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and inequality. The essays in Migrant Men are more pointillist—tidy, contrapuntal, precise. Only from afar, and taken together, can the eye put the pieces together and engage the larger pattern. Reading this book, we both get both closer to the action and feel the larger shapes and patterns shifting before our eyes.

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1 Men and Masculinities on the Move

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INTRODUCTION

We live in turbulent times, in which socio-cultural and political changes involving technology, terrorism, violence, refugees, natural disaster, the consequences of 'failed' states death by disease, and have become part of what we live with every day. These phenomena transform cultures and nations, as do transnationalism and globalisation. Such transformations have implications for communication, citizenship, national affiliations, immigration policies, health regulations, safety and security, crime, state borders and identity crises. Together with socio-demographic changes, these transformations have economic, political and diplomatic, religious, sporting and other cultural implications. The gendered nature of these massive transformations is only now being addressed. This has been obvious in research on the exploitation of female labour, international sporting labour and the corruption surrounding vulnerable groups fleeing terrorism and intranational conflicts and violence involving different ethnic groups. As Connell (1995: 82-83) has argued, in the world gender order involving most of these movements, there is a 'patriarchal dividend' for men collectively arising from higher incomes, higher labour force participation, unequal property ownership and greater access to institutional power. Men are privileged sexually and culturally. What influence have these global phenomena had on Australia's gender regime and more particularly on those men and women who have migrated to Australia either by force or of their own volition? This raises questions about the influence of migration on identification and ethnic, gender and sexual identity; the role of the diaspora in identity formation; the influence of dominant local groups and local hegemonic masculinity on male gender identities; and the influence of transnationalism and global movement on identities.

To examine these issues, we adopt a social constructionist approach to gender. Masculinity is socially constructed within specific historical and cultural contexts of gender relations. Such an approach emphasises not only the variation of masculinities between different cultures and within different historical moments, it also emphasises gender differences arising from
race, class, ethnicity, age, sexuality, region of the country within particular cultures (Kimmel 2000). We are now entering a new stage in masculinity studies in which varieties among men are seen as central to the understanding of men's lives.

Connell (2000) illustrates how the diversity of masculinities is marked by hierarchy and exclusion. This hierarchy of masculinities means that men do not benefit equally from the 'patrimonial dividend'. Dominant forms of masculinity thus need to be understood in relation to masculinities that are marginalised by class, race and sexuality. Furthermore, to understand masculinities more broadly, we must make sense of the impact of class, race and sexuality hierarchies on men's lives. Masculinity is thus something that has to be accomplished in specific social contexts (Messerschmidt 1993). While men's subjectivities are socially constructed, however, they are also open to challenge and change. Men are thus involved in a process of continually constructing themselves. This book is concerned with how this process of challenge and change occurs for migrant men, most of whom are subordinated and marginalised within the hierarchies of localised male dominance. We note that this may not be so for those professional and business men who spend most of their time in the diaspora with much the same power and status they had in their home countries.

RACE, ETHNICITY AND THE (RE)CONSTRUCTION OF MASculinity IN AUSTRALIA

The writings of black men in North America emphasise the role of racism in the development of masculinity. It is argued that due to their exclusion from satisfying paid work, most black men do not expect to attain the benefits of traditional white masculinity. As prevailing definitions of masculinity imply power, control and authority, these attributes are seen as being denied to most black men (Staples 1986).

Similar debates about the experiences of marginalised non-English-speaking-background men have occurred in Australia. Luke (1997), for example, has written about the struggles that Asian men face in Australia in endeavouring to construct masculine identities without the defining characteristics of dominant forms of masculinity. Drawing upon Cheng's (1996) research in America, he illustrates how white men represent these different forms of masculinity by creating images of the 'nerd'. Similarly, Messner (1997) notes how Asian men are stereotyped as feminine and desexualised and portrayed as unscrupulous and untrustworthy.

Furthermore, Poynting et al.'s (1998) research with Lebanese young men in Sydney found a highly developed solidarity against 'Aussie' males that took forms of what Connell (1995) calls 'protest masculinity'. This protest masculinity, which involves exaggerated claims of potency and hypermasculinity, as a result of marginalisation, is similar to the 'cool pose' of African-American men discussed by Majors (1989). Poynting et al. found a strong nexus of masculinity and ethnicity amongst the Lebanese young men.

