde fiziksel bir güce sahip, atletik, zeki, teknoloji kullanımında uzman, narsist, yenilmez, acımasız, planlı ve çekici oluşu gibi hipermaskülen erkek tipolojisine uyumluluğuna dair motifleri sıralar. Killing'in, bireysel zevkleriyle hareket eden, planlı suç işleyen ve kötülüğü bilinçli olarak seçen "esas kötü" olarak diğer kahramanlardan ayrılan özellikleriyle onu "anti-kahraman" tanımlar. Bu tanımla ilişkilendirilen, onun kadar kötü olan, güzel, çekici sevgilisi Dina'yı da, kadınlık temsili üzerinden işler. Geleneksel kadın figüründen farklı bir portre çizmesine rağmen Dina ile, Killing'in her zaman yanında, onu arzulayan, onun için her şeyi yapan, tehlikeden uzakta onunla mutlu bir hayat yaşamak isteyen bir kadın görünümüyle eril tahakkümün ideal kadın kurgusuna yaklaştığını belirtir. Bununla birlikte, anlatıdaki kadın ve erkek ilişkilerinin erotik bir dille aktarıldığını, şiddet ve cinselliğin başlıca vazgeçilmez unsurlardan biri olduğunu ve maceralarında beden üzerinden kurulan sado-erotizmin varlığının güçlü bir şekilde hissedildiğini, Türk bize örnekler üzerinden gösterir. Bu durumu, psikanalitik okumalar kapsamında; haz ve güç/güçsüzlük temelinde ele alınması gerektiğini ayrıca vurgular. Son olarak, anlatının yeni mecrasında, polisiye Türk yapımı Kilink filmlerinin, erkeklik temsilleri açısından anlam oluşturmadaki yerini farklılıkları ve benzerlikleriyle bize anlatır. Bir tarafta, dünyayı ele geçirmek arzusunda bir psikopat olan Kilink ile diğer tarafta ona karşı gelen Türk polisinin, anlatıda güçlü milliyetçilik vurgusuyla ve yumuşak bir sado-erotizmle yerini aldığını dile getirir. Bu bağlamda; siyasal, toplumsal, ekonomik ve teknik dönüşümlerin oluşturduğu bir zemin üzerinden Killing'in popülerliğinin nedenlerini; anlatı tarzının görsel bir içeriğe sahip olmasıyla sine-romana yaklaşan farklı bir tür oluşunda, yani fotoroman oluşunda ve erotik bir içeriğe sahip olmasında arar. Bunun yanında, Killing'in sevilmesinin; kötüyü görme arzusundan ileri gelen arzu nesnesi ya da

“eğlencelik ucube” oluşundan ileri geldiğini ve daha birçok neden üzerinden düşünülmesi gerektiğini belirtir.

Sonuç kısmında, yerli kahramanlarla Killing arasında benzerliğin erkeklik meselesi üzerinden daha iyi anlaşılabilceğini vurgular. Kahramanlar; fiziksel görünüm, güç ve yetenek gibi özelliklerle kahramanlıklarının ve erkekliklerinin doğal bir uzantısı olarak sunduğunu ve bu “tam erkek” profilini, eş zamanlı olarak “eksik kadın” figürüyle kurduğunu belirtir (p.224). Türklük algısından dolayı farklı yerde konumlanan Killing’in, buna rağmen, diğer kahramanlarla birbirini tamamladığı çıkarımında bulunur, Bahadır Türk. Bunu da, “Her Killing’in içinde bir Karaoğlan vardır. Her Tarkan’ın içinde bir Killing saklıdır.” cümlesiyle vurgular. “Hakiki bir erkek” olma serüvenine bu erkek süper kahramanlarla ya da anti-kahramanlarla dâhil olduğumuzu ve bunun başka örneklerle, anlatılarla, okumalarla daha çok besleneceği inancını taşıdığını dile getirir.

Eril zihniyet kodları üzerinde çalışmalar yapan Bahadır Türk, toplumsal yapıdaki değişimin izini sürebileceğimiz verimli mecralardan biri olan popüler kültür ürünlerinden örnekler sunarken erkekliği hipermaskülinite kavramı ekseninde kurgular. Fiziksel görünümüyle farklılaşan, ama çıktıkları kahramanlık yolculuğunda meydan okumanın gerektirdiği bir dizi değer kalıplarıyla hareket eden “aşırı erkek”lik formlarını akıcı ve eğlenceli bir dille anlatır bize. Güçlü, maskülen, baskın erkek ile edilgen, arzu nesnesi, bakılan, erkeklerin cinsel tahakküm fantezilerine hizmet eden kadını; tarihi çizgi roman ve fotoromanlardaki yaptığı açılımlar, özellikle günümüzü düşünmek için değerlidir.

