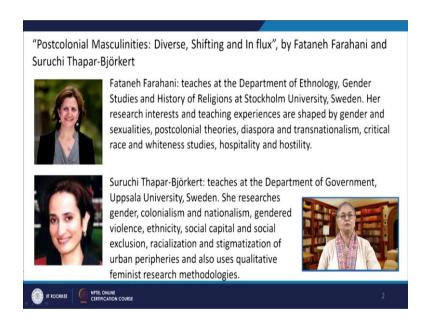
Contextualizing Gender Prof. Rashmi Gaur Department of Humanities and Social Sciences Indian Institute of Technology, Roorkee

Lecture - 44 "Postcolonial Masculinities: Diverse, Shifting and in Flux" by Fataneh Farahani and Suruchi Thapar-Bjorkert

Welcome dear participants to this module. In the previous module we had discussed the relationship between feminist theories and men/masculinities scholarship. In today's module we shall look at a much-neglected area in this field, the Postcolonial Masculinity and the narratives of otherness explicated in the intra study of masculinities. We will review the relationship between post- colonial masculinities and westernized white masculinities.

(Refer Slide Time: 01:01)



Today our discussion is based on an article by Fataneh Farahani and Suruchi Thapar-Bjorkert. The title of their article is "Postcolonial Masculinities: Diverse, Shifting and In flux". Fataneh Farahani teaches at Stockholm University, Sweden. Her research interests and teaching experiences are shaped by gender and sexualities, postcolonial theories, diaspora and transnationalism, critical race and whiteness studies, hospitality and hostility.

Suruchi Thapar-Bjorkert: teaches at Uppsala University, Sweden. She researches in the areas of gender, colonialism and nationalism, gendered violence, ethnicity, etcetera. Multidisciplinary nature of research in the area of gender is also apparent in their work.

(Refer Slide Time: 01:57)



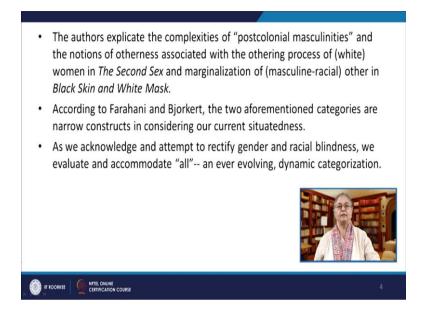
This essay "Postcolonial Masculinities: Diverse, Shifting and In flux" had appeared in the Routledge International Handbook of Masculinity Studies published in 2019. Farahani and Thapar, initiate their discussion by referring to two seminal texts of constructed otherness, namely, Simone de Beauvoir's 'The Second Sex', a text which we have discussed in detail. And Franz Fanon's 'Black Skin and White Mask'. According to the authors the idea of the postcolonial man and post-colonial masculinity is embedded in the narratives of otherness and racial blindness.

In order to understand the racial blindness in the masculine discourse, it is essential to understand the racial blindness in the feminist discourse. Beauvoir emphasizes the othering process of white women, while Fanon focuses on the construction of the masculine racial other. These two critics exclude several categories, Beauvoir's conceptualization of women mainly includes white heterosexual middle class woman, her instrumental operationalization of the slave woman analogy and her portrayal of women as slaves of men does not acknowledge female racial oppression.

Similarly, Fanon's exclusive focus on race not only disregards other power relations, but also fails to consider the particularities of the processual power relations across the

continuum of skin colour. Sexuality, class and the ways in which these relations shape the lived experiences of men and women. The authors draw on a postcolonial critical masculinities framework.

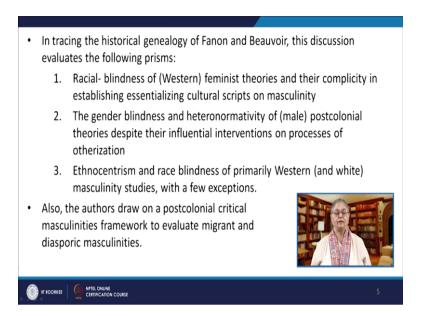
(Refer Slide Time: 03:56)



The authors explicate the complexities of "postcolonial masculinities" and the notions of otherness associated with the process of othering white women in 'The Second Sex' and marginalization of masculine racial other in 'Black Skin and White Mask'. According to Farahani and Bjorkert, the two aforementioned categories are narrow constructs in considering our current situatedness. As we acknowledge and attempt to rectify gender and racial blindness, we evaluate and accommodate "all" - an ever evolving, dynamic categorization.