This research parallels a study of African-Caribbean and Asian males in the United Kingdom whose masculinity was powerfully influenced by ethnicity and their responses to the racism they experienced (O'Donnell and Sharpe 2000). Similarly, Messner (1997: 75) discusses how Mexican men in the United States "displace their class antagonism into the arena of gender relations". Because they are unable to challenge their class oppressors, Mexican immigrant men display exaggerated expressions of masculinity to express power over women within the context of their relative powerlessness. Similar arguments have been advanced about other groups of marginalised and subordinated men. However, in representing aggressive displays of masculinity as a form of resistance against race and class oppression, these studies neglect the impact of the behaviour on women (Messner 1997).

This limited research all confirms that race relations and ethnicity play an important part in the way in which masculinity is constructed and expressed. It points to the need for further research that explores men's migration experiences and the impact of ethnicity and migration on the construction of masculinities. It also emphasises the need to research the interaction "between class structures and the social relations of racism in the making and remaking of forms of masculinity" (Poynting et al. 1998: 78).

During the settlement process and beyond males need to adapt gender, sexual, ethnic and class dimensions of identity. This process of negotiation involves differential emphases on each dimension dependent on context. For gay males this may involve 'passing', where they deemphasise their sexual identity and highlight the gender or ethnic dimensions. Here we see the development of hybrid identities where different dimensions are emphasised strategically in diverse socio-cultural contexts. Resistance, accommodation, subordination, segregation, marginalisation, 'protest' and rebellion are all possible practices used, as migrant males adapt in the new environment. During this settlement period, migrant males are learning new codes and symbols associated with local variants of masculine behaviours. These symbols are adapted to or modified to accommodate those practiced in home countries traditionally or in contemporary times. This shifting, fluid and fractured nature of gender identity is a challenge to capture theoretically and conceptually as well as methodologically, as the case studies in this book demonstrate.

INTERNATIONAL MIGRATION AND GENDER

Gender has been regularly sidelined in scholarly research on international migration. But over the course of the last twenty years, a more fully gendered understanding of the migration process has gradually emerged (for example, see Morokvasic 1983; Hondagneu-Sotelo 1994, 1999; Kofman et al. 2000; Pessar 1999, 2003). Numerous case studies are now emerging
that document how men and women experience migration differently, how they reproduce and encounter patriarchal ideologies and institutions across different cultures and transnational migration circuits, and how patriarchal systems, ideologies and practices are reaffirmed, reconfigured, or challenged in the process of migration and settlement (Pessar 1999: 13). While the nexus of gender and migration is a growing area of research, the vast majority of immigration studies are still conducted as though gender relations are either largely irrelevant to the structures and contexts within which migration takes place or are seen as simply one of many factors effecting and effected by migration (Hondagneu-Sotelo 1999).

Early studies on migration focused primarily on men, with women viewed as secondary participants in the migration process. Therefore, much more attention was focused on male individual decision-making processes rather than those of their female partners, their family or community. However, this not only disregarded the role of women in the migration process but also failed to fully explore the experiences of men as men in the complexities of the ways in which migration and settlement are negotiated. The focus on gender and migration has been paralleled by what Castles and Miller (2003: 9) call the “feminisation” of labour migration and the greater attention given to households, family, friends and social networks in migration decision-making processes (see Boyd 1989). In an article that critiques both of these points, Annie Phizacklea (2004) argues that the labour migration literature ignores and undervalues women’s labour that has always been present. Phizacklea goes on to argue that the focus on households as the centre of decision-making needs to avoid reifying the communal nature of the household and draw out the ways in which households themselves are “deeply implicated in gendered ideologies and practices” (2003: 124). In a similar vein, Pessar (1999: 6) contends that while social networks are central issues in the study of migration, we need to ask in what ways does gender “configure and organise immigrants’ social networks”. All of this takes place in what Connell (2000: 40; 1990) calls a “gender order”, both national and global, where large institutions, international relations, global markets and the State itself are gendered in specific ways.

As such, many scholars have attempted to rectify the apparent lack of analysis of gender in the migration process and we have seen a large amount of study emerge on women and migration. But this analysis has not been free of problems. The focus on gender has tended to be solely on women, as if the previous research on migration were sufficient to account for men’s experiences. As has been mentioned, this generic ‘migrant’ was perceived as an individual, rational decision-maker seeking to maximise his labour and this generalised ‘man’ also failed to explore men’s particular experiences and views in addition to marginalising the role of women in migration. Hondagneu-Sotelo argues that the “preoccupation with writing women into migration research and theory has stifled theorising about the ways in which constructions of masculinities and feminities organise migration and migration outcomes” (1999: 566). But, some have argued that the pendulum has shifted so far in the opposite direction that the male migrant as study subject has been ignored almost to the same degree as the female migrant had previously (see Pessar 2003).