Bahadır Türk, seçtiği örneklerden hareketle; erkeklik ve iktidar ilişkisini nasıl, neyle, kim için kime rağmen hangi kalıplar içinde somutlaştırdığını, önsözde kendisinin de belirttiği üzere, tahmin edilecek çıkarımlar çerçevesinde okuyucuya sunar. Sınırlı bir teorik zeminde ele aldığı erkeklik temsillerinin analizini, çoğu zaman, üzerinde düşünülmesi gereken sorularla bizi baş başa bırakarak sonlandırır. Farklı disiplinler ve okumalarla kurduğu bu mesafe, bir eksiklik olarak tanımlanacağı gibi

yöntem seçiminden ileri gelen, çeperin dışına çıkma endişesi olarak da okunabilir. Buna rağmen, popüler kültür ürünleri üzerine yapılacak okumalar ve onları sıklıkla merkeze alan erkeklik çalışmaları için teşvik edici bir kitap olduğunun da altını çizmek gerekir.

**Neşe Öztemir**  
**ALLPHA-Art, Lettres, Langues, Philosophie**  
**Communication Université Toulouse-Jean Jaurès, France**

## Contributors to this Issue

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### **Amaia Ibarra-ran-Bigalondo**

Amaia Ibarra-ran-Bigalondo is a lecturer at the University of the Basque Country where she teaches contemporary north-american ethnic literatures and cultures. Her research has always been focused on the study of Chicano Literature, art and culture, and she has published several articles and co-edited books in this field. Her current research deals with the study of other forms of popular artistic and cultural expression produced by the Chicano community.

### **Benedetta Gennaro**

Benedetta Gennaro is currently a researcher and visiting lecturer in Sociology and Gender Studies at Technische University in Darmstadt. Since 2011, she has been affiliated with the Cornelia Goethe Center for Women's and Gender Studies (CGC) where she teaches courses at both the undergraduate and graduate level on a variety of topics within the field of gender and sexuality studies. She received an M.A. and a Ph.D. from Brown University in Providence, RI (USA) in 2010 with a dissertation entitled "Women in Arms: Gender in the Risorgimento (1848-1861)" in which she examined the participation of women in the Italian national unification and the consequences that active female military engagement had on the public sphere and in private life. Her areas of research include gender theory and sexuality studies, cultural and visual studies, women and political violence, masculinity studies.

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Ph.D. Sociologist, she's Associate Professor at Disfor, University of Genova, Italy, where she teaches Sociology of Labour (since 2000) and Introduction to Gender Studies. She's the Editor in Chief of AG-AboutGender, International Journal on Gender Studies ([www.aboutgender.unige.it/ojs](http://www.aboutgender.unige.it/ojs)). She's, as well, in the editorial board of Mondì Migranti, a Journal on Migration Studies. She's also been working as researcher at Medi, Centre on Migration Studies, for more than a decade ([www.csmedi.com](http://www.csmedi.com)). Her main topics are migration,

trafficking, sex market and labour market from a gender perspective. On these topics she's been working in different projects, National and European ones, and publishing books and papers.

### **Francesco Cerchiaro**

My research interests involve Sociology of Culture, Sociology of Religion (in particular Sociology of Islam), Gender studies (focusing on masculinity and men's studies), European citizenship and migration processes.

In April 2013 I completed the Ph.D at the Doctoral School of Social Sciences: "Interaction, Communication, Cultural Constructions" (University of Padua, Department of Sociology). My PhD dissertation inquired the processes of identity construction within Christian-Muslim couples in Italy and analysed the narratives of the family unit members in order to investigate how meanings are produced and allocated to the mixture of habits, lifestyles and values. I worked as visiting researcher at Erasmus University (Rotterdam, January - July 2012).

In March 2008 I completed a Master's Degree in *European Institutions and Politics for Human rights* at the University of Padua, after graduating in 2005 in *Political Sciences and International Relationships* at the same University.

