



# EXTREME MASCULINITIES

International Conference  
**28-09-2017 - 01-10-2017**

**University of Vienna**

organized by Tereza Kuldova

The study of masculinity has been gaining momentum in the last two decades. However, much of this research has been framed by concerns about sexuality, gender and identity. This conference seeks to radically depart from this focus. Instead, it will analyse the rise to prominence of diverse forms of 'extreme masculinities' – right-wing, violent, criminal, gang, terrorist, hyper-muscular, prison, football hooligan etc. – within and through the context of contemporary politics, neoliberal restructuring of the economy and the ideology of consumerism. The conference aims to foster thinking about the rise of 'extreme masculinities' from the perspective of social, economic and structural analysis and thus offer an alternative perspective to the increasing proliferation of theories that individualise and psychologise questions of gender.

## KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

**Richard Wilk**

Professor of Social Anthropology, Indiana University

**Simon Winlow**

Professor of Criminology, Teesside University

**Steve Hall**

Professor of Criminology, Teesside University

**Alberto Testa**

Senior Lecturer in Criminology, University of West London



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Department of Social and  
Cultural Anthropology



**Gender and Agency**

Forschungsverbund an der Universität Wien

## THURSDAY 28-09-2017

### Aula am Campus

Spitalgasse 2, 1090 Wien

**17:45 Welcome - Tereza Kuldova**

### 18:00 – 19:30 KEYNOTE LECTURE

A Brief History of the Tough Guy **Richard Wilk**

**19:30 - 21:30 - Welcome Drink**

## FRIDAY 29-09-2017

### Hörsaal A, Department of Social and Cultural Anthropology

NIG, 4<sup>th</sup> floor, Universitätsstraße 7, 1010 Wien

**9:30 - 10:00 – Conference Registration & Coffee**

**10:00 – 10:30** Prison Violence, Materialistic Machismo and Carceral Capital: Understanding Prison Masculinities in the Extreme and at the Extreme **Kate Gooch, David Sheldon and James Treadwell**

**10:30 – 11:00** Detaining Manhood: Post-9/11 GTMO and Negotiating Masculinities **Maria Mildenberger**

**11:00 – 11:30** Discussion

**11:30 – 12:00 Break**

**12:00 – 12:30** Facehunting: Masculinity, Transgression and Empathy among the Bugkalot **Henrik Hvenegaard Mikkelsen**

**12:30 – 13:00** A Game for Men: Masculinities at the Europe's African Frontier **Marco Palillo**

**13:00 – 13:30** Embracing the Hazard: Rethinking Masculinity, HIV, and Risk in Namibia **Mike Callaghan**

**13:30 – 14:00** Discussion

**14:00 – 15:30 Lunch**

**15:30 – 16:00** Professional Wrestling and the Kierkegaardian Turn: Wrestlers are Dying Young, Because 'the Woman Does not Exist' **Sebastian Averill**

**16:00 – 16:30** Posing Routine: Built Masculinities, Theatricality, and Bodily Evidence **Broderick D.V. Chow**

**16:30 – 17:00** Discussion

**17:00 – 17:30 Break**

### 17:30 – 19:00 KEYNOTE LECTURE

Virility, Communitas and the Warrior Spirit: Making Sense of the Comrade of the Third Millennium **Alberto Testa**

## SATURDAY 30-09-2017

### Aula am Campus

Spitalgasse 2, 1090 Wien

**9:30 – 10:00 Coffee**

**10:00 – 10:30** Angels with Dirty Faces: Gosha Rubchinskiy and the Politics of Style **Graham H. Roberts**

**10:30 – 11:00** Who are you Calling a Hackney Twat? Creativity and Stigma in Contemporary Britain **Charlie Athill**

**11:00 – 11:30** Discussion

**11:30 – 12:00 Break**

**12:00 – 12:30** The Self-objectification of Gender: Hardcore Ethnography from a Luxury Brothel in Madrid **Daniel Briggs**

**12:30 - 13:00** Killed by the 'Subhuman': The News Construction of Jane Longhurst's Murder as a Problem of Toxic Masculinity **Dimitris Akrivos and Alexandros K. Antoniou**

**13:00 – 13:30** Discussion

**13:30 - 15:00 Lunch**

**15:00 – 15:30** Masculinities and Violence Among Mexican Youth Gangs **Adina Radosh Sverdlin**

**15:30 – 16:00** Loss of Sovereignty and Social Abjection: On Masculinity and Melancholic Objects of Political Desire **Tereza Kuldova**

**16:00 – 16:30** Discussion

**16:30 – 17:00 Break**

### 17:00 – 17:45 KEYNOTE LECTURE

Trauma, Loss and the Violent Subject **Simon Winlow**

### 17:45 – 18:30 KEYNOTE LECTURE

No Future for Old Men: Masculinity and the Breakdown of the Pseudo-pacification Process **Steve Hall**

**18:30 – 19:30 DISCUSSION WITH ROBERT PFALLER**

## SUNDAY 01-10-2017

### Aula am Campus

Spitalgasse 2, 1090 Wien

**9:30 - 10:00 Coffee**

**10:00 – 10:30** The Hyperreal Gambler: Visual Construction of Men in Online Poker Ads **Jukka Jouhki**

**10:30 – 11:00** Men Refusing to be Marginalised: Illmatic and the Expendables Trilogy **Lisa-Nike Bühring and Marcel Witczak**

**11:00 – 11:30** Violence, Victimization, and Gender Slippage in the Work of Bangladeshi Visual Artist Mahbubur Rahman

**Melia Belli Bose**

**11:30 – 12:00** Discussion

**12:00 – 12:30 Break**

**12:30 – 13:00** Masculinity as Precondition of 'the Political' **Barbara Stefan**

**13:00 – 13:30** Burhan Wani and the Masculinities of the Indian State **Fabian Hartwell**

**13:30 – 14:30** Discussion & Concluding Remarks

### **A Brief History of the Tough Guy: From Violence to Repressed Sexuality**

**Richard Wilk**

It is no coincidence that a 'tough guy' stereotype is deeply embedded in the cultural history of Europe and its settler colonies. This ideological construct has a history and a political economic context in the global spread of colonialism and mercantile capitalism, and the need for a cheap mobile labour force on its violent frontiers. Alcohol was the lubricant, violence a daily discipline, and sexuality an explosive source of energy for the masculine working cultures which produced the original tough guys; soldiers, whalers, sailors, navies, cowboys, miners, gauchos and llaneros. This keynote lecture will offer a brief historical unpacking of the 'tough guy' stereotype.