The authors aim to expose the 'us' versus 'them' dichotomy prevalent in the discourses on white masculinity versus postcolonial masculinity. The discourse on gender othering is similar to the discourse on racial othering because both are based on the archetypes of dominance and subjugation.

(Refer Slide Time: 04:57)

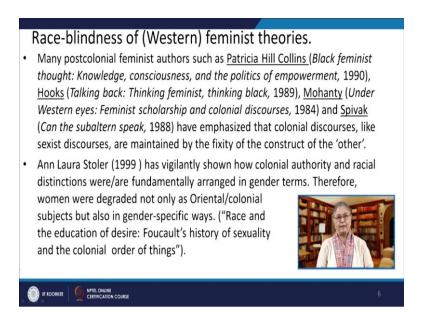


In tracing the historical genealogy of Fanon and Beauvoir this discussion evaluates the following prisms: first, racial-blindness of western feminist theories and their complicity in establishing essentializing cultural scripts on masculinity. Secondly, the gender blindness and heteronormativity of male postcolonial theories despite their influential interventions on processes of otherization.

Thirdly, ethnocentrism and race blindness of primarily western and white masculinity studies, with a few exceptions. Also, the authors draw on a post colonial critical masculinities framework to evaluate diasporic masculinities. Like the feminine subject, the masculine subject is constructed through the lens of the oriental versus occidental manhood.

The bodies are categorized on the basis of colour, ethnicity, facial features, culture, clothing, language, geography, gender and sexual orientation.

(Refer Slide Time: 06:08)



Many postcolonial feminist theorists and critics such as Patricia Hill Collins, Bell hooks, Chandra Talpade Mohanty and Gayatri Chakravarty Spivak have emphasized that colonial discourses, like sexist discourses are maintained by the fixity of the construct 'other'. Ann Laura Stoler in 1999 publication has vigilantly shown how colonial authority and racial distinctions over and still are fundamentally arranged in gender terms. Therefore, women were degraded not only as oriental and colonial subjects, but also in gender-specific ways.

According to the authors the process of othering begins from the feminine subject and therefore, the feminist theories are important for the men's and masculinity discourse to understand the valorisation of the white skin and the exoticization of the other.

(Refer Slide Time: 07:10)

Feminist thinkers observe that colonial and Orientalist discourses have historically employed sexuality as a prominent signifier for (re)presenting otherness.

 Such as "the fascination with 'beauty behind the veil' and the eroticization of the harem in Orientalist texts". (92)

 Women were placed under two categories- (a) the chaste, desexualized Christian pious woman and (b) the sexual, primitive, available exotic women.
 The latter description was associated with African woman, however the fear of racial mixing was always present. (Farahani, Gender, sexuality and diaspora 2018).
 By valorizing white skin, the socio- cultural hierarchy was rigidified in the society. These relations were further complicated when viewed through the lens of gender.

Feminist thinkers observe that colonial and orientalist discourses have historically employed sexuality as a prominent signifier for representing otherness. Such as "the fascination with 'beauty behind the veil' and the eroticization of the harem in orientalist text".

Women were placed under two categories - first the chaste, desexualized, Christian pious women and secondly, the sexual, primitive, available exotic women. The latter description was associated mainly with African woman, however the fear of racial mixing was also always present. By valorizing white skin, the socio-cultural hierarchy was rigidified in the society. These relations were further complicated when viewed through the lens of gender.

Oriental promiscuous femininity in the mysterious harem was constructed in opposition to the nonsexual, passionless domesticated femininity of the European middle class nuclear family. This oppositional gendering foregrounded the binary polarization of the chaste, desexualized Christian women in the marital home, with the promiscuous morally suspect non-Christian woman always available in a sexualized harem.

The racialized desire towards the exoticized oriental woman and the primitivized and eroticized African women was compounded with fear of racial mixture and interracial exchange. Interracial exchange was considered to be a threat to the purity of nation and it

led to a harnessed racial mixing by colonialists. As a tool to drive a wedge between blacks and mixed-race groups and between all people of colour and the whites.