### **Joel Matthew Silverman**

Joel Matthew Silverman is a lecturer in American Studies and English at Yale and has been the Dean of Morse College since 2007. He earned his PhD in American Studies at the University of Texas at Austin. His research and teaching focus on the intersection of power and persuasion in American law and literature. He is particularly interested in the way in which lawyers, doctors, and other specialists translate technical language for a general audience. Dean Silverman has written for *Judaism* and *American Sexuality*, and is currently working on the biography of ACLU attorney Morris Ernst, who defended *Ulysses* in 1933.

**Neşe Öztemir**

Graduated from Galatasaray University, Sociology Department in 2009. After completing her postgraduate study in Galatasaray University, Social Sciences Institute, Media and Communication Studies Program in 2012, in 2014 she is accepted to doctorate program in Toulouse Jean-Jaures University, Communication Sciences Department, with her study on “figurations of masculinity and femininity in the Turkish TV series of the recent epoch”. Since 2011, she is working as a research assistant in Okan University, Cinema & TV Department.

**Sebastiano Benasso**

Ph.D. Sociologist, he's *Research fellow at Di.S.For., University of Genoa, Italy.*

*He's member of the editorial board of AG-AboutGender, International Journal on Gender Studies ([www.aboutgender.unige.it/ojs](http://www.aboutgender.unige.it/ojs)). He works developing various research lines, using both quantitative and qualitative methods. The main research areas of his work are: biographical transitions, youth studies and styles, lifestyles and cultural consumptions, labour market dynamics, gender studies.*

**Şahinde Yavuz**

Eskişehir'de doğdu. İlk ve orta öğrenimini Eskişehir'de tamamladıktan sonra, 1992 yılında Ankara Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Halkla İlişkiler ve Tanıtım Bölümü'nden mezun oldu. Ankara Üniversitesi Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü Halkla İlişkiler ve Tanıtım Anabilim Dalı'nda, 1996 yılında yüksek lisansını, 2004 yılında doktorasını tamamladı. 1998- 2005 yılları arasında Gazi Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi'nde araştırma görevlisi olarak çalıştı. 2006 yılında Karadeniz Teknik Üniversitesi İletişim Fakültesi Halkla İlişkiler ve Reklamcılık Bölümü'nde yardımcı doçent olarak göreve başladı ve 2010 yılında doçent ünvanını aldı. Yavuz, 2006 yılından 2013 yılına kadar görev yaptığı bölümün, bölüm başkanlığını ve anabilim dalı başkanlığını yürütmüştür, moda, tüketim, reklam, toplumsal cinsiyet/erkeklik konularıyla ilgili çalışmalar yapmaktadır.

## Guidelines

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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.

1. The opinions expressed in *Masculinities* by the editors and contributors are their own responsibility.
2. The language of the journal is English and Turkish and Access to the published articles is free of charge.
3. The contributor grants *Masculinities* exclusive rights to publish his/her contribution in electronic form (as freely downloadable PDF file from the website). The contribution is understood to include all material submitted for publication and all supplementary material accompanying the contribution.

4. The author may share copies of the manuscript with colleagues in personal compilations or other publications of his/her own work for educational or research purposes.
5. Any request to reproduce the original material first published in *Masculinities* will be forwarded to the original author and *Masculinities* will raise no objection as long as the author agrees to reproduction and the original publication is properly acknowledged.
6. With each submission, the author assures that the text is an original work and has not been published or not being considered for publication elsewhere. It must be carefully noted that in the case of a multi-authored contribution, the person who submits the paper is authorized to answer on behalf of all the co-authors.
7. Manuscripts should be in accordance with the parenthetical format in the current MLA Style Manual.
8. Manuscripts should not exceed 7,000 words. You are kindly advised to provide a short bio note, an abstract of 150-200 words, keywords and a postal address for further contact on a separate sheet of paper.
9. The authors will be informed about the decision of reviewers within 60 days at the latest. The texts will be published in the closest issue once approved for publication.
10. You can also submit **reviews** of books, articles, conferences and academic meetings, films, performances, MA thesis and dissertations to be published in the journal. Reviews of any kind must generally conform to the guidelines above mentioned. They must include such information in the heading like author, title, place of publication/organization, publisher/organizers, date of publication/organization, number of pages, length, language, price, etc. where possible. The review itself is expected to provide accurate information about the content of the publication/event as well as a very brief introduction of the authors/organizers. The review should also emphasize the significance and the impact of the work/event in its field besides sometimes a critical assessment of its weaknesses and potential failures in addressing certain topics. The finished paper should be limited with 1200-1500 words at most.

