



## POLITICAL MASCULINITY: THEORITICAL CRITIQUE

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### Abstract

*This paper delves into the concept of masculinity and its impact on political landscapes. In contemporary scenario societies has gone under significant transformation in gender roles and power dynamics. This review paper investigates how tradition notions of masculinity influence and shape political behaviours policies, and discourse. The intersection of gender and politics has long been a subject of scholarly interest, with an increasing focus on understanding the role of masculinity in influencing political leadership styles and policy making. This paper review the existing literature in this field and analysis the psychological, social and cultural role in the construction of masculinity. Critically examine the development in global and indian context and role of gender and polwer relation in political context.*

Keyword: Masculinity, Political Masculinity, Gender, Power Dynamics, Gender Role

### Introduction

Masculinity is a recent historical phenomenon in gender research. The debates on masculinity have actually emerged within the feminist research<sup>1</sup>. Feminist writings and research, since the middle of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, have highlighted the gendered dimension in all political activities, it has been debated in conferences and seminars in the western intellectual world. It was first discussed and debated at the advent of the Women Liberation movement in the 1960s with the growth of feminist research on gender and “sex role”.<sup>2</sup> There are many aspects and often, coexisting forms of inter-sectional differentiation and marginalization in all societies. The second wave feminist writers of the 1960s and 1970s coined the radical principle that ‘the personal is ‘political’ and thus, laid the foundation for the politicization of the feminist movement and of feminist studies. Indian Gender studies recognize that in Indian patriarchal society religion, caste, class, region and sex may all become parallel intersecting bases of discrimination; and that the political dimension of all such studies is essential. The operation of patriarchy in India in the 21<sup>st</sup> century and its intersection with political activity at many different levels, and in different forms across both rural and urban India constitute interesting themes for research.

The modern feminist movements have, in all its three waves over nearly the past 150 years, had at its focus the fight for women’s equal rights in society<sup>3</sup>. The First Wave, in the middle of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, fought for the political rights of women. After achieving the female suffrage, women could vote, and all other discrimination would disappear. While later waves emphasized that only the achievements of political rights would not solve the women's question and started focusing on personal, psychological and political aspects of women's oppressions. They succeeded in establishing the gender perspective in the academic field and raising consciousness in public life. The later waves fought for the social and economic rights and establish that family life which is earlier thought as a private sphere now understood a public sphere like the other public institution<sup>4</sup>. Seminal works on modern feminism, such as Simone de Beauvoir’s *The Second Sex* ( 1949) laid down the argument that a woman being constituted as ‘other’<sup>5</sup>. Now the second wave feminists started theorizing epidemiological. In this phase researchers question the male heterosexuality and redefine the fixed male sexuality. This pattern arose due to the spread of HIV/ADDs among men<sup>6</sup> and with the advent of gay liberation movement and developing critique of heterosexuality of lesbian and gay men.<sup>7</sup> The third thrust can be located in the relation between the academics and activists<sup>8</sup>. The academicians of women study uncovered the powerlessness situation of women and the activists focused on the empowerment of women through policy-making. This phase identified the women as the “first subaltern”. The other main crux of this time gender studies were that they think

<sup>1</sup> (Sahgal, Constructing 'Vedic' Masculinities: animal symbolism, Mythic Constructions and Ritual Practices, October 2018) P-23

<sup>2</sup> (Connel, Theory and Society, 1993)p- 598

<sup>3</sup> Geoghegan, Political Ideology, 2014 p-184

<sup>4</sup> Andrew Heywood;(2017) Political Ideology, p- 301

<sup>5</sup> Connell, R W, Masculinities,(2005) P -18

<sup>6</sup> (Radhika Chopra, May 6-12, 2000) p-6

<sup>7</sup> (Connel, Theory and Society, 1993) p 598

<sup>8</sup> (Radhika Chopra, May 6-12, 2000) p-6



empowerment and redressing powerlessness of women, cannot exclude men. This involvement required a better understanding of men, how men view themselves in relation with women and with other men.

Most of the feminist writers wrote only on women by that time so Natalie Zemon Davis wrote addressing the feminist that

*“they were written mostly about women, ..... to rectify the deep and longstanding bias of historical records. .... It seems to me that we should be interested in the history of both women and men, that we should not be working only on the subjected sex any more than a historian of class can focus on a peasant. Our goal is to understand the sexes”*<sup>9</sup>.

So within the feminism ‘men’s study’ became the new subject of study and scholars of different discipline started to study the men and masculinity in different different perspectives to understand men and masculinity. Now, at first, we will discuss the meaning and definition of masculinity.

### **Masculinity: Meaning and Definition**

The term masculinity is defined as a physical, psychological and behavioural characteristic of men. It was the decade of 1980s and 1990s in which “masculinity” (and “men”) began to be interrogated as a construct.<sup>10</sup> In the last two decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, a good amount of research has been done on masculinity. The question of masculinity and understanding of the concept has become the question of importance and interest in the fields of gender study. The primary thrust of feminist study with feminist politics introducing the theory of marginal ‘subaltern genders that produced gay and lesbian studies. This trajectory broke with the assumption of masculinity as a given power structure, proposing powerless masculinity as crucial for understanding the gendered world<sup>11</sup>.

There are scholars who conceptualize masculinity in many different ways. R.W. Connell wrote in his book “Masculinities” that there are three main projects to study masculinity, one is clinical knowledge by therapists, the second based on psychological and social psychology centered on “sex-role” theory, and the third is a recent development in anthropology, history and sociology<sup>12</sup>.

Here, for the purpose of conceptual understanding, we will not go into the deep analysis done by various schools of thought but discuss it in general essence for our understanding. So first of all we will discuss what is masculinity in a general sense. Then we will discuss the different factors, which construct masculinity.

#### **Meaning**

When we think about masculinity we found that “masculinity belongs to men, manliness or manly refers to the gender, the social expectations of manly behaviour. This is often tied to power and is opposed to femininity.<sup>13</sup>” Even power is the central theme of gender study, but it is not necessary that masculinity assumes all men possess power or hegemony at all times.

“Masculinity” word comes from the Latin word “masculus.” Masculinus means “male” or “Masculine. According to the Merriam-Webster dictionary, masculinity means “having the characteristic of a male”, “the quality or nature of a male”, as per the Oxford English dictionary masculinity means, “the fact of being a man; the qualities that are considered to be typical of man”. As Reeser Todd W. in this famous book “*Masculinities in Theory: An Introduction*” writes that masculinity is produced by testosterone or by nature..... ascribes a series of characteristics to masculinity: “muscular”, “strong”, “hard”, “brave”, and “in control”. This is opposite to femininity. We can describe non-masculinity as “weak”, “soft”, and “emotional<sup>14</sup>. He further said we can label certain men as non-masculine, visible as the absence of masculinity.