Through valorization of lighter skin mixed race groups, pigmentocracies or shadism, colonialists established hierarchy that linked skin colour to social and economic class. In fact, groups that gain political and economic power as a result of what is known as the cultural mix of society that maintains their dominant position by discrimination against others who are further down the skin colour scale.

This discourse continues after colonialism and remains relevant in contemporary times. Interracial relationships become further complicated when viewed through the prism of gender. While sexual relationships between white men and racialized women have historically been silently accepted, racialized particularly black men's relationships with white women has meant putting their lives at risk. For example, the black peril panics in South Africa, Papua New Guinea and Rhodesia.

Thus, the patriarchal nature of white supremacy not only rectifies the dominance of white men over racialized men, but also contributes to the partial decrease of white women's racial privileges, if and when they enter or inhabit an interracial intimate relationship.

(Refer Slide Time: 10:46)

- According to Leila Ahmed, "colonial feminism" is defined as the "Western men's exploitation of Oriental women in the name of 'saving [the] brown women from brown men'". (Spivak, 1988)
- Postcolonial feminists acknowledged the race blindness of Western feminist theories and gender blindness of male postcolonial theories. However they failed to analyse racialized men as gendered subjects.





It would be pertinent to refer to Leila Ahmed here who has defined "colonial feminism" as the "Western men's exploitation of Oriental women in the name of 'saving brown women from brown men'".

Hierarchization as explicated by Farahani and Thapar-Bjorkert – "Cultural scripts on race associated the constructs of masculinity of 'other' men as either feeble and desexualized as in the case of the Asian; heroic and revolutionary as in the case of the Kurdish; hypersexualized as in the case of the black and femininity as undisciplined and promiscuous in the case of the black; in exotic and erratic in the case of the Arab and Muslim.

This genealogy never entered the Western Feminism. Postcolonial feminists acknowledged the race blindness or western feminist theories and gender blindness of male postcolonial theories. However, they failed to analyse racialized men as gendered subjects. The authors point out that while postcolonial feminist pedagogy highlighted the racialization of the female body, it did not recognize the violence on the masculine and the gendered bodies.

According to the authors the westernized models of masculinity studies have analysed Euro-American masculinities in considering such hierarchization, the definition of a man is limited to the White British or American male.

(Refer Slide Time: 12:28)

Race-blindness of (Western) masculinities studies

- The subject of men and masculinity formation has been a consistent topic in Western academia for the last three decades and has challenged the discourses on men, about men and un-gendered men.
- Connell and Messerschmidt have previously argued that masculinities studies remain "largely divorced from discussions of femininities, and since 'gender is always relational, patterns of masculinity are socially defined in contradistinction from some model (whether real or imaginary) of femininity" (848).
- Farhani and Thapar-Björkert present some contentious concerns in this context.

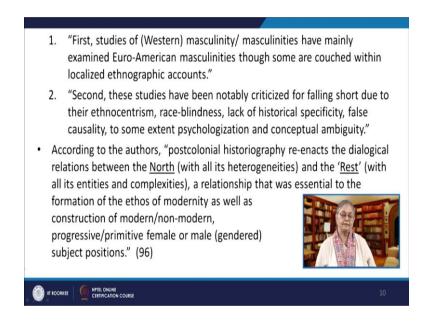




If we look at the race blindness of western masculinity studies, we find that the subject of men and masculinity formation has been a consistent topic in Western academia for the last three decades and has challenged the discourses on men, about men and un-gendered men.

Connell and Messerschmidt have previously argued that masculinity studies remain "largely divorced from discussions of femininities, and since 'gender is always relational, patterns of masculinity are socially defined in contradistinctions from some model of femininity". Farahani and Thapar-Bjorkert present some contentious concerns in this context.

(Refer Slide Time: 13:17)



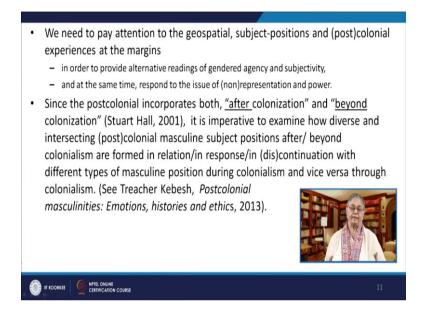
They say that the studies of western masculinity or western masculinities have mainly examined Euro-American masculinities though some are couched within localized ethnographic accounts. They also say that these studies have been notably criticized for falling short due to their ethnocentrism, race-blindness, lack of historical specificity, false causality, to some extent psychologization and conceptual ambiguity".