**Richard Wilk** is an anthropologist, Distinguished Professor and Provost's Professor Emeritus of at Indiana University, where he co-directs the IU Food Institute. His initial research on the cultural ecology of farming and family organization was followed by work on consumer culture and sustainable consumption, energy consumption, globalization, television, beauty pageants and food. Much of his recent work has turned towards the history of food, the linkages between tourism and sustainable development, and the origin of modern masculinity. His publications include more than 140 papers and book chapters, a textbook in Economic Anthropology, and several edited volumes. The most recent book is *Rice and Beans: A Unique Dish in a Hundred Places* edited with Livia Barbosa.

### **Prison Violence, Materialistic Machismo and Carceral Capital: Understanding Prison Masculinities in the Extreme and at the Extreme**

**Kate Gooch, David Sheldon and James Treadwell**

Prisons are extreme places. Structurally, the depriving and degrading nature of the prison environment constitutes a significant assault on manhood, constraining prisoners to a childlike, subservient role where power and agency must be continually negotiated. Explanations of prison masculinities tend to focus on the use of violence as a resource and route to manhood. However, typical accounts impose unduly simplistic understandings of prison violence and masculinities, failing to account for the ways in which masculine performances are intimately connected and altered by shifts towards neo-liberalism and consumer capitalism occurring beyond the prison but played out visibly and overtly within its walls. This article draws on extensive, ethnographic research across three different prisons: a young offender institution (for 18-21 years old), a local prison for adult males, and a prison for sex offenders. It not only focuses on the prison as a stage for the performance of extreme masculinity, but for the first time, it critically assesses the ways in which masculinities may be presented in extreme ways. Moreover, this article argues that such performances cannot be adequately understood without reference to the material, consumer driven behaviour that is occurring within prison and is connected to organised crime, the sub rosa economy and the trading of illicit substances. It is argued that prison violence is not only expressive, but it is unquestionably instrumental and driven by hedonistic and individualistic imperatives.

**James Treadwell** is a Senior Lecturer in Criminology at the Birmingham City University. As a criminologist he is known for undertaking ethnographic and qualitative research for a number of crime and criminal justice related projects. Since completing his PhD he has been involved in a range of empirical projects. He undertook a long term ethnographic study of the English Defence League, and used ethnographic methods to study the August 2011 English Riots. He has recently been looking at the cultivation of cannabis in economically deprived areas and his current research has seen him using qualitative methods to study bullying and victimisation in prison. He co-authored among others the following publications: Winlow, S, Hall, S and Treadwell, *The Rise of the Right* (Policy Press, 2016); Winlow, S, Hall, S Briggs, D and Treadwell, J., *Riots and Political Protest* (Routledge, 2015); Hopkins, M and Treadwell, J: *Football Hooliganism, Fan Behaviour and Crime: Contemporary Issues* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2014).

**Kate Gooch** is a Lecturer at the Law School of the University of Leicester; she has conducted ethnographic research in prisons, focusing on issues such as physical restraint, self-harm, self-inflicted deaths and prison violence, as well as focusing on aspects of the legal process concerning children, such as the interrogation and detention of child suspects in the police station. With funding from the ESRC Impact Acceleration Account, she is currently engaged in two large ethnographic projects, the first focusing on prison violence and the second on the opening of a new large and

rehabilitative prison, producing a series of thematic reports for policy and practice. She co-authored among others the following publications: Gooch, K. and Treadwell, J., *Transforming the Violent Prison* (Palgrave, forthcoming), Gooch, K. and Treadwell, J., *Prison Bullying* (University of Birmingham, 2015).

**David Sheldon** is a Doctoral Researcher at the Birmingham Law School with interest in prison sociology; particularly in the experiences of vulnerable prisoners and in the sociology of imprisoned sexual offenders. He has co-authored among other articles: 'Towards an Ultra Realist Understanding of Contemporary English Prison Masculinity', J Treadwell, K Gooch and D Sheldon, (forthcoming in *Theoretical Criminology*).

## **Detaining Manhood: Post-9/11 GTMO and Negotiating Masculinities**

**Maria Mildenerger**

This paper seeks to map the distribution of the sensible of 'the masculine' that emerges in unstable and extreme ways within the aesthetics constituting the social and material organization of the archipelago of the post-9/11 detention center, particularly in representations of Guantanamo Bay. Drawing on prison literature, I am interested in how consensual and dissensual practices negotiate the signification of masculinity within this site that appears to transform the liberal idea of human rights into something violent, a site that in its material and symbolic construction is determined by the biopolitics of security. Filmic and literary accounts that seek to give voice to detainees and set out to produce encounters with those inside the war prison in order to produce recognition of the humanity of those dehumanized, must also strive to dissent from the violent hegemony of American exceptionalism. However, many counter-narratives fail to do so. In reading the construction of masculinities in war prison literature addressed to Western populations, I seek to understand how concepts such as human rights, security and punishment create unique chances but also strong limitations in the aim to shed light on enemy constructions. Comparing the account of *Guantanamo Diary* (2015) with the film *Camp XRay* (2015), I argue that in post-9/11 prison discourses recognition of 'masculinity' emerges as a biopolitical regime of consensus, producing violent practices of abjection. The question arises whether democratic dissensus must, then, not demand the recognition of the non-masculine in order to retrieve detainees from the site of abjection.

**Maria Mildenerger** has completed her BA in American Studies at the University of Mainz (2012) and has been awarded a Graduate Exchange scholarship for research at the University of Kansas (2015), focusing on popular media, human rights and critical prison studies resulting in the paper "Enemy or Victim? The Treatment of Transnational Prisoners of War as a Measure of the Status of Human Rights in the US American Homeland" which was presented at the MAASA Conference in 2016. She is currently pursuing an MA in English and American Literatures, Cultures, and Media at the University of Kiel.

## **Facehunting: Masculinity, Transgression and Empathy among the Bugkalot**

**Henrik Hvenegaard Mikkelsen**

This paper takes its outset in research conducted among the Bugkalot of Northern Philippines. Through a discussion of the way in which masculinity among the Bugkalot is enacted through headhunting, I seek to show how the Bugkalot case questions fundamental assumptions about the properties of empathy. Efforts have recently been made by anthropologist to disclose how the capacity for empathy may enable humans to carry out malevolent, violence. However, I seek to push this argument further. I propose that rather than merely becoming a tool for accomplishing a violent act, empathy is what allows violence to achieve its transformative capacity. Through the reflections of the 19th Century writer Thomas de Quincey on the act of murder, I seek to show how understanding headhunting as 'murder', as an intentional act that seeks to 'cleans the heart by means of pity and terror', may disclose how this particular act is tied to masculine ideals of autonomy. Headhunting, I argue, targets not the head but the 'face', that is, it strikes at the very fulcrum of the ethical relation and the foundation of empathy. This allows the man to 'contract' himself - achieve a firmness (beya) within a cosmos marked by unruly, chaotic energies.