The present discourse of masculinity evolved in the context of the English language in the western world in modern times. It is also a requirement to define it in Indian text and context. In the words of Samita Sahgal:

*“In early Indian religious text, the term masculinity does not come across but ‘man’ purusa, vira, ‘manly’ [paurusah , Viryogyah, virah, mahaviryah, narah ‘manliness’ (paurusama , viryam, parakrama, sahasam, surata, manusyatvam) masculine’ (Paurusah, Parusheyah, purusajatiyahy) ‘masculinely’ (pursvat, naravat, paurusena) and ‘masculineness’ (pursvsvam , paurusam, paurusta, purusasilata, purusasvabhavah, purusaprakrti) have many references. Additionally manhood is understood as pumstva’ purustva. , ‘masculine gender’ is referred to as pulingam and puman, ‘manly act’ is puruskara’, ‘manly duty’ is naradharmah” (Sahgal, Constructing ‘Vedic’ Masculinities: animal symbolism, Mythic Constructions and Ritual Practices, October 2018, p. 24)*

<sup>9</sup> Natalie Zemon Davis, (1976), Women's History" in Transition: The European Case, p-90

<sup>10</sup> Romit, Dasgupta., Articulations of Salaryman Masculinity in Shôwa and Post-Shôwa Japan ,University of Western Australia (2017) P-36

<sup>11</sup> (Radhika Chopra, May 6-12, 2000) p-6

<sup>12</sup>Connell, R W, Masculinities,(2005) P -7

<sup>13</sup> Todd, Reaser, Masculinity in Theory: an Introduction(2010) P-15,21

<sup>14</sup> Todd, Reaser Masculinity in Theory: An Introduction P-12



### Definition:

A very famous writer, Helen Mayer Hacker (1957) said concerning the criteria of masculinity that, an ideal man is a good provider, the ultimate source of knowledge and authority, and strong in character, so that he can give security but the norms of masculinity may vary among social groups.

Masculinity is simply defined by Flourishh Itilua Abumere

*The closet sense to state the masculinity “ masculinity consists of those behaviours, languages and practices, existing in specific cultural and organizational location, which are commonly associated with males and thus culturally define as not feminine<sup>15</sup>.*

American writer Patricia Sexton in her famous work “ The Feminized Male” defines masculinity. She wrote that Masculinity means:

*It means, obviously, holding male values and following male behaviour norms .....it appears that male norms stress values such as courage, inner direction, certain form of aggression, autonomy, mastery, technological skill, group solidarity, adventure, and a considerable amount of toughness in mind and body.*

As per the above definitions, masculinity belongs to manly behaviour and practices. We can perceive a bodybuilder as a muscular or aggressive man. His virile sexuality, fertility acquisition and display of power in public and household domain, demonstration of strength perceived as characteristics of masculinity, contrariwise impotency, homosexuality, feebleness and free display of feeling is femininity.<sup>16</sup> Todd said masculinity and effeminate is natural. So, according to Todd masculinity is produced by nature or it is natural. When we say it is natural and looking at the definition of what a man used to be? Then it is closely associated with the history of masculinity and does not always affirm our idea about what a man is?<sup>17</sup> There are wide cultural differences and variations in time and space in almost all cultures. Every culture has different standard masculine behaviour and has its cultural accounts of gender. For example, cultural acceptance and space for homosexuality, and expression of male-male and female-female intimacy is different in European, American and Asian culture. So in Todd’s words “in a single culture, the idea of masculinity is not stable and fixed.” Now we can say that masculinity is dynamic, and is natured or natural, and cultural specific too. It is constructed in historical and cultural context and we found a cross-cultural and cross temporal differences in masculinity.

As, R.W. Connell in his famous work ‘Masculinities’ said, “Masculinity is maleness.<sup>18</sup> It is a “way of being a man<sup>19</sup>.

In the words of Patricia Sexton, “What does it mean to be masculine? It means, obviously, holding male values and following male behaviour norms. Male norms stress values such as courage, inner direction, certain forms of aggression, autonomy, mastery, technological skill, group solidarity, adventure, and a considerable amount of toughness in the mind and body”.<sup>20</sup> We can easily ascribe a series of characteristic to masculinity: “muscular”, “strong”, “hard”, “brave”, and “in control” are words that come into mind<sup>21</sup>. Masculinity, manliness and manhood refer to the expected social behaviour of man. Manhood refers to the state of achieved manliness as an adult male<sup>22</sup>.

On the other side, as we discussed above some scholars gave emphasis on the social and cultural construction of masculinity. Thus, masculinity is about the behaviour and characteristics of an individual. Masculinity consists of those behaviours, languages and practices, existing in specific cultural and organizational locations, which are commonly associated with males, and thus, culturally defined as not feminine.<sup>23</sup> The meaning of masculinity is made up by the word “man” and the concept behind it is very obvious and makes the sense that they are not “women” (Reeser, 2010, p. 23). Our cultural heritage identified masculinity with human and both men and women aspire the masculine values,.....if a man is not masculine, not a “real man,” he is nothing. But a woman can be un-feminine, and still be a person.<sup>24</sup>

<sup>15</sup>Flourishh Itilua Abumere; (2013) understanding men and masculinity in modern Society P-42

<sup>16</sup> (Sahgal, Constructing 'Vedic' Masculinities: animal symbolism, Mythic Constructions and Ritual Practices, October 2018) P-24

<sup>17</sup> Todd, Reeser Masculinity in Theory: An Introduction P-13

<sup>18</sup> Connell, R W, Masculinities,(2005) P -67,150

<sup>19</sup>Romit, Dasgupta., Articulations of Salaryman Masculinity in Shôwa and Post-Shôwa Japan ,University of Western Australia (2017) P-36

<sup>20</sup> Tim Carrigan, Towards a New Sociology of Masculinity, Sept. 1985

<sup>21</sup> (Reeser, 2010) P -12

<sup>22</sup>Sussman, Herbert., Masculine Identities: the History and Meanings of Manliness (2012) P- 2