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).
- For quotations longer than 2-3 lines, you should leave an empty line before and after the quotation and increase the left margin by 1 cm.
- 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.
2. Derginin dili İngilizce ve Türkçedir ve dergiye erişim ücretsizdir.
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 kelimeyi 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.

Murat Göç  
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Pamukkale Üniversitesi Denizli Türkiye  
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## 2nd International Conference on Men and Masculinities

Transnational Masculinities and Relationalities

8-10 September 2016, İzmir Turkey

<http://www.icsmizmir2016.org>

Initiative for Critical Studies of Masculinities cordially invites proposals for the 2nd International Conference on Men and Masculinities to take place between 8th and 10th of September in İzmir, Turkey. The conference aims to discuss how different transnational processes and dynamics affect as well as transform theories, experiences, discussions, discourses and activism related to men and masculinities.

Transnational policies, movements and practices have increasing relevance on the (re)structuring of the world, construction of identities and the related experiences. Transnational processes draw legitimacy from the previously established gender relations, whilst generating new transnational and local gender hierarchies. This causes some men to gain new individual and/or collective privileges and others to be disadvantaged in certain ways. We invite researchers to discuss how masculinities have been (re)constructed in the broader context of transnationalism, neoliberalism and post-colonialism as well as how men have been shaping such processes. We also aim to put under scrutiny the ways in which transnational processes affect the production of knowledge and theoretical discussions related to masculinities.

In order to contribute to these debates and offer new perspectives, researchers from social sciences, humanities, and liberal arts are invited to send proposals to discuss topics including, but

- Influences of hierarchical divisions along national/transnational, local/global, Global North/South on men's experiences and conceptions of masculinities.
- The part masculinity plays in the ongoing wars, ethnic and religious conflicts, local resistance movements, and our collective visions for the future.
- Militarization, military expenditures, peacekeeping operations of transnational organizations, and peace activism
- Sexualities, bodies, desire, pornography
- Intimacy, emotions, affects, subjectivities

- Neoliberal economic policies, structures of employment, sexual division of labour
- Sexual identities, ambiguity and fluidity in and queering of masculinities, performativity
- Influences of feminist and LGBTI movements on masculinity studies and their affinities
- Uses and usefulness of the current notions of masculinities in the struggle against sexism and heterosexism
- Masculinity studies and the hierarchies within the academia and the knowledge production processes

Confirmed keynote speakers include Raewyn Connell (video-conference), Jeff Hearn (opening speech) and Gül Özyeğin.

The symposium will be held in English and Turkish.

Applications are invited for paper submissions, panel organizations, workshops, posters, film screenings, and photo exhibitions.

Graduate students are invited to sign in for the graduate forum in which they will have an opportunity to discuss their work-in-progress in an informal setting.

### **Important Dates and Information**

03 April 2016 → Abstract submission

29 May → Notification of acceptance

11 August → Final program

8-9-10 September 2016 → Symposium

Abstracts should not exceed 300 words, and panel proposals should be limited to 600 words. Please send your submissions along with a brief biographical note (maximum 100 words) to [icsmsymposium\[et\]gmail.com](mailto:icsmsymposium[et]gmail.com). Symposium is free of charge for the audience.

For the participants, the symposium fee is 70 € (graduate student fee is 40 €). We offer waivers for the registration fee for five graduate students among those who enclose a fee waiver application in their submission. Waivers will be granted based on need and merit.

Please contact the symposium organisation committee at [icsmsymposium\[et\]gmail.com](mailto:icsmsymposium[et]gmail.com) for your queries

## 2.Uluslararası Erkekler ve Erkeklikler Konferansı

Uluslararası Erkeklikler ve İlişkiselikler

8-10 Eylül 2016, İzmir Türkiye

Sempozyum Katılım Çağrısı

<http://www.icsmizmir2016.org>

Eleştirel Erkeklik İncelemeleri İnisyatifi, 8-10 Eylül 2016 tarihleri arasında İzmir’de düzenleyeceği “2. Uluslararası Erkekler ve Erkeklikler Sempozyumu” için makale önerilerinizi beklemektedir. Sempozyumun amacı, farklı uluslararası süreç ve dinamiklerin erkeklere ve erkekliklere ilişkin teorileri, deneyimleri, tartışmaları, söylemleri ve aktivizmi nasıl etkilediğini ve dönüştürdüğünü tartışmaya açmaktır.