**Henrik Hvenegaard Mikkelsen** has his PhD from the University of Aarhus (2014). He has carried out fieldwork in Denmark, Canada (Montreal) and the Philippines, focusing in particular on aging, sexuality, loneliness, violence and politics. His monograph, *Cutting Cosmos: Paradoxes and Spectacular Events among the Bugkalot*, will be published by Berghahn in 2017.

## **A Game for Men: Masculinities at the Europe's African Frontier**

**Marco Palillo**

In his ethnographic work, Andersson (2014) brilliantly illustrates the construction of an illegality industry in the Euro-African borderlands. This industry, in its attempt to control or constrain human mobility, instead produces more illegal migration. On the road, the traveler comes to inhabit this condition of illegality, where gender is acknowledged but taken for granted, evoking a peculiar constellation of attributes (Andersson, 2014). In contrast, this paper argues that gender is central to the process of meaning-making that travelers are forced to do. Travelers' masculinities are constantly negotiated by people on the move while at the same time they are scrutinized and selected by other relevant actors – smugglers, police officers, soldiers, border control officials, member of rebel groups or militias in the most brutal kind. Here, masculinity can be explored both as a category of vulnerability (Lovgren, 2015) and resistance associated with the condition of mobility. Drawing on life-story interviews conducted with refugee and asylum seeker men in Sicily, this paper aims to explore how within the 'illegality industry', hegemonic discourse about refugee masculinities are co-constructed and how travelers navigate these discourses while making sense of their own gendered refugee experience.

**Marco Palillo** is a second-year PhD candidate at LSE (Social Policy Department) currently working on refugee masculinities in Sicily. Marco holds a BSc (First class with honours) in Political Science from Sapienza University of Rome, a Master's degree (with distinction) in International Relations from Luiss-Guido Carli University of Rome and a Master's degree in Social Policy (Research) from LSE. His professional experience includes working at the Italian Parliament on civil rights and LGBTIQ issues. He has written for mainstream press such as Huffington Post-Italy. Marco's research interests include masculinity, migration, intersectionality, feminist theory and critical race theory.

## **Embracing the Hazard: Rethinking Masculinity, HIV, and Risk in Namibia**

**Mike Callaghan**

Much research has approached HIV and male behavior through the lens of risk. This has traditionally relied on the assumption that men calculate risk by weighing the product of the probability and magnitude of hazards of action against the perceived value of its benefits. This model purports to explain why men are less likely to practice safer sex, take treatment, and to survive. This paper presents a different model of male risk behaviors. I conducted 2 years of ethnography on gender and HIV treatment outcomes in Walvis Bay, a growing urban hub on the coast of Namibia. The men I encountered did not necessarily 'take risks,' as classically understood: instead they took dangerous action without information about probability and magnitude, and without hope of obvious benefit. They avoided life-saving medical treatment as casually as they smoked cigarettes while filling cars with petrol. These men are more usefully described as choosing to embrace hazard. I explore embracing hazard through two frames. First, as a symbolic response to the fracturing of masculine identity through processes of culture change. Rural pathways to manhood are well-established, but urban male life in Namibia is marked by precarity and powerlessness. Insofar as asserting power is central to masculinity, embracing hazard is a form of resistance that allows men to affirm their agency. Second, embracing hazard as a function of ecological pressures on rural migrants in a rapidly growing, ethnically heterogeneous city enmeshed in the global economy. Many of the same qualities that help men succeed in the city – stubborn independence, eschewing traditional authority, and risk-taking – can appear maladaptive in other contexts. Ultimately, in this model the embrace itself is far more important than the risk. Embracing hazard therefore offers a more nuanced and grounded approach to understanding masculinity and risk behavior, inside the clinic and out.

**Mike Callaghan** is a Medical Anthropologist at the London School of Hygiene and Tropical Medicine. His research focuses on human health and large-scale processes of change, including urbanization, globalization, and climate change. Previously, he studied HIV in southern Africa, global health systems, and medical pluralism among the Sherpas of Nepal. His is current researching Ebola in Sierra Leone. Learn more at: [lshtm.academia.edu/MikeCallaghan](http://lshtm.academia.edu/MikeCallaghan)

## **Professional Wrestling and the Kierkegaardian Turn: Wrestlers are Dying Young, Because 'the Woman Does not Exist'**

**Sebastian Averill**

In *Le sinthome* (Book XXIII), the publication of Jacques Lacan's seminar from 1975-76, we are told that 'the woman does not exist'. What did Lacan mean by this, and what can Lacan's phrase tell us about why American professional wrestlers often die young? We need to think about what Žižek called 'the Kantian gesture'. What Kant did was to assert the operativity of the phenomenon (the symbolic double) as against the noumenon (the actuality of reality). In the Kantian constellation, the epistemological deportment of the subject renders their material environment uncertain. And then, of course, what we get in Hegel is a transposition of this antagonism into the world itself. Graham Harman says that any attempt to move beyond the dichotomy of Idealisms (phenomenons), and Realisms (noumenons), necessitates the adoption of another (neo-)Idealist position. For the purposes of decoding Lacan, we will agree with Harman here; in our uncertain metaphysical situation, we are – as Pascal said – 'ever swimming from end to end'. Sometimes we assert Idealisms, and sometimes we assert Realisms. But often we try to surpass the distinction between Idealisms (phenomenons), and Realisms (noumenons). We try to escape our situation. And why not! The German Idealist constellation in which we are locked is monstrous. This paper argues that the neo-Idealism described by Graham Harman is analogous to Lacan's idea of masculinity. Lacanian masculinity emerges in the social space when we accept the distinction between Idealisms (phenomenons), and Realisms (noumenons), and then work within it. Lacanian masculinity emerges in our attempt to escape. Lacanian femininity, on the other hand, is the very texture of undecidability inherent in our (metaphysical) situation. 'The woman does not exist' because if Lacanian femininity were to take concrete form it would no longer be feminine. I claim that the hegemony of Lacanian masculine gestures in the American professional wrestling industry accounts for the persistence of dangerous behaviors designed to re-inscribe, over and over again, a precariously idealized male form. I use the unfortunate case study of Chris Benoit's 2007 murder-suicide to deepen the claim. The wrestling moniker of Nancy Benoit, whose feet and hands Chris bound together before he strangled her, was 'Woman'. In wrestling's compulsions to re-inscribe masculinity, 'there is no such thing as woman'.