<sup>23</sup> Abumere, Understanding Men and Masculinity in Modern Society, 2013

<sup>24</sup> Helen Mayer Hacker, (1957) The new Burden of Masculinity, P-231



Masculinity does not exist alone, it exists in contrast with femininity. It is constructed in historical, social, and political considerations. It can not be studied as a single definition, but as variety and complexity.....within a single culture and temporal context, ideas of masculinity are far from stable and fixed<sup>25</sup>. Masculinity is not singular but multiple. Sometimes the idea of masculinity is closely related to the physical work, macho and Marlboro personality. Masculinity needs constant efforts to maintain it. The male body is the most common purveyor of masculinity, But that does not mean that masculinity is entirely contained within the male body nor that non-men cannot profit from its advantages.<sup>26</sup> Though, it is always not about men and women in gendered power relationships. Many a time masculinity is not visible. It is often visible when it does not belong to men. It appears more when it disassociates to the male body or a man is unable to maintain it or when a woman is getting hurt by it. Men may try to make it invisible.<sup>27</sup>

## Historical Frame

### Global Perspective

The decade of 1980s is important in the Study of masculinity as a key subject. Here, it is very difficult to frame the vast literature of historical evolution of masculinity in this research. The vast literature on masculinity reveals that masculinity is natural and essential. John Tosh a British historian also said that historians interested in moving toward a gender history of men, it is not because to maintain the balance, but because there is a growing need to understand the class and gender in the system of social relation as a whole (Tosh J. , 1994). R. W. Connel wrote in the introduction of his very famous book “Masculinity” (2005) that in the wake of Women Liberation movement in 1970, there is a small men’s Liberation Movement which gave the rise to the interesting political discussion about men. Todd W. Reeser in *Concept of Masculinity and Masculinity Studies* (2015) analyses the origin of the masculine study and wrote that in the early 20th century literature produced a unique representation of masculinity, but in social science it took place in the 1980s, as a study of men and masculinity in English speaking academy. American academicians Joseph Plack, Harry Brod, Micheal Kimmel, Robert Byl contributed in initial studies of masculinity. Joseph Plack’s book “ The Myth of Masculinity” (1981) provided the sex- role paradigm Index. She wrote about homosexuality, psychological aspect, hyper-masculinity and men’s attitudes towards women. She assumed that the masculinity and femininity is the part of the personality of an individual. At first, the researcher marked the individual identification by sex identification and the individual can be measured by his/ her personality traits as masculine and feminine. Harry Brod’s edited book “*The making of the Masculinities: The New Men’s Studies*” (1987) in which he also contributed a chapter “ *The Case Of Men’s Studies*” in this book. He argued in this chapter about men’s studies that “the most general definition of men’s studies is that it is the study of masculinities and male experiences as specific and varying social, historical – cultural formation.”<sup>28</sup> He further pointed out that like women’s studies, men’s studies' main aim is the emasculation of the patriarchal ideology. Bryce Traister (“*Academic Viagra: The Rise of American Masculinity Studies*”) claims that the new masculine studies in America is a new chapter within the project of Feminist American cultural analysis.<sup>29</sup> As Talcott Parson in *Age And sex in the Social Structure in United State* (1942) said that in our society to any extent age grads do not involve in categorization but it can constitute important connection links with other point of references such as kinship structure, formal education, occupation and organizational participation, and not in all, but in some societies.

This imbalance was the focus of the first sociological discussion in the construction of masculinity. R.W. Connel a historian by training and by work a sociologist (*Masculinities*) critically examined the three main domain of knowledge about masculinity. These are “Clinical domain” of Freud theory “psychological domain” as Sex-role theory” and “ historical -Sociological” domain as social-role. The main contribution of Connel is to replace the sex-role theory and creating the new theories of masculinity. He claims that there is not a single masculinity but multiple. Different cultures and different periods of history construct gender differently.....there will be multiple definitions and dynamics of masculinity<sup>30</sup>. As Strasser and Tinsmen write in “*It’s a Man’s World? World History meets the History of Masculinity in Latin American Studies, For Instance*” (2010) that the main focus was on gender and sexuality, though they remain segregated, but regularly examined why certain domain or individuals are coded as “masculine.” Masculinity remained incorporated with working class studies and historically workers referred to their gender identity as man, they complimented the women worker but a good worker and unionist were clearly defined in terms of manliness and this appeal of manliness continue till the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Masculinity was an important “ethical code” to craftsmen, workers asserted their manhood is equal to

<sup>25</sup> (Reeser, 2010) P-14

<sup>26</sup> (Reeser, 2010) P-36

<sup>27</sup> (Reeser, 2010) P-21

<sup>28</sup> Harry Brod. “The Case For New Men’s Studies”, 1987, P-40

<sup>29</sup> Bryce Traister. “*Academic Viagra: The Rise of American Masculinity Studies*” 2000, P-277

<sup>30</sup> R.W. Connel , (200) *The Men& The Boys*, P-10





their boss and if needed strike breakers were considered a betrayal of manhood. (Maynard, Spring 1989) So in the initial phase of industrial capitalism, workers used the masculinity to control the pace and production and it is tied up with the skills. Feminist and socialist feminists, in particular, recognized that the skills incorporate with both class and gender, though they recognize the skill a social- political construction rather a characteristic of a worker, and they insisted that discussion of skill is rotted in the division of labor,..... in relation between men and women ..... “Women have frequently failed to establish recognition of the skills required by their work”<sup>31</sup> Steven Maynard further argued that men were feared that the women organization is a threat to men outside the home and women can control the craft power which will impact the wages at work place. Any loss in wage and craft power is the loss of manly status. Such changes explain the masculinity and researches in this field, that demonstrated how men acquire the skills and used these skills and technological values to identify their masculinity.

In underdeveloped countries, like in Latin America, gender study took place in materialistic work, particularly studied within Marxism and the political economy. “They have made the masculine nature of men, and its making, a key subject of study”.<sup>32</sup> . Later on in monopoly capitalism technology stripped away the skill from the workers and transformed craft to mass production.

Historians in Britain who have worked on Men and Masculinity include John Tosh, Todd W. Reeser, J A Mangan, Martin Francis, Michael Roper and many more. John Tosh a British historian while discussing masculinity pointed out that for “everyone concerned to historicize masculinity, manliness is the obvious starting point” ..... Manliness is a cultural representation of masculinity<sup>33</sup>. Todd emphasizes that masculinity is present everywhere in life, but in the Victorian age, it is an elite class affair, and in modern western cultures it is demonstrated at home, work and all male association. Michael Roper and John Tosh in “*Manful Assertions*” brought sexual politics in the historical discussion. They argued that masculinity should be understood in subjective identity. They further said, “the historical approach offers the best opportunity for exploring the meaning of gender: as power, for seeing masculine and feminine identity not as a distinct and separable construct, but as part of the political field.”<sup>34</sup> J. A. Mangan analyses the ethos of athleticism and sportsmanship in the Victorian age.