The authors say that the "postcolonial historiography re-enacts the dialogical relations between the North and the 'Rest'. The North with all its heterogeneities and the 'Rest' with all its entities and complexities. So, the postcolonial historiography re-enacts the dialogical relations between the North and the rest; a relationship that was essential to

the formation of the ethos of modernity as well as construction of modern and non-modern, progressive and primitive, female or male gendered subject positions.

This discrimination and racial blindness has exposed the Eurocentric ideals of defining masculinity, as subjects beyond colonization and subjugation.

(Refer Slide Time: 14:46)

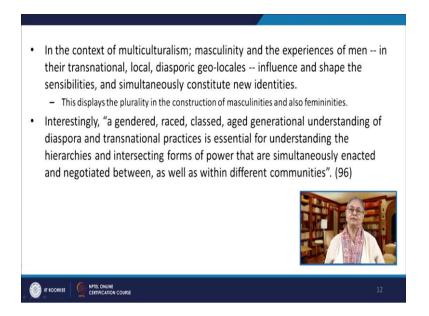


We need to pay attention to the geospatial, subject-positions and postcolonial experiences at the margins. In order to provide alternative readings of gendered agency and subjectivity and also at the same time, respond to the issues of non-representation in power.

Since the post colonial incorporates both, "after colonization" and "beyond colonization", it is imperative to examine how diverse and interesting postcolonial masculine subject positions after and beyond colonialism are formed in relation with, in response to in discontinuation with different types of masculine position during colonialism and vice versa through colonialism.

The authors point out that different geo special locales, produce multiple diverse and vibrant identities. Such diversification can take into account multiple factors such as race, class, ethnicity, language, nationality, etcetera and construct a global narrative. However, diversification can also lead to human slotting, on the basis of what makes them and what makes us as distinct signifiers and significations.

(Refer Slide Time: 16:17)



In the context of multiculturalism; masculinity in the experiences of men in their transnational, local, diasporic geo-locales - influence and shape the sensibilities, and simultaneously constitute new identities. This exhibits the plurality in the construction of masculinities as well as femininities.

Interestingly, "a gendered, raced, classed, and aged generational understanding of diaspora and transnational practices is also essential for understanding the hierarchies and intersecting forms of power that are simultaneously enacted and negotiated between, as well as within different communities".

Metropolitan countries process not only men and women differently, but also different men differently and slot them into predetermined, hierarchical, racialized boxes, Middle Eastern, East Asian, East European, African or Asian etcetera. A range of factors such as race, ethnicity, skin colour, education, age, language, dialect, religion, or social capital etcetera can become agents of discrimination and identity formation.

(Refer Slide Time: 17:44)



Interestingly, "many people encounter the West long before coming to the West; and conversely, Western people have also constructed their Western-ness by constructing an Orientalist orient. Similarly, many cultures construct masculinity while rejecting alternate masculinities. The marginalization of alternate modes of masculinities rigidifies hegemonic masculinity.

According to Farahani, linear ways of studying men, and masculinities, geographical locals and cultures produce a reductionist approach to culture, people and especially gender and sexuality. Uni-dimensional ways of studying men and masculinities produce an essential approach to gender and sexuality and narratives of other than western maleness.

(Refer Slide Time: 18:42)

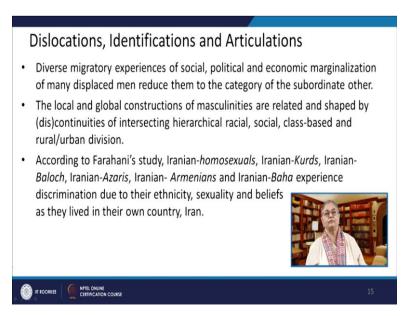
Farahani and Thapar-Björkert emphasize on the "construction of masculinities of young and second- generation immigrant men through problematic discourses".
 Such discourses tie race and ethnicity to crime, problematic and aggressive (hetero)sexuality and radicalization.
 They generate a 'moral panic' concerning 'home-grown criminals'.
 They also single them out as inferior in relation to their white counterparts and vilify and demonize them". (97)
 Masculinities play a crucial role in the construction of the self- image of men across the globe irrespective of culture, race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality.