**Sebastian Averill** is a PhD candidate and teaching assistant at the University of Loughborough. He researches a constitutive, regulative silence in the work of Slavoj Žižek as regards Anarchism generally and Mikhail Bakunin specifically. In the past, he's written on (i) Christopher Nolan's Batman trilogy, (ii) Einstein and Quantum Physics read with Hegel and Heidegger, and (iii) American professional wrestling read with Kierkegaard. His future research agenda will be to explicitly define Žižek's departure from Heideggerian phenomenology.

## **Posing Routine: Built Masculinities, Theatricality, and Bodily Evidence**

**Broderick D.V. Chow**

This article examines the history of bodybuilding to shed light on the contemporary cultivation and display of the hypermuscular body, a practice that, on the surface, seems to be a clear performance of 'extreme masculinity.' By exhibiting their extraordinary and extreme muscular development onstage, early 20th century bodybuilders simultaneously reified the normative male body ideal, promoting fitness as an everyday discipline in the midst of growing industrialisation. Today, this binary between the normative and the excessive, freakish, or queer continues to colour contemporary discourse where the fit body demanded by ideologies neoliberal productivity is policed as abnormal when its development crosses an invisible line. I argue that the policing of the muscular male body expresses an antitheatricalism that helps us understand the role of theatre in establishing both normative and extreme modes of embodiment. As in Sianne Ngai's

reading of 'gimmicky' works of art, 'showy' built bodies disturb because they reveal a labour relation: they display the labour the bodybuilder has put in at the same time as they 'work too hard' for our attention. My argument proceeds in two parts. To begin, I read two historical examples in relation to the concept of theatricality. The first, *le conseil de révision*, is the 20th century French military evaluation where young men exhibited themselves naked before a panel. The second is a 1901 English legal case where strongman/bodybuilder Eugen Sandow launched a suit to prevent Arthur Saxon from using the trademark 'The World's Strongest Man.' In his testimony, Sandow stripped off his clothes and lifted a barbell for the jury. The cold objectivity of the first case and the queer showiness of the second demonstrate how theatre establishes the 'normal' body, disappearing when a body is 'unmarked' but intruding when, like a bodybuilder's muscles, it acts too hard. I then explore how the 'theatrical mode' is performed or enacted in everyday life, based on my ongoing autoethnographic fieldwork with bodybuilders, personal trainers, and weightlifters. I investigate how theatrical embodiment might soften or subvert what at first glance is perceived as hard, unyielding masculinity, drawing us away from questions of 'authentic' gendered embodiment.

**Broderick D.V. Chow** is a Senior Lecturer in Theatre at the Brunel University London. His research explores how social, political and historical forces can be understood through performances of the body, and spans theatre and performance studies, anthropology, and sociology. His performance work includes the dance-theatre and professional wrestling piece *Work Songs*, which toured the UK and Germany, and a recent physical culture lecture-demonstration at the Barbican Centre, London. He is the Principal Investigator on the AHRC-funded Leadership Fellows project *Dynamic Tensions: New Masculinities in the Performance of Fitness* ([www.dynamic tensions.com](http://www.dynamic tensions.com)). He has published in a wide range of journals including *TDR: The Drama Review*, *Performance Research*, and *Contemporary Theatre Review*. I am coeditor of *Žižek and Performance* (Palgrave 2014) and *Performance and Professional Wrestling* (Routledge 2016). He is an amateur Olympic Weightlifter and a BWL Level 1 Qualified Weightlifting Coach.

## **Virility, Communitas and the Warrior Spirit: Making sense of the Comrade of the Third Millennium**

### **Alberto Testa**

The recent rise of neo-fascist groups concerns the entire European continent from Germany to Greece, from Italy to Russia. To make sense of these groups and their activism, the concept of 'virility' cannot be neglected; virility must be contextualised within the ideological opposition to any form of individualism and the display of symbolic and actual violence. Zeev Sternell was one of the first scholar to support this thesis; for Sternell the 'revolutionary' fascism ideology is characterised by an intellectual, moral and political framework that opposes to individualism a strong human community in which all layers and social classes are perfectly integrated (Sternell, 1995) and where dominant socio-cultural and political dominions are resisted. They are resisted within the socio-cultural field by the elaboration of norms, clothing, music, tattoos and fanzines aiming to exalt 'tradition' while opposing hegemonic values founded on the homologation of ideas and practices due to globalization processes. This opposition is also externalized in how work, family, education are conceived, and via a strong antagonism to the global banking and financial power. The resistance to the dominant political dominion manifests, instead, via stressing the marginalization and victimization of 'non-homologated' individuals who are targeted by a global 'elite' and are cut off by its decisional processes. For the comrade of the third millennium, this resistance starts from the communitas. The concept of communitas is different from that of a community (Hirsch, 2007). Communitas is formed in situations where individuals are driven together by a common experience of trial; it involves intense feelings of belonging that originate from having to rely on others to survive. Being an accepted member of the communitas means having shown credibility externally and internally, being strong, honourable and courageous. These are all important traits of the neo-fascist habitus (Bourdieu, 1977) - of what I call 'the warrior spirit'- and they are best understood if the concept of virility is analysed. In my speech, I will examine the notion of virility and its relevance to understanding the cognitive schema of 21st century neo-fascist activists and how virility reinforces their identification with the communitas and its real and perceived daily socio-cultural and political struggles.

**Alberto Testa** is an applied sociologist of deviance and crime, Senior Lecturer in Criminology and an expert on Far Right extremism and violence, hooliganism, crowd violence, prevention and policing, Italian society, corruption, and mafia. He is a researcher of the

Royal United Services Institute and he serves as Associate Editor for the Journal of Qualitative Criminal Justice & Criminology. Alberto is also a regular contributor to the BBC, LBC, SKY, CNN, CBS, VOICE OF AMERICA and many more, on hooliganism and crowd violence.