It is understandable that the feminist literature is concerned with women’s experiences of migration, which gender-neutral models of migration have neglected. However, gender neutrality has meant that both genders’ experiences have been ignored. While traditional immigration research has predominantly focused on men, it has done so by examining men as non-gendered humans and it too has ignored the gendered dimensions of men’s experiences. There is thus a need to place a stronger focus on treating gender less as a variable within the causes and experiences of migration and more as a central analytical concept for studying the causes and outcomes of the migration process.

The result of these struggles is that there is the development of a ‘more fully engendered understanding of the migration process’ that enables further analytically coherent studies that interconnect the simultaneous nature of factors such as gender, race, ethnicity, class and so on (Pessar 1999: 13). What Pessar is aiming at is consolidating the “theoretical innovation of treating gender less as a variable and more as a central concept for studying migration” (2003: 814). Notwithstanding the recent gendering of the migration literature, the focus on men and masculinities is still only emerging from the field, as very little is currently known and documented about how men negotiate, react and respond to male and female gender identities that they encounter throughout the migratory process. With pressures on men to be the main breadwinner in the societies in which they are settled, and to continue to maintain their authority in the family, they face a range of personal, cultural, educational and systemic barriers that hinder their ability to realise their expected role as ‘men’. This is even more so for refugee and diasporic communities where the sense of displacement and disjuncture with their cultures of origin can be even more disorienting. Such disorientation can contribute to social pathologies, including family violence.

THE SOCIAL CONSTRUCTION OF MASCULINITIES IN AUSTRALIA

For many male migrants, arrival in Australia exposes them for the first time to ethnic diversity as well as multiple variants of masculinities in a multicultural setting. This can be confusing and a challenge as they experience generational difference even within their own ethnic group. Diverse representations of masculinities are influenced by, among other factors, age, geographic location, socio-economic status, sexuality, duration of residence, prior migration experience, the media, ethnicity and sub-culture. Connell (1995) refers to hegemonic, marginalised and subordinate variants
of masculinities as well as “protest” types and to these could be added ‘flexible’ masculinities and hypermasculinities. Male migrants need to negotiate their way through this array of types, some of which may conflict with their own constructions of masculinity. Personality, sub-cultural and cultural variables will influence the direction of personal constructions and formations of identity. While some literature appears to present men in Australia as homogeneous and mono-ethnic and atomises and essentialises them as well, this is not the reality.

Edgar (1997: 33) believes we are now in a period of competing models of masculinity. In Australia, he argues, sport, drinking and surf life saving have been areas of male control, together with pursuits of fishing and the garden tool shed (Edgar 1997: 40). Fiske, Hodge and Turner (1987) also argue that beach culture of lifesavers and surfers is an important development in the ritual of the Australian beach and myth of national manhood. Reference is also made by Chambers (1991) to the importance of power and control, self-reliance and independence and the separation from the feminine as the qualities that constitute both the masculine and Australian. The masculine pub culture and male surfing culture, suggests Chambers (1991: 9), have been appropriated by men as symbols of opposition to the civilising institutions of the family, school and work. Sport, according to Edgar is one of the great ‘proving grounds’ of masculinity. While there is evidence from many sources that these locales and milieus are important in the formation of male gender identity in Australia, there is a need to be careful of potential homogenisation of Australian masculinity. This raises the question, however, of how migrant males react to the influences of these spaces and how this impacts on their constructions of masculinities. How important are sport, gambling and drinking as gender and class delineators (Summers, 1975) for male migrants?

With such a long history of migration, Australia is now witnessing the emergence of a new generation of offspring of migrants. These male children have been acculturated into the new culture to a deeper extent than their parents. The influences of family dynamics in these migrant households on the education and behaviours of male children are worthy of consideration. Are there attempts by parents to instil by example or through language education, traditional values and practices with respect to gender identity? Are there changes in the status and authority of male heads of families as male children take on more responsibility as intermediaries between the old and new cultures? Is there a softening of more traditional masculine practices and a closing of social distance between children and their fathers? What are the rites of passage of these younger males? These younger males are exposed to the influences of media and new technologies on representations of masculinities at a much earlier age than was the case for their fathers. They are also growing up at a time when the consumer lifestyle and second-wave feminism have influenced the revolution of women entering the paid workforce. The question of the evenness of the spread of these influences across diverse ethnic groups in Australia and their relative impacts on gender and ethnic identity formation across the generations will be raised in the chapters which follow.