On the other part like, in Australia, R.W. Connel in another book “*The Men & The Boys*” (2000) wrote that concern about masculinity is not only spread in many countries but in many fields such as health, education, and criminology. The debate on masculinity in the academic fields has now practical consequences. It focuses on “how we understand men and gender, what we believe about masculinity”.<sup>35</sup> He further claims that in the last two decades the social psychoanalysis argued about the social role and a new branch of social- constructionism that dealt with and studied the gender in the new scope of class, race, sexualities and nationality with the issues of subculture and marginalization.

### **Indian Perspective:**

The growing body of research on masculinity in India constituted a rich field in social science within the gender study. Mrinalini Sinha, Prem Chowdhry, Radhika Chopra, Sujata Subramanian, Smita Sahgal, Sanjay Srivastava, Charu Gupta are few who contributed in this field. Smita Sahgal critically analyzed the historical presence of masculinity in early periods of Indian history. She pointed out the requirement of defining the term “masculinity” in the Indian context, though this comes from Anglo European academic words. Masculinity appeared in Indian ancient literature as Masculiness (*purusviam, Paurusta*), (*purudvat, naravat*) and masculine (*Paurusha*). She explains that masculinity was also present in the Upanishads, in Mahabhart, in Brahmanical and in the medieval period. Men are bound to show their virility and strength in public and should act as the way of the warrior. Lord Shiva and Indra were the symbol of masculinity in religious literature. (Sahgal, Masculinity In Early India: Constructing an Embryonic Frame, 2009-2010) Charu Gupta explains in her paper “*Anxious Hindu Masculinities In Colonial North India Shuddhi And Sangathan Movements*” that masculinity was present from *Sanatana Dharma* to *Arya Samaja*, from Vivekanda to Gandhi from *Bhamcharya* to the image of Krishana. The Shuddhi and Sangathan movement depicted the Hindu masculinity as powerful and Muslim as negative. (Gupta, DECEMBER 2011)

In the colonial period, multiple masculinity had been constructed in India. As Mrinalini Sinha in “*Colonial masculinity*” argued about emerging dynamics between colonial and nationalist politics. Colonial masculinity pointed toward the multiple axes of power which was exercised by colonizer on colonial India.

<sup>31</sup> Steven Maynard (1989) *Rough Work and Rugged Men: The Social Construction of Masculinity in Working-Class History*, P -163

<sup>32</sup> Ulrike Strasser and Heidi Tinsman, (2010), *It's a Man's World? World History Meets the History of Masculinity*, in *Latin American Studies*, for Instance P-85

<sup>33</sup> John Tosh. “ What Should Historian do with The Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth Century Britain, (1994) p- 181

<sup>34</sup> Michael Roper & John Tosd. (1991) *Manful Assertion*, P- 8

<sup>35</sup> R.W. Connel , (200) *The Men& The Boys*, P-4



Colonizers and colonized are not fixed categories, they are historically constructed. Mrinalini Sinha revealed that the colonial masculinity was shaped in the context of imperial social formation. This imperial social formation constituted two groups the “Manly Englishmen” and the “Effeminate Bangali.” Which reveals the formation of colonial masculinity and effeminate subjects. In colonial ordering of masculinity. Whereas Prem Chowdhry explained that in the colonial period dominant masculinity was being constructed in the south eastern Punjab specially in the Martial caste. (Chowdhry, *Militarized Masculinities: Shaped and Reshaped in Colonial South-East Punjab*, 2013) “Colonial masculinity thus examines the politics of masculinity in the late nineteen century”<sup>36</sup>.

If we analyse the masculinity we can establish the link between Hindu assertion, violence and masculinity in the present day. (Gupta, DECEMBER 2011) The Hindu masculinity revolves around Hindu nationalism, constructed by the right-wing ideologues, maintained and strengthened by the disciplined followers. This idea is circulated through strength, and progress, including indigenous technological progress and development which establish India in global economy, is now a matter of pride for every Indian. (Subramanian). There is an association between the election and masculinity. media focuses on the election campaign and presented the Indian election, particularly after the 2014 election, in US “presidential style” and focuses on Modi’s style of leadership, his ability to overcome the policy paralysis and his strength to challenge the enemy (Srivastva, 2015).

While the study of masculinity in perspective of Haryana reveals the various aspect of the British colonial period. The recognition of martial race/ caste by the British Government and inclusion of such specific caste in state, in army, constructed the masculinity in this region. Martial caste status, land ownership, dominant caste syndrome, physical strength and an army fully supported the dominant masculinity in colonial Punjab. (Chowdhry, *Militarized Masculinities: Shaped and Reshaped in Colonial South-East Punjab*, 2013)

Prem Chaudry in “*Popular Perceptions of Masculinity in Rural North Indian Oral Traditions*” (2015) argues that masculinity is rooted in patriarchy in northern India, particularly in Haryana. Oral traditions such as folk songs, folktales, myths and popular sayings perceive the masculinity. Several hierarchy and oral tradition created and consolidated the men’s power over other men and women who comes from different caste, class and category. (Chowdhry, *Popular Perceptions of Masculinity in Rural North Indian Oral Traditions*, 2015) She (“*Masculine Space*”, 2014) seeks the relationship between the women’s issues, public space and masculinity in Haryana. In rural Haryana, the exclusive public space becomes the centre of male strength and patriarchy exercise. Men dominate the village and then declare it our Village.<sup>37</sup> One of the most important institutions of male power is the Traditional Panchayat famously known as “*Khap Panchayat*.” The Khap Panchayats are often controlled by older people. The notion that they are the custodian of cultural tradition and norms resides in the functioning of *khap panchayats*. Age and experience still get respect in Haryana, on such notion, the younger generation obey these panchayats.

If there is advocacy for masculinity, those are also present who oppose it. The gay movement worldwide opposes the hegemonic form of masculinity. The gay men movement contented for the safety, equal right and space in society, and feminist reveals the control of men over the government institutions, media, jobs, sources of income and violence. (Connel, *Masculinities*, 2005, pp. 39-31) Criticism of dominating form of masculinity also circulated internationally in the form of men mass movement., particularly in the English speaking world. National organization of Men against sexism in USA, British new Left Men’s Group and Canadian White ribbon Campaign are the prominent movement that oppose the dominant masculinity. (Connel, *The Men & The Boys*, 2000, pp. 52-56) Hacker in “*The new Burden of the Masculinity*” wrote that men are the dominant group and inadequate attention has been paid to the study of this dominant group. Now in the changing scenario, there is a new burden on men. It is expected of men to demonstrate the interpersonal skills which were earlier reserved for women. his role gradually has been challenged as a father, he is not the sole care taker of his children, as a son, after “momism”, and “absentee father culture” there is fear about his maturity and identity at home, as a lover, virility is less important, without femininity a woman is a woman, but a man is not a “real man” without masculinity. He has to maintain it. (Hacker H. M., Aug. 1957).