## **Angels with Dirty Faces: Gosha Rubchinskiy and the Politics of Style**

**Graham H. Roberts**

In many ways, twenty-first century Russia is the land par excellence of extreme masculinity. The countless examples of Russian male public figures engaging in extreme forms of behaviour include rocker, performance artist and general bad boy Stas Baretzky, who gained notoriety in summer 2015 by ripping open a can of lager with his bare teeth in the middle of a St. Petersburg hypermarket in a protest against Western retailers and their purportedly anti-Russian policies, and Aleksandr Zoldostanov, free-wheeling leader of the infamous “Night Wolves” bikers’ club and personal friend of President Putin. Putin himself regularly indulges in spectacular performances of extreme masculinity, whether it be pledging to “bump off” Chechen terrorists in their “shithouses” (Gorham 2013), swimming in ice-cold Siberian lakes, or posing in the pilot’s seat of a supersonic strategic bomber. Indeed, by uniting in one and the same body the three cultural paradigms that have historically codified heroic masculinity – the warrior, the philosopher and the ruler (Goscilo 2013) – Putin has made a quite extreme form of hegemonic, heteronormative (and indeed homophobic) masculinity a central pillar of Russian national identity (see also Healey 2010; Sperling 2015). As I have noted elsewhere (Roberts forthcoming), men’s fashion and fashion imagery is one of the rare areas of Russian culture where the kind of masculinity embodied (in a literal sense) by Putin is still challenged, and indeed subverted. In this respect at least, men’s fashion in contemporary Russia supports Karaminas’ point that “fashion imagery, as a mode of representation, is in constant flux with the social forces that shape culture and political change” (Karaminas 2012: 180). Perhaps the most interesting Russian men’s fashion designer working today, certainly the designer who has engaged most persistently with social forces and political change, is Comme des Garçons’ Gosha Rubchinskiy. In his work – be it fashion design, photography or film – he foregrounds various “extreme” forms of Russian masculinity, from the angelic youth at one end of the spectrum through the brown-shirted neo-fascist adolescent, to the shaven-headed football fan at the other end. He does so, he maintains, in order to change the way Russia is perceived in the world (Madsen 2017). Indeed, if Dostoevsky once claimed that “beauty will save the world”, Rubchinskiy self-consciously enlists what he refers to as the “beauty” of his models in an attempt to challenge the negative image of Russia generated by western media as part of what he has called an “informational [sic] war” against his native country (YouTube 2015). Borrowing concepts from Bakhtin (carnival), Butler (performativity), Barthes (mythology) and Baudrillard (the simulacrum), I propose to examine Rubchinskiy’s extreme masculinities, and the questions they raise not just about masculinity, but also about the cultural relationship between Russia and the West, fashion as a discrete cultural practice, Rubchinskiy as a fashion designer, and the place and role of the fashion designer in society.

**Graham H. Roberts** is Reader in Russian Studies at Nanterre University, near Paris and member of the CECILLE research group at the University of Lille 3. The author of a D.Phil. on the Soviet avant-garde literary group known as “OBERIU”, he recently published a monograph entitled *Consumer Culture, Branding and Identity in the New Russia: From Five-Year Plan to 4x4* (Routledge, 2016), and edited a volume on material culture in Russia and the USSR (Bloomsbury Academic, 2017). His current research interests include men’s fashion brands, and the cultural geography of men, masculinity and fashion.

## **Who are you Calling a Hackney Twat? Creativity and Stigma in Contemporary Britain**

**Charlie Athill**

I explore attitudes in the United Kingdom towards male adornment in dress, grooming and lifestyle choices, and in relation to concepts and accusations of pretentiousness. Taking the recent and broadly defined phenomenon, the hipster, as a case study, I analyse discourse in the last decade from a range of media that feature hipsterism. Nearly all media coverage of hipsters has focused on men, reflecting gendered cultural prejudices about a style that requires a certain level of cultivation. I consider how media parody, which

upholds a tradition of British caricature, conveys cultural disquiet that masks anxieties about the subversion of norms relating to gender and class. However, I also indicate how negative assumptions are not left unchallenged in the media at all levels and I evaluate the significance of this in the light of recent socio-political reaction. I consider the question of classification with regard to hipsters, and also discourse on authenticity and taste in relation to what is perceived as male hipster style. I propose that while attitudes to gender and class have been reformulated, media and public critique of styles labelled as pretentious reveal entrenched, if repackaged, cultural prejudices and insecurities. In so doing, and as an analytical framework, I refer to Dan Fox's defence of pretentiousness as a catalyst of cultural innovation in relation to theoretical perspectives regarding taste.

**Charlie Athill** is a Lecturer for international Collaborative Provision at the London College of Fashion (LCF) at the University of the Arts London (UAL). With degrees in Art History and Fashion History, he worked in Language Teaching in Spain and Argentina prior to working at UAL, where he has worked at the Language Centre, for Academic Support, on FE courses at LCF and the London College of Communication, and on graduate Cultural Studies units at Central Saint Martins and LCF. He is currently working full time at LCF in both this capacity and for the International Department, with a view to developing Cultural Studies units in collaborations with institutions overseas.

## **The Self-objectification of Gender: Hardcore Ethnography from a Luxury Brothel in Madrid**

**Daniel Briggs**

Spain is the highest consumer of sexual services in Europe; its industry generating 3,672 million Euros each year from the tens of thousands of women who offer various services. For the last eight months, I have been working covertly in a brothel in Madrid reviewing porn forums and teaching English. There, around 40 women work for varying periods often either to fund further studies, pay off debt or/and to establish some housing/family stability. While the brothel promises to be a potentially good earner for the women – a few earn up to 15,000 Euros a month – it is also demanding emotional, mental and physical work. The conditions, from what I can determine, are quite detrimental to their health and safety; some sell drugs to the clients, develop alcohol and drug dependencies to endure the long and arduous shifts as well as adhere to the often brutal and humiliating sexual requests/fantasies of the clients. Many stay in the hotel for weeks at a time, some not even leaving for days. Indeed, the precariousness of their labour is clear – they work “self employed”, have no job security and can be sacked if they jeopardise revenue. Moreover, there is significant competition between the women which causes many other problems in the brothel, and much of their money is spent on consumer goods and is invested in their bodies (hair, nails, botox injections, operated breasts); many simply become caricatures and this physical transformation only feeds the meritocratic pressure to earn more money, compete with other women, take extravagant holidays and buy expensive commodities as proof of their participation in consumer society. The object nature of their existence is reinforced by the continual expectancy to provide sexual services – given the lack of alternatives but with clear consumer rewards and ideological social status – and augmented by the mostly male-oriented management structure, which taken together, produces a sort of a self-objectification of their gender. In this paper, I explore tentatively the idea of how emotional and psychological traumas of daily labour of these women are subjectively anaesthetized by the recompense of seemingly never-ending participation in a hypersexualised, micro-consumer world which is driven by the demands made on the women as much as those which they make on themselves.

**Daniel Briggs** is Professor of Criminology at the Universidad Europea in Madrid, Spain. He is a researcher, writer and interdisciplinary academic who studies various different social problems. Daniel is the author of *Deviance and Risk on holiday: An ethnography of British tourists in Ibiza* (2013, Palgrave MacMillan) and *Crack Cocaine Users: High Society and Low Life in South London* (2012, Routledge). He also edited *The English Riots of 2011: A Summer of Discontent* (2012, Waterside Press) and co-authored *Riots and Political Protest* (2015, Palgrave MacMillan), *Culture and Immigration in Context: An ethnography of Romanian migrant workers in London* (2014, Palgrave MacMillan) and *Assessing the Use and Impact of Anti-Social Behaviour Orders* (2007, Policy Press).