The Australian landscape has also witnessed the changes brought by the emergence and fluctuating fortunes of the Asian ‘dragon’ economies on trade, models of successful business and management, education, labour flows and skilled migration, popular culture and military engagements. All of these have had some effect on Australian businesses and management practices, as well as diplomacy which have traditionally been modelled on Euro-American examples. To what extent have these changes introduced new variants of masculinities and more particularly influenced the desirable traits in hegemonic masculinity in Australia? Have these contributed to increasing uncertainties and vulnerabilities among men in Australia? Does this result in resistance, rivalries, accommodation or new syntheses of masculine models?

We are thus inquiring into the social and cultural meanings associated with what it means to be a man in a context in which immigrant men are marginalised by class, race and ethnicity in the dominant culture. Gilbert and Gilbert (1998) argue that race and ethnicity construct different sets of relations with gender, pointing out that men who are not part of the dominant culture need to work out their gender identity by “negotiating the meanings and practices of their own original culture and that of the dominant majority” (146). Here we see differences in religion, culture and ethnicity intermingle with lower levels of education, language issues, and unemployment as well as lack of recreational services in outer suburban areas of major cities in contributing to anti-social behaviour, gang activities, conflict with the police, and violence, as diverse male groups sort out where they are in the masculine hierarchy. This was obvious in the Cronulla riots, the violence at the Australian tennis Open in 2007 and 2009 and recent gang activities involving male youth from Somalia in outer suburbs of Melbourne. Some of these examples will receive more development in chapters which follow.

Except for historical, demographic and labour force research and some family sociology and multicultural studies, very little is known about the lived experiences of migrant males in Australia. There is a need for a much greater explicit recognition of men’s migration experiences and the social construction of masculinities (Willis and Yeoh 2000: xx). Analysis of changing modes of masculinity resulting from migration to Australia, according to Chambers (1991: 9), is not established. Chambers (1991) argues that little is known about the effects of migration to Australia from Asian countries, on men’s sexual identity and on the dynamics of gender relations in their religion, at work, at leisure and in the domestic sphere. What in fact is most striking about the study of masculine identities, for Chambers, is the lack of it. Even more marked is the paucity of literature on ethnic and indigenous masculinities in multicultural Australia. Chambers believes that the white masculine culture of the Australian academic scene,
with its imported abstract concepts, naturalistic theories and Anglo-Saxon modes of professional practice are not conducive to a critical analysis of the historical foundations of Australian cultures of masculinity, but do not make the task an impossible one. There has been an international explosion in men's studies since 1991, but there is still a shortage of useful empirical work on the associations among migration, ethnicity, masculinity and sexuality in Australia. This book endeavours to fill that gap.

MIGRATION AND MULTICULTURALISM IN AUSTRALIA

Since the days of the First Settlement in Australia there have been consistent waves of immigration. Migrants have been superimposed over the original indigenous inhabitants and then the English colonial population. Since colonisation, each wave has been associated with examples of xenophobia, challenge and response, racism, prejudice and discrimination, issues of acculturation, assimilation, integration and multiculturalism. The gendered nature of migration has been obvious in the treatment of women in the early days of colonial settlement and during the period of expansion and movement inland and to the west, the interactions and conflicts between different ethnic groups (e.g., Chinese males and Europeans during the gold rush era), the exploitation of indigenous women and children, and the emergence of a colonial patriarchy as well as the iconic bushman, 'mates', the Australian and New Zealand Army Corps (ANZAC) military spirit and a sporting ethos. The migration waves have been associated with changes in immigration policies, with an emphasis on the importance of language, citizenship and support for the Constitution and democratic principles and practices. Despite the influx of these diverse migrant groups, little is known about the effect of migration on constructions of males' gender identities or the dynamic interactions among different groups on gender practices.

Immigration policies in Australia have moved from an emphasis on a 'White Australia' which was openly exclusionary and a dominance of people of Anglo-Celtic background superimposed over black indigenous communities, through policies of cultural pluralism and integration to various forms of multiculturalism, all of which have had an effect on the profile of migrants entering Australia. Immigration policies have been influenced by issues of population and national security as well as ideologies and practices surrounding racial/ethnic purity. Selection and control have been dominant (Jupp 2002).

Australia is considered one of the most important examples of large-scale planned migration—a nation 'created' by waves of migrants over the last 219 years. In particular, immigration was the 'motor' of postwar growth. Since 1947, policies focused on planned immigration and on permanent settlement designed to gradually increase the size of the population and contribute to economic development and growth (Collins 1991). Up until the early 1970s, this immigration flow was dominated by people of European background. The official end of the White Australia policy occurred in 1973 and ushered in a period characterised by the now-dominant government policy of multiculturalism and increased levels of migration from Asia—even though this has seen increasing challenges from the conservative Liberal government from the mid-1990s onwards until the election of a Labour government in 2007. (Castles and Miller 2003: 198; Jupp 2002). Currently, issues around refugees and asylum seekers and the issue of 'national security' dominate the migration discussion. The migrant 'presence' though has become an irrevocable element in the characteristic of the nation. Nearly half of the present Australian population was either born overseas or had one or both of their parents born overseas (Castles and Miller 2003: 199).