One the other side scholars works talked about relation between the aging and masculinity. Male aging is considered a process of effemination, and a man’s softer body was a sign of feminization and inadequate representative of masculinity. (Bauer, winter 2015) Aging, and the consequences related to old age such as health issues, outdoor health damaging jobs, drinking and smoking are vulnerable to masculinity. Old men who take pain to maintain independence and autonomy, (tough and strong and in control define independence) is a marker of successful aging. Aging, Health problems weaken sexuality and the inability in caring results in the loss of masculinity. (Hoonard)

As analysed by the Brod in the “*Making of The Masculinity: The New Men Study*” and quoted by Jennifer in “*Masculinity in Crisis*” *Men have a social role identity, a place in lobar and sense of self, have to earn*

<sup>36</sup> Mrinalini Sinha. *Colonial Masculinity: The Manly Englishmen and the Effeminate Bangali in the Ninetenth century*, (1995) P- 2

<sup>37</sup> Chowdhry, Prem. “*Masculine Space*”. *Economic and political Weekly*, (2014)



money for family and control over it, and a heterosexual life. With the social , political , economic changes. Since media hold these key changes often offers contradictor images of men and masculinity.- from traditional machismo to sensitive and emotional expressive “new men”<sup>38</sup>. Homosexuality poses an the challenge to the traditional understanding of masculinity and is a threat to patriarchal status to the heterosexual emage of men in the society. As in her study “ *the myth of Masculinity*” Joseph Pleck aslo found that in social, economic and political change there is an identity crisis for men, and is very difficult to meet the contradictory demand by the male sex- role.

Moreover, there is a relationship between un-marriage and unemployment with masculinity, which is a primary signifier of power. Due to the skewed sex ratio number of unmarried men and tight opportunity in employment adding poverty create great pressure on young men as breadwinner, which is a major challenge to masculinity in Haryana. (Chowdhry, Crisis of Masculinity in Haryana The Unmarried, the Unemployed and the Aged, 2005) It is also pertinent to say here that many scholars have their view that masculinity has some crisis due to various changes in the society and due to the changes in the role performed by men and women in the society. But masculinity still exists and is relevant in the society. It controls the social and political domain, particularly in traditional society.

All we have discussed above, masculinities are the roles learnt by individuals through socialization and played out by men and women in society. Men were regarded as bread winners, strong and masculine, whereas women were regarded as child-rearing, soft, and caring. Thus, masculinity is socially constructed<sup>39</sup>; and is not a fixed notions but dynamic in nature. Gender embodiment, relationships and patterns of performativity determine the status of the two sexes in any society.

Early feminist movements put all the responsibility and blame on men for the weak position of women in all power relationships in society. Their core theme was that men are not only the breadwinners, but also control all social and political institutions. These feminist movements also contributed to the emerging field of the academic study of masculinity. The theorists and researchers of men and masculinity come from diverse backgrounds..... until recently, theorization and work was predominantly conducted in the developed setting, particularly in the UK, US and Australia. In 1980 a focus on men and masculinity emerged.<sup>40</sup>

In modern usage, the term assumes that one’s behaviour results from the type of person one is.<sup>41</sup> Some men are tough, aggressive, dominating, and violent. Some in contrast are peaceful, gentle, and non-dominating. So, a masculine man can dominate an un-masculine man. Masculinity is multiple. Innumerable copies of masculinities floating around in the culture... cannot be brought back to an originary masculinity<sup>42</sup>. One brand of masculinity might be built because of the influence of a particular famous personality, bodybuilder or hero. It may be possible the new generation may follow the previous generation, copy them and their style because they consider them role models<sup>43</sup> (Todd, 2010). These phenomena may further create a new model for the future generation which is a hybrid copy of the existing model, and they may be different from the old. This new generation of model may construct another brand of masculinity. For example, Arnold Schwarzenegger’s was the role model of bodybuilders and portraits a form of masculinity, further many others follow him and represent their own masculinity which is different from the original than that of Arnold’s. Neither form of masculinity is pure. All are a mixture of their previous form. Arnold Schwarzenegger’s form was influenced by the image of the male body in ancient art, such as Schwarzenegger refers to other forms of masculinity.<sup>44</sup> Many scholars analyse masculinity in the reflection of psychology and many others see it in the biological and socio- cultural sense. So now we will analyse and discuss the masculinity broadly in a Psychological, socio-cultural and biological essence.

### Psychological essence

Some studied “Masculinity as a psychological essence”<sup>45</sup>, an inner core to the individual. Masculine identification resided in the life of the mind, rather than the body.<sup>46</sup> As Joseph H. Pleck said in his book “ The Myth Of

<sup>38</sup> Jennifer Lemon. “ Masculinity in Crisis?, (1995) P-64

<sup>39</sup> Peretz, Why Study Men and Masculinity? A Theorizing of Masculinity, 2016

<sup>40</sup> Morrel, MEN , MASCULINITY AND GENDER POLITICS IN SOUTH AFRICA: A REPLY TO MACLEOD, 2007, pp. 15-26

<sup>41</sup> Connell, R W, Masculinities,(2005) P -67

<sup>42</sup> (Reeser, 2010) P-38

<sup>43</sup> Todd 2010

<sup>44</sup> (Reeser, 2010) P 39

<sup>45</sup> R W Connell, The Big Picture P- 599

<sup>46</sup> John Tosh, (1994) What should Historian Do With Masculinity? Reflections on Nineteenth Century Britain, P-182



Masculinity” (1981) that our society has constructed the psychology of masculinity<sup>47</sup>. Masculinity and femininity are important aspects of human personality<sup>48</sup>. It may be acquired early in life and may be carried forward into later life. Both the sexes boys and girls are grown with a sense of masculinity. It is an identity of a child which is laid down by her family in her early childhood. as *GLYKERIA ISAKIDOU* said that concept of gender identity is one’s subjective experience of his gender.....his personal sense that he is a man or a woman. Sexual identity refers to an aggregation of one’s personal experience and sense of belonging to a certain sex .....and sexual identity suggests psychological behaviour. <sup>49</sup>