Farahani and Thapar-Bjorkert emphasizes on the "construction of masculinities of young and second-generation immigrant men through problematic discourses". Such discourses tie race and ethnicity to crime, problematic and aggressive sexuality and also radicalization. They generate a 'moral panic' concerning 'home-grown' criminals.

They also single them out as inferior in relation to their white counterparts and vilify and demonize them. Masculinities play a crucial role in the construction of the self-image of men across the globe irrespective of culture, race, ethnicity, gender and sexuality.

(Refer Slide Time: 19:29)

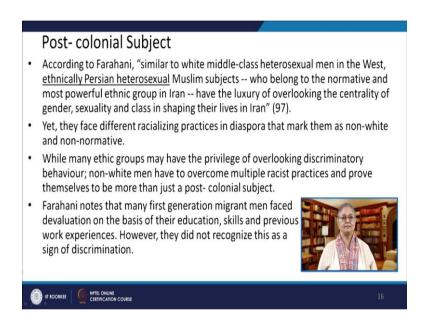
IIT ROORKEE ONLINE CERTIFICATION COURSE



Diverse migratory experiences of social, political and economic marginalization of many displaced men reduce them to the category of the subordinate other. The local and global constructions of masculinities are related and shaped by discontinuities of intersecting hierarchical, racial, social, class-based and rural urban division.

According to Farahani's studies, Iranian homosexuals, Iranian-Kurds, Iranian-Baloch, Iranian-Azaris, Iranian-Americans and Iranian-Baha experience discrimination due to their ethnicity, sexuality and beliefs as they lived in their own country.

(Refer Slide Time: 20:17)

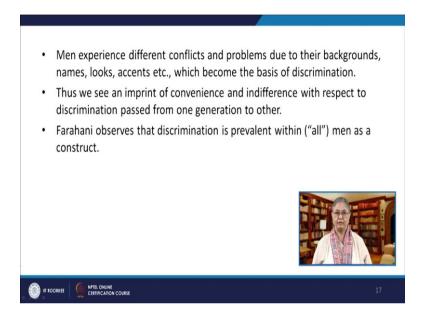


Farahani also says that, "similar to white middle-class heterosexual men in the West, ethnically Persian heterosexual Muslim subjects - who belong to the normative and most powerful ethnic group in Iran - have the luxury of overlooking the centrality of gender, sexuality and class in shaping their lives in Iran".

However, they face different racializing practices in diaspora that mark them as non-white and also therefore, nonnormative while many ethnic groups may have the privilege of overlooking discriminatory behaviour; non white men have to overcome multiple racist practices and prove themselves to be more than just a post-colonial subject. Farahani also notes in her study that many first-generation migrant men face devaluation on the basis of their education, skills previous work experiences etcetera.

However, they did not recognize this as a sign of discrimination. In studying diasporic masculinities and the discrimination faced by racial masculine subject Farahani notes that patterns of negation and deformed hegemonic progression are prevalent in all men and gendered bodies. The difference is that some men may recognize such patterns while some cannot or even refuse to recognize them.

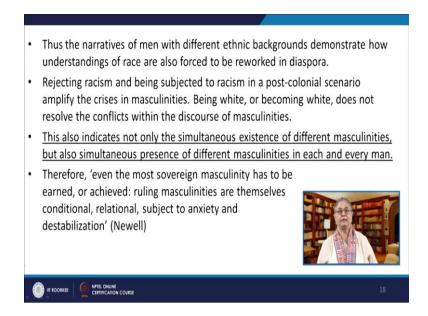
(Refer Slide Time: 21:52)



Men experience different conflicts and problems due to their backgrounds, names, looks, accents etcetera, which become the basis of discrimination. Thus, we see an imprint of convenience and indifference with respect to discrimination passed from one generation to other. Farahani observes that discrimination is prevalent within "all" men as a construct.

According to the authors being white and being part of the dominant white discourse cannot resolve the conflicts faced by men and especially the postcolonial men.

(Refer Slide Time: 22:31)



The narratives of men with different ethnic backgrounds also demonstrate how understandings of race are also forced to be reworked in diaspora. Rejecting racism and being subjected to racism in a postcolonial scenario amplify the crisis in masculinities. Being white or becoming white does not resolve the conflicts within the discourse of masculinities.