## **Killed by the ‘Subhuman’: The News Construction of Jane Longhurst’s Murder as a Problem of Toxic Masculinity**

**Dimitris Akrivos and Alexandros K. Antoniou**

This paper looks at the crucial role of the British news media in the construction of extreme pornography as a problem of toxic masculinity, suggesting that this paved the way for the subsequent criminalisation of such material through the introduction of the Criminal Justice & Immigration Act 2008. Focusing on the high-profile case of Graham Coutts, it examines the British national press’ reaction to Jane Longhurst’s murder through a qualitative content analysis of 251 relevant news articles. Specifically, the paper documents the key arguments expressed in the corresponding claims-making process. It looks closely at the evolution of the culturally pervasive stereotype of the male sexual predator in the Internet age and the alleged social toxicity of extreme pornographic imagery. The paper considers the different ways in which the consequent ‘trial by media’ presented this exceptional case as the ‘tip of the iceberg’ and eventually translated into policy. The analysis sheds light on the attempts to ‘piggyback’ the issue of extreme pornography on child sexual abuse images as well as the textual and visual mechanisms used to establish an ‘us versus them’ dichotomy in the pertinent media discourse. Finally, the paper assesses the severity of the actual risk posed by extreme pornography, concluding that its criminalisation should not merely be dismissed as the outcome of an institutionalized media panic.

Alexandros K. Antoniou is a Lecturer in Law and the lead author of *The Rise of Extreme Porn* (Palgrave 2017). He conducts research within the fields of media law and cybercrime.

Dimitris Akrivos is a Senior Lecturer in Criminology. He has co-authored *The Rise of Extreme Porn* (Palgrave 2017) and his research interests are media violence, sexual deviance and mental illness.

## **Masculinities and Violence Among Mexican Youth Gangs**

**Adina Radosh Sverdlin**

I will present the case of a much studied subject in Mexico (mainly in Mexico City and other big cities) during the eighties and nineties: the youth gangs known as bandas. However, my work will diverge from the ‘classic’ approach to these groups, that used to focus on cultural and identity aspects (as style, cultural consumption) and tends to make use of the hegemony-subalternity framework. Music, clothing, leisure practices and consumption are indeed crucial for the bandas; but they are deeply intertwined with economic and political processes and practices. A landscape of failed (or at least never fully achieved) industrialization, with limited welfare and protection to some workers evolved into an eroded, polluted and deindustrialized one. This process converged with large amounts of people leaving the countryside and the precariousness of peasantry work, to seek for new opportunities in the largest city in the country. Hence, several neighbourhoods arose and, in turn, gave birth to the bandas. In order to proceed with my goal I will offer a diachronic analysis from a double positioning in time. Addressing the period when the bandas were ‘active’, namely, from the end of the seventies until the beginning of the nineties and, on the other hand, turning to more recent years, when former members of the bandas have gone through dissimilar trajectories. This, I argue, will help us follow different ‘masculinity projects’ (Connell, 1995) focusing on the triad masculinity-violence-youth, but contrasting it with what happens when the banda members are not considered young anymore. Also, it enables us to examine the social, political and economic background of these groups; they appeared in a time when Mexico was going through sound financial crises that hit harshly on the youth and when the region was undergoing a process of deindustrialization.

Adina Radosh Sverdlin holds a Bachelor’s degree in Industrial Design and Master’s degree in Social Anthropology by the Universidad Iberoamericana in Mexico City. She conducted her thesis research (2015-2016) in neighbourhoods on the West of Mexico City, with members of youth gangs from the 70s and 80s. She worked as an external evaluator of a community program for the strengthening of community promoters (2015-2016). Also, she collaborated in a research- action project to prevent child obesity in urban and marginalized contexts in Mexico City (2013-2015) with the Universidad Iberoamericana. She has facilitated workshops, lectures and

trainings related to food, society and culture. She conducted a brief research on clay workers and their surroundings in Santa María Atzompa, Oaxaca (2014).

## **Loss of Sovereignty and Social Abjection: On Masculinity and Melancholic Objects of Political Desire**

**Tereza Kuldova**

We are currently experiencing a profound crisis of political imagination. Neoliberalism has been generating ever increasing amounts of population that feel disillusioned, angry, impoverished, devalued, lonely, insecure, hopeless, forsaken, and at general loss. The tyranny of the markets has resulted both in the reactionary rise of right-wing populism and in the weakening and emptying of the nation-state. It could be argued that in their melancholia for the traditional world of security, community and solidarity, the right-wing supporters misrecognize their enemy and effectively replace the forces of global capitalism with the more tangible bodies of the immigrant Others. In the process, they become, to the cultural elites who know better and pride themselves on their moral high-ground, socially abject (racist, homophobic and so on) subjects, and yet, they bear their social abjection as a badge of honour and righteousness, as a sign that they are onto something. But we must ask: are we really dealing here with a case of a simple misrecognition, of a replacement of the real problem we are unwilling to acknowledge or deal with (capitalism) with a vicarious one (immigration)? Is it really the lost security, community and solidarity that is being mourned and resuscitated in the first place? And ultimately, is it really the obscenities of the right-wing populism that provoke us or is it something else? Grounded in ethnographic work with outlaw motorcycle clubs and their often right-leaning supporters, I will argue that what these 'revolting subjects' in fact sense as lost and what they are pathologically attached to in their melancholia, is political sovereignty. Effectively, what they wish to revive, albeit often inarticulately, is the political fiction of the autonomy of the political vis-à-vis the economic, i.e. the ability of the state to subsume and control the powers of capital. This revival of desire for sovereignty often manifests itself in muscular forms. But we must ask, is not this desire onto something and can a progressive case for sovereignty and muscularity vis-à-vis the forces of global capital be made?

**Tereza Kuldova, PhD** is a social anthropologist and Researcher at the Department of Archaeology, Conservation and History, University of Oslo, and currently a Visiting Senior Researcher at the Department of Cultural and Social Anthropology, University of Vienna. She has studied the elite segment of the Indian fashion industry and relations of production. Currently she works on an individual research project 'Gangs, Brands and Intellectual Property Rights: Interdisciplinary Comparative Study of Outlaw Motorcycle Clubs and Luxury Brands' funded by the Norwegian Research Council. She is the author of *Luxury Indian Fashion: A Social Critique* (Bloomsbury, 2016) and editor of *Fashion India: Spectacular Capitalism* (2013), *Urban Utopias: Excess and Expulsion in Neoliberal South Asia* (Palgrave Macmillan, 2017) and *Outlaw Motorcycle Clubs and Street Gangs: Scheming Legality, Resisting Criminalization* (Palgrave Macmillan, forthcoming).