As femininity and masculinity is a collection of qualities that people experience or recognise themselves self as feminine and masculine. Masculinity as psychoanalysis is analysed first time by Freud known as classical Freudian theory. In Freud’s theory of psychoanalysis, he thought that masculinity is a primary and more normal situation<sup>50</sup>. Freud said all humans are bisexual in nature and an individual is not a man or woman but both. As Connell systematically analysed the Freudian theory of psychoanalysis. R.W. Connell wrote that in Freudian theory, Freud dealt with this idea of masculinity and femininity through the approach of Oedipus complex, architectural approach to gender and sociological dimension- “Superego” In his study “little Hans” and “Fat man” he pictured the dynamics formative relationship, he saw the Oedipus- complex and emotional aspect of childhood. The rivalry of boys with their fathers and fear of castration. Hence, in middle childhood, the desire of a child for one parent and hatred for others is the key movement of development. In the architectural approach to gender, in his study of “ the wolf man,” he emphasises the pre-oedipal to Oedipus complex. Freud traced the interplay between archaic emotions. These emotions reflect in the changing desire of the boy, the desire for his father, his relationship with his servant and his identification with his mother. Klein in his study “ the Oedipus complex in the light of early anxiety” found that the development of a “superego” an early age represented the relationship of the child with her parents. In this study, the Girl Rita’s super-ego is reflected in her play. She tries to destroy her toys because she was aware of the sexual relationship of her parents. Her hatred for her father and her Oedipus complex was rooted in her depressive position. Here what is important is some of the model characteristics as identification found to be identified to the self.

As the consequences boy’s strong desire to acquire some of his father’s characteristics, try to imitate and adopt the attitudes of his father, in his attempt to gain an elusive masculine identification, often comes to define his masculinity largely in negative terms, as that which is not feminine ..... the boy tries to reject her mother and deny his attachment with mother<sup>51</sup>.

Some scholars studied the socio-psychological aspects of role theory. They began to trace the masculine development and developed the idea of role- theory applied to gender as “ sex-role”. As Joseph H Pleck’s famous study reveals that the individual is pre-programmed to learn the traditional sex –role refers to a set of behaviour and characteristics widely viewed as typical men and women and desirable men and women<sup>52</sup>. The problem with traditional sex – role is that so many people fail to fit them, not the nature of the role themselves.<sup>53</sup> Sex – role is understood as a pattern of social expectation, norms and behaviour of men and women which were transmitted to a youth through a process of socialization.<sup>54</sup>. thus it can be said that sex- role may include the same set of behaviour and characteristics, norms which include personality traits, and social role performed by a man and women in the working place and in the family. The male role may be defined as an aggressive, emotionally inexpressive and successful man, while socially his role is as breadwinner, husband and father. On the other side women’s role is contrary to men’s, soft, emotional, caring mother. Sex role norms refer that what a sex ideally should be.

### Biological essence

As discussed above that masculinity is a continuously changing phenomenon from culture to culture. So the question arises that “Are men’s Bodies irrelevant to masculinity”<sup>55</sup>?

The Biological thoughts pointed and termed “man as a biological category of sex.....self- evident biological definition of man. .... we believe or wish to believe that there are two and only two sexes”<sup>56</sup>. This is the most accepted biological binary of sexes in which all people must fit. Often we called it the two-sexes model. In sports, we strictly imply this model as men and women events, like women track and men track, women boxing

<sup>47</sup> Joseph H. Pleck (1981) The Myth Of Masculinity, P-1

<sup>48</sup>Ibid P-16

<sup>49</sup>*GLYKERIA ISAKIDOU, the Development of Genderidentity*, ENCEPHALOS 53, 34-40, 2016, <http://www.encephalos.gr/pdf/53-2-02e.pdf>

<sup>50</sup> Ibid P-36

<sup>51</sup>Joseph H. Pleck (1981),The Myth Of the Masculinity, P-24

<sup>52</sup> Ibid 10

<sup>53</sup> ibid P- 4

<sup>54</sup> Connell R.W, the men and The Boys, (2000) P-8

<sup>55</sup>R W Connell, the men and the Boys (2000) P- 57

<sup>56</sup>Sussman, Herbert., Masculine Identities: the History and Meanings of Manliness (2012) P- 2





and men boxing. Sports participants are divided broadly into two categories, male as well as female categories. Sometimes this classification became controversial as in the case of South African athlete Semenya and in the case of an Indian athlete Dutti Chand. When their sex is determined by the medical team whether the athletes are male or female. In the medical testing process medical criteria determine the sex of an individual in opposition to the social definition of sex, as social definition depends on one's behaviour, which means how one actually behaves.

The new research on the relationship between masculinity and body is very important. They saw masculinity as the Biological essence<sup>57</sup>. Those who considered it biological, said that men behave the way they do because of testosterone, or big muscles, or a male brain.

Sumita Sahgal very neatly explains the relationship between body and masculinity. In her words:

*"The biological trait of man as a bearer of 'penis' or 'phallus', distinguishes him from a woman and makes him a distinct 'social' being. His virility, sexuality, fertility, acquisition and display of power in public and in house hold domain.....physical strength and violent act.....become telling characteristic of his masculinity and his body a sit of it ."*<sup>58</sup>

The male body is the most common carrier of masculinity, for instance, Schwarzenegger's image of a modern bodybuilder, his influence over the idea of muscular bodybuilding, teenagers consider him a role model and his masculinity relies on the image of idealized artistic male body. "True masculinity is almost always thought to proceed from men's bodies- to be inherent in a male body or to express something about a male body"<sup>59</sup>.

In mythopoetic approach such as Adam's Odysseus as written by Todd in his book "masculinities in theory" the representation of universal masculinity is linked to all man. As in ancient Indian Vedic pantheon god's were predominantly male ..... and the mechanism were used by ritual practitioner and myth makers to constitute notion of manhood.<sup>60</sup> Deities such as Indra and Agni were associated with virility, sexual potency and strength, Animal symbolism in vedas such as Bull is also known for its aggression and virility....for instances Indra is called 'Bull of men' <sup>61</sup> labour shapes man's body, ...men were wiry and fit....the physical strength of men conveys more than just the nature of labour.<sup>62</sup> Many of these qualities is associated with body and masculinity. Ratna Priya in her paper "The kamasutra of vatsyayana: representing masculinity in the kamasatriya tradition wrote that Vatsyayana's understanding of human sexuality is rooted mainly in the natural order.....Dominance eroticized and defined the imperative of masculinity whereas submission eroticized defined femininity.<sup>63</sup> But there is a lot of difficulties with this two-sex model. As Greek Philosopher Aristotle said that there was only the male sex, and female lacks the male organs. (p-6). On the other side, there is one more sex, the intersex, many persons are born with mixed male and female sex. (Sussman, 2012)(P-6) So determining the sex biologically is limited. On the other side, the measurement and determining the natural masculinity is very difficult as it requires strong biological determination. In some cultures rape is absent and homosexuality is normal, a mother does not hold the dominating position in child caring and men are not aggressive.