This also indicates not only the simultaneous existence of different masculinities, but also simultaneous presence of different masculinities in each and every man. Therefore, 'even the most sovereign masculinity has to be earned, or achieved: ruling masculinities are themselves conditional, relational, subject to anxiety and destabilization.

However, limiting oneself to the localized ethnic group and community will not produce favourable results. Masculinities studies attempt to break such formulations and rigid foundation on the basis of race, ethnicity, locale, language, culture, gender and gender performance etcetera.

(Refer Slide Time: 23:51)

Nonetheless, it is imperative to examine these masculinities as negotiated in and through specific historical and spatial contexts and in relation to other masculinities.
 Farahani and Thapar-Björkert opine that the meanings of masculinity are affected and shaped by cultural borrowing -- masculinities imported from elsewhere are conflated with local ideas to produce new configurations.
 Louise Archer comments that more "localized discourses of the 'gangsta' masculinities (gang membership), employ an "association between popular black identities and hegemonic ideals of masculinity" (such as status, "coolness" and strength) which stood in sharp contrast to prior stereotypes of 'soft', 'weak' and 'effeminate' Asian masculinity. (Race, masculinity and schooling, 2003)

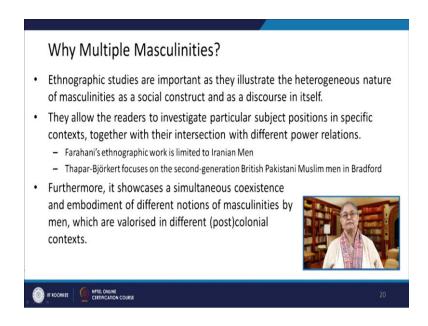
Nevertheless, it is imperative to examine these masculinities as negotiated in and through a specific historical and special context and in relation to other masculinities. Farahani and Thapar-Bjorkert opine that the meanings of masculinity are affected and shaped by cultural borrowing - masculinities imported from elsewhere are conflated with local ideas to produce new configurations. Louise Archer comments that more "localized discourses of the 'gangsta' masculinities, that is membership of the gangs, employ an association between popular black identities and hegemonic ideals of masculinities" which stand in sharp contrast to prior stereotypes.

For example, the popular black identities and hegemonic ideals of masculinity such as status, coolness, or strength were contrasted with the prior existing stereotypes of Asian masculinity as being soft or weak or effeminate.

We can also look at other examples such as Farahani's work on Iranian men, Bjorkert's work on second generation British-Pakistani Muslim men in Redford UK, Mrinalini Sinha's work on colonial masculinity in the 19th century India or Amal Kabesh work on masculinities in England and Egypt.

These examples establish the multiple voices present in post colonial masculinities. It reflects the global narrative on maleness and at the same time encourages the relevance of post colonial men's and masculinities studies.

(Refer Slide Time: 25:45)



Ethnographic studies are important as they illustrate the heterogeneous nature of masculinities as a social construct and as a discourse in itself. They allow the readers to investigate particular subject positions in specific contexts. Together with their intersections with different power relations.

Furthermore, it also showcases a simultaneous coexistence, an embodiment of different notions of masculinities by men which are valorised in different colonial or post colonial contexts. Today we have initiated a novel discussion on post colonial men and masculinities as opposed to the westernized models of maleness and masculinities. Farahani and Thapar-Bjorkert acknowledge the diversity present within the discourse of postcolonial masculinity.

(Refer Slide Time: 26:44)

- To conclude, we may say that the authors reflect on seminal developments in the constitution of postcolonial masculinities—as a critical dimension of postcolonial historiography—which arguably are:
 "... (re)articulated, contested and negotiated in and through specific historical property and the second contested and postcolonial masculinities."
- "... (re)articulated, contested and negotiated in and through specific historical moments, spatial contexts, local/transnational discourses and in relation to other dominant/hegemonic (white) masculinities". (99)
- Therefore, these assertions are not fixed and coherent, but fractured by other forms of identification; such as, class, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, age and place.