In the post-war period, migration to Australia was seen as the permanent movement of individuals and families (as future citizens) for the purpose of settlement. These citizens—the overwhelming majority coming from the United Kingdom and Southern Europe—were expected to readily assimilate to 'Australian' culture as defined by the dominant Anglo-Saxon majority. Assimilation was assumed to involve a twofold process: the adoption of a taken-for-granted 'Australianness' that was assumed to be uniform and self-evident (Jupp 2002: 22) and the abandonment of one's culture of origin (or at least the minimisation of its public display). This was the period of the White Australia policy during which low-skilled workers were 'imported' in large numbers to respond to the industrial needs of the booming Australian economy. This large-scale initiative has had numerous unplanned impacts in terms of the ways in which ethnic communities developed (during a time of assimilationist policies); the nature of the migrant presence on the national identity; the consequences of family reunion migration; and the increasing need for government policies and programs to respond to the changing nature of a more multicultural community.

Policies of multiculturalism have played a large part in the 'place' of immigrants in Australian society since the late 1970s onwards. Multiculturalism as a policy, an ideology and a vision has changed the focus of migration and the place of migrants in the construction of Australian national identities. Multiculturalism is then itself a discourse that requires further analysis and critique (see Castles and Miller 2003; Vasta 1996; Ucarer 2003; Docker and Fischer 2000; Jamrozik et al. 1995; Goldberg 1995; Bauböck et al. 1996). As a discourse, it conveys a world view that Australia accepts difference and plurality. However, such recognition of difference has been challenged in recent years with the increased fear of terrorist attacks.

There are two perspectives that stand out in the current debate. Firstly, that multiculturalism is a threat to the dominant group. In Australia, multiculturalism can be perceived as a threat to the ability of the Anglo-Saxon
population to control the ways in which Australian culture and national identity is defined (see Hage 1996). From this perspective, there are constant calls for greater assimilation of migrants into the community, the rejection of ethnic groups living together in the same areas, the call for migrants to learn and ‘speak English’ more, and acceptance of the values and culture of the host nation. In this case, there is a constant claim to tolerance even while there exists a clear demarcation between those who are ‘tolerating’ and those who are ‘tolerated’ and the groups who possess ‘ethnicity’ and those who do not. In a similar vein, Ucarer (1997: 8) contends that in many Western societies “there is increasing apprehension that the economic, social and cultural fabric of societies is coming unravelled as these societies become ever more multiethnic and multicultural”.

A more balanced but nevertheless strident critique is that multiculturalism is simply a “superficial acceptance, without bringing about real institutional change” (Castles and Miller 2003: 152; see also Vasta 1996). Multiculturalism is here perceived as an acceptance of diverse food, folk dances and a middle-class acceptance of diversity in the aesthetic sense with yet an expectation that the ‘ethnic’ community will stick to a set of core values as defined by the dominant ‘ethnic’ group—the Anglo-Saxon majority. The call for greater migrant integration is therefore offset by structural impediments to this process of integration, the perceived and real cultural differences that exist between communities, class factors, and the belief of the dominant culture that there actually exists a uniform, clear and easily definable culture to which migrants can integrate. Since May 2007, the Australian national government has moved to include tests of knowledge and language tests as part of the necessary qualifications for Australian citizenship. What outcomes this will have for those who fail are uncertain. There has also been a tightening of the requirements to gain permanent residence in Australia. These changes in legislation and practices are designed to improve the quality of immigrants but they also resonate with assimilation policies of the past.

In the present phase of ‘new’ multiculturalism, the emphasis is on the points system, whereby suitability for migration or permanent residence is influenced by English language proficiency, business acumen, especially in working with Australian companies, educational qualifications and occupation as well as income and economic capital. Married males’ chances of being accepted for migration are influenced in part by how their spouses rate on these criteria. The points associated with specific occupations are influenced by perceived national need for particular skills. An outcome of this system, including the Australian citizenship test, is that present migrants are generally of high socio-economic status. The exceptions are likely to be migrants who enter under humanitarian schemes associated with political turmoil in home countries. Therefore, any considerations of the relationships between migration and male gender identity formation need to take social class into account.