### **Social – Cultural Essence**

Some scholars characterized Social masculinity as constructed by the socio-cultural environment. it is based on performance, society expects that each gender must perform with a pre-script, and in an expected way, constantly and in all circumstances. The main essence of this theory is that society is scripted and nurtured accordingly, if you are male, nurtured like a male and if you are female, nurtured like a female. The concept is considered inherently relational. When scholars argue about masculinity, most of their arguments were in relation to women and locate masculinity or treat it via cultural representation. Mike Huggins in the review of Mangan J.A. Book "Manufactured masculinity" the "fair play" adopted to help to turn their savage hooligans into sporting heroes..... and team games were advocated for their "manly" virtue and turned privileged pupils into particular "right sorts" of men, throughout the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century, in Britain, "manly" became associated with the game and associated with masculine moral virtue<sup>64</sup>. Manliness expresses perfectly the quality of men. As John Tosh argued that " the important truth that the boys do not become men just by growing up, but by acquiring a variety of manly qualities and manly competencies.....men are sex at large in the society, they must live by a

<sup>57</sup> Smita Sahgal constructing 'Vedic' Masculinities (2018) P-23

<sup>58</sup> ibid P-23

<sup>59</sup> R.W.Connel, (2005) Masculinities, p - 45

<sup>60</sup> Smita Sahgal constructing 'Vedic' Masculinities (2018) P-26S

<sup>61</sup> Ibid P-26

<sup>62</sup> Holmes, Katie. "Making Masculinity: Land, Body, Image in Australia's Mallee Country." In: "Visions of Australia: Environments in History," edited by Christof Mauch, Ruth Morgan, and Emily O'Gorman. RCC Perspectives: Transformations in Environment and Society 2017, no. 2, 39–48. doi.org/10.5282/rcc/7907.

<sup>63</sup> Ratnpriya, THE KĀMASŪTRA OF VĀTSYĀYANA (2017) p -187

<sup>64</sup> Mike Huggins, "Manufactured" masculinity P-148



code which affirms their masculinity.<sup>65</sup> Manliness thus is a cultural representation and attributing to power in the society. As John Tosh (*What should Historian Do With Masculinity?*) and Michel Cohen (*Manners Make The Man*) wrote and agree that where the relation of men with women and protection of women were concerned manners associated with high regard for women and chivalry associated with the protection of women. Both also agreed that the notion of chivalry is also an important characteristic of man. Micheal Cohen<sup>66</sup> insists that in the 19<sup>th</sup> century masculinity was redefined, contrary to the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century.

It has been observed that “politeness”, concerns with social performance, are attributed to identity and social virtue. The polite gentleman was easy and thoughtful of others and it is a form of social refinement that virtue linked with civility. It had been a practice that the young men travelled to France and Italy to socialize with “*Beau Monde*” to perfect their conversation and manner. By the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, politeness became the characteristic of femininity and chivalry of masculinity. Cohen said that By this time, it was very difficult for men to be polite and manly. As politeness is an art that requires self-control of body and tongue and in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century they call the attention to the age of chivalry, means learning self-independence and generous. Now they attended the issue of power and complexities in the representation of masculinity<sup>67</sup>. The behaviour of man like a man is simply natural. For man, behaving like a man is determined by the body in which men are born, but to the great extent man’s behaviour is constructed by upbringing and social norms. The belief is that the behaviour of each sex is constructed and shaped by the society. In the words of Andrew Haywood, sex in this sense is refer to biological and gender is to Cultural terms.

*“it refers to the different roles that society ascribes to men and women. Gender differences are typically imposed through contrasting stereotypes of ‘masculinity’ and ‘femininity’. As Simone de Beauvoir pointed out, ‘Women are made, they are not born’. Patriarchal ideas blur the distinction between sex and gender, and assume that all social distinctions between men and women are rooted in biology or anatomy”<sup>68</sup>*

Though some feminist denied any logical link between sex and gender, they emphasize that gender are even constructed socially and politically. And there are many Scholars like Freud and Jung who said that masculinity residence in minds and others said that it resides in bodies at the end we can say that all three- psychology, biology, and social-cultural elements help the construction of masculinity.

#### **Masculinity: As An Ideology**

Reaser. Todd W. understand the concept of masculinity and consider masculinity as an ideology. The concept of ideology is traditionally associated with class and with politics.....as a concept is often aligned with those in power: we talk about a “dominate ideology” as the political ideology that prevails in the given context<sup>69</sup>. So when we think and consider masculinity as an ideology it is subjectively and directly linked to the power and to the domination of those in power. For the 19<sup>th</sup> century historian have written on the subject of “manliness” a high-profile ideology of masculinity.....it was elaborated, reiterated, contested, elaborated and adapted by preachers, school-masters and novelists.<sup>70</sup> Here one thing is important to discuss that as no single group can be able to create the natural masculinity so is true in case of masculinity as an ideology. No single group can create the masculine ideology. Images, myths, discourse text or oral and through practices and with the use of language construct masculinity as an ideology. (Reaser, 2010) (p-45-46). For example, the image of a famous bodybuilder, myth, like men are stronger and intelligent than women, practice like boys play with toy guns girls like and play with dolls, men dressed n trousers and ties women do not, construct the masculinity. So the origin of masculinity is not entirely an abstract idea it is also based on physical practice. Most of the time the physical and abstract spheres interact with each other, we can not separate them easily. Gramsci, the very famous German-Marxist political thinker, gives the concept of hegemony. Hegemony refers to the ability of a dominant class to win the consent and to subjugate by the use of power in place of coercion. So the function of masculinity as an ideology is to authenticate the use of power by the person in a powerful position. It also shows the dominant position on others and legitimizes its use in gender relations.