## **Trauma, Loss and the Violent Subject**

**Simon Winlow**

In this paper I will outline my recent ethnographic and theoretical work with men who have a long and complicated relationship with physical violence. I will dig beneath the current fixation on socio-political power relations to revive and revise the traditional analysis of biographical process. This process begins with traumatic experiences of violence and loss in early relations. Toxic memories of such violence and the humiliating inability to protect the self fuel the search for substitute assailants who provide redemptive opportunities to reverse the assailant/victim relation. As trauma is socialised in working-class class masculine culture in deindustrialised regions, these imagined assailant-victims also function as signifiers of the lost object of community, eliciting sentiments of mourning and melancholia that link the personal humiliation/vengeance dyad with broader processes of ideological deaptation and socioeconomic redundancy.

**Simon Winlow** is a Professor of Criminology at the Teesside University and author of *Badfellas: Crime, Tradition and New Masculinities* (2001, Berg) and co-author of *Bouncers: Violence and Governance in the Night-time Economy* (2003, Oxford University Press), *Violent Night: Urban Leisure and Contemporary Culture* (2006, Berg), *Criminal Identities and Consumer Culture: Crime, Exclusion and the New Culture of Narcissism* (2008, Willan), *Rethinking Social Exclusion: The End of the Social?* (2013, Sage), *Revitalizing Criminological Theory: Towards a New*

*Ultra-Realism* (2015, Routledge) and *Riots and Political Protest: Notes from the Post-Political Present* (2015, Routledge) and *The Rise of the Right: The EDL and the Transformation of Working-Class Politics* (2016, Policy Press). With Steve Hall, Winlow founded and directed the Teesside Centre for Realist Criminology between 2013-2015. He is currently the director of the British Society of Criminology's Critical Criminology Network.

## **No Future for Old Men: Masculinity and the Breakdown of the Pseudo-pacification Process**

**Steve Hall**

This paper will build on the concepts of ideological deaprtation and socioeconomic redundancy by contextualising them in the millennial process of pseudo-pacification. After outlining the emergence and development of the process in Europe, the fate of traditional masculine forms will be located in its contemporary breakdown at the beginning of a 'new world' in the late 20th century. Western liberals still hope that this new world will turn out broadly progressive and benign. However, because their premature and impatient futurist discourses are intrinsically unable to grasp the pseudo-pacification process's complex socioeconomic function across a long historical period, its reactive social antagonism, culture wars and violence might continue to surprise them.

**Steve Hall** is Professor of Criminology in the Social Futures Institute and co-founder of the Teesside Centre for Realist Criminology. Steve and his long-term writing partner Simon Winlow have been described as the 'most important criminologists working in Britain today'. His book *Criminal Identities and Consumer Culture* (Willan 2008, with Simon Winlow and Craig Ancrum) has been described as 'an important landmark in criminology' and his book *Theorizing Crime and Deviance* (Sage 2012) has been lauded as 'a remarkable intellectual achievement' that 'rocks the foundations of the discipline'. Steve's recent books are *Rethinking Social Exclusion* (2013, with Simon Winlow), *Riots and Political Protest* (Routledge, 2015, with Simon Winlow, James Treadwell and Daniel Briggs) and *Revitalizing Criminological Theory* (Routledge, 2015, with Simon Winlow). His latest book, together with Simon Winlow and James Treadwell is *The Rise of the Right* (Policy Press, 2016).

## **The Hyperreal Gambler: Visual Construction of Men in Online Poker Ads**

**Jukka Jouhki**

Online poker, like gambling in general, is predominantly a male activity, and thus poker ads most often depict men as their protagonists. Advertising, can be seen as, as "a plebiscite whereby mass consumer society wages a perpetual campaign of self-endorsement".[1] Ads often use stereotypical imagery for establishing a shared experience of identification with the consumer, and as their role is to sell, rather than to portray the realities of life, they often have an exaggerated and monolithic or, hyperreal way of representing gender.[2] In my article, I will conduct a qualitative content analysis on the way men are portrayed ads of Poker Magazine Finland in the volume of 2009 (all six issues). The year 2009 is significant in that it represents the peak of the so-called online poker boom after which the popularity and hype around poker started to decrease. Theoretically, I will draw on postmodern theorists such as Jean Baudrillard and Umberto Eco,[3] and particularly on their concept of hyperreality (the "authentic fake", exaggerated and simulated reality) to analyze the saturated significances of the ads in question.

**Jukka Jouhki** (jukka.jouhki@jyu.fi) is a Senior Researcher at the Department of History and Ethnology, University of Jyväskylä, Finland. Jouhki is an anthropologist who has conducted research on online poker as a cultural phenomenon. Jouhki's research has been funded by the Finnish Foundation for Gaming Research.

## **Men Refusing to be Marginalised: Illmatic and the Expendables Trilogy**

**Lisa-Nike Bühring and Marcel Witczak**

Although the main beneficiaries of the political and socio-cultural system of neo-liberalism dominating the west are men, not all men are equally advantaged. Hegemonic men reassure and manifest their dominance as much by oppressing women as by marginalising and subordinating other men. In other words, all men benefit from patriarchal privileges but these privileges are often restricted by a man's sexual orientation,

race, class or age, to name but a few. Our academic interest lies in gaining a better understanding of the strategies used by men to alleviate and neutralize marginalisation. Popular cultural products such as commercial music and films, particularly from the U.S., are today influential agents in the communication and preservation of socio-cultural standards. Although often viewed as frivolous, trivial and even repulsive, gangster rap as well as U.S. action films are targeted specifically at male audiences and their analysis can therefore provide valuable insights into the cultural frames available to men. Both the debut album *Illmatic* of the black rapper Nas and *The Expendables* trilogy tell stories of an archaic and seemingly outdated macho masculinity embodied by men marginalised by age, race and class. Since the lyrics/narrative as well as the performers are in stark contrast to the current hegemonic masculinity ideal of being white-collar, young to middle aged, affluent, middle- and upper-class managers, their commercial success surprises. The strategies used to transform narratives of marginalization into stories of success and progress with a strong market value will be in the focus of our analysis.

**Lisa-Nike Bühring** is currently researching for her PhD on the perception of ageing masculinities with the University of Gloucestershire, UK. At the moment, she is a lecturer for scientific working, media management and media psychology at a private business university in Cologne. Currently, her research focus lies on the analysis of the socio-cultural frames of male ageing communicated in U.S. American films and on gaining a better understanding of how older (German) men use these to construe their identity in later life.