III ROORKEE CERTIFICATION COURSE

To conclude, we may say that the authors reflect on seminal developments in the constitution of postcolonial masculinities - as a critical dimension of postcolonial historiography - which arguably are: "rearticulated, contested and negotiated in and through specific historical moments, spatial contexts, local and transnational discourses and in relation to other dominant or hegemonic white masculinities".

Therefore, these assertions are not fixed and coherent, but fractured by other forms of identification; such as, class, ethnicity, religion, sexuality, age and place.

(Refer Slide Time: 27:31)

- Understanding racialized (marginalized) masculinities through postcolonial perspectives necessitates a recognition of the diversity of socio-political specificities as well as interrelationships that can display how men are (dis)privileged based on intersecting factors. (99)
- While taking on diasporic masculinities, the authors aim to address a lacuna in much of mainstream masculinity studies, and also feminist postcolonial studies which have mainly focussed on women.





Understanding racialized or marginalized masculinities through postcolonial perspectives necessitates a recognition of the diversity of socio-political specificities, as well as interrelationships that can display how men are dis privileged based on intersecting factors. While taking on diasporic masculinities, the authors aim to address a lacuna in much of mainstream masculinity studies, and also feminist post colonial studies which have mainly focused on women.

The authors conclude by suggesting that the subjective category men is in a state of transition and the postcolonial men as a conceptual category is in a state of flux. Therefore, it is crucial to negotiate this position of dis-privileged men other than the White British or American men in the colonial context and narrative.

(Refer Slide Time: 28:37)

- Dislocatory experiences for men, in terms of their marginality and alienation from dominant (white) discursive constructions, shape their everyday lives in different ways.
- We can assess these through the macro geo-spacial lens of a country, or through local discourses on building masculinity within a classroom, to closeted vanity at a performance space.
- Homeland, home, workplace and school continue to exert an influence on social identities in new destinations/place of habitation as men (and women).
- Such dislocatory experiences in (post) colonial diasporic spaces and contexts transform and translate the ways in which masculinities are negotiated, disrupted or operate in "a state of flux".





Dislocatory experiences for men, in terms of their marginality and alienation from

dominant white discursive constructions, shape their everyday lives in different ways.

We can assess these through the macro geo-spatial lens of a country, or through local

discourses on building masculinity within a classroom, to closeted vanity at a performance space. Homeland, home, workplace and school continue to exert an

influence on social identities in new destinations or place of habitation as men and also

as women.

Such dislocatory experiences in postcolonial diasporic spaces and contexts transform and translate the ways in which masculinities are negotiated, disrupted or operate "in a state

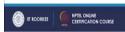
of flux". We will continue our discussion on masculinity in the next module also. In the next module we will study the role of men in gender mobilization and gender equality in the 21st century, to further the course of men's in masculinity studies on a global scale.

(Refer Slide Time: 29:54)

References

- Adkins, A. V. (2013). Black/feminist futures: Reading Beauvoir in Black skin, white masks. South Atlantic Quarterly, 112(4), 697–723.
- Ahmed, L. (1992). Women and gender in Islam: Historical roots of a modern debate. New Haven: Yale Univer- sity Press.
- Ansari, H. (2004). The infidel within: The history of Muslims in Britain, 1800 to the present. London: C.

 Hurst
- Archer, L. (2003). Race, masculinity and schooling. Milton Keynes: Open University Press.
- Babayan, K., & Najmabadi, A. (2008). Islamicate sexualities: Translations across temporal geographies
 of desire. Cambridge: Harvard University Press.
- Fanon, F. (1952/1986). Black skin, white masks. New York: Grove.
- Farahani, F. (2012). Diasporic masculinities: Reflections on gendered, raced and classed displacements.
 Nordic Journal of Migration Research, 2(2), 159–166.



(Refer Slide Time: 30:00)

References

- Farahani, F. (2013). Racializing masculinities in different diasporic spaces: Iranian born men's
 navigations of race, masculinities and the politics of difference. In J. Hearn, M. Blagojević & K. Harrison
 (Eds.) Rethinking transnational men: Beyond, between and within nations (pp. 147–162). New York:
 Routledge.
- Farahani, F. (2018). Gender, sexuality and diaspora. New York: Routledge. Gines, K. T. (2010).
- · Sartre, Beauvoir, and the race/gender analogy: A case for black feminist philosophy.
- · Hall, S. (2001). When was 'the post-colonial'? Thinking at the limit. NYU.



Thank you.