Uluslararası politikalar, hareketler ve pratiklerin dünyanın şekillenmesi, kimliklerin oluşması ve deneyimlenmesi sürecindeki ağırlığı giderek artıyor. Uluslararası süreçler bir yandan mevcut cinsiyet ilişkileri üzerine temellenerek toplumsal gücünü bu ilişkilerden alırken, diğer yandan da ortaya yeni uluslararası ve yerel cinsiyet hiyerarşilerinin çıkmasına sebep oluyor. Bu bağlamda bazı erkekler bireysel ve/ya kolektif yeni ayrıcalıklar edinirken, diğerleri bu döneme özgü şekillerde dezavantajlı konuma düşüyorlar. Sempozyum boyunca erkekliklerin uluslararasılık, neoliberalizm ve sömürgecilik sonrası süreçlerin oluşturduğu geniş bağlamda nasıl tezahür ettiği, (yeniden) üretildiği, değiştiği ve erkeklerin bu süreçleri nasıl şekillendirdiği üzerine düşünmeyi amaçlıyoruz. Tartışmaya açmayı hedeflediğimiz diğer bir konu da, uluslararası süreçlerin erkeklige ilişkin bilgi üretimini ve teorik tartışmaları nasıl etkilediği.

Sosyal, beşeri ve temel bilimler alanlarından araştırmacıları aşağıdaki çerçevelere dâhil edilebilecek veya yeni bir çerçeve öneren bildirimlerini sunmaları için davet ediyoruz:

- Ulusal/Uluslararası, yerel/küresel, Global Kuzey/Güney gibi ikiliklerin erkeklerin deneyimleri ve erkeklik tahayyülleri üzerindeki etkileri
- Devam eden savaşlar, etnik/dinsel çatışmalar, yerel direnişler ve müşterek gelecek tahayyülümüzde erkekliğin yeri
- Militaristleşme, askeri harcamalar, uluslararası örgütlerin barış gücü operasyonları ve barış

- Cinsellikler, bedensellikler, arzu, pornografi
  - Mahremiyet, duygular, öznellikler
  - Neoliberal ekonomi politikaları, istihdam, cinsiyet temelli işbölümü
  - Cinsel kimlikler, müphem erkeklikler, “queerleştirme”, akışkanlık ve olumsuzluk
  - Feminizmlerin ve LGBTİ hareketin erkeklik çalışmalarıyla ilişkisi ve etki alanı
  - Cinsiyetçilik ve heteroseksizmle mücadelede erkeklige ilişkin mevcut kavramların işlevleri
  - Bilgi üretim süreçlerindeki ve akademideki hiyerarşinin Erkeklik Çalışmalarıyla ilişkisi
- Kesinleşen davetli konuşmacılar Raewyn Connell (video-konferans), Jeff Hearn (açış konuşması) ve Gül Özyeğin'dir.
- Sempozyum dili İngilizce ve Türkçe'dir.
- Bireysel bildiri sunumu, panel organizasyonu ya da atölye çalışması, poster, film ve fotoğraf gösterimi için başvurulabilir.
- Bildiri sunumlarına ek olarak, lisansüstü öğrencilerinin sürdürdükleri çalışmaları tartışmaları için bir forum düzenlenecektir.

### Önemli Tarihler ve Bilgiler

03 Nisan 2016 → Özetlerinizi gönderebileceğiniz son tarih.

29 Mayıs→ Kabul edilen bildirilerin ilanı.

11 Ağustos → Sempozyum programının ilanı.

8-9-10 Eylül 2016 → Sempozyum tarihleri

Bildiri özeti 300 kelimeyi, panel özeti ise 600 kelimeyi geçmemelidir. Bildiri ya da panel özetinize ek olarak en fazla 100 kelimelik özgeçmişinizi **icsmsymposium[et]gmail.com** adresine göndermeniz gerekmektedir.

İzleyiciler için sempozyum ücretsizdir.

Konferans katılım ücreti 200 TL'dir (lisansüstü öğrenciler için 120 TL). Bildiri özetleri arasından yapılacak seçimle, gereksinim belirten beş lisansüstü öğrencisine konferansa ücretsiz katılım imkanı sağlanacaktır.

Daha fazla bilgi için **icsmsymposium[et]gmail.com** adresinden düzenleme komitesi ile iletişim kurabilirsiniz.