Each incoming group of males has experienced degrees of infantilisation, feminisation, and racial taunting. For example, Greek and Italian males who played a code of football (soccer) different from that practiced by mainstream males were labelled ‘wogs, sheilas and poofters’ (Warren 2002) by dominant masculine groups. Similar labelling occurred for Vietnamese and Chinese males. For the Chinese males, this occurred from the period of the gold-rushes. Each migrant group developed adaptation strategies to facilitate survival during the settlement period. Today we see similar events occurring between Middle Eastern males and locals particularly in western Sydney. These interactions, which are like tribal battles, are a form of sorting out the pecking order as dominant variants of masculinities jockey for power and position. Issues of unemployment, boredom, isolation and lack of services, treatment by the police and the media, religious differences, and attitudes to women are associated with these events.

**DIASPORA, TRANSNATIONALISM AND GLOBALISATION**

Little is known about the influence of the diaspora on constructions of male gender identities in Australia. This is particularly so for the Chinese diaspora where new migrants initially seek refuge while they commence the process of adaptation to the new host culture. It is not uncommon for new migrants to seek out that which is familiar in the new environment. In the diaspora they learn about business opportunities and networks, the social capital needed for entrepreneurship, how to deal with government bureaucracies and information about accommodation, health and education as well as employment. New migrants often find accommodation which enables them to access the diaspora until they feel sufficiently comfortable to locate themselves where the diaspora is less obvious or influential. During this period, new arrivals, to varying degrees, are influenced by traditional values, customs, practices and behaviours typical of traditional culture in home countries. These influences can slow the pace of acculturation as well as socialise new arrivals into practices that are more traditional than those in the home countries which are undergoing modernisation and globalisation.

Migrant males entering Australia could have arrived when they were young or as retirees from their home countries. Some new arrivals could have had multiple migratory experiences. They could be transmigrants with businesses in several countries, permanent residents who are domiciled in Australia but frequently visit their countries of origin for recreation or to see friends and relatives. Transmigrant males could have ‘astronaut’ or ‘parachute’ families living in Australia. The implications for constructions of masculinities of long periods of absence from their families among migrant males needs to be addressed. During these periods it is possible for spouses to become the major decision makers, the sole counsellor of children during formative years in a new country and
the main intermediary with the diaspora and the wider culture in the host society. This can have consequences for status, influence, respect and power for the male and female adults in these families. Transmigration experiences influence identity formation of these migrant males. The influences of tradition, of socio-cultural and political changes in home countries, and those of the new host countries all bear upon constructions of masculinities. Globalisation also penetrates to the national and local levels.

INTERSECTIONALITY AND CROSS-CULTURAL ANALYSES OF MASCULINITY AND MEN'S LIVES

The lack of research on the interconnections between masculinity and ethnicity has meant that white hegemonic masculinity has dominated the discourse about what it means to be a man. In this book, we challenge the presumption of whiteness and the centrality of the West in the men and masculinity literature by exploring the intersections between culture, race and gender-based power. Our argument is that a critical analysis of masculinities in Australia must begin with an analysis of the ways in which marginalised and subordinated masculinities are changing. Migrant men are in contradictory positions in relation to dominance and subordination. By taking the standpoints of structurally marginalised groups of men as points of departure, we will remove hegemonic masculinity from the centre of analysis (Messner 1997). In this regard the book aims to contribute not only to the reorientation of masculinity studies but also to the rethinking of the concept of masculinity itself.

Although there has been very little research on the relationship between ‘race’, ethnicity and masculinity, anthropologists have taken some interest in studying men's practices in non-Western contexts. This research is relevant, in contributing both to an understanding of the way masculinity is experienced by migrating men in their countries of origin and also more generally to understanding the impact of culture and tradition on masculinity. There have been a number of important studies, including Herdt's (1981) study of the boy-inseminating rituals among the Sambia of New Guinea; Herzfeld's (1985) study of sheep stealing as masculine ritual in Cretan mountain villages; and Silberschmidt's (1991) study of the changing gender roles in Kenya. Gutmann (1996) examines what it means to be a man for men and women who live in Mexico City and Almeida (1996) poses the same question in a small Portuguese town. Furthermore, Gutmann (2001) has recently edited a special collection of papers on advances in studies of masculinity in Latin America. There have also been a number of studies of gender relations in Asia that have addressed the changing subjectivities and practices of men (Karim 1995; Ong and Peletz 1995).

Kimmel (2000) notes that anthropologists studying gender relations have discovered high levels of variability in the definitions of masculinity and femininity. Such ethnographies show that many local constructions of masculinity are very different from the Western norm. Therefore, the models of masculinity familiar in Western discourses do not work for the realities of gender in other cultures. Such studies reinforce the notion that masculinity is a culturally bound concept that may have little relevance outside the Western tradition. Connell (1991: 3) has pointed out that the discussion about ‘masculinity’ is constructed out of 5 per cent of the world's population of men in one region of the world at one historical moment in history.