<sup>65</sup> John Tosh, (1994) *What should Historian Do With Masculinity?* Reflections on Nineteenth Century Britain, P-181

<sup>66</sup> Michal Cohen ; (2005) *Manners” Make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity, 1750–1830*

<sup>67</sup> R W Connell, *The Big Picture* P- 600

<sup>68</sup> Andrew Heywood; (2017) 6<sup>th</sup> Ed *Political Ideology*

<sup>69</sup> (Reaser, 2010) P-40

<sup>70</sup> John Tosh, (1994) *What should Historian Do With Masculinity?* Reflections on Nineteenth Century Britain, P-180



As above said, masculinity is multiple. R.W Connell describes four types of masculinity in his book “Masculinity” it is hegemonic, subordinate, complicity, and marginalized<sup>71</sup>. Some other scholars differentiated masculinity as white masculinity represents political dominance of the white ruling class, black masculinity which gains its power after urbanization and development in new areas and rural masculinity rests in rural culture and customs (Robert Morrell, 2012).

Hegemonic masculinity occupies a hegemonic position in a given gender relation. It is a configuration of gender practice.

*“The term comes from Greek word “Hegemonia” meaning “Leader”, in its simplest sense the ascendancy or dominance of one element of system over others. In the writing of Gramsci, hegemony refers to the ability of a dominating class to exercise power by winning the consent of those it subjugates, as an alternative to the use of coercion. As a non-coercion it is a form of class rule.”*<sup>72</sup>

Hegemonic masculinity means the global dominance of men over women.<sup>73</sup> The construction of masculinity is shaped by local cultural traditions as well as global and transcultural influence, masculinities are simultaneously local and global.<sup>74</sup> The idea of hegemonic masculinity and hierarchy in masculinity developed during the gay liberation movement which developed the analysis of the oppression of men by men. Hegemonic masculinity distinguished all other forms of masculinity, especially subordinate masculinity, it is focusing the spotlight on the dominating group, understood as the pattern of practices, not just a set role or an identity that allowed men’s dominance over women, but it is a way of being a man, required all men to position themselves in relation to the global subordination of women to men<sup>75</sup>. Hegemony doesn’t mean violence it can get through culture, institution, and persuasion.

Subordinate masculinity is the subordination of men among groups of men. As all men cannot meet the normative standard.....the number of men rigorously practicing the hegemonic pattern in entirety may be quite small<sup>76</sup>. The structure of class and race also constructs other types of marginalized masculinities such as black masculinity.

#### **Political Masculinity:**

Everyday life is an arena of gender politics.<sup>77</sup> Politics is most often conceived of as a gender-neutral practice guided by rationality<sup>78</sup>. Yet, as it is the case more generally in society, masculinity operates as a hidden (human) norm structuring politics.<sup>79</sup> Though masculinity is a social construction, it determines the nature and the functioning of the state and its institutions. Carole Pateman in *The Sexual Contract* pointed out that state, civil law, legitimate political right and legitimacy of government had been originated from social contract theory and this original contract was actually a sexual contract. Government and political rights are all about patriarchal rights which provided the legitimacy to men power and its exercise over women. So the original sexual contract created both freedom for men and subjugation for women (Pateman, 1988, p. 2). Research and literatures on masculinity of the last decades also put the spotlight on that the mass politics is gendered. Whether it is the representation of women in state legislative bodies or the political recruitment process in political bodies or policy formulation and execution almost have been in men’s control.

Scholars all over the globe have been theorizing the concept of political masculinity. In simple words, all masculinities are political because they demonstrate the power relations among and within genders. Gender power is like the other power which resides in other forms like in caste, class and race, plays a significant role to control the discriminated and marginalized class. As women is considered as a class also has a marginalized position in society. Those who are in an advantageous position in society can discriminate against women. While Dalit men and homosexual men may suffer discrimination from the upper caste men who control the power. This also raises the question that all men are not in equal position, and do not have equal privileges in the society. Thus, sexuality falls within the preview of politics. (SRIVASTAVA, 2015).

Kathleen Starck and Birgit Sauer propose a broad definition of political masculinity as that “which encompasses any kind of masculinity that is constructed around, ascribed to and/or claimed by ‘political players’”. These shall be individuals or groups of persons who are part of or associated with the ‘political domain’, i.e.

<sup>71</sup>Connell, R W, Masculinities,(2005) P -76

<sup>72</sup> Andrew Heywood; (2013) Politics 4<sup>th</sup> edition. P-174

<sup>73</sup> Senel, From Hegemonic Masculinity to Masculinity Crisis:The Exploration of the Failure of Idealized Masculinity on the White Screen, 2017/8

<sup>74</sup> (Gardiner, 2011)

<sup>75</sup> R.W Connell et al (2005) hegemonic Masculinity; Rethinking the Concept. P-832

<sup>76</sup>**Invalid source specified.** p-79

<sup>77</sup> R W Connel; Masculinities; 2005 P-3

<sup>78</sup> Marion Loffler, R. L. (2020). political Masculinity and Populism. *NORMA: International Journal for Masculinity Studies*, 1-9.

<sup>79</sup> Ibid, p-1-9



professional politicians, party members, members of the military as well as citizens and members of political movements claiming or gaining political rights.”<sup>80</sup> This definition clearly demonstrates that any kind of masculinity, any action and activities by individuals or groups (formal or informal) claiming or gaining political rights is political masculinity. Sometimes these activities and actions are visible and sometimes they are hidden. Political masculinity is associated with the production and reproduction of power in the society. A crucial question within the study of power is “how power is made?” this is also the question within masculinity studies. Men as a gender are being nurtured within the crucibles of power..... and produced through the power machines such as Family, school and religious configurations.<sup>81</sup> In many societies culture of masculinity prevails, hence it is the men and women who must protect the cultural traditions and norms. The cultural norms collectively constitute the cultural identity which drives from the power hierarchy. If they fail to protect these traditions then men, as well as women, might be punished for the cultural honour. Many a time this cultural identity and honor might be expressed in the notion of national identity. Hence the household politics becomes the politics of gender at the national level. (SRIVASTAVA, 2015). So all the activities, social, economic, and political which produce or reproduce political power are activities of political masculinity. Thus, all Masculinity is political.

#### Conclusion:

Gender has been in the center of feminine study. Since late 20<sup>th</sup> century masculinity gain the attention in the fields of Sociology, Psychology and Political Science and in Gender Studies. Now men also have been studied and the masculinity which shapes and determines the status of individual in the society. Masculinity are multiple. The relationship between men and women and also among men shaped by the status of individual in masculine hierarchy. Hegemonic masculinity dominates the all other masculinity. All masculinity are political masculinity, and political masculinity is production and reproduction of power to protect the individuals and group rights.

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<sup>80</sup>Starck & Sauer, (2014), p. 6.

<sup>81</sup> SANJAY SRIVASTAVA, (2015) Masculinity Studies and Feminism: Othering the Self , P- 34





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