**Marcel Witzak** is currently completing his Master of Arts in International Media Management at Cologne Business School (CBS), after finishing his Bachelor's degree in Media Studies with a specialization in Media Management at the University of Cologne. Marcel is a scholar of the German National Academic Foundation. During his studies, Marcel complemented his expert knowledge of the media industry with hands-on experiences in marketing agencies and record labels in Germany and the US. His key research interests are the impact of digitalization on the media industry and consumer behavior. Furthermore, he is interested in analyzing the socio-cultural implications and rationale of subcultures

## **Violence, Victimization, and Gender Slippage in the Work of Bangladeshi Visual Artist Mahbubur Rahman**

### **Melia Belli Bose**

Political, social, and cultural flux have been near constant in Bangladesh since its two independences - from Britain in 1947 and from Pakistan in 1971. Over the last forty years the nation endured military dictatorships, natural and industrial disasters, and rapid globalization. Concomitantly, there has been sustained engagement with the wider Islamic world, as large numbers of Bangladeshis travel to Saudi Arabia and the Gulf for pilgrimage and employment. These events contribute to formations of national and personal identities, relationships to the collective past and the world. Many Bangladeshis subscribe Edward Said's notion of "many Islams," comfortably marrying their Bengali identities with their Muslim ones. They wear saris, read the Koran in Bangla, and celebrate Hindu holidays. Others are uneasy with the disparities between Bengali and dominant Arab interpretations of the faith. Such socio-religious tensions impact nearly every aspect of Bangladeshi life, from politics, to dress, and performances of gender. They have also induced outbreaks of communal violence. Dhaka-based Mahbubur Rahman (b.1969) examines imbrications of identity (national, communal, and individual), politics, and masculinity in his multi-media art. His paintings, drawings, sculptures, performances, and installations explore what it means to be a man in Bangladesh and the world today. Focusing on two series of the artist's self-portraits, this paper examines intersections of self, gender, and violence in Rahman's art. In paintings from *Self-Slaughter* (2001-2008) Rahman depicts himself as Hindu gods and goddesses and explores slippages of sex and gender. In the autobiographical charcoal drawing series of 2005, *Me and My Rucksack*, he illustrates his experience as a Muslim Bangladeshi in London after the July 7, 2005 bombings. Gender is a floating signifier in Rahman's oeuvre and in these two series, Rahman constructs his gendered identity in distinct ways: in the former as a victim and perpetrator of communal violence. In the latter, as the perceived dangerous and delusive Other.

**Melia Belli Bose** is a specialist in South Asian art history and Assistant Professor of Asian Art History at the University of Victoria, British Columbia, Canada. Her areas of research span the early modern to contemporary periods in India, Pakistan, and Bangladesh. Melia has published widely on royal Hindu funerary art, which was the subject of her first monograph, *Royal Umbrellas of Stone: Memory, Politics, and Public Identity in Rajput Funerary Art* (2015) and informs an issue of the journal *Ars Orientalis* she guest edited

in 2014. Melia is also engaged with issues of how gender informs the commissioning, production, and collection of art throughout Asia, and edited and contributed to the volume *Women, Gender, and Art in Asia* (2016). “Gender as a Floating Signifier in the Work of Bangladeshi Visual Artist Mahbubur Rahman” is based on fieldwork she conducted in Bangladesh on contemporary art in 2015 as a fellow of the American Institute of Bangladesh Studies and the Asian Cultural Council.

## **Masculinity as Precondition of ‘the Political’**

### **Barbara Stefan**

The paper outlines the results of an empirical dissertational research inquiring the role of masculinity in political groups in Austria. Its participants usually exhibit a high level of knowledge of the functioning and social processes of oppression and exclusion present in modern, capitalist societies. This understanding generally goes hand in hand with an awareness of the patriarchal heritage of modern societies and consequently with feminist political claims of social equality of women. Even political groups that are not declaring themselves as mere feminist groups, typically act in solidarity with feminist claims. Speaking in empirical terms, these groups develop specific methods that are normatively oriented in realizing gender equality: e.g. the motivation of women to take over representative functions, the setting of time limits for speaker’s as usually men tend to speak longer than women, the application of rules establishing an alternation of female and male etc. These methods are based on observations that women are less likely to participate in political movements, less likely to speak in groups or public debates and less likely to take on representative functions. Implicitly all these solutions, however, take the traditional behavior of men as point of reference. This presentation tries to show how masculinity constitutes a precondition of participation in political spaces, how this creates exclusions to non-masculinities and how it forms new subjectivities within non-male bodies.

**Barbara Stefan** is political scientist as well as social and cultural anthropologist working on her doctoral thesis at the University of Vienna. She started to develop her research concept at the Institute for Advanced Studies, where she participated in a postgraduate program on practice theories. Her subsequent research and position at the University of Vienna was funded by the Austrian Academy of Sciences.

## **Burhan Wani and the Masculinities of the Indian State**

### **Fabian Hartwell**

Burhan Wani, the ‘pin-up boy’ of Kashmiri separatism was shot dead by Indian Special Forces in July 2016. Wani, a Kashmiri Muslim, was doubly marginalised by the dominant Hinduised space of the imagined Indian nation; his reactive masculinity directly challenged the Hindu bravado he encountered in the state-sanctioned hyper-masculinity exemplified by the Indian Armed Forces. The article is inspired by the theoretical contributions of Jasbir Puar and Sudhir Kakar, who argue that the heteronormativity of society is produced through the homosexual, and that the Hindu is constituted through the Muslim Other. Furthermore, utilizing Dibyesh Anand’s critical conceptualization of Indian nationalism as ‘porno nationalism’, the article argues that the way the Muslim is constituted is by fetishisation of the Muslim body as ‘hypersexed’, ‘abnormal’ and often criminal. Wani’s masculinity and his public representation constitute a nexus between the technological advancement that enables growing linkages between elements of the global jihad, the emergence of a transnational jihadi culture and him as a role model for young men, whose class and religious identity is superseded by the irredentist claims of the freedom fighter. Refocusing our attention from the superstructures of global masculine posturing to localized, individual experiences of violence, this article aims to reposition Wani, and Muslims, as integral to the masculinities of the Indian State.

**Fabian Hartwell** studies South Asian Studies from the School of Oriental and African Studies (SOAS), London. His academic interests include gender theory and queer identities in contemporary India, the use of and differences between Hindi and Urdu in popular culture, the field of men and masculinities and the politics of religion in the sub-continent. He has a particular interest in the Kashmir region and speaks Hindi, Urdu, Japanese and Bengali.