Only a few researchers have attempted any form of cross-cultural perspective on the topic of men and masculinity (see, for example, Gilmore 1990; Cornwall and Lindisfarne 1994; Hofstede et al. 1998 and Pease and Pringle 2001). Gilmore (1990) provides one of the most extensive comparative studies on how men in different cultures perceive and experience manhood. He explores whether there are continuities of masculinities across different cultural boundaries by examining the ways in which boys and men prove their manhood. Through an examination of manhood rituals in such places as the Truk Islands in the South Pacific, the Greek island of Kalymnos, East Africa, Ethiopia, Papua New Guinea and among the Iowa Indian tribe in North America, Gilmore demonstrates that although the rituals and practices are different, they have a common focus of proving one's manhood. Thus, Gilmore found that although many societies espouse a doctrine of manhood, they mean very different things by it.

However, because Gilmore assumes that maleness is unitary, he fails to recognise the plurality of masculinities and men's practices within any of the cultures he studied (Conway-Long 1994). Connell (1995: 32) notes that Gilmore's framework is based on a positivist model of social science, where “multiple cases are put together in attempts to arrive at cross-cultural generalisation and overall laws about human society”.

Pease and Pringle (2001) have attempted to avoid this danger in cross-cultural research. They survey past and current debates on masculinities and men's practices in eleven countries, comparing the study of men and masculinity in Western democracies such as the United States, the United Kingdom, Ireland, Finland, Sweden and Australia with Latin American societies such as Brazil and Nicaragua, Asian countries such as Hong Kong and India and religious-based societies such as South Africa. They also examine transnational and translocal analyses of various thematic issues in relation to men's practices in the context of globalisation, including, men's violence, fatherhood, men's domestic practices and men's health. The aim is to identify commonalities and differences in masculinities across the globe and to decenter the dominance of the current debates about masculinity occurring in Western countries. This book also makes a contribution to the cross-cultural literature on men's lives.
OVERVIEW OF THE BOOK

The book is divided into two parts. Part I locates the current debates about migrant masculinities in the wider context of international migration and critical masculinity studies. Part II surveys seven case studies of particular populations of migrant men in their encounters with competing constructions of masculinity within Australia.

Part I begins with a chapter by Richard Howson examining the current debates about the concept of hegemonic masculinity. It has recently been subject to sustained criticism, as well as efforts to rethink it. He observes that at the centre of this critique is the problem of 'slippage'. Is hegemonic masculinity about men or masculinity, practice or identification? There is ambiguity about how well it resolves these contradictions and bridges what men do with how men see themselves. This chapter presents a re-emphasis of the importance of hegemonic masculinity but argues that it is not enough to simply re-present existing definitional structures. In this context, the chapter offers a deconstruction of the concept hegemonic masculinity to see what it might offer us in understanding the experiences of migrant men.

In Chapter 3 Jeff Hearn and Richard Howson explicate the formal immigration policy settings operating in Australia since federation and focus on two important aspects of policy. First, they examine the historical development of immigration policy from its exclusionary White Australia approach to its extension and elaboration into skilled, family and humanitarian programs. They demonstrate how Australia moved from policy settings that sought to create a White Australia to assimilationist and integrationist ideologies and then to acceptance of Australian identity as multicultural. Second, they explore the issues surrounding settlement within the new reality of transnationalisation, demonstrating that this has a significant impact for immigrant men, whose expectations do not necessarily match their new environment.

In Chapter 4 Jane Haggis and Susanne Schech consider the ways in which the migrant man is figured as worker through the discursive construction of race, gender and class. They note that central to Australian registers of masculinity has been the trope of work, variously rendered around the discursive images of 'bloke', 'mate', 'digger', 'battler' and 'bludger'. They demonstrate how this figure of the worker is constantly centred and recented on the white male against his others, whether they be the nineteenth-century Chinese labourer, the 'wog', 'dago' and 'pom' who industrialised Australia in the twentieth century or the contemporary 'third world' guest worker, once again cast in negative counterpoint to the desirous, displaced, 'Aussie male'. Combining an analysis of policy documents, media reports and interviews with overseas-born Australians, they demonstrate how current debates about capital, labour and migration are doing the border work of the raced nation.

Part II begins with a chapter by Bob Pease who examines domestic practices in migrant families through interviews with immigrant men who have migrated to Australia from four world regions: Africa, Southern Asia, Latin American and the Middle East. He explores the impact that migration and displacement have had upon the men's attitudes and behaviour in relation to the gendered roles, with a particular focus on the changes in the division of labour and gendered power in families. In shedding some light on how gender-based inequalities in migrant communities are enacted, the chapter aims to understand how immigrant men renegotiate their gender identity as they relate their own cultural understandings of masculinity to the meanings and practices in the dominant culture.

The chapter by Ndungi wa Mungai and Bob Pease explores how race and class intersect with gender and migration to construct the subjectivities of African men in Australia, as they negotiate gender relations and Australian cultural influences about manhood. They explore the challenges the men face in translating the experience of manhood learnt in Africa to the Australian context. Although the African men interviewed faced racism and unemployment, the men felt that many of their problems stemmed from the differences in cultural understanding about masculinity and manhood. The authors advocate the importance of African men developing progressive black masculinities that both validate black humanity and challenge structures of domination.

In Chapter 7 Paul Crossley and Bob Pease explore the experiences in Australia of a variety of male migrants from Latin America. Drawing upon interviews with fifteen men, they examine three key themes emerging from their research: the important role of men as 'providers' for the family and the implications for men's sense of self; the changing nature of men's and women's roles and status in Australian society and the sense of difference from Latin America; and the shifting nature of what constitutes 'home' and a sense of belonging for Latin American men. In addressing the issues that the men face, they also explore the nature of discourses on machismo and the almost 'fetishised' nature of its oversimplified usage in relation to Latin American men.

In chapter 8, Scott Poynting, Paul Tabar and Greg Noble note the long history of constructing subordinated or subaltern masculinities, such as immigrant masculinities, as deviant, both in common sense and in supposedly scientific and scholarly accounts. They observe that this has been problematic, since it tended to take for granted the masculinities of the hegemonic. In this historical context, Poynting, Tabar and Noble revisit the notion of 'protest masculinity' as applied to the masculinities of socially excluded immigrant young men in the context of racism. They explore the usefulness of this term to explain the purported phenomenon of 'ethnic gang rape' in relation to several cases in Sydney in the year 2000, involving young immigrants of Arab and Muslim background.

Ray Hibbins' chapter demonstrates how the transnational business manager working for a multinational corporation or in his own business is the
epitome of hegemonic masculinity in a global world. However, when the male entrepreneurs are Chinese rather than Western, they are in tension with traditional hegemonic masculinities typical of his father's-grandfather's generations. How does this man operate in the marketplace, in his family and with his male and female friends? Does he practice a new 'flexible' masculinity, a 'complicit' masculinity or some other variant? This chapter addresses these questions, using data collected in studies of the effects of migration on constructions of masculinities among Chinese male migrants and of networking patterns among 'new' Chinese entrepreneurs in Australia.

Chapter 10 by Pam Nilan, Mike Donaldson and Richard Howson argues that studying contemporary masculinities involves collecting data not only on 'anglo' masculinities but also on hybrid forms of marginalised masculinities. This chapter explores Indonesian Muslim masculinities in Australia with a particular focus on Indonesian migrant men's attitudes towards women. The aim of their chapter is to unpack the experiences of Indonesian Muslim men who have migrated to Australia to show moments of tension, ambivalence and assimilation.

In chapter 11, Richard Pringle and Paul Whitten examine how Māori men in Australia construct and negotiate masculinities and understandings of self in the face of the cultural dominance of white Australia. Through in-depth interviews with Māori men living in Australia, they examine men's stories of growing up in Aotearoa/New Zealand and their diverse experiences of life in Australia. They connect the stories to the wider sociopolitical issues associated with gender relations, sexuality, economic and health disparities, colonialism and racism. They are particularly interested in understanding the ways that Māori men maintain or strengthen their identities against the challenges they face while living in Australia.

In the concluding chapter, Mike Donaldson and Richard Howson discuss how much of the politics since 9/11 has been to produce a particular 'hegemonic' vision of the social, political and economic realms. This vision has demanded a new subject or, more specifically, a new man constructed against what Kimmel et al. (2005) refer to as a 'global hegemonic masculinity'. Using the research in this book, they explore the efficacy of adhering to a globalised ideal for masculinities. Is this relevant or even possible or are we finding inherent tensions at the local level that undermine the global?

The contemporary scholarship on masculinity has neglected the impact of migration on masculinity. In spite of the multicultural nature of Australian society, issues of race and culture have played little part in Australian masculinity literature. Migrant Men is intended as a comprehensive response to this gap in the literature. We hope that the book will stimulate further research into the effects of migration on men's work, leisure and domestic relations in Australia and other Western, industrialised nations